

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

Vol. 15, No. 12

© 1977 by Intercontinental Press

April 4, 1977

75¢



Ginny Hildebrand/Militant

NEW YORK, March 12: Part of demonstration of 1,000 celebrating International Women's Day. For account of

other marches, rallies, meetings, and protests from Bilbao to Brisbane, see news article on page 348.

Women's Day Marked Around World

Carter—A Partisan of Nerve Gas?

Washington's Blackmail in Vietnam

India—Political Prisoners Released

Protests Spread in Czechoslovakia

Saccharin—Yes, It's Cancer Inducing

Pakistan—Vote Fraud a Hot Issue

New Straitjacket for Spain's Unions

Internal Passport to Be Adopted in U.S.?

Portuguese LCI Holds Fourth Congress

Review: 'What Is American Fascism?'

Carter—A Partisan of Nerve Gas?

By Michael Baumann

The March 20 *Newsday*, a Long Island daily, reports that in 1962—under the Kennedy administration—a Canadian agricultural technician was paid \$5,000 by the Central Intelligence Agency to inoculate Cuban turkeys with a highly contagious, fatal disease.

In an interview with reporters Drew Fetherston and John Cummings, the unnamed Canadian revealed that a member of the CIA's military intelligence department provided him with a quantity of "Newcastle disease virus" to do the job.

Although more than 8,000 turkeys on a Cuban state farm subsequently died under mysterious circumstances, the Canadian claims he never actually made use of the biological weapon. *Newsday* points out, however, that "according to U.S. intelligence reports, the Cubans—and some Americans—believe the turkeys died as a result of espionage." It also reports that "the major details of the Canadian's story have been confirmed by sources within and outside the American intelligence community."

Newcastle disease is particularly damaging to the respiratory organs of young poultry. Vaccines to prevent it exist, but once poultry is infected there is no effective treatment and all stricken birds and those they come into contact with must be destroyed.

The loss of the poultry was a serious blow. It came at a time when Cuba urgently needed to increase its meat supply, which had been cut sharply by the American trade embargo.

This current revelation of Washington's use of biological warfare against Cuba is remindful of a list of similar "unorthodox" weapons stockpiled by the Pentagon that was published in the March 9, 1969, *New York Times*:

Anthrax, a bacterial lung infection that is usually fatal within a few days if not treated promptly.

Pneumonic plague, another fast-killing bacterial infection against which there is no effective vaccine and which is nearly always fatal without prompt treatment. A British CBW [chemical and biological warfare] worker recently died of pneumonic plague which he contracted while on the job. . . .

Equine encephalomyelitis, a viral infection of the nervous system that kills as many as 65 percent of its victims and for which there is also no specific treatment.

Production of an organism like the plague bacillus which is resistant to all known antibiotics—or, better yet, resistant to all but one antibiotic which is known only to the offense.

About a dozen other agents, many equally deadly, could be added to this list.

This may sound like ancient history to most Americans. Wasn't there a big public clamor against engaging in biological warfare? Under this pressure, didn't the White House swear off the use of biological weapons? Wasn't the Pentagon forbidden to carry on research in this field in its secret laboratories? Wasn't the Pentagon ordered to dump its deadly stockpiles? The answer is "yes" to all four questions.

Here is the text of the official order issued by President Nixon, the commander-in-chief of the U.S. armed forces, in December 1969:

Biological weapons have massive unpredictable and potentially uncontrollable consequences. They may produce global epidemics and impair the health of future generations. I have therefore decided that the U.S. shall renounce the use of lethal biological agents and weapons and all other methods of biological warfare.

The U.S. will confine its biological research to defensive measures such as immunization and safety measures.

The Department of Defense has been asked to make recommendations as to the disposal of existing stocks of bacteriological weapons.

Was this order ever actually carried out? Did Nixon issue secret counterorders? These questions have arisen in view of recent revelations.

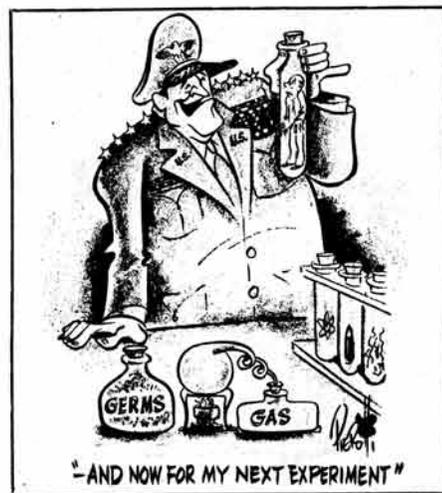
For example, in its January 8, 1977, issue, *Newsday* reported testimony showing that the CIA succeeded in introducing African swine fever into Cuba in 1971, forcing the slaughter of 500,000 pigs. (See *Intercontinental Press*, February 7, p. 91.)

Could such an action have been taken without Nixon's knowledge and approval?

Further evidence was presented in September 1975 before the Senate committee investigating the CIA. It was revealed that an order to destroy the spy agency's stockpile of germ warfare weapons was simply never carried out.

In the hearings, moreover, CIA officials admitted that the agency had spent \$3 million over eighteen years to develop some of the deadliest substances known to science. These included a shellfish toxin so lethal that two teaspoonfuls are capable of killing hundreds of thousands of human beings. Other choice items were cobra venom, strychnine, cyanide, and substances capable of inducing valley fever, salmonellosis, and smallpox.

Also stockpiled by the CIA, it was revealed, were substances that produce abortions in animals, as well as a wide



Pierotti/New York Post

range of "incapacitating" materials that are capable of lowering blood pressure, causing temporary amnesia, impairing kidney functioning, and causing excruciating pain.

As might be expected, the usefulness of such horror weapons was subjected to extensive testing by the Pentagon.

On December 22, 1976, the Army admitted that it had conducted "simulated" germ warfare attacks in eight areas of the United States between 1950 and 1966. One of the tests, previously disclosed in the Senate CIA hearings, was conducted on the New York subway system in 1966 (see *Intercontinental Press*, September 29, 1975, p. 1268). Another was carried out in San Francisco in 1950.

The six additional tests were conducted at military bases at Panama City, Florida, in 1953; Point Mugu and nearby Fort Hueneme, California, in 1954; Fort McClellan, Alabama, in 1952; Key West, Florida, in 1952; Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, in 1951; and in the Pentagon in 1950.

On March 8, 1977, the Army admitted still further "simulated" germ warfare experiments, reporting that a total of 239 "open-air" tests had been conducted in the United States between World War II and 1969. Targets included a region of the Pennsylvania Turnpike, Washington's National Airport and Greyhound bus station, and the ocean off San Francisco.

The "nondisease-causing" nature of the bacteria used in the tests is at least open to question. *Newsday* reported December 21, 1976, that after the 1950 test in San Francisco, a hospitalized patient died with the biological substance in his bloodstream. Furthermore, after the 1952 tests at Fort McClellan, the number of pneumonia cases more than doubled in the surrounding county (see *Intercontinental Press*, March 21, 1977, p. 299).

Also open to question is the comprehensiveness of the list of tests. The March 9

New York *Daily News* noted that the Army's report was "partially censored."

We now come to the latest chapter in the sinister story of how the mad militarists running the Pentagon are preparing weapons of the most fiendish kind. At the moment, they are concentrating on nerve gas.

Read the following paragraphs from an article by Robert Kaylor in the March 21 *Washington Post*:

The Pentagon is quietly upgrading its ability to wage war with nerve gas, a weapon that can cause agonizing death from spasms and convulsions if only a drop or two get on a person's skin.

The Navy is spending \$1.5 million this year to resume research on a bomb, code-named "Big Eye," that would spread the gas over a square mile. The Army is spending \$2.7 million to continue research on a "binary" artillery shell that would mix two harmless chemicals in flight to form nerve gas.

Work on the bomb had been canceled in 1969—the year the United States ended its germ warfare program, and one year after nerve gas wafted 30 miles from a test site in Utah and killed 6,000 sheep.

A "de-emphasis" on germ warfare followed, Kaylor said. This included a White House decision to phase out the Army's Chemical Corps, whose activities included developing weapons of germ warfare.

The Army has now reversed that decision. The reason it cites is a growth in the Soviet Union's chemical warfare capability, although both nations have signed a treaty renouncing its first use.

"We underestimated the threat and it got us into trouble," said a chemical warfare expert. "We woke up in 1975 and decided it was a bad story. The Soviets were pushing their capability. Our training wasn't being done and our soldiers weren't capable of surviving in chemical warfare."

The excuse is among the most frayed in the Pentagon's publicity handouts—the Russians got ahead of us, so we have to catch up. On with the arms race!

Where does Carter stand on all this? He has been very glib about "human rights" in the Soviet Union. He has been notably silent about the Pentagon's retooling for the production of nerve gas.

What happened to the renunciation of biological warfare issued by Nixon? Is it still the official position of the American government?

Or did Carter, as one of his first acts in office, drop the solemn commitment into a shredding machine? Has he decided to press ahead in the development of chemical and biological warfare? And does he have a personal predilection for nerve gas?

Perhaps he has more statesmanlike considerations in mind such as those pointed to in the March 9, 1969, issue of the *New York Times*; namely, that unlike a nuclear war, a war fought with chemical and biological weapons "would destroy people but not property, thus presumably leaving a better chance for postwar rehabilitation." □

In This Issue

Closing News Date: March 28, 1977

| | | |
|------------------|-----|--|
| FEATURES | 348 | Women's Day Marked Around the World —by Judy White |
| | 362 | <i>Out Now!</i> —Chapter 23: The Easter 1969 GI-Civilian Demonstrations and the Birth of the New Mobilization Committee —by Fred Halstead |
| VIETNAM | 349 | Carter Blackmails Victims of U.S. Aggression—by Steve Wattenmaker |
| INDIA | 350 | Thousands of Political Prisoners Released —by Ernest Harsch |
| PAKISTAN | 351 | Strikes Across Country Demand New Election |
| CZECHOSLOVAKIA | 352 | Protest Spreads Despite Wave of Arrests —by Gerry Foley |
| SOVIET UNION | 353 | Dissidents Back Imprisoned Latvian Workers |
| EAST EUROPE | 354 | A Discussion with Plyushch, Fainberg, Pomian, and Ianakakis |
| SPAIN | 357 | Suárez's Straitjacket for the Unions —by Gerry Foley |
| MIDDLE EAST | 358 | Carter's Specialty—Speaking Out of Both Sides of His Mouth—by David Frankel |
| NETHERLANDS | 359 | The Wave of Strikes |
| USA | 360 | Internal Passport to Be Adopted? —by Steve Wattenmaker |
| OCEAN ISLAND | 361 | Strip-Mining Turns Island Into Wasteland —by Alec Martin |
| BRITAIN | 365 | Former Trotskyist Leader Denounces Healyite Falsifications as "Sinister Slander" |
| PORTUGAL | 376 | LCI Holds Fourth Congress |
| NEWS ANALYSIS | 346 | Carter—A Partisan of Nerve Gas? —by Michael Baumann |
| CAPITALISM | | |
| FOULS THINGS UP | 366 | Saccharin—Yes It's Cancer Inducing |
| SELECTIONS | | |
| FROM THE LEFT | 368 | |
| AROUND THE WORLD | 370 | Sri Lankan Trotskyists to Run in Elections |
| DOCUMENTS | 372 | Baghdad's Forced Resettlement of 1 Million Kurds |
| BOOKS | 374 | What Is American Fascism?—reviewed by David Frankel |
| DRAWINGS | 350 | Morarji Desai; 351, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto; 352, Gustav Husak; 358, Jimmy Carter; 370, Jorge Rafael Videla; 371, Takeo Fukuda —by Copain |
| | 375 | Joseph McCarthy—by Laura Gray |

Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Published in New York each Monday except the first in January and the third and fourth in August.

Application to mail at second-class postage rates is pending at New York, N.Y.

Editor: Joseph Hansen.

Contributing Editors: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

Editorial Staff: Michael Baumann, Gerry Foley, Ernest Harsch, Susan Wald, Steve Wattenmaker, Judy White.

Business Manager: Pat Galligan.

Copy Editors: Jon Britton, Fred Murphy, Sally Rhett.

Technical Staff: Paul Deveze, Ellen Fischer, Larry Ingram, Arthur Lobman, James M. Morgan. Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material stands on the program of the Fourth International.

Paris Office: Pierre Frank, 10 Impasse Guéméné, 75004, Paris, France.

To Subscribe: For one year send \$24 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail.

For airmail subscriptions in Europe: Write to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL. In Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 151, Glebe 2037. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 1663, Wellington.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Intercontinental Press is published by the 408 Printing and Publishing Corporation, 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Offices at 408 West Street, New York, N.Y.

Copyright © 1977 by Intercontinental Press.

Women's Day Marked Around the World

By Judy White



Lou Howort/Militant

New York demonstration, March 12.

Demonstrations marking International Women's Day around the world centered on economic issues, the right to abortion and contraception, and government attempts to cut back women's democratic rights.

In **Bilbao**, Spain, 1,000 women held a mass meeting and march. This was the first time in history March 8 had been celebrated in the Basque Country, G. Bengochea reported in the March 10 issue of *Rouge*.

The mass meeting, attended mainly by young women, heard women speak about their struggles in the workers' movement and their oppression as housewives and in the prisons.

Bengochea reported:

One former prisoner from the women's prison at Alcalá de Henares testified on the conditions women face in jails and police stations—on the insults and torture of prison life. She reminded the audience how women are systematically overlooked in the campaigns for amnesty. Ninety percent of the women in prison are there on charges of adultery or abortion. We must keep in mind that 500,000 illegal abortions are performed annually in Spain and that women accused of adultery can be sentenced to five years in prison.

On the march following the meeting, the demonstrators chanted, "Amnesty for

women," "Equal pay for equal work," and "We want child-care centers."

In Australia, "the most significant aspect of the marches around the country was their emphasis on economic demands," Mary Rabbone reported in the March 17 issue of *Direct Action*. "For the first time women incorporated the demands for the right to work and the shortening of the work week with no loss in pay."

In most cities, women turned out in much greater numbers than in 1976, with 1,000 in **Adelaide**, 2,000 in **Sydney**, 700 in **Melbourne**, and 150 in **Brisbane**.

Seven thousand persons demonstrated in **Brussels** March 5, *Intercontinental Press* correspondent Anne Vanesse reports. The march, which was organized by twenty-eight abortion committees throughout the country and supported by a wide range of political organizations and trade unions, was called to demand "a woman's right to choose."

Marchers chanted "Léo [Léo Tindemans, Belgium's prime minister], it is we and not the government who will choose when and when not to have a child."

This was the first mass demonstration of the Belgian abortion movement in four years, Vanesse notes, and it was marked by the firm determination to continue the

fight until abortion is totally legal.

Marches and rallies in virtually every major city of the United States involved thousands of women, according to reports in the *Militant*. A central demand of many of the actions was for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. constitution. The call for an end to government attacks on women's rights, especially the right to abortion, was also a key demand.

The biggest actions were in **San Francisco** and **New York**, with 1,000 persons turning out in each city.

More than 500 persons demonstrated in **Montréal** March 8 to demand free, twenty-four-hour-a-day child-care centers, financed by the state and controlled by those who use them.

In **Paris**, 5,000 women marched through the city on March 5 to mark International Women's Day, and more than 600 demonstrated in front of the Palais de Justice on March 8.

The March 8 action was part of a campaign to win the release of six members of the Movement for Freedom of Abortion and Contraception. The women were under indictment for committing or conspiring to commit abortion in Aix en Provence. Their trial was scheduled for March 10, and they faced between five and ten years in prison if convicted.

The day of the trial, a national mobilization of proabortion forces was held in **Aix**. Unusually lenient sentences were handed down, with five of the defendants receiving suspended sentences of two months, the sixth a suspended sentence of one month.

In **London**, American Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed shared the platform with British Communist party leader Irene Brennan and British anthropologist Hermione Harris at an International Women's Day symposium.

The discussion, on "Why Women Are Oppressed," drew about 400 women, the British Communist party daily *Morning Star* reported March 10.

Morning Star quoted Reed as saying:

Women are oppressed for the same reasons and by the same forces that black people, minorities of all kinds and the working class in general are oppressed.

They are oppressed because the social system of private property and class division is founded on profit. It is profitable to oppress the working class and women.

A rally organized by the Movement of Socialist Women (MMS) in **Bogotá**, Colombia, was attended by 350 persons. The working women who addressed the gathering set the tone of the event, the March 10 issue of *Revolución Socialista* reported.

Referring to Colombian President Alfonso López Michelsen's demagogic promises to women, Socorro Ramírez, a leader of the MMS and of the Colombian Federation of Educators, said, "We cannot confuse the real problems of women with the naming of women to high posts." Women have to

raise their own demands, she said, and fight for their liberation while also participating in the struggles of the workers and oppressed masses.

Rallies, organized by the Socialist Bloc and other groups, were also held in

Ibagué, drawing about 250 persons, and in Cali, where more than 100 persons were present.

In Lisbon, a petition demanding the revocation of the repressive laws on abortion and free access to contraceptive

devices was presented to the legislature on International Women's Day. The petition pointed out that 2,000 women in Portugal die each year as the result of illegal abortions and that the 180,000 women who have abortions run the risk of two to eight years in prison for this "crime." □

Claims No Reparations Due Them

Carter Blackmails Vietnamese Victims of U.S. Aggression

By Steve Wattenmaker

The commission sent by President Carter to Vietnam returned from Hanoi March 22 bearing the remains of eleven American pilots and promises of improved relations with the United States, which in the Indochina war had sought to bomb Vietnam "back to the stone age."

After hearing a report from commission head Leonard Woodcock, Carter praised the delegation's work as a "complete success" and accepted Vietnam's proposal for further negotiations in Paris.

High on Woodcock's list of accomplishments was persuading the Vietnamese leadership to drop their demand that Washington agree to pay reparations as a precondition to further negotiations.

At a March 24 news conference, Carter lauded Hanoi's decision:

In the past the Vietnamese have said that they would not negotiate with us nor give us additional information about the M.I.A.'s [missing in action] until we had agreed to pay reparations. They did not bring this up, which I thought was an act of reticence on their part. They had claimed previously that President Nixon had agreed to pay large sums of money to Vietnam because of damage done to their country. Our position had been that whether or not that agreement had been made that the Vietnamese had violated that agreement by intruding beyond the demilitarized zone during the war.

Thus Carter repeated the same cynical excuse used by Nixon to default on the promised aid. As part of the 1973 Paris Peace Accords, Nixon agreed to provide funds for postwar reconstruction of the country ravaged by the Pentagon. During the negotiations Nixon sent a secret memorandum to North Vietnam, which Hanoi later made public, setting the figure at \$3.25 billion.

After the collapse of the Thieu regime in 1975, the Ford administration tore up the commitment. The North Vietnamese "take-over" had canceled any agreements, said Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Later in the same news conference Carter was asked whether Washington didn't have a "moral obligation" to help rebuild Vietnam. The cheeky president replied:

Well, the destruction was mutual. You know,

we went to Vietnam without any desire to capture territory or to impose American will on other people. We went there to defend the freedom of the South Vietnamese, and I don't feel that we ought to apologize or to castigate ourselves or to assume the status of culpability.

In saying that the "destruction was mutual," was Carter referring to the Vietnamese saturation bombing of the West Coast that transformed California into a crater-scarred moonscape? Or the chemical defoliation of the South by planes from across the Pacific that left his Georgia peanut farm a barren wasteland?

In fact, it was precisely because the masses of American people recognized Washington's "culpability" that the twenty-year, \$200 billion effort to crush the Vietnamese revolution failed. The antiwar movement—combined with the resistance of the Vietnamese—finally forced the United States to pull out.

With the concession wrung from Hanoi, Carter is relieved of the pressure to admit the guilt of Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon for the aggression in Indochina. It is easier for him to deal with Hanoi in such a way as to help the image-makers in picturing him as a man of peace.

Hanoi reportedly surrendered the country's just claim to reparations only after Woodcock, who heads the United Auto Workers, got "tough" in the negotiations.

Shortly after the mission arrived in Vietnam, Deputy Foreign Minister Ngo Dien told the delegation that the promised aid "is not just a question of money but of national responsibility and honor." He added, "The question does not relate to Mr. Nixon but to the United States." After several days of unproductive talks, Woodcock told the Vietnamese to concede on this or they would end up with nothing. The UAW head explained to Associated Press reporter Peter Arnett just how he blackmailed the reluctant officials:

I told them this was the best group they could ever get from America, with men of the stature of former Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, who is widely knowledgeable about the area.

I told them that if they closed the door on us, then it might take 10 or 12 years before we were back.

The delegation was less successful in Laos, where government officials said that a resumption of aid payments and a cutoff of U.S. support to counterrevolutionary guerrillas were necessary before Laotians would help account for missing GIs and take other steps to improve relations.

Washington's threat to continue its trade embargo and other economic sanctions carried weight with Vietnam's leaders. After thirty years of devastation, Vietnam desperately needs massive aid to rebuild its economy.

Vietnam's closest allies—China and the Soviet Union—are continuing their wartime policy of keeping aid down to a token level. China has provided little outside of technical assistance. The Soviet Union has provided substantially more aid than China, but far from what the Vietnamese need. Moscow's commitment over the next five years is said to be about \$3 billion.

According to a report by David Andelman in the March 24 *New York Times*, Vietnam's economy is in critical condition. Last year the country imported \$432.5 million in goods from its seven major trading partners—the Soviet Union, Japan, Hong Kong, France, Denmark, Singapore, and Britain—while exporting only \$116.2 million.

While agricultural recovery is progressing, rice rationing continues and Hanoi calculates it will need \$900 million in foreign aid just to reach self-sufficiency in food production by 1980. A broadcast by Vietnam News Agency earlier this year indicated that millions of people in the southern provinces are still jobless.

Hanoi was granted a \$36 million loan from the International Monetary Fund—a fraction of what it needs. The Vietnamese government drafted investment rules allowing up to 49 percent foreign participation in a wide range of industries on the basis of profit-sharing.

The Vietnamese are hopeful that the projected negotiations in Paris will yield substantial aid from the United States. For the American ruling class the game plan is to create openings in Indochina for American investments. And Carter is at center stage taking bows as "global fence-mender." □

Thousands of Political Prisoners Released in India

By Ernest Harsch

Amid promises to end many of the repressive measures instituted under Indira Gandhi's dictatorship, Morarji Desai was sworn in March 24 as India's new prime minister.

The head of the Janata party came to power as a result of a massive vote against Gandhi's state of emergency in the elections held March 16-20. An estimated 200 million voters—the largest turnout in any Indian election—defeated Gandhi's Congress party, which had ruled the country since its independence in 1947. The party's two-thirds majority in the Lok Sabha (the lower house of Parliament) was cut to 153 seats out of a total of 542, considerably less than a third.

This vote reflected deep opposition to the twenty-one months of emergency rule, under which virtually all democratic rights were suspended, tens of thousands of political activists were jailed, and the press was shackled by rigid censorship.

The mass sentiment against Gandhi in both urban and rural areas was expressed by an Indian farmer, who told a reporter a few weeks before the elections, "Just because a man is poor and maybe cannot read does not mean that he cares nothing for his human rights. The Congress Government has tried to shut my mouth, and therefore the Congress loses my vote."

The pro-Moscow Communist party of India (CPI), which slavishly supported the state of emergency until shortly before the elections, was also trounced. Although the CPI won twenty-four seats in the Lok Sabha during the last general elections in 1971, it won only seven this time.

The Janata party campaigned on the slogan of "democracy versus dictatorship" and won 270 seats, just two short of a majority. But it is allied with Jagjivan Ram's Congress for Democracy (CFD), which secured twenty-eight seats. The CFD was formed in February by Ram and other Congress party leaders who split from Gandhi's party. The Janata party and CFD are also supported by the Communist party of India (Marxist), a Stalinist party aligned with neither Moscow nor Peking, which won twenty-two seats.

The massive vote for the Janata party and CFD does not reflect widespread support for their overall social and economic programs. Ved Mehta, a noted Indian scholar living in New York City, pointed out, "The vote was not necessarily for the Janata Party as it was against



DESAI: India's new prime minister.

Indira and her authoritarianism."

Accordingly, India's new bourgeois rulers have been forced to make significant concessions in an effort to consolidate support for their regime. In particular, they have revoked many of Gandhi's repressive measures.

Gandhi herself abruptly ended the state of emergency March 21 after she lost her parliamentary seat. Within days of the Janata party and CFD electoral victory, thousands of political prisoners still held throughout the country were being released, including George Fernandes, the Socialist party leader who won a seat on the Janata party ticket.

In the first official Janata party declaration after the elections, Surendra Mohan, a general secretary of the party, said that all political detainees, except for those held on "criminal" charges, would be freed. In discussing political prisoners, the Janata party has generally referred to those detained since the state of emergency was imposed in June 1975. Whether the estimated 30,000 to 40,000 alleged Naxalites* jailed by Gandhi before then will also be freed remains to be seen.

In addition, Mohan promised that Gandhi's antidemocratic amendments to the

* The term Naxalite generally refers to members or sympathizers of the Maoist Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist).

constitution would be voided and the Prevention of Publication of Objectional Matter Ordinance, which imposed strict press censorship, would be revoked.

In a March 22 dispatch from New Delhi, *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm noted, "Nevertheless, the party official [Mohan] did not go as far as some opposition supporters would have wanted him to on one emotion-laden issue. He said that the Maintenance of Internal Security Act, under which many people had been detained without trial, would be reviewed with a view to removing it from the statute books. Many would wish for instant annulment."

Despite these initial concessions, the new regime's aims are basically the same as Gandhi's—to defend capitalist rule. This will inevitably entail attacks on the struggles of workers and peasants for their full democratic rights and for improvements in their wretchedly low standards of living.

The new prime minister has had considerable experience in carrying out such tasks. A member of the Congress party since 1930, Morarji Desai served as home minister and chief minister of the state of Bombay (now Maharashtra and Gujarat) from 1947 to 1956. In a March 24 dispatch, Kamm recalled, "In 1956, when he was chief minister of Bombay and the city [of Bombay] was beset by language riots between Gujaratis and Maharashtrians, Mr. Desai was quick to call out the police—and many people were killed. Critics charged that Mr. Desai had ordered the police to shoot all troublemakers on sight."

The same year, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru brought Desai into the central government in New Delhi, naming him commerce minister. Two years later he became finance minister, a post he held until 1963. In 1967 Indira Gandhi named him deputy prime minister and finance minister. Desai was a member of what was known as the "Syndicate," a grouping of old Congress party leaders that Gandhi ousted in 1969 during a factional dispute. After leaving the Congress party, Desai established the Organisation Congress, which is now one of the components of the Janata party.

Jagjivan Ram, the leader of the CFD, was also a long-time Congress party stalwart. He held government posts for twenty-seven of the past thirty years, including the posts of defense minister and agriculture minister. Until his resignation from the Congress party in February, he

was a prominent supporter of Gandhi and publicly backed the state of emergency.

Two other groups within the Janata party, the Bharatiya Lok Dal and the Jan Sangh, also represent the interests of sectors of the Indian bourgeoisie and the landlord class. The Socialist party, the fourth component of the Janata party, helps provide the alliance with a "left" cover.

Despite the willingness of the new regime to uphold capitalism in India, commentators in the United States have expressed skepticism over its stability. An editorial in the March 21 *Washington Post* noted that "there are grounds to fear that the Janata opposition, if it comes to power, will have immense difficulty governing India."

The biggest difficulty facing the Janata party and CFD is controlling the Indian masses. After nearly two years of dictatorial rule, the working class and peasantry now have an opportunity to press forward their demands for basic human and economic rights. The ouster of the Gandhi regime has given them a sense of their potential strength and has greatly increased their expectations. Illusions in the new regime will be quickly dispelled if Desai tries to crack down.

To gain help in administering the country, Desai has already sought the assistance of the Congress party. He said that he hoped to have a "cordial" relationship with the Congress in Parliament. In her resignation statement, Gandhi promised "constructive cooperation" with the new regime. Since the Congress party still controls almost all the state legislative assemblies (there were no elections to them), such cooperation will be essential to Desai in the coming months.

In an apparent effort to help contain future labor struggles, Desai announced March 26 that George Fernandes would be named to the new cabinet. Fernandes, who led a massive strike by railway workers in May 1974, is one of India's most influential trade-union figures.

Although the American imperialists are uncertain about Desai's prospects, they see the election of the Janata party and CFD as an opportunity to advance their interests in India.

The *New York Times*, in a March 22 editorial, stated, "All indications from the victorious alliance, known as Janata, are that a friendly attitude can be expected toward the United States, with a noticeable cooling of feelings for the Soviet Union."

Conservative columnist Joseph Kraft declared in the March 22 *Washington Post*, "India—if it is not to fall apart, which is always a distinct possibility—will need massive doses of help. That suggests a turning to the United States and the world community for aid that was formerly disdained."

The Stalinist regime in Moscow, which

supported Gandhi for years and praised her state of emergency, has moved to try to minimize its diplomatic losses. The March 22 *Izvestia* raised criticisms of Gandhi, stating that she lost the elections because of "mistakes and excesses" committed

under the emergency. *Washington Post* correspondent Peter Osnos commented in the March 23 issue that "Moscow's swift criticism of Gandhi . . . shows that the Kremlin wants to waste no time in making amends" with the Janata party. □

Demonstrators Shot Down by Bhutto's Troops

Strikes Across Pakistan Demand New Election



BHUTTO: His supporters concede that "malpractices" may have occurred in election.

For the second time in two weeks, Pakistan's major cities were seriously affected by a general strike called by the opposition Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). The March 26 strike, called a hartal, closed many shops and businesses in Lahore, the country's capital, as well as in Karachi, Rawalpindi, Hyderabad, and other cities.

The regime of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto sent riot police to patrol many commercial sections, with army units standing by.

The strike was called to coincide with the opening of Bhutto's new National Assembly, which the PNA has charged was installed through massive vote rigging in the March 7 election. Although the PNA made a strong public showing in massive pre-election rallies and marches, it was credited with only 36 seats in the 200-member National Assembly. Bhutto's Pakistan People's party (PPP) claimed to have won 163 seats. The PNA's elected members boycotted the opening of the assembly.

The PNA, a rightist alliance of nine opposition parties, has demanded that new elections be held under the supervision of the military and the courts. The PNA has

also called for the release of all political prisoners and the lifting of the state of emergency that has been in effect since 1971.

The weeks leading up to the March 26 general strike were marked by demonstrations and clashes in a number of cities, particularly in Karachi, Pakistan's largest city and a PNA stronghold.

One-third of Karachi was placed under military control March 19 and an 8 p.m. curfew was imposed in two of the city's industrial districts. According to an Associated Press dispatch of the same day, "The curfew was ordered after demonstrators set fire to two Government-owned auto assembly plants, a movie theater and several cars and private buildings earlier today in the Landhi and Sind industrial districts."

In Lahore, several hundred lawyers marched through the city March 25, chanting slogans against the government. They protested the arrest of PNA leaders, as well as that of Amer Raza Khan, president of the High Court Bar Association, two of his associates, and eighty-four heads of bar groups in Punjab Province. They also denounced Bhutto's orders to police to shoot demonstrators on sight. Two days earlier, police firing tear gas clashed with thousands of demonstrators in the capital for about an hour.

The PNA has accused the regime of killing more than eighty persons during the demonstrations. A March 20 Associated Press dispatch reported that, according to casualty figures released by hospital sources, fifty-five persons were killed in Karachi alone in the previous two days. According to the same dispatch, a newspaper in Hyderabad reported that seventeen demonstrators in that city were killed when paramilitary forces fired into the crowds.

In the days before the March 26 strike, Bhutto arrested an estimated 200 leaders of the PNA. The PNA charged March 22 that more than 10,000 persons had been detained throughout the country.

Some of Bhutto's associates have conceded that "malpractices" had taken place during the elections. Bhutto has also offered to give the PNA some more seats in the National Assembly. But so far he has rejected the PNA's central demand that new elections be held. □

Czechoslovakia—Protest Spreads Despite Wave of Arrests

By Gerry Foley

One of the three designated spokesmen of Charter 77, Professor Jan Patočka, died of a cerebral hemorrhage March 13, a few days after being questioned for eleven hours by Czechoslovak political police.

The internationally prominent philosopher was sixty-nine years old. His health was known to be bad. According to relatives, it was gravely undermined by the campaign of police harassment against the first signers of Charter 77. The document appeals to the Czechoslovak authorities to respect the guarantees of human rights in the country's constitution and the international conventions to which the regime adheres.

Patočka was reportedly questioned about his meeting with Dutch foreign minister Max van der Stoep, who had been in Prague on a diplomatic trip. However, it was the Dutch politician who apparently initiated this encounter. Patočka made it clear in an interview given a few days before his death that the Charter 77 group did not intend to appeal to the Western governments:

We do not want various states, East and West, to indulge in mutual accusations and reproaches, or for any of them to demand anything from any other state. On the other hand, every free person should try to influence the East European states. [Included in a section of the interview published in the New York City Czech weekly newspaper *Americké Listy* March 18.]

Nonetheless, the fact that Patočka died in the circumstances he did after talking to a Western foreign minister tended to draw still more attention to the case. This may have increased the nervousness of the Czechoslovak government. It staged a major show of repressive force to prevent a display of sympathy with Patočka at his funeral. At the same time, it carried out a new roundup of supporters of Charter 77.

A graphic account of what happened at the funeral was published in the March 17 issue of *Auge*, the daily paper of the "interior" faction of the Greek Communist party, the more independent wing that Moscow has been trying to excommunicate since 1968. The dispatch, dated March 16, said:

Professor Jan Patočka . . . was buried this morning in the Brevnov cemetery in Prague. About a thousand persons came to the funeral, most of whom were arrested before or during the ceremony.

The authorities took special measures. They set up barricades around the cemetery. For more than two hours a helicopter flew over the site.



CZECH CP BOSS HUSAK

Thousands of uniformed or plainclothes police occupied key positions, while police officials photographed the entire process with long-range cameras. Professor Milan Hübl, who headed the Communist party's highest educational institution in 1968, marched in the procession, along with his daughter. He was arrested. A lot of young people taking pictures were also arrested.

Leading representatives of Charter 77 such as Jiri Hajek, Frantisek Kriegel, and Zdenek Mlynar could not attend the funeral, the correspondent reported, because "they have essentially been under house arrest these last ten days."

In a March 15 dispatch, *New York Times* correspondent Paul Hofmann wrote: "Police in uniform and plainclothes were reported to be guarding the approaches to his [Hajek's] home . . . barring all visitors."

Hajek was another of the three designated spokesmen of Charter 77. The other surviving representative, Vaclav Havel, has been held in prison since shortly after the charter was made public.

Auge's correspondent also reported that the funeral had been preceded by at least one raid:

It has become known that yesterday the police invaded a seminar room. Those present, psychiatrists and psychologists, had decided to hold a discussion of the work of Jan Patočka. The philosopher Ladislav Hejdanek and the art historian Vera Jirousova were arrested.

A number of other arrests on the eve of Patočka's funeral were reported in a March 16 Reuters dispatch. It mentioned Peter Uhl, a student leader during the Prague Spring and leading figure in the group around the magazine *Informacny Materialy*. The Stalinist press describes him as a Trotskyist.

Also reported arrested was Libuse Silhanova. She is the wife of a former Central Committee member, who replaced Dubcek temporarily as party head when the Czechoslovak leaders were taken to Moscow by the Soviet military following the occupation of the country.

Vera Jirousova, arrested in the raid on the seminar to discuss Patočka's work, is a former companion of Ivan Jirous, one of the defendants in the case against the rock band called "The Plastic People." Jirous was sentenced to eighteen months in prison on charges such as "demoralizing the youth."

Hejdanek, Uhl, Silhanova, and Jirousova are signers of Charter 77. In the week following Patočka's death another signer, Vaclav Cerny, was arrested. It is not yet clear if any of these five have been charged.

It is also not clear whether the psychiatrist Jiri Nemecek has been charged. He was arrested at the cemetery following the funeral. It is not clear either what happened to Hübl.

Czech officials tend not to report arrests of Charter 77 supporters or make clear what legal action they intend to take. Recently arrests came to light that had gone unnoticed for months. In a dispatch in the March 20-21 issue of *Le Monde*, Agence France-Press reported:

It has been learned that two other persons, Vladimir Lastovka and Ales Machacek, were arrested in late January and have been held in prison in northern Bohemia for distributing copies of Charter 77.

Apparently, the Czech authorities have decided to leave it vague what action they are considering. This attitude may be calculated to increase the pressure on the civil-rights activists, while avoiding definite actions that could be the focus of protests abroad. This may also reflect uncertainty and divisions in the ruling

group. But there have been indications that at least some of the top group would like to stage a frame-up trial against the Charter 77 group on some variety of treason charge.

For example, Vasil Bilak, one of the group of old-line Stalinist officials who called for the Soviet invasion, said in a speech to a public meeting of party officials and representatives of trade unions, schools, and cultural institutions on February 7:

Our successes are a thorn in the flesh of those who do not wish well to socialism and who would like to see disruption, chaos and dissatisfaction in our country. And so they have again placed their bets on a small handful of self-appointed and seditious who, on their bread-givers' orders, have knocked together a shameful, antistate, antisocialist and antipeople pamphlet, the so-called Charter 77. . . .

Our entire party and our people have expressed their firm stance. I mention this because in the West they are speculating about some kind of disunity in the CPCZ leadership. Obviously they abide by the proverb "What the old hag wanted, she dreamt about." There is firm unity in our party's leadership. Comrade Husak has great and absolute authority in the Central Committee, in our entire party and also among our people. [Husak was not originally among the old-line Stalinists who supported the invasion. He went over to the "normalizers" after the Soviet occupation.]

In its March 11 issue, the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* reported that the Czech press accused Charter 77 spokesman Vaclav Havel, imprisoned since January, of having taken money from "American and West German spy agencies." He was also said to be accused of having direct and indirect contacts with Pavel Tigrid, "a notorious agent of the CIA." Tigrid is a prominent figure in the Czech emigré press.

In the interview quoted earlier, Patočka took up the possibility of frame-up trials. He was asked: "Have the four dissidents jailed so far been accused of spying?"

Patočka replied:

They would very much like to pin a phony spy charge on us. For example, the case of this theatrical producer Ornest is astonishing. He has nothing to do with us. He did not sign the Charter. . . . They said on TV that he gave a package to a British diplomat. They got even that turned around. It was a Canadian diplomat, and he said that Ornest gave him the manuscript of an unpublished book and not any secret documents.*

The new wave of repression unleashed following Patočka's death has not, however, succeeded in stopping the activities or the growth of the protest movement. In the interview quoted above, Patočka pointed out:

* Since almost all respected Czech and Slovak writers have been put on the government's banned list, the bulk of creative literary production is circulated clandestinely or smuggled abroad to emigré publishers.

It is worthy of note that ordinary people have been turning to us, and it is wrong to say that we represent only a small elite movement. . . . These ordinary people also suffer continual violation of their human dignity, when their bosses treat them miserably.

Two days after Patočka's death, the Charter 77 group issued a new document, which concentrated on the regime's violations of the rights of workers. The statement had evidently been written before the philosopher's death, since it bore his signature. According to a dispatch published in the March 17 issue of *Le Monde*:

The document . . . drew attention to the abuses in economic and social life. . . . It denounced the discrimination against women, and noted widespread discontent on the part of wage earners in the work places.

On March 17, a new appeal by civil-rights supporters to the West European CPs was made public. It was signed by eleven former members of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak CP: Jiri Hajek, Zdenek Mlynar, Vaclav Slavik, Bohumil Simon, Josef Spacek, Frantisek

Kriegel, Jiri Judl, Oldrich Kaderka, Frantisek Vodslon, Valdimir Kadlec, and Jirina Zelenkova. The first four are former secretaries of the Central Committee. All except Spacek were signers of Charter 77.

The document denounced the harassment and intimidation of Charter 77 signers as contrary to "the spirit and conclusions" of the Berlin conference of European Communist parties in June 1976. It noted that this conference had called for "strict respect for the UN Declaration of Human Rights."

The authors of the statement said that the methods used against Charter 77 supporters were "discrediting socialism, not only in Czechoslovakia but throughout Europe." They advised the West European CPs: "These practices harm the interests of your parties and cannot be considered the internal affairs of the Czechoslovak Communist party." They called on these parties to "take all practical measures available to you to help the Czechoslovak Communist party act in accordance with the political spirit of the Berlin conference." (Quoted in the March 19 *Le Monde*.)

Appeal to Trade Unions in West

Dissidents Back Imprisoned Latvian Workers

[The following statement by the Soviet Committee to Oversee Implementation of the Helsinki Accords was published in the March 9 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Early last August, four Riga dock workers were convicted by the Supreme Tribunal of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Latvia, on charges of "fabricating slanders denigrating the State and the Soviet social system."

The workers had been arrested in May, following the "fish day strike" on the Riga waterfront. (Last spring, because of the meat shortage in our country, "fish days" were introduced. Meat was removed from the menus of the collective enterprises serving food, canteens, and restaurants for one to six days a week, which naturally caused dissatisfaction.)

Those who received three-year sentences were:

• Frolov, Sergei Ivanovich, born in 1946, father of two children aged five and three. Family address: Riga, 23 Linzu St.

• Varna, Janis Kristapovich, born in 1949, father of two children aged two and four. Family address: Saulkrasty, 8 Meja St.

• Larchenkov, Mikhail Stepanovich,

born in 1939. His thirteen-year-old child lives at the following address: Riga, 16 Elviras St., Apartment 2.

Goldberg, Andres Petrovich, born in 1936 and the father of three children aged fifteen, twelve and eight, was sentenced to a year and a half in prison. His children live at the following address: Tsesiss, 18 Riga St., Apartment 3.

All of the workers are now being held in ordinary prison camps in Latvia, along with common-law prisoners.

By publishing this information, we hope to draw attention to the fate of these four workers, not only from the governments that signed the Helsinki accords, but from public opinion in those countries as well. In particular, we are appealing to the trade unions in Europe, the U.S., and Canada.

Signed by the following members of the Group:

Lyudmila Alekseyeva

Aleksandr Ginzburg

Malva Landa

Yuri Orlov

October 30, 1976

A subscription to *Intercontinental Press* is still a BEST BUY.

Check rates inside cover.

A Discussion with Plyushch, Fainberg, Pomian, and Ianakakis

[The French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* invited four prosocialist dissidents from Eastern Europe to take part in a round table, publishing the transcript of their remarks in its March 3 issue. Participants in the discussion were:

[Leonid Plyushch, the Ukrainian mathematician released from a Soviet psychiatric prison-hospital in January 1976 following an international campaign in his behalf.

[Victor Fainberg, a Soviet worker militant who took part in a demonstration in Red Square in 1968 to protest the invasion of Czechoslovakia, for which he was ordered to undergo "psychiatric" treatment.

[Krzysztof Pomian, a philosopher and historian who has been active in the opposition movement in Poland since 1956, leading to his expulsion from the Polish CP in 1966 and to dismissal from his university post in 1968.

[Ilios Ianakakis, a university professor who joined the Czechoslovak CP in 1948 and was a supporter of the Prague Spring.

[The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Ianakakis. The year 1977 has seen profound changes occurring simultaneously in all the Eastern European countries. This presents us with two types of problems: One has to do with analyzing what is happening in these countries; the other has to do with the response of the European left.

It is no longer possible to remain indifferent or to think that it is enough to make sporadic and ephemeral statements. Now it is necessary to take a position on the two fundamental questions of democracy and human rights, which are raised by all the opposition currents in Eastern Europe.

Plyushch. After 1956 the liberalization began. This should not be confused with "democratization," because it occurred in the same period as the crushing of the Hungarian revolution. The end of intellectual bondage came next, but so did the growth of the Khrushchev personality cult and increasing repression. Because of the fact that freedom of thought was being restored at the same time that repression was being intensified, resistance grew up. In its early stage, samizdat took on a literary form.

Next came the clandestine literary works by Sinyavsky and Daniel, their trial and the protests against it, the repression of

these protests, and a strengthening of the resistance. The trial of Ginzburg and Galanskov came in the same period as the Prague Spring. This is what pushed our oppositionists to the left. After the Prague Spring was crushed, all of the halfhearted warriors, like Yevtushenko, beat a retreat. The only ones who remained were those who really wanted to fight.

In 1972, after a series of provocations, a pogrom was launched in the Ukraine. It was aimed first at the dissidents, then at the artists, and finally at the party apparatus itself. This was the beginning of a conscious attempt to "Russify" the Ukraine. The pogrom was extended to the entire country, and before 1976, nearly every movement had been smashed, except for the Jewish movement. But at the same time, nearly all of the currents began to unite.

Ianakakis. What were your demands, and what was their significance?

Plyushch. In the Soviet constitution, nearly every right is guaranteed except the right to strike and the right to form other parties. And it was precisely the illusions about Khrushchev that gave us a chance to see how this constitution could be utilized. The civil rights movement, which was centered in Moscow, but which also existed in other places, began to exercise the right of freedom of the press. This became samizdat.

After that, we tried to win the right to meet and demonstrate. This resulted in the introduction of some amendments to the penal code that further restricted freedom of movement. The authorities responded to our demand for freedom of speech with the law prohibiting "slander." This is what has made us all into "lawyers."

This year we have put the right to form organizations on the agenda. And now, because of what has happened in Poland, I hope that the right to strike and to form independent unions will become issues.

Ianakakis. So the opposition movement in the USSR developed on the basis of appealing to the constitution.

Plyushch. Yes, but now, because of the Helsinki accords, we have a different legal basis. We can prove to the authorities that they are the ones who are breaking the laws, and we will make every effort to show the people that the laws have never worked to their benefit. The problem we face is that which the European countries faced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—human rights.

Pomian. Our experience in Poland has been very different. It all began in 1955, with an economic crisis on the one hand, and a political crisis on the other. The 1956 movement was extremely widespread; at its highest point, the revolt of the working class extended throughout the country. It should be noted that at the time a large part of the intelligentsia took part in the workers' struggle to win their rights. At this time, there was a period of freedom of the press the like of which has not been seen since.

At the end of 1956, a new leadership team took over, and a series of deepgoing changes were made, inaugurating a period of relative calm that lasted until 1964 or 1965. What is significant about this is that up to 1964, a dialogue with the authorities was still considered possible.

There was one document that had a huge impact—the "Open Letter to the Party," by Kuron and Modzelewski, two party members. This letter served as the inspiration for whole waves of opposition in 1966 and 1968, which helps explain the authorities' reaction.

March 1968 represented a grave setback for the Polish opposition, which at that time had only a vague sense of what type of democratization it was struggling for. An anti-Semitic campaign was launched amid severe repression, so that by the time of the events in Czechoslovakia, Poland was already "pacified." I am sure that the events in Czechoslovakia would have turned out differently if the Polish "May '68" had not ended in defeat. Still, if the opposition began to really develop after 1968, this was because it had been able to learn the lessons of this defeat.

In 1970, there was a three-month strike wave. Gierek replaced Gomulka, and this constituted a victory. Nothing remained of Gomulka's economic policy. However, this was followed, on the one hand, by the deepening of the twenty-year-old economic crisis, reflected by the large number of strikes between 1971 and 1976. On the other hand, the intellectuals, who had remained silent during the events of 1970, returned to the political scene. The opposition, which had started out with a perspective of socialism with a human face, became aware of the political, economic, and social issues arising from class contradictions.

And so, having begun with the assumption that socialism could be democratized through working within the party, the opposition became radicalized and transformed into an open opposition beginning in 1975, when it realized that we had a

constitution as Stalinist as the Soviet one. This was discovered just as the authorities were getting ready to turn our constitution into a useful weapon. There were forty thousand letters and petitions demanding that it not be changed. That's a huge figure.

This campaign around the constitution posed the problem of democratic freedoms in political terms. The right to strike, and freedom of union activity, are now raised as something that should be taken for granted.

Ianakis. To add to what Plyushch and Pomian have said, it should be pointed out that there was a time lag between the events of 1956, a lack of synchronization. In Czechoslovakia, aside from the shock effect produced by the Twentieth Congress, the situation was totally frozen. The period leading up to the 1960s was the harshest the Czechs had ever known.

Then, three kinds of problems arose: The economic crisis and its consequences emerged—at least to some degree—along with the social and cultural problems, and the Slovak question. The common denominator, the focal point for everything, was the question of rehabilitating the victims of the purges. This was called “liberalization,” and had nothing to do with democratization.

In Czechoslovakia, a reformist attitude predominated. Unlike in Poland, there were no movements outside the party, such as strikes. On the contrary, the entire opposition was inside the party, where a tremendous amount of work was done. The social crisis was reflected in the crisis within the party. Accordingly, the period from 1962 to 1967 was one of liberalization—one step forward, two steps back, in which there were several stages. There was the Slovak national question, which launched the movement that was to lead to the “Prague Spring”; as well as the economic problems; and work among the intellectuals.

The “Prague Spring” was a historical accident, the product of a crisis within the party leadership. The crisis was bottled up at first. It was only after March 1968 that it spread throughout the society. Prior to this, there had been a vast expansion of sociological studies. The knowledge about the problems in the society that had been gained through these studies played a leading role in this reformism. With freedom of the press, workers' participation in the management of industry, the freeing of the unions from the party's grip, and the granting of autonomy to the youth movements, the party's monolithic structure began to crack. But unlike in Poland and Hungary, no one was killed. Everything proceeded peacefully.

This is what worried the Soviet leaders, whose intervention was prompted by two events: the coming congress of the Com-



LEONID PLYUSHCH

unist party of Czechoslovakia, which was to codify all the democratic measures that were going to be put into practice. Within a very short time, the entire population had been affected by a growing political consciousness. The unions began to organize strikes; the workers were raising demands. Self-management was the central question.

But this period of time was too short to allow for the restructuring of society. The constitution had not yet been changed. There was a huge gap between what was permitted by law and what was permitted in practice. This laid the basis for the process of “normalization.” The gains could be quickly swept away because they had not been codified by law.

The party underwent a huge purge. This is how they managed to get things back into the old channels. The unions and youth organizations went back to their traditional functions. The political police assumed a predominant role; they became a state within a state, dictating policy to what was left of the party's liberal wing.

A characteristic of the movement today is that reformism—the idea that such societies can be reformed through working within the party—has been discredited. Another characteristic is that the role played by the USSR looms much larger in the minds of the opposition and of the population as a whole.

What has come on the agenda is coordinating all that is going on in Eastern Europe, so as to overcome the unevenness that has been disastrous for our struggle in the past. This is one way in which the present situation differs from previous ones.

Pomian. The central question today is

the relationship between the various social forces. From this standpoint, something absolutely unprecedented is happening in Poland. The movement of the intellectuals for democracy has joined forces with the workers movement in a way that has never happened before.

This has several consequences. First, the effect of the intellectuals' alliance with the workers movement is that a large number of them have completely cut their ties with the authorities. This means an increased isolation of the party apparatus as a whole. The fundamentally anti-working-class nature of the regime has been exposed; so has the myth that “this regime is bad for the intellectuals, but it may be good for the workers.”

In the twenty years from 1956 to 1976, more workers were killed than in the period between the two wars. Since June, there has been open repression against the workers. The masks have been ripped off, creating a new psychological climate. The loss of these last few illusions also helps to explain the demonstrations of solidarity with Sakharov and with the Czechs. As a matter of fact, for a very long time, what prevented people from taking a position on what was happening in other countries was the belief that if we didn't interfere in other people's business, this would protect us from Soviet intervention. I think that this myth has been shattered, at least for the active minority.

Plyushch. In the USSR, the peasantry is the most oppressed class. They have not experienced any resistance movements, except for those of a nationalist or religious type. The next most oppressed is the working class—not in the material sense. I earned less money than a metalworker, but I had access to more information, and had connections throughout the country. This is why there is no organized workers movement.

The intellectuals have such distaste for “socialism” that they think that all they have to do is bow down before the working class.

Another mistaken notion held by the intelligentsia is that what we are doing is not political, we are merely defending human rights. This is both true and false. There is a lack of understanding of the fact that this small group of dissidents will not be able to accomplish anything without the support of a mass movement. In this respect, the Czech and Polish comrades are politically much more advanced than we are. I hope that through Western radio broadcasts, the Soviet working class will be able to benefit from what is happening in Poland, and that our dissidents, whether left or liberal, will understand that they must turn to the working class. For there are many more strikes than the oppositionists know about.

What is not sufficiently understood is that corruption and petty-bourgeois ideol-

ogy pervades every layer of society, particularly the working class. Anti-Semitism and the anti-intellectual feelings of the workers are exploited to discredit the intelligentsia.

Fainberg. I have the advantage of having been part of the Soviet working class, and sharing some of its strengths without sharing all of its weaknesses. I had a deep distrust of intellectuals, who I thought did not understand the problems of the working class and were concerned only with their own interests. The workers have a tendency to blame the inefficient organization of production, the waste of their know-how, and the consequences of this on their standard of living, on the intellectuals.

In 1955 I was working in an experimental plant. At the beginning of the month, the old-timers told us that, although we had no materials, we had to pretend to work in order to keep the foreman happy. On the other hand, at the end of the month, we were forced to work overtime without additional pay. Then, the work was done under disastrous safety conditions, and the workers had the feeling the intelligentsia did not care at all about this.

Ianakakis. The Western left is playing a deceptive game with words by talking about "attacks on democratic freedoms." This implies that such freedoms exist, since socialism is supposed to equal freedom. This obfuscation will serve to further isolate the oppositionists and increase the risk of a major defeat.

What the oppositionists are demanding is freedom of speech for all social categories. This is the precondition for advancing toward socialism.

The term "socialism" can no longer be used today for the Eastern European states.

Plyushch. Neither can the term "degenerated workers states."

Ianakakis. Right. The events are forcing us, in the West, to make painful historical revisions, to get rid of our fetishes. People in East Europe have a responsibility to tell the truth about these things to the Western left.

Plyushch. Not just to the left, but to the peasants and workers as well, to show them how much our freedom depends on their social advance.

Fainberg. The tragedy for us is that we are isolated. We who are in exile in the West should ally ourselves with the workers movement. We should publish a newspaper of our own that would combat the illusions about the USSR. Such a newspaper would be a means of uniting the left opposition in Eastern Europe.

The movement for human rights in the

USSR has not made up its mind to engage in political action, and thus has not reached to the working class. At first it was just the opposite; clandestine groups were formed on a clearly political basis, including intellectuals and workers. But because of the repression, these groups did not survive for more than a few months. It was the failure of such clandestine organizations that led to the movement of today.

But the failure of these groups was not only due to their being broken up by the police. It was also related to the difficulty of developing a political program in the absence of information and opportunities to exchange ideas. The human-rights movement is a force fighting simply to establish the basis for a free discussion. In the background, though, programmatic discussions have already begun.

It is precisely the representatives of the opposition in exile who can play the very important role of formulating a program. This is why we need our own newspaper. The Soviet workers' hesitancy about joining the movement for democratic rights stems from their uncertainty about what this movement can do for them, and what program it is putting forward.

Ianakakis. The left must find new bridges to people in the Eastern European countries, and show an understanding of their problems, so that they will not think everything has to be done through the established powers in the West, and so that they know that the left is a force that will assume its responsibilities. The left forces could send delegations to meet with the oppositionists.

Plyushch. That is why we must force the Communists to help us.

Ianakakis. By all means. We have to force them to do something more than make statements. We have to turn to the SP as well. The SP thinks that by making a few statements they have cleared their name, just like the CP. The events in St. Nazaire with Bukovsky taught us a big political lesson in this respect. We have to get rid of this feeling that Billancourt is a lost cause, if we want to avoid another Munich for all the opposition forces in Eastern Europe. Belgrade¹ should not be left a matter for governments alone, but be taken up by the left as a fundamental question.

Plyushch. One thing we can be sure of is that the governments will make deals at the oppositionists' expense. Carter's stance is strictly a diplomatic maneuver. The organizations on the left must force their governments to take principled stands.

1. A conference scheduled to meet in June in the Yugoslav capital to review compliance with the Helsinki accords.

Ianakakis. It is hard to believe that a workers' delegation has not yet gone to Radom to shake hands with the workers, or donated a single franc, even as a symbolic gesture, to the solidarity fund, and that as yet not a single delegation has met with the signers of Charter 77.

Plyushch. Commissions of inquiry must be sent.

Ianakakis. We have had enough of forever playing this diplomatic game.

Plyushch. Because in this game we always lose. We must work to undermine the myths that have grown up around Eastern Europe, condemn the agreements between the USSR and fascist countries like Iran, and expose the bourgeoisies that are ready to sell us out.

Amnesty International has declared 1977 the year of prisoners of conscience. We must offer our solidarity to the Iranians, Chileans, and others on the same platform. Winning amnesty for political prisoners is a long-term fight. We must get special status for political prisoners recognized internationally. This is what the Soviet prisoners are fighting for.

Fainberg. We have learned from experience that the only effective way to help Soviet political prisoners is through boycott actions. Where is the old tradition of working-class solidarity in the case of the Soviet Marxist worker Borisov?² □

2. Vladimir Borisov, a Marxist dissident and human-rights activist facing an indefinite term of confinement in a Soviet psychiatric hospital-prison, was released March 4.

Moving? Let us know... before you go.

To be sure you don't miss any copies, please notify us of your new address five weeks before you move.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS
P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station
New York, NY 10014

A Straitjacket for Spain's Unions

By Gerry Foley

As the government of Adolfo Suárez moves closer to holding parliamentary elections, its relations with the Spanish Social Democrats have sharply deteriorated.

The rift opened up after the government's decision February 23 to allow a right-wing splitoff from the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE—Spanish Socialist Workers party, the main Social Democratic formation) to run in the elections under the party name. The Social Democrats suspected that this move was part of an operation to create a renovated official party in the guise of a "broad center-left coalition." In protest, they withdrew from negotiations with the government, hinting that they might boycott the elections.

According to *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*, a Madrid weekly magazine close to the PSOE, Suárez allowed the anti-Communist splinter group (called the "históricos") to use the party's name so that he could include them in his "coalition" as representatives of the Social Democracy and the "democratic left" in general.

The formation of the Federación Social Independiente (FSI—Independent Social Federation) in early March tended to confirm this suspicion about Suárez's political plans. At the same time, the new labor code adopted on March 9 indicated that Suárez intends to try to maintain the fascist union structure in a remodeled form.

On March 21, the General Workers Union (UGT), the semilegal federation controlled by the PSOE, withdrew from the Coordinating Committee of Trade-Union Organizations (COS), breaking its bloc with the CP-controlled Workers Commissions (CO) and the ex-Catholic independent union USO (Workers Trade Union).

The justification the UGT gave for this move was that the CO and USO members had not resigned the posts they won in the vote for *enlaces* and *jurados*, the two lowest echelons of the fascist union structure and the only elective ones.

In the March 26 issue of *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*, UGT General Secretary Nicolás Redondo gave the following explanation for his organization's withdrawal from the COS:

The UGT thinks that it is necessary now to propose a mass response to the measures adopted ten days ago by the government. It intends to intensify its efforts by carrying out a campaign for trade-union freedom. This campaign necessarily has to be centered on demand-

ing the resignation of all *enlaces*, *jurados* . . . etc. in order to push for the liquidation of the CNS [National Federation of Syndicates, the fascist union structure]. It must focus also on abolition of the compulsory union dues [paid to the CNS]; the return of our property, which was seized in 1939; and the restitution to the workers of the assets accumulated in the name of trade-unionism since then [i.e., the property of the CNS]; full recognition of the right to strike and freedom of action for trade unions; and recognition of democratically elected plant committees as the only bodies that can represent the workers in negotiations with the bosses. . . .

The point of difference [between the UGT and the CO and USO] . . . is that for us you cannot talk about liquidating the CNS without calling for resigning such positions as *enlaces* and *jurados*. Holding such posts represents an *objective contradiction*. This contradiction has been reflected in the factories and localities, obstructing the development of the COS on these levels. This is why the UGT thinks that a campaign for trade-union freedom can be waged effectively only by resigning these positions. Unless this is done, our freedom of action will be seriously limited.

The new trade-union code made public by the government March 9 includes such provisions as requiring a three-fourth's vote of all workers in a plant to declare a legal strike. It bans all political and solidarity strikes, as well as strikes demanding a change in a contract.

The government is authorized to intervene to halt a strike if it thinks a "serious situation" has arisen. There is no restriction on bosses bringing in scabs from outside the area where a strike is going on. Bosses are authorized to fire workers for participating in illegal strikes, or in any actions that interfere with the progress of work.

The government avoided the question of trade-union representation entirely. At the same time it has begun to phase out demagogic fascist provisions designed to give the appearance that "national solidarity" at least guaranteed workers job security.

Redondo commented:

Despite its promises, the government has once again acted in a unilateral way, yielding to the pressure of the employers and pushing aside the real representatives of the workers movement. The new strike regulations . . . the provision about "flexibility of workforces" designed to make it easier to make mass layoffs, and other measures are a direct attack on the legitimate interests of the workers and at the same time reflect the government's lack of interest in negotiating the transition to free unionism with the union federations.

One of the dangers represented by the maintenance of the vast, wealthy, and corrupt fascist union bureaucracy was illustrated by the arrests in the case of the late January murders of lawyers for the Workers Commissions.

In its March 16 issue, *Le Monde* quoted Police Chief José María Calleja Peinado as saying that the killings were the result of a union conflict. One of those charged was Francisco Albadalejo, secretary of the CNS transport union in Madrid. At the time of the raid on the CO offices, a transport strike was in progress, led by Joaquín Navarro of the Workers Commissions. Navarro, who was not in the CO offices when the commandos struck, was supposed to be the actual target of the killers.

The use of gangster methods to maintain government unions is a common tactic. It is an ominous sign that the police chief chose to portray this murder as part of a conflict in the labor movement.

The government's moves on both the political and union levels have apparently convinced the PSOE that Suárez does not intend to open up room for them to play a role in either the parliamentary arena or the labor movement. In its March 21 issue, the *Wall Street Journal*, the main American business paper, made a similar assessment:

In the past, government officials had said privately that they favored a strong Socialist Party as a means of containing the Spanish Communists. Now, however, most analysts believe the government is trying to promote a broad centrist grouping that would isolate the Marxist left [including the PSOE]. . . .

In the March 19 issue of the Barcelona weekly *El Mundo*, Rafael and Angel Gómez Parra offered an explanation of why the government might be less interested in negotiating with the reformist workers parties:

What has led the government to push ahead . . . without waiting to negotiate with the COS is that in recent months this organization has proved incapable of controlling the workers. . . .

The CO's famous theses that a conflict lasting more than a week can only favor the bosses or that hard-fought conflicts only pave the way for a "reactionary coup" has not reduced either the duration or militancy of strikes. This line has been successful only in keeping strikes in individual factories and branches of industry from spreading. . . .

A detailed study of the most important labor conflicts in the last three months . . . shows that the number of hours lost is essentially the same as in the first quarter of last year, when there was a general strike in Madrid.

As an example of what has been happening, the authors pointed to the Roca Radiadores strike in Barcelona, where the CO proposed that the workers go back while it continued "negotiations." The workers not only rejected this proposal but decided to elect their own representatives in general assemblies to do the negotiating. □

Carter's Middle East Specialty

By David Frankel

It took Jimmy Carter about ten days to apply to the Middle East his familiar campaign ploy of speaking on every side of an issue. When he was finished, the desired result had been achieved. The drive for negotiations between the Arab regimes and Israel has once again been invested with an aura of seriousness, as if it might produce significant changes in the Middle East—perhaps even a genuine peace settlement.

Carter began on March 7 by calling for an agreement that would guarantee Israel "defensible borders"—the Israeli code words for annexation of large chunks of the Arab territories seized during the 1967 war.

Two days later, he reversed himself. He insisted that only "minor adjustments" should be made in the 1967 borders, although he also suggested that Israeli "defense lines may or may not conform in the foreseeable future to those legal borders."

Finally, on March 16, he made a third statement on the issue of borders. "That is a matter to be negotiated between the Arab countries on the one side and Israel on the other," he said.

In the end, the operation left the desired vague impression that Carter wanted to overcome the impasse in Mideast negotiations, and that he was putting pressure on both sides to achieve progress. It was the same technique of creating the expectation of change that won Carter the 1976 presidential election.

Carter danced around the Palestinian question with similar fancy footwork. First, he made a series of moves designed to give the impression that he was leaning in the direction of recognizing the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and even of backing the formation of some type of Palestinian state or "homeland."

On March 15, the White House cleared the way for an invitation to the PLO to attend a reception for Carter at the United Nations. According to a report in the March 16 *Washington Post*, American officials said the decision was made at "the highest levels" in Washington, and with "full awareness" that an invitation to the PLO was involved.

The following day, White House press secretary Jody Powell went through the motions of denying the obvious. Powell claimed that U.S. officials were in "no position to dictate the guest list" at Carter's reception, even though the PLO



has been excluded from all previous American diplomatic functions.

Also on March 16, Carter himself spoke out on the Palestinian issue, substituting the word "homeland" for the traditional phrase used by American diplomats—"the legitimate interests" of the Palestinians.

The Palestinians, Carter said, "have never yet given up their publicly professed commitment to destroy Israel. This has to be overcome.

"There has to be a homeland provided for the Palestinian refugees who have suffered for many, many years. . . ."

This statement was calculated to fan hopes that Carter would support the formation of some type of Palestinian state if the PLO would recognize Israel. But on March 17, Carter suggested that the Palestinian "homeland" he had in mind could be King Hussein's Jordan—a position favored by the Israeli regime. "I think some provision has got to be made for the Palestinians. In the framework of the nation of Jordan or by some other means," Carter said.

Finally, Carter made it clear that the crucial concession would have to be made by the PLO before discussions could even begin. He told reporters after his UN reception that there would be no further contact between his administration and the PLO "until the PLO changes its attitude toward Israel."

Meanwhile, the Israeli regime continues

to hold to its hard line. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin declared March 13: "Without any qualification, Israel will not return to the lines that existed before the 1967 war."

Zionist settlements in the occupied territories continue to grow, and new outposts are being established. *Washington Post* correspondent H.D.S. Greenway pointed out in a March 7 dispatch from Jerusalem:

"There are advisers to the Israeli prime minister who view the next decade as a time of maximum pressure on Israel but, they argue, if Israel can hold fast, the West's dependence on Arab oil will begin to lessen by the 1980s as new sources of energy are developed. Meanwhile, Israel can buy time by reaching limited agreements with the Arabs. . . ."

Will Carter put pressure on the Israelis to change their intransigent stance? The Arab capitalist regimes are relying on this, and Carter, like Kissinger before him, is clearly encouraging this belief. *New York Times* columnist James Reston suggested March 18 that Carter was going so far in putting pressure on Israel that "the lines are being drawn for what promises to be a bitter debate, both between the Executive and the Congress, and between Washington and Jerusalem."

It is a fact that a debate among American foreign policy experts already exists on this issue. Former Under Secretary of State George W. Ball, for example, has strongly urged Washington to "insist" on Israeli withdrawal in return for recognition by the Arab regimes.

In contrast, the former senior Middle East intelligence analyst for the Air Force, Joseph Churba, said in an article in the February 28 *New York Times*: "The proponents of an American-authored comprehensive settlement have maintained since the 1967 war that the Arabs are growing more impatient, that the Palestinians are desperate, that the region is a powder keg. However, there need be no explosion if Israel is strong, and so perceived by the Arabs and Russians, and as long as we do not allow ourselves to be stampeded into precipitous actions."

Regardless of these differences of opinion in some imperialist circles, however, American policy has not wavered up to now. Ambiguous hints have been dropped to encourage the Arab regimes, Rabin has been denied one or two weapons that he would like to buy, and an occasional well-publicized reprimand from Washington to Tel Aviv has made headlines. But in the meantime, billions of dollars in American aid each year maintain Israel's absolute military superiority in the region and enable it to hold on to its conquered territories.

What the American capitalists want in the Middle East is stability. They rely on Israel as a bulwark of counterrevolution even more than in the past, in light of the instability of the Sadat regime in Egypt.

This means that Carter must continue to pump arms and money into Israel. A public campaign for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories would have the drawback of endangering support in the United States for that huge aid package.

By dangling in front of the Arab regimes the promise of putting pressure on Israel sometime in the future, Washington has succeeded in getting them to lean heavily on the PLO. The most obvious result so far has been the widely publicized reconciliation between PLO leader Yasir Arafat and King Hussein of Jordan. Hussein was responsible for the slaughter of at least 10,000 Palestinians during the September 1970 civil war in Jordan.

The PLO is also under strong pressure to change its call for a Palestinian state to replace Israel, thus giving de facto recognition to the Zionist state. The fact that the recent meeting of the Palestine National Council—the PLO's parliament in exile—refused to change its position on this was an important indication of the continuing militancy in the ranks of the organization.

However, this fight is far from over. *Washington Post* correspondent Thomas W. Lippman quoted one delegate who described the decision as maintaining a posture of militancy "until a suitable offer is received."

Recognition by the PLO would be of incalculable value to the Zionist state, which is currently viewed by most of the world's people as being in the same league with the apartheid regime in South Africa. As things stand now, the PLO is being urged to recognize Israel in order to gain a place in the negotiations. Such recognition would undercut the only real leverage the PLO has—its ability to mobilize the Palestinian masses.

Nor would such recognition assure the PLO a seat at the negotiations. Both the American imperialists and the Israeli regime would prefer to bypass the PLO and deal directly with the Arab governments. If the PLO discredits itself sufficiently among its own militant supporters by pursuing the mirage of a compromise with Israel, it will be that much easier for the governments involved to ignore it.

Syrian President Hafez al-Assad has already raised the possibility of a Geneva conference convened without the PLO in attendance. But whether the PLO attends or not, one thing is certain: such a conference will not bring peace.

No matter what type of agreement is reached, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians will be left living under Israeli rule. They will continue to struggle for their rights, and their repression will continue to outrage the rest of the Arab world.

Moreover, Israel will continue to intervene in the countries that surround it, just as it did by invading Egypt in 1956 and 1967, by threatening to invade Jordan when King Hussein's rule was in danger in

1970, and by supporting the rightists in the Lebanese civil war.

There is no escaping the fact that Israel was established through the dispossession of a whole people. No agreements with the

Arab rulers can suppress this reality. It will continue to reassert itself until the original cause of the Mideast conflict is removed, and a single Palestinian state in which both Jews and Arabs can live is established. □

The Strike Wave in the Netherlands

[The March 17 issue of *Inprecor* contains a report on the "New Rise of Workers Struggles in Northern Europe," from which the following has been excerpted.]

The official objective of the three weeks of strikes in the Netherlands in February 1977—the biggest strikes the country has seen in decades—was to win application of the interprofessional agreement on the sliding scale (which has been in effect since 1971) which the employers have tried to eliminate for 1977, and to win a more than 2% wage increase to compensate for previous losses in purchasing power.

The sliding scale functions very partially and insufficiently in the Netherlands. The adjustment to the increase in the cost of living occurs with nine months' delay, which in a period of rapid inflation means important wage losses for the workers. The trade-union movement has no possibility of controlling calculation of the retail price index, which is worked out solely by the government and is often manipulated in a scandalous manner (in 1976 some price increases were deliberately left out of the calculation of the index; there is also a possibility that the recent increase in health insurance payments and hospital costs will also be eliminated from the calculation).

Nevertheless, the Dutch workers and unions consider that this gain, despite its inadequacies, does give some protection against the erosion of purchasing power. Thus, when the employers announced during the negotiations to renew contracts that the July 1 automatic adjustment of wages to the rise of the official price index between October 1976 and April 1977 would not be applied, this was regarded as a real provocation.

The second union demand relates to an overall gross wage increase of 2% for the mass of wage earners, an increase which was also rejected by the employers' associations. These associations then broke off negotiations with the unions.

The strikes came in two waves. The first was unleashed on February 16. By February 18 some 40,000 workers were on strike. Big demonstrations were held in Rotterdam (25,000), Utrecht (10,000), and Eindhoven (several thousand) on February 16. The following day there were mass demonstrations in The Hague, and the day after that (the first day of the strike in earnest)

there was a demonstration in Amsterdam.

This first strike wave had been supported by all the union federations and opposed by all the employers. But the latter were surprised by the combativity of the workers. The paralysis of the ports of Rotterdam and Amsterdam and the several-hours-long strike of the streetcar drivers in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Utrecht (who do not have the right to strike) broke up the employers' front. The KLM airlines company, with its 17,000 workers and employees, and the Ahold food trust, with employment rolls of 15,000, were the first to capitulate. The strike of several daily newspapers led the employers in the printing industry to reopen negotiations with the unions. A wildcat strike broke out in three bicycle companies—the only significant instance in which the union leaders were outflanked—and the same night the unions involved recognized the strike.

The employers then decided to reopen negotiations and gave in on the question of the sliding scale for 1977, while reserving the possibility of bringing the point up again in 1978. But they refused to grant the 2% increases.

Then there was a new surprise: Despite the fact that the Protestant unions broke the unity of the trade-union front, strikes spread in a second wave, affecting selected companies. Workers in the ports of Rotterdam and Amsterdam again played a leading role, as they had during the first wave. This time there was no generalized accord, but rather accords by industry (and sometimes by company). But in the great majority of cases, the 2% increases were granted.

It may thus be said that the Dutch workers won a victory. But the victory is limited, since the demands advanced were already the result of a compromise, since the 2% wage increases have been accompanied by productivity increases that average 4%, and above all since the trade-union leaderships appear prepared to negotiate, during the coming year, over limiting the sliding scale to the "purified" index from which certain price increases (public services, social insurance charges, etc.) have been eliminated by government decision. The workers will thus have to exercise great vigilance to prevent new erosion of their purchasing power next year. □

Carter Readies New Offensive Against 'Illegal Aliens'

By Steve Wattenmaker

"Speak softly and carry a big stick," appears to be Washington's emerging strategy for controlling the flow of undocumented workers—so-called illegal aliens—into the United States.

President Carter is replacing vocal Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) chief Leonard F. Chapman, Jr. with Houston City Controller Lionel Castillo. Chapman, a former Marine commandant, recently made headlines by calling undocumented workers "a flood—a human tide that is going to engulf our country," while Castillo is reported by the *Christian Science Monitor* to have "helped organize Mexican immigrants."

Yet behind the window-dressing, Carter has endorsed the substance of proposed changes designed to choke off unofficial immigration across U.S. borders once and for all.

The number of undocumented workers in the United States is impossible to estimate. The Immigration Service claims there are 8.2 million residing in the country and another half-million to a million entering each year. But these figures are generally regarded with some skepticism as being influenced by the agency's need to justify its annual budget requests.

While workers without papers come into the United States from at least seventy countries, most come from Mexico and remain in the Southwest.

Mexico's high unemployment and relative poverty—an average yearly income of \$700 compared to \$5,000 in the United States—has always driven Mexican workers, especially agricultural workers, north across the Rio Grande in search of jobs and higher pay.

Since the world economic slump that began in 1974, conditions in Mexico have grown even worse. In rural areas and in towns along the U.S. border, unemployment is as high as 50%. Devaluation of the Mexican peso in 1976 drove prices up as much as 60%. Inflation is running at an annual rate of more than 20%.

But the economic downturn affected the United States as well, dimming the possibility of Mexicans without papers earning a living north of the border. Of the 766,600 persons deported by the INS in 1975, only 30% had jobs. A Labor Department study found that those who are hired make half the hourly wage of American workers.

For years Washington used INS agents—"la migra"—to control the flow of Mexican workers into the United States.

When domestic unemployment was low, the Border Patrol would look the other way as Mexicans were recruited as cheap labor. When unemployment climbed, la migra would simply tighten the border and step up deportation raids.

Now, with high levels of unemployment becoming a permanent feature of the American economy, the government is seeking to cut back both legal and "illegal" immigration. Congress took the first step last October by passing the Eilberg bill, which slashed immigration quotas for Western Hemisphere countries and prohibited children who are American citizens from sponsoring parents who wish to immigrate.

The most far-reaching sign of change, however, is a report submitted to former President Ford in December by a cabinet-level committee headed by former Attorney General Edward Levi. The study, which officials labeled the "broadest government assessment of the issue to date," called for "a thorough rethinking of immigration policy in the contest over employment, population and foreign relations issues."

The report strongly suggests a shift away from periodic INS roundups to a "preventive" policy aimed at discouraging undocumented workers from crossing the border in the first place.

Slapping fines or other stiff penalties on employers who hire undocumented workers is the most effective way to frustrate "illegals" who cross the borders for jobs, the report says. Such a bill, introduced by New Jersey Congressman Peter Rodino, has twice passed the House but failed to get through opposition in the Senate.

Unlike antideportation activists who oppose the Rodino bill as an attack on the rights of undocumented workers, some employers—and their representatives in Congress—fear a loss of cheap labor.

Arguing with such reluctant businessmen, the report admits that in the past "illegal" labor has been a good bargain:

These immigrants raise the income of owners of capital and land and of highly skilled workers and lower prices to consumers of goods and services they help produce.

However, the report continues, undocumented workers begin to use expensive social services and lose their initial value the longer they stay:

The unskilled labor which the illegal contributes in the early stages of migration later tends

to be offset when new communities of families must be absorbed. . . . The migrant's aspirations, objectives, and opportunities become attached to the host country so that he remains, establishing or sending for family rather than returning.

In a February 21 *Los Angeles Times* interview, Labor Secretary F. Ray Marshall observed that "the crucial question is whether those illegal aliens are taking jobs that domestic workers will not take."

Marshall's answer: "I say domestic workers will take them." In effect, the Carter administration is signaling business that there will be plenty of unemployed American workers who can be forced into the sweatshop jobs that up until now only undocumented workers would take.

While Carter has avoided directly endorsing the Rodino bill, he clearly agrees with its aims. At a meeting with congressional representatives before Mexican President López Portillo's visit to Washington last month, Carter said he "realized the desirability of placing tight constraints on employers" who hire workers without papers.

Attorney General Griffin Bell has indicated his support for legislation similar to that sought by Rodino, as has Labor Secretary Marshall.

In the same February 21 *Los Angeles Times* interview, Marshall gave the public a frightening look at one of the methods envisioned to enforce the hiring ban. He disclosed that the administration is considering a "counterfeit-proof" identification card that all working people would be required to obtain. The INS is already issuing resident aliens an "imposter-proof" ID card containing their photograph, fingerprints, and signature.

Attorney General Bell later expressed misgivings about Marshall's proposal—which amounts to a call for an "internal passport"—but Marshall was correct in assuming that this would be the only effective way to enforce a hiring ban.

How about the undocumented workers already living in the United States? The Levi report concluded that "massive deportation of illegal aliens is both inhumane and impractical." INS harassment of Chicanos who might be "illegal" and deportation sweeps have already met with resistance, and officials fear that large-scale efforts could touch off an explosive reaction.

In addition, returning undocumented workers to Mexico would strain that country's economy and undermine Washington's client in Mexico City. López Portillo's visit soon after Carter took office reflected the administration's concern with this potentially inflammatory issue.

The solution suggested in the Levi report is simply to legalize the status of undocumented workers who arrived in the United States before 1968. An amnesty of this nature would help assert government authority over undocumented workers and lessen the potential for their radicalization, the study implies:

[The result of current policy is to] create communities concentrated in our largest urban areas whose existence depends on avoidance of law and authority . . . The ramifications of harboring large numbers of people in illegal status are undesirable and contribute to a breakdown in the institutions and systems upon which we depend for fair government.

Secretary Marshall issued an even more direct warning:

I believe we are now building a new civil rights struggle of the 1980s by having an underclass of people come into this country, unable to protect themselves, easily exploited, dissatisfied with their status and yet fearful of being exported.

Their children will be even more dissatisfied and likely to revolt against such conditions. . . .

The Carter administration can expect to face trouble in putting its new get-tough policy into effect. Efforts to prepare public opinion for harsh "antialien" laws in the last year have been fought by antideportation forces around the country.

An INS raid staged at a Washington, D.C. soccer game last fall, for example, backfired when the sweep provoked a storm of protest. Immigration officials were forced to halt future sweeps as a result.

The attempt by la migra to railroad four persons to jail in Tucson, Arizona, for counseling residents without immigration visas failed after their supporters organized a nationwide defense campaign. Charges against the four employees of Tucson's Manzo Area Council were dropped March 8.

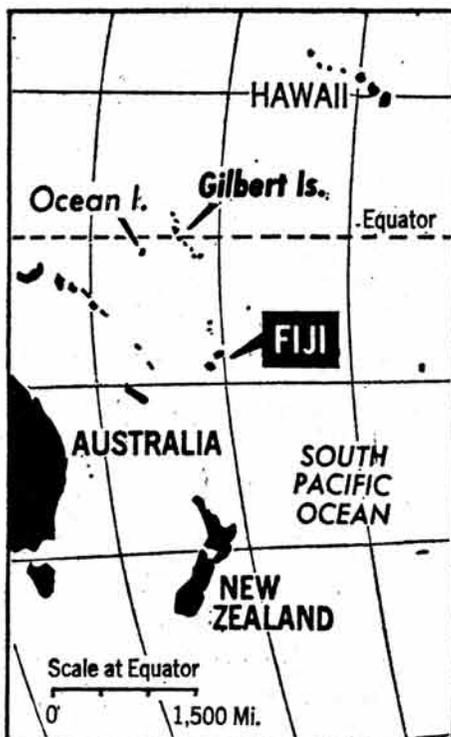
Within the Carter administration itself some officials have expressed doubts about the advisability of a stiff crackdown. Carter assistant Joseph Aragon assailed Immigration Commissioner Chapman's warning of a "silent invasion" as exaggerated. The March 9 *Christian Science Monitor* reported that the new INS boss, Lionel Castillo, has expressed opposition to the Rodino bill in the past.

Carter and his cabinet members are still carefully probing public reaction to their "final solution" of the immigration problem. But a new offensive against undocumented workers is high on the administration's priority list. According to Secretary Marshall the administration "doesn't need any more studies." □

Banaban People Demand Reparations

Strip-mining Turns Pacific Island Into Wasteland

By Alec Martin



New York Times

[The following article is reprinted from the February 24 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist weekly published in Sydney, Australia.]

* * *

Between 1920 and 1975 the British Phosphate Commission—in which Australia and New Zealand were partners with the British Government—extracted \$100 million worth of phosphates [a valuable ingredient of fertilizer] from the British colony of Ocean Island. In the process the 1500-acre island, home of the Banaban people, was virtually destroyed and undertakings to replant food-bearing trees were comprehensively broken.

This scandalous episode of colonial exploitation became news recently when the Banaban people brought two massive lawsuits claiming reparation from the BPC and the British Government.

After the case had dragged through the British High Court for a couple of years, the Banabans two months ago won their secondary action, claiming damages for the non-replanting of trees, but lost their main action claiming damages for breach of trust by the British Crown.

However, although the case lost in law, after the judge had heard all the evidence of deception, coercion and betrayal by Britain (particularly the infamous role played by that hero of British colonial history, Sir Arthur Grimble), he was constrained to accuse the British Government of "grave breaches" of moral if not legal responsibility toward the Banabans. A campaign has since developed in Britain to force the Government to pay reparation to the Banabans of something like their original claim.

Under pressure to make a massive payout at a time of something less than its former high imperial affluence, the British Government has now turned to its partners in the exploitation of Ocean Island in order to get as much as possible out of Australia and New Zealand.

As a consequence, it has lately been revealed that according to the estimates contained in the Banabans' lawsuit (and largely conceded by Britain), Australia and New Zealand benefited from cheap phosphates got through the BPC (in which Australia holds 42 per cent equity) to the tune of about \$28 million.

Britain is dispatching a special envoy, Mr Richard Posnett (the former Governor of Belize!), to the South Pacific with the twin mission of giving as little as possible to the Banabans and getting as much as possible out of Australia and New Zealand to do it with. There remains quite a gap, after all, between \$28 million and \$100 million.

The Australian Government will find it difficult to avoid contributing to the settlement, as a 1975 memorandum from the Labor Foreign Affairs Minister Willesee has been published which admits that "it could be contended" that Australia had benefited from cheap Ocean Island phosphate.

An admission, in fact, that Australia's big farmers made their fortunes in large part through partnership in British colonialism at its most blatant. □

Intercontinental Press will give you a week by week analysis of the most important world events.

Subscribe now!

OUT NOW!

Chapter 23

The Easter 1969 GI-Civilian Demonstrations and the Birth of the New Mobilization Committee

By Fred Halstead

[Second of two parts]

While preparations for the national antiwar conference were getting underway, SDS held its ninth annual convention in Chicago June 18-22. The central feature of this gathering, attended by some 1,500 youths, was an irreparable split between the supporters of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) on the one hand, and the SDS national office on the other. PL led the Worker Student Alliance (WSA) caucus and the national office supporters were organized as the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) caucus.

Antiwar activity as such was not central to the split arguments, though the issue of the Vietnamese revolution itself was. PL had developed a line characterizing both North Vietnam and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front as "revisionist" because they accepted aid from the Soviet Union. RYM, on the other hand, insisted that anyone who did not support the NLF and North Vietnam and accept their programs across the board was not really opposing U.S. imperialism.

Specific activity at home against the war was not discussed. Actions designed to involve broad masses of Americans who were willing to demand immediate U.S. withdrawal, but not necessarily to take positions on Vietnamese politics, were discounted by both sides in the dispute. The upcoming national antiwar conference was not mentioned, except in leaflets distributed in the corridors by the SMC and other groups.

With this chapter we continue the serialization of **Out Now!—A Participant's Account of the American Antiwar Movement** by Fred Halstead. Copyright ©1977 by the Anchor Foundation, Inc. All rights reserved. Printed by permission. To be published by Monad Press.

(The YSA distributed a leaflet headlined "Comrades, where were you?" It pointed out that SDS had abstained from the April demonstrations and appealed for participation in the July conference and the fall actions. It quoted a message sent by the NLF to the organizers of the April 6 demonstrations which said: "What more to say than that we are entirely pleased with your suggestions to concentrate on the themes: TOTAL AND UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS! VIETNAM FOR THE VIETNAMESE!")¹⁴

The argumentation between the PL-WSA and RYM supporters could hardly be characterized by any such dignified term as "debate." The discussion consisted largely of each side trying to shout down the other with chants. By this time the SDS national office, lacking a consistent program of its own with which to answer PL's ideology, had begun to mirror the Stalinist-type polemics as well as the organizational methods of its opponent. RYM had even adopted Maoist trappings.

Only a small part of the RYM supporters were entirely serious about this ideological transformation. Others accepted it cynically

14. The entire leaflet is reproduced in the *Militant*, July 4, 1969.

in a desperate attempt to get some sort of edge on their factional opponent in the heat of the fight. Still others, including one group that stood on chairs shouting nonsense and waving the little red book of Mao quotations, acted with tongue in cheek. But any genuine polemics were on such a low level that not everyone caught the satire of this bit of guerrilla theater, and the audience was further confused.

RYM was expected to have a strong edge over PL on two points. PL took a dim view of both Black nationalism and the women's liberation movement, then taking hold among SDS women. RYM claimed to support both, and in this respect was far more in tune with the bulk of the delegates than was PL. A key move in the RYM attack was the appearance of a delegation from the Black Panther Party, which was allied with RYM and bitterly hostile to PL. But Panther spokesmen Rufus Walls and Jewel Cook not only denounced PL, they also derided women's liberation, using such expressions as "pussy power" and "the position for you sisters [in the revolution] . . . is prone."¹⁵ Neither Walls nor Cook were able to finish their talks over the shouts of "Fight male chauvinism," and pandemonium broke loose in the hall.

"The Panthers," comments Kirkpatrick Sale, "had humiliated not PL but their own supporters, and in doing so had neatly managed by a single stroke to turn to dross both of RYM's chief theoretical weapons: its alliance with the vanguard Panthers and its support for women's liberation."¹⁶

Finally, with the convention in disarray, the RYM caucus stalked out of the main hall and met for a day and a half by itself. On Saturday night, June 21, the caucus voted to expel the PL-WSA supporters from SDS and to exclude from SDS all those who did not accept a set of points adopted by the caucus. RYM then returned to the main hall where its spokesperson, Bernardine Dohrn, announced this to the full convention. Without taking a vote, RYM retired to another hall to proceed with the "real SDS" convention.

RYM SDS then did discuss and adopt a proposal for a fall national action against the war. It was to be in Chicago at the time of the opening of the trial of those under federal indictment in connection with the Democratic Party convention demonstrations in August 1968.

But the leaders of RYM found themselves dividing into two increasingly antagonistic factions—Weatherman and RYM II.¹⁷ Weatherman was based on the style of the local SDS "action factions" such as that at Columbia University in the spring of 1968. Its main thrust was the notion that it could inspire masses of youth to revolutionary action by its own dramatic example. The courting of physical confrontation with the police was central to its approach.

15. Kirkpatrick Sale, *SDS* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), p. 567.

16. *Loc. cit.*

17. The names of these factions came from titles of documents distributed at the convention: "You Don't Need To Be a Weatherman To Know Which Way the Wind Is Blowing" and "Revolutionary Youth Movement II." The former is a line from Bob Dylan's song "Subterranean Homesick Blues."

RYM II had certain theoretical differences with Weatherman and began to draw back from the tactical implications of the Weatherman approach as soon as the split with PL was consummated. The most prominent spokespersons for RYM II were Mike Klonsky and Bob Avakian, the latter of the Bay Area Radical Union and author of the "out-Mao-the-Maoists" strategy in the fight with PL. The leaders of the Weatherman faction included Bernardine Dohrn, Mark Rudd, Bill Ayers and Jeff Jones.

In the elections which completed the RYM SDS convention, Weatherman took all three national officers and a decisive majority of the National Council.

Meanwhile, the PL-WSA caucus proceeded with its part of the convention by declaring itself the "real SDS." It elected national officers and moved its version of the SDS national office to Boston where its support was strongest.

More than one observer commented that the split convention of the major organization of the "new left" exhibited the worst features of the old, with none of the virtues.

Stew Albert, one of the veteran Berkeley street people and a sidekick of Jerry Rubin, wrote in the *Berkeley Barb*: "The scenes on the convention floor were out of a reactionary newspaper cartoon satirizing the New Left." Albert quoted Jerry Rubin saying: "If the ruling class wanted to destroy SDS they would televise their convention for free at prime time." Then came the ultimate Rubinesque putdown: "Everyone watching would be bored."¹⁸

In the wake of the convention SDS was shattered, the bulk of its activists following none of the factions, just drifting away. SDS as a major youth group was no more, though it would take some time for this self-destruction to become generally apparent. In the meantime Weatherman was left in charge of the SDS national office in Chicago and of preparations for the national action in the fall.

* * *

The 1969 Cleveland national antiwar conference was held July 4-5 at Case-Western Reserve University. The night before, the twenty-member steering committee met to make final preparations for an agenda.¹⁹ Dellinger and Rennie Davis brought several observers to this meeting, including Mark Rudd and Kathy Boudin, Weatherpeople representing the SDS national office in Chicago. They said little beyond the fact that SDS was planning a national action in Chicago on the opening date of the "Conspiracy Eight" trial, and some regional actions in November.

Dellinger proposed in effect that the steering committee recommend to the conference that it consider these the major actions of the fall and help build them. Jerry Gordon presented a fall proposal from the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council for a mass demonstration in Washington, D.C., without civil disobedience so that the broadest participation could be organized.

After some tense discussion Sid Lens proposed a compromise: that the steering committee should recommend both actions. This

18. *Berkeley Barb*, June 27, 1969.

19. The members of the steering committee were: Norma Becker of the New York Parade Committee; Barbara Bick of Washington Women Strike for Peace; Professor Douglas Dowd of Cornell; Rennie Davis of the "Conspiracy"; Dave Dellinger of *Liberation* magazine; Al Evanoff of District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers; Rev. Richard Fernandez of Clergy and Laymen (later Laity) Concerned; Jerry Gordon of CAPAC; Fred Halstead of the SWP; Arnold Johnson of the CP; Professor Donald Kalish of UCLA; Sidney Lens of the Chicago Peace Council; Carol Lipman of the SMC; John McAuliff of the Committee of Returned Volunteers (Peace Corps veterans); Stewart Meacham of the American Friends Service Committee; Professor Sidney Peck of Case-Western Reserve; Maxwell Primack of the Chicago Peace Council; Carl Rogers of the Committee for the Presidio Twenty-seven; Irving Sarnoff of the Los Angeles Peace Action Council; and Cora Weiss of New York Women Strike for Peace. Only Davis, Lipman, McAuliff, and Rogers were under thirty, and only Lipman was from a student group.

was one time I didn't appreciate Lens's penchant for patchwork unity. I insisted on counterposing a vote for the Washington action against Lens's compromise, on the ground that we should clearly reject any attempt to build into the fall actions an ultraleft confrontation. In the discussion that followed, Dellinger, Lens, and others insisted that the Chicago action could be built so as to include both mass action and nonviolent civil disobedience, and need not be a relatively small street-fighting affair. Under the given conditions, that was impossible in my opinion and I pressed for the vote. Only Gordon, Carol Lipman of the SMC, and I opposed the Lens motion. The three of us then insisted on a minority report to the conference.

The next morning on the way to the auditorium where the conference was gathering, I passed a group of Weatherpeople sitting on the grass Indian fashion. Mark Rudd got up from the circle and approached me. "Well Fred," he said, "looks like we're going to have a fight." "Looks that way," I replied, "but let's keep it clean and make the differences as clear as possible." "Right," said Rudd, and we shook hands and parted. One thing I appreciated about the Weatherpeople, at least those I had anything to do with, was that they were not given to obscuring their positions.

This would prove important in the discussion at the conference. The majority of the steering committee had voted to recommend the SDS actions not because they agreed with the Weatherman approach, but because they didn't really know or were unwilling to accept as accomplished fact the direction Weatherman was determinedly pursuing. The illusions that SDS represented "the youth" still persisted among many of them.

Then too there was a certain tendency among these older radicals and radical liberals to be attracted to ultraleft confrontation. They were more than half convinced it might do some good. Dellinger's dream of a nonviolent Narodniki provided a certain ideological ground on which they could hope to have it both ways. In addition most of the members of the steering committee were reluctant to find themselves in direct opposition to Dellinger, even more so in company with the representative of the Socialist Workers Party.

Gordon was an exception. For one thing he had not been a part of the old Mobe steering committee and was a new element in the situation. But mainly he was just very clear on what he wanted: the broadest possible mass action for immediate withdrawal, unencumbered by any opening for ultraleft adventures.

Gordon was a bit formal, with a stubborn streak. He would sometimes say that as a practicing lawyer he could not participate in violations of the law, not even nonviolent civil disobedience, though he recognized those who did as part of the movement and would defend them. He was not easily swayed by fashion nor inclined to revolutionary romanticism. If he did any dreaming it was in the direction of getting the labor movement involved. The others had mixed feelings about Chicago in August 1968. Gordon was just appalled.

A sort of keynote address was given to the conference by Leo Fenster who had been invited by CAPAC in its capacity as host group. Fenster was the elected head of the Ohio regional district council of the United Auto Workers union, and he appealed to the conference to adopt the tactics of "a majority movement." He said the majority of both the leadership and membership of the UAW now favored withdrawal from Vietnam "posthaste."²⁰ In his view this was true of the majority of the country's union members generally, in spite of the hawk position of George Meany and the AFL-CIO Executive Council. This in turn, said Fenster, reflected a change in the population as a whole. The antiwar movement, he said, should organize this sentiment, not isolate itself from it.

On the fall action, Dellinger reported for the steering committee majority, and Gordon for the minority. But Mark Rudd gave a supplementary report on the SDS action in Chicago. The clashes at the August 1968 Chicago Democratic Party convention demonstrations had been more damaging to imperialism than all

20. *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, July 5, 1969.

the mass peaceful demonstrations put together, Rudd said. What was needed, he declared, was an "anti-imperialist movement" in the United States acting as the American arm of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and led by such groups as the Black Panthers, the Young Lords (a Puerto Rican group which originated as a street gang in New York), and SDS. The Chicago national action would build such an alliance, he said, because it would prove that SDS was a white radical group that would fight, literally. The broad-based coalitions that until now had led the antiwar movement must be willing to follow this leadership. (Later both the Panthers and the Lords would reject the Weatherman action as suicidal.)

It was not enough, declared Rudd, to demand immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Instead, the movement must "Bring the war home."²¹ He made it clear that SDS was going to run the Chicago action and determine its character.

Rudd's presentation was received with dismay by the great bulk of the audience, including the members of the steering committee. Lens turned to me with a pained look and jested bitterly: "Did you pay him to say that?"

Meantime much heat was being generated over the question of delegates' credentials. There were about a hundred originally invited voting delegates at the conference. But over 800 other activists also registered, some two hundred of them requesting delegate status, and the rest as observers. The steering committee had set up a credentials committee, and over the objections of Gordon, Lipman, and myself, took the position that the steering committee itself should be the final source of appeal on credentials. The first morning a motion that the conference itself be the highest body of appeal was defeated 55 to 44. It later proved to be almost the undoing of the steering committee.

The members of the credentials committee from the steering committee majority were apparently afraid that the SWP and YSA would pack the conference with voting delegates. They started by challenging almost every delegate they didn't know. The result was that all sorts of people were challenged, and they were fighting mad. The credentials committee majority even challenged some people who had been elected by their local unions to attend the conference—a bold step for a local union in those days—and these just wouldn't take no for an answer. By the middle of the second day, even I was feeling sorry for the members of the steering committee who were being besieged by irate petitioners. In the end a sizable number of additional delegates were accredited, but by then it didn't really matter as far as the relationship of forces on the issues was concerned. The discussion had been full and there was no question the great majority supported Gordon's approach and rejected Rudd's in spite of other differences.

In truth the SWP and YSA had made no attempt to pack this conference in the sense of having SWPers and YSAers who were not legitimate representatives of antiwar groups demand delegate status. We were a minority of the voting delegates throughout. We made no secret of the fact that we encouraged antiwar groups to send participants, either as delegates or observers, but we had no desire to go through the exercise of capturing ourselves. We wanted a representative conference that would be a real test of where the activists stood on the issues, and that would have the authority to call masses into action on an unprecedented scale.

By the middle of the second day it would probably have been possible for Gordon to push through the CAPAC resolution without compromise. He considered this but was dissuaded by arguments of Harry Ring and others that it would be much better to get an agreement for a joint majority-minority resolution that

21. There is no literal text of Rudd's speech. It is paraphrased here from my rough notes. But he took part of it from an SDS position paper distributed at the conference and entitled: "Bring the War Home." (Copy in author's files.) The same essential line as Rudd's speech appeared in an article by Kathy Boudin, Bernardine Dohrn, and Terry Robbins in the August 23, 1969, *New Left Notes* (Chicago) entitled "Bringing the War Back Home: Less Talk, More National Action."

would commit the whole steering committee behind the program adopted by the conference.

Lens had been negotiating back and forth and finally came up with a compromise that both the majority and minority on the steering committee agreed to support. It included both the Chicago and Washington actions, as well as others. What made it acceptable to Gordon was the following wording regarding Chicago: "Planning on this action was initiated by other groups. It will therefore be necessary to negotiate on tactics and means of collaboration with these other groups to assure the development of plans and tactics capable of mobilizing the largest number of people."²² Participation in the Chicago action, then, would be conditional on whether SDS could listen to reason.

Just how this worked out in real life would depend heavily on who was in charge of the various actions. Dellinger proposed that he head up the Washington action and Rennie Davis take Chicago. This was unacceptable to most of the others, including me. After a long period of painful negotiating we came up with the following: Project directors for Washington would be Fay Knopp of the Philadelphia Friends staff, and Abe Bloom, the chairman of Washington SANE and a leader of the Washington Mobilization Committee.

That put the central responsibility on Bloom, who was resident in Washington. This was a crucial choice because Bloom was firmly committed to the mass action perspective. Whatever happened elsewhere, proper preparations for the Washington action could proceed. Project directors for Chicago would be Rennie Davis and Sylvia Kushner of the Chicago Peace Council staff. Kushner's participation was a built-in safety valve. She would not be inclined to let SDS lead the Chicago Peace Council into suicide, and she was tough enough to put her foot down when necessary. In addition two cochairpersons of the new national coalition would be assigned to the Chicago project and two to Washington. For Chicago it would be Douglas Dowd and Sid Lens; for Washington, Sid Peck and Stewart Meacham. Dellinger would be liaison coordinator between the two projects.

All this was negotiated in the corridors between members of the steering committee and a few other people, while the rest of the conference stalled for time and wondered what was going on. Gordon found the process offensive, and the rank and file of the conference—already angry with the steering committee majority—was resentful of the behind-the-scenes negotiating.

The joint resolution on activities was attractive enough on its own merits to pass without difficulty, especially since the issues involved had already been well discussed by the conference. But the structural proposal was another matter. This included the project directors, cochairpersons, and the steering committee for the new coalition, which we proposed be the same as the old one with some additions. The ranks of the conference were angry enough by then to vote for throwing out much of the old steering committee. But this would have amounted to a virtual split. It wasn't necessary. It would have destroyed the pull of unity, and the members of the old steering committee had much to contribute to building the actions.

The steering committee majority was afraid the structural proposal would not pass if one of them presented it, so they insisted one of the minority do it. I presented it to the conference, appealing for acceptance in the interest of a unified coalition. There were a few groans and a lot of tight lips, but it passed overwhelmingly.

Gordon, as chairman of the host group, spoke at the conclusion of the conference, thanking the people who had done the technical work, praising Lens for his unity efforts, and finally telling the audience that he shared their exasperation at the "invitational" character of the conference and the "high-handed" way it was run. The place exploded in applause. Gordon said he would do everything he could to see that future conferences were run

22. Steering Committee Proposal for Joint Majority-Minority Resolution. Cleveland national antiwar conference, July 5, 1969. (Copy in author's files.)

democratically, and the meeting ended with the crowd giving Gordon an ovation.

That night the steering committee met to take care of some details, including adopting a name for the new national coalition—the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. But the conference had been something of a traumatic experience for the steering committee majority, and the meeting began with virtually every person in the room except Lipman, me, and the new members excoriating Jerry Gordon for playing to the crowd. Gordon later commented: “Cheered by the ranks, denounced by the bureaucratic leadership. What an experience that day was!”²³

* * *

One of the activities the conference decided to participate in was called the Vietnam Moratorium. It had been presented to the plenary by David Hawk, a former staff member of the National Student Association and one of the leaders of the youth for McCarthy in the 1968 presidential primaries. The idea was for a “moratorium on ‘business as usual’” on October 15, a Wednesday and a regular workday, “in order that students, faculty members and concerned citizens can devote time and energy to the important work of taking the issue of peace in Vietnam to the larger community.” A month later another moratorium was to be held, this time for two days, and so on, expanding by one day each month “until there is American withdrawal or a negotiated settlement.”²⁴

This project had already been publicly announced a few days

23. Letter from Jerry Gordon to the author, July 23, 1975.

24. Student call for a Vietnam Moratorium, undated. (Copy in author's files.)

before the Cleveland conference, but few delegates had heard of it until Hawk presented it in Cleveland and asked for support. The idea was received with skepticism, as I recall. It seemed at one and the same time either too mild—some dispersed and unfocused educational activities by students here and there across the country—or unrealistically ambitious—something like a cumulative general strike.

The Vietnam Moratorium was added to the Cleveland Conference's call for actions, not so much out of enthusiasm for the idea itself as out of a desire on the part of Lens and others to develop friendly relations with the forces that had initiated it. The original Vietnam Moratorium announcement had been made in Washington June 30 by Hawk; Sam Brown, a fellow at Harvard's Institute of Politics; and David Mixner, then serving on the Democratic Party reform commission headed by Senator George McGovern. All three had been principal organizers of the youth for McCarthy in 1968. In addition almost 500 college student-body presidents and school newspaper editors had signed the student call to the Moratorium.

The Vietnam Moratorium proposal also had some influence on the Cleveland conference's choice of a date for the mass demonstration in Washington—Saturday, November 15. That would be around the time of the second month's moratorium. It was hoped this would maximize the possibility of the Moratorium forces tying in with the Washington action. Participation in the Vietnam Moratorium was adopted by the Cleveland conference without much discussion and almost as an afterthought. But it would prove to be one of the most important decisions the conference made. For it placed the New Mobilization Committee and the Student Mobilization Committee—which adopted the same set of actions at its own conference July 6—in a position to take advantage of a major opening to their right.

[Next chapter: *The Vietnam Moratorium.*]

A Statement by Jock Haston

Former British Trotskyist Leader Denounces Healyite Falsifications as 'Sinister Slander'

[The following letter, dated February 9, 1977, was sent to Joseph Hansen. The author, Jock Haston, is a former leader of the British Trotskyist movement.]

* * *

On a recent visit to Britain Al Glotzer drew my attention to the material published by Healy on the assassination of Leon Trotsky. As a consequence I bought all the relevant publications.

You are aware that I broke with the Trotskyist movement in 1950. Since that time I have been a tutor and organiser for the National Council of Labour Colleges, the National Education Officer of the Electrical and Plumbing Trades Union, and the National Education Officer of the General and Municipal Workers Union. I am now retired.

Apart from reading occasional publications sold at conferences, I have not kept in touch with the Trotskyist movement, having turned my back on the factional

struggles which seemed so important to me at one time.

However, having read all the material, I think it incumbent upon me to write and tell you that I consider Healy's allegations that you, George Novack, and the SWP were in any shape or form accomplices or participants in a cover up for the GPU to be a sinister slander, unworthy of honourable socialists, and must seriously impair the life style of young people who may be influenced by it. The Stalinists can be the only beneficiaries.

At the time of Trotsky's assassination some of us in Britain did believe there had been some slackness in his protection. But knowing what our movement was like, and taking into consideration the enormous resources of the GPU, on reflection it is astounding that the Old Man survived as long as he did. This was entirely due to the devotion of the American comrades. The British Trotskyists made no contribution at all.

Your replies to Healy's accusations, and those of George Novack, are a complete and convincing answer.* I hope the dedicated young people in Healy's organisation will weigh in the balance your record against his and the people who are making these monstrous allegations.

In terms of policies and perspectives I am no nearer to you than I am to Healy but I am 100% with you in declaring this Healy campaign to be more akin to the Stalin School of Falsification than to Trotskyism as I knew it and as practiced by the British Trotskyist movement in my day.

Yours fraternally,
Jock Haston

* See *Healy's Big Lie—The Slander Campaign Against Joseph Hansen, George Novack, and the Fourth International*. Issued by the National Education Department, Socialist Workers Party, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. \$2. Also available from Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SW1 8LL. £.60.—IP

A subscription to *Intercontinental Press* is still a BEST BUY.

Check rates inside cover.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



Saccharin—Yes, It's Cancer Inducing

The U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) announced March 9 its intention to ban the use of saccharin in food products marketed in the United States. Similar action was announced by Canadian authorities the same day.

A three-year-long study sponsored by the Canadian government and verified by FDA researchers showed that saccharin causes bladder cancer in rats. In the study, 5 percent saccharin was included in the diet of two generations of 100 rats. Three rats in the first generation developed bladder tumors, as did fourteen among their offspring. Among a control group of 100 rats given no saccharin at all, two developed such tumors.

The sugar substitute had been under suspicion as a carcinogen for some time. It was originally produced as a derivative of coal tar, which has been known since the nineteenth century to cause cancer. (Other coal tar products include the various red food dyes banned as cancer-causing by the FDA last year.)

Saccharin is the only artificial sweetener in use in the United States. The annual consumption is about 5 million pounds. Seventy-four percent of this is used in diet soft drinks, a billion-dollar-a-year industry.

An immediate hue and cry went up on the part of the food industry, its political representatives, and the capitalist news media when the FDA's proposed ban was announced. Much of the fire was centered on the "Delaney clause" in the law that required the action. It reads as follows:

No additive shall be deemed safe if it is found to induce cancer when ingested by man or animal, or if it is found, after tests which are appropriate for the evaluation of the safety of food additives, to induce cancer in man or animal.

Opponents of the ban were quick to point out, as did the editors of the *New York Times*, that "a human would have to drink 800 twelve-ounce bottles of diet soda daily every day of his life to ingest a quantity of saccharin comparable to that fed the unfortunate rats."

The *Wall Street Journal* called for changing the Delaney clause "because it now forbids us to balance costs against benefits in the way that is necessary. . . ."

Under the headline "Sick rats and bad law," *Business Week's* editors said the "saccharin case demonstrates the essential silliness of the Delaney clause. . . . Congress should revise it immediately."

Representative Andrew Jacobs, Jr., of Indiana introduced a bill to require labels on saccharin containers saying, "Warning: The Canadians have determined saccharin is dangerous to your rat's health."

The "Calorie Control Council," the diet-food industry's public relations outfit, purchased a full-page advertisement in major daily newspapers on March 13 calling for "an experiment in democracy. . . . Write or call your congressman today and let him know how you feel about a ban on saccharin."

Because of the widespread consumption of saccharin by those seeking to lose weight or by persons who cannot use sugar for medical reasons, opponents of government regulation of food additives believe they now have a good opportunity to remove the obstacle posed to their profits by the Delaney clause.

The arguments of these forces were taken up by environmental sciences Professor Charles F. Wurster of the State University of New York at Stony Brook, in the March 20 *New York Times*. He pointed

out that since cancer-inducing substances in small quantities cause tumors in only a very few out of thousands of animals, researchers must use very high dosages on much smaller numbers. Thus in Wurster's opinion the argument concerning 800 diet soft drinks daily is an "interesting anecdote" but "totally irrelevant and without scientific credence."

Wurster also said:

Furthermore, the argument that anything can cause cancer if given in large enough doses is false. High doses of normally safe chemicals may be toxic, but they will not cause tumors. Relatively few chemicals cause cancer, even when fed at the highest possible doses.

We also hear that small amounts of a chemical are safe for man, even though large doses cause cancer in animals. There is not a shred of evidence for this argument. No safe threshold has been identified for any cancer-causing chemical. . . .

We ignore cancer-causation in animals at our peril. The Delaney amendment . . . is an essential law for our protection. It wisely allows no human discretion based on dosage . . . since there is no valid scientific basis for such discretion.

A series of Congressional hearings on the saccharin ban and the Delaney clause began March 21. Dr. Richard Bates of the FDA testified that on the basis of the Canadian studies, "four persons out of 10,000 would develop bladder cancer if they drank just one 12-ounce can of diet soda a day over a lifetime." (*New York Times*, March 22.)

Acting FDA Commissioner Sherwin Gardner said "this number times 215 million Americans would be a public health disaster."

Dr. Melvin Schneiderman of the National Cancer Institute pointed out in the hearings that heavy saccharin use only began in the United States during World War II (when sugar was rationed). Since people born at that time are still in their thirties, and since almost all bladder cancer occurs in people over fifty, it is too soon to tell if the sweetener is indeed safe.

Twelve bills have been introduced in Congress so far to amend or eliminate the Delaney clause. Unless these attempts to limit legal safeguards against cancer-causing food additives are successful, the



Herblock/Washington Post

FDA's ban on saccharin will go into effect in July. Beginning June 1 the Canadian government will phase out the sweetener over the next two and a half years.

All That Glitters Is Not Gold

The following appeared in the March issue of *Environment* magazine:*

"Arsenic levels are 'horrendous' in the goldmining region of Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, in Canada, a new report charges.

"The report, issued in mid-January by a team from the United Steelworkers, the National Indian Brotherhood, and the University of Toronto, found arsenic at more than 5 parts per million in the hair of the 12,000 residents of Yellowknife and alleged that the arsenic was emitted from a mining company's smokestacks. The report contradicts an earlier federal study which stated that no hazardous arsenic levels had been found.

"The joint Indian-union-university report charged that arsenic emissions were cut during the week of the federal study and that an earlier, unpublished federal document showed emergency levels of arsenic among the local residents. Arsenic is released in the process of extracting gold from common ores."

1,000 in Japan Protest Curbs On Antipollution Movement

In response to growing government repression of struggles against pollution, more than 1,000 persons rallied in Tokyo February 24. Seiichiro Himeno reported in the March 18 *New Asia News* that the meeting marked "the transformation of the anti-pollution movement from a victim's movement to a more and more politically sophisticated struggle. . . ."

"Police intervention on the side of industry," Himeno says, "has been particularly noticeable since the fall of 1975, when business circles began to lay emphasis on what they called 'economic security.'" Victims of "Minamata disease" (mercury poisoning) have been arrested during protests at the head office of the Chisso Company, which was responsible for the pollution that has crippled hundreds of residents of the village of Minamata since 1957. Riot police have been called out to disperse antipollution demonstrations.

Himeno says the repression was stepped up with the appointment of Shintaro Ishihara as head of Japan's Environment Agency. Ishihara "holds the Japanese peoples' deep aversion for nuclear power in

contempt" and "believes it is his mission to cure his misguided country people of the 'nuclear allergy.' . . . Shortly after Ishihara assumed his post, a leader of the struggle to prevent construction of a petrochemical complex . . . was arrested. The arrest took place the night before the group's suit was to be heard in the district court."

The Tokyo meeting decided to set up an "anti-repression liaison center" to coordinate future actions against such attacks.

Month-Long Spill Continues

More than one million gallons of crude oil were spilled in the East China Sea on February 7 when the tanker *Borag* ran aground and broke in two north of Chilung, Taiwan. The ship sank on February 15, but the wreck continued to leak oil.

On March 3, more than two million additional gallons of oil were reported to have spilled. The slick has spread to contaminate fifty miles of the Taiwan coastline. According to government officials, the livelihoods of 50,000 persons dependent on the fishing industry are threatened. Power production at two electric generating stations near Chilung has been cut twice due to huge oil slicks moving toward their water intakes.

The Liberian-registered *Borag* was carrying a total of 9.9 million gallons of oil. Taiwan government agencies and petroleum industry experts are still attempting to find a means of halting the continuing spill.

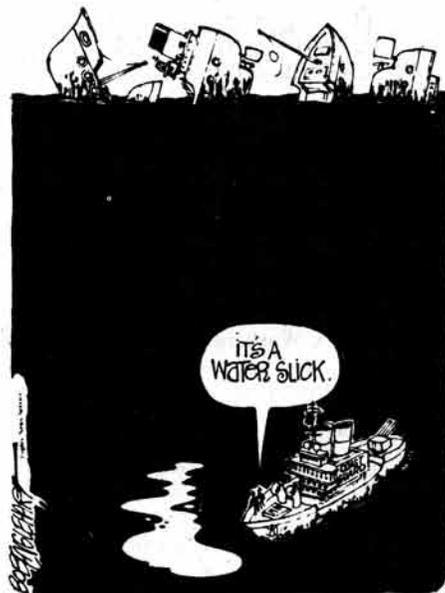
Tell It to the Taiwan Fishermen

A conference of "oil spill experts" meeting in New Orleans March 10 concluded that oil pollution may be "a nuisance, but there is not much hard evidence that spills have any long-term effect on marine or plant life." According to an article in the March 11 *Washington Post*, scientists from the oil industry, academic institutions, and the Environmental Protection Agency discussed more than a dozen scholarly papers on the subject, showing that "nature is absorbing oil spills with little trauma."

The evidence reported in the *Post* consisted mostly of studies showing that population and reproduction levels of marine life did not vary substantially between oil-polluted and clean areas.

However, marine chemist John W. Farrington did say that oil spills in confined areas do poison marine life, pointing to a ten-acre marsh near Falmouth, Massachusetts, contaminated by heating fuel in 1969. After eight years, the oil pollution persists there and shellfish beds remain closed. Farrington also admitted, "we've tried to get doctors to tell us what are the acceptable levels [of oil], but no one knows."

The *Post* article also noted some statis-



Bob Englehart/Copley News Service

tics on the extent of overall oil pollution in the oceans:

"Although public attention has focused on tanker spills, the National Academy of Sciences estimates that marine transportation accounts for only a third of the 6.1 million tons of oil that enter the oceans yearly. About 25 per cent comes from river runoff—much of that being automobile crankcase oils washing into sewers from gas stations. Natural seeps and rainfall, which captures air pollution, account for 10 per cent each.

"Of marine transportation pollution a small portion—15 per cent—comes from accidents like the *Argo Merchant*. The rest is from routine tanker cleaning, deballasting and bilge-pumping."

Polluter Gets Reprieve

The seventy tons of carbon tetrachloride dumped into the Kanawha and Ohio Rivers in early February (see *Intercontinental Press*, March 7, p. 242) apparently represented only the worst in a long series of such spills.

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has determined that the FMC Corporation of South Charleston, West Virginia, has a "repeated history of carbon tetrachloride spills," including twenty such incidents in the last two years.

After various unsuccessful attempts to get the chemical company to voluntarily cease polluting, the EPA went into Federal Court and got an order on March 9 shutting down FMC's operations entirely for ten days.

But on March 16, a deal was worked out between the agency and the chemical company: FMC is now allowed to dump as much as 150 pounds of carbon tetrachloride into the river per day until January 1, 1978. After that, the discharges must be cut to 15 pounds per day.

**Environment*, P.O. Box 755, Bridgeton, Missouri 63044. A one-year subscription is \$12.75. Subscriptions mailed outside the United States are \$14.75.

Selections From the Left

rood

"Red," Flemish weekly paper of the Revolutionary Workers League, Belgian section of the Fourth International.

The March 18 issue announces that the Revolutionary Workers League (RAL) will run candidates in more than twenty districts in the upcoming Belgian legislative elections. The objectives of the campaign are listed as follows in a statement by the RAL Political Bureau:

"1. To advance the broad anticapitalist current. Such a current exists, but it is diffuse. It is hesitant about taking a political expression and worried about being co-opted by the reformists. *The RAL wants to be the voice of the anticapitalist struggle and of this current.* . . . In general, the RAL will promote unity slates with the anticapitalist left and open its slates to independent candidates who represent the recent experiences in struggle.

"2. Propaganda for a revolutionary socialist alternative to the capitalist system, concretized in the perspective of *socialist self-management.* . . .

"3. In addition, the RAL wants to achieve the broadest possible unity of the left to combat the most immediate danger, the formation of a coalition government including the Socialist party and the [bourgeois] Freedom and Progress party.

"Thus, two months ago, the RAL issued an appeal for a *united slate of all those to the left of the SP leadership.* *The RAL turned in particular to the Communist party,* since the CP forms the biggest obstacle on the road to unity. The simple fact of a rapprochement between RAL and CP activists in the plants, unions, mass movements, and action committees would help advance the struggle and give new strength to the left in the workers movement. . . ."

rotfront

"Red Front," the monthly newspaper of the Revolutionary Marxist Group, Austrian section of the Fourth International.

The February issue features a debate between the Austrian Trotskyists and Zsolt Patka, a leading member of the Free Austrian Youth Movement for Socialism, a "Euro-Communist" group close to the Italian Communist party. This group was formed by activists driven out of the Austrian CP after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, when the wing of the party critical of Moscow was crushed.

Replying to an article in the previous issue of *Rotfront* that attacked the idea

that the Italian CP represents a new alternative for socialists, Patka tries to defend the Italian Stalinists by raising the following arguments:

"There has been an important change in the historical situation. The 'historic compromise' is also a product of a historical dilemma. For Western Europe, this dilemma consists of the existence of power blocs, in the fact that even limited social breakthroughs, social revolutions on the national scale, immediately take on international dimensions. The Italian comrades have not only drawn the lessons of Chile, they have drawn the logical parallel between Chile in 1972 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. . . .

"It is essential to prevent a civil war, which would lead to an intervention of the classical type by NATO and/or the U.S. and, in view of the certain passivity of the Soviet Union, would lead to a gigantic catastrophe for the working class. . . .

"For West European Communists this dilemma has yet another side. . . . If a social revolution could be accomplished without civil war and imperialist intervention, the country concerned would be subjected to a total boycott by the capitalist world, which would lead inevitably to 'Cubanization.' It would become a satellite of the Soviet Union, with all the consequences this would have on the domestic situation. . . .

"In the framework of the 'historic compromise,' the Italian CP is pursuing a policy of alliances that in no way leads to betraying the workers or to class collaborationism. It is trying to split the opposing classes . . . winning to democracy and socialism broad sections of the Italian working people who up till now have been in the Christian Democratic camp for purely ideological reasons. Tomorrow, they could provide the mass base for fascism. This is the reason the party rejects what you think is a panacea, a 'left majority' (i.e., a CP-SP government)."

Rotfront replies: "In the early period of the Third International, it was clear for every Communist party that political alliances with the bourgeoisie and its parties meant 'betraying the working class.' This *Leninist* standpoint was maintained both in the years of revolutionary upheaval at the end of the First World War . . . and in the years of the ebb in revolutionary struggles and of relative capitalist stabilization."

It was the seizure of power in the USSR by the Stalinist bureaucracy that changed the Communist parties' attitude to alliances with bourgeois forces, *Rotfront* explains. The bureaucracy was not interested in extending the socialist revolution but in using the CPs to further its diplomatic moves:

"At the same time the Communist parties stopped working for socialist revolution, they started courting bourgeois forces. For example, the Polish dictator Pilsudski . . . was hailed by Stalin as a 'workers and peasants' leader. . . ."

Rotfront points out that historical experience has shown that in a crisis in particular it is impossible to achieve an alliance with petty-bourgeois layers through deals with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political leaderships. Precisely at such times, the capitalist system to which these leaders are bound cannot meet the immediate material needs of the petty-bourgeois layers.

combate

"Combat," central organ of the Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain.

The March 9 issue reports on the peasant protests that began February 21:

"About 100,000 tractors were parked along the highways. Some 300,000 peasants in more than twenty-five provinces were on strike. The explosion erupted in Logroño and León, rapidly spreading to the rest of the Spanish state. At first, the peasants blocked the highways, clashing with the Civil Guard, which tried to drive them away with blows and gunfire. The broad peasant movement attacked the Brotherhoods of Farmers and Ranchers and the Official Agricultural Union Boards [both fascist union structures], as well as the local governments, the middlemen, and the local strongmen. They demanded the ouster of the minister of agriculture and the civil governors. Painted on signs were slogans such as 'We're burned up and it's not from the sun,' 'We're fed up,' and 'If this is democracy, they can keep it.'

"In the centers in every province, assemblies were held and demands were discussed. In some places, the meetings discussed the possibility of marching to the provincial capitals, even to Madrid if necessary.

"This is a just struggle for fair prices for agricultural products, for full social security, for the right to assemble and to form unions. It is a struggle against the monopolies that buy and sell food, against the regulation of the market for agricultural produce by the FORPA [a government board] and against the government's antipeasant policy.

"From the beginning, the peasant revolt turned to direct action. In general assemblies, picket groups were formed to cover the local areas. The peasants wanted to block the roads. Day by day, representatives subject to recall were elected outside

the framework of the Brotherhoods, and coordination was developed on an area- and province-wide basis. These committees were to extend and centralize the struggle, to seek support in other sectors of the population, and to undertake direct negotiations with the government. . . .

"The peasants know that their fight is not against the workers in the cities. The common enemy of both workers and peasants is the middlemen who monopolize the market and jack up the prices. They buy at prices that mean poverty for the peasants and sell at prices too high for working-class families. Moreover, the peasants' fight for trade-union freedom and the right to meet and demonstrate parallels that of the urban proletariat. This is a common struggle against a government that denies the immense majority of the population their democratic rights.

"In their forms of struggle and organization—assemblies, elected committees, rallies—the peasants have accepted the experience of the workers.

"All these points show clearly enough the need for establishing an ongoing alliance between the workers and peasants against the government. The fact that the unions and trade-union formations support the peasants shows the possibility of such an alliance, which is already taking shape."

Tribune Ouvrière

"Workers Forum," monthly newspaper reflecting the views of the Socialist Workers Group of Québec. Published in Montréal.

In the March issue, René Denis reports that the Canadian government has come up with a new way to lower the unemployment rate.

"What exactly is involved? It seems that when federal data collectors make home visits, they now ask whether the unemployed person has actively looked for work in the four preceding weeks. If the answer is no, the data collectors classify the person as part of the inactive population, in other words neither employed nor unemployed."

The use of these new statistical methods would eliminate 60,000 jobless persons from the rolls and would lower the official unemployment rate by more than one-fifth, Denis writes.

proletaries links

"Proletarian Left," organ of the International Communist League, Netherlands section of the Fourth International. Published fortnightly in Amsterdam.

The March 19 issue includes a report from a correspondent in the Netherlands' Caribbean colony Curaçao:

"Since February, workers at the Curaçao drydock company have been on strike. The

company announced it would lay off eighty-eight workers this year. The reason for this was supposed to be that it did not get enough business in 1976. The union workers have blocked the entrances and the union is demanding that the bosses open up the books.

"This strike is much better organized than the harbor strike called by Papa Godett, about which so much has been written in the Netherlands papers. The union members hardly knew what was going on. Godett thought he had been insulted. The minister of social affairs appointed an arbitrator, who turned out to be none other than Papa Godett! What an operator!"

DIRECT ACTION

Socialist weekly published in Sydney, Australia. Presents the views of the Socialist Workers party.

The Australian Socialist Workers party has launched a new Trotskyist theoretical journal, *Socialist Worker*. Allen Myers writes in the March 17 issue:

"*Socialist Worker* is destined to fill a serious gap on the left. Since the Socialist Workers Party (then the Socialist Workers League) discontinued publication of *Socialist Review* in mid-1972, there has been in Australia no theoretical magazine to present and defend consistently the ideas of revolutionary Marxism."

Myers reports that the new magazine was launched at the SWP's Fifth National Conference in January. Participants there pledged more than \$30,000 to launch *Socialist Worker* and obtain new typesetting equipment.

"*Socialist Worker* is also quite obviously a product of the growing unity of Trotskyist forces in Australia. Regular readers of *Direct Action* will be aware of the recent fusion between the SWP and a number of former members of the Communist League (the other Australian organisation adhering to the Fourth International), including a majority of the Communist League's National Committee. This augmentation of its forces was an important factor in the SWP's ability to bring out the new journal. . . . This is made evident by the fact that the editor of *Socialist Worker* is John McCarthy, who was formerly the central leader of the CL."

The first issue contains three major articles on women's liberation; an article by Dave Holmes, "Alliances and the Revolutionary Party"; and Marxist philosopher George Novack's "In Defense of Engels." The magazine also includes a section called "News of the Fourth International," which is planned as a regular feature.

Socialist Worker will be published six times a year. Subscription information can be obtained by writing: *Socialist Worker*, P.O. Box 151, Glebe 2037, Australia.



"Ergatike Pale" (Workers Struggle), weekly paper serving the interests of the working people. Published in Athens.

The March 12 issue has an article on labor struggles in Greece. P. Skleros writes:

"There was a relative downturn in the workers movement in our country in the period immediately following passage of the antilabor Law 330 last May, and this continued throughout 1976. But since the beginning of this year, a new period has been opening up for the workers movement. This is a period of upturn, and all the signs indicate that it is going to exceed all previous upsurges the workers movement has known since the fall of the junta in 1974.

"Thus, since January, there have already been a number of strikes taking more determined forms.

"The daily increases in the prices of food and other necessities have cut deeply into the buying power of wages and have impelled broader and broader strata of workers into action.

"At the same time, the bosses and the Caramanlis government have shown that they are determined not to make the slightest concessions to the workers but instead are going to try to reduce their living standards still further. . . .

"The present rise of struggles is marked by two features. The first is that strikes are spreading to include all workers in the workplaces, as well as taking more militant forms and lasting longer."

Skleros gives some examples. "The metal workers at the Larko plant in Larimna are in the second month of their strike. They have not been deterred by the violence employed by the boss, Bodhosakis, but have remained united and continue to press for their demands.

"The steelworkers at the Volou smelter have been staging daily work stoppages since the beginning of November. Their main demand is that their contract be respected."

The second feature of the new upsurge, Skleros writes, is "strikes by thousands of white-collar workers both in the private sector and in the civil service, which by their nature come into direct conflict with the government. In these mobilizations, the civil servants, retail clerks, educational workers, and bank clerks find that their demands coincide with those of the industrial workers and the farmers.

"Some 18,500 professors throughout the country are on strike, while 32,000 teachers are preparing to resume their own struggles for better salaries and for schools that can provide a real education.

"Almost a million persons have participated in strikes in these first months of 1977." [The population of Greece is about nine million.]

AROUND THE WORLD



Sri Lanka Trotskyists to Run in Elections

At a mass rally in Colombo March 9, Bala Tampoe, the secretary of the Revolutionary Marxist party (RMP), Sri Lanka section of the Fourth International, announced that the RMP would run candidates in the next general elections. He said that the campaign would be supported at the trade-union level by the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU), of which Tampoe is also a leader.

The rally at Hyde Park followed a demonstration to observe the recent lifting of the state of emergency, which had been in force since 1971 when the regime of Sirimavo Bandaranaike launched a bloody crackdown on the young revolutionists of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front), killing thousands.

According to the March 10 *Ceylon Daily News*, Tampoe attacked the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party (Ceylon Equal Society party) and the Stalinist Communist party for having supported Bandaranaike's state of emergency and other repressive laws. He pointed out that the RMP and CMU had opposed the emergency. Tampoe also demanded the repeal of the Public Security Act and the Criminal Justice Commission.

French CP Member Salutes Dissidents

The March 1 issue of *Le Monde* features a guest column by Hélène Parmelin, a writer and member of the Communist party. Under the headline "A Salute to the Dissidents," Parmelin explains why the movement for democratic rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries should be supported.

Parmelin explains that those who, like Solzhenitsyn, have turned against socialism have done so as a result of the persecution they have suffered in the name of socialism. The blame rests with those who have tried to prevent them from expressing their ideas.

"I salute the dissidents for their courage and willingness to bring out the truth—legally, moreover, and in their own country. I salute them because, for better or for worse, politically opportune or not, with or without a vision of socialism, in their own country or elsewhere, they are charting an irreversible course toward the necessary truths, and paving the way for a second Twentieth Congress. I salute the dissidents because, whether mystics or Communists, firmly opposed to socialism or in favor of socialism with freedom, they are planting

the seeds of Prague springs, by setting forth the truth. . . .

"However voluntary their distress may be, and whatever direction their convictions lead them in, they are reinforcing the notion that prisons, camps, or psychiatric hospitals as punishment for ideas are incompatible with socialism and in contradiction to it. And in this way they help promote socialism with liberty."

Torture and Executions Continue One Year After Argentine Coup

Amnesty International announced March 23 that Argentina was holding between 5,000 and 6,000 political prisoners, and that torture and summary executions were still common occurrences under the country's military dictatorship.

The report, based on findings of a three-person mission to Argentina last November, also said that "between 2,000 and

5,000 people have disappeared without trace" since the March 1976 coup.

The members of the mission were Rep. Robert F. Drinan of Massachusetts; Lord Avebury, a member of the British Parliament; and Amnesty International official Patricia Feeney.

In Buenos Aires, the Videla government rejected the report "because of its anti-legal character and the rash conclusions it contains."

Death Sentence for Libyan 'Trotskyists' Condemned by Amnesty International

Amnesty International cabled Libyan President Muammar el-Qaddafi March 24 to express "serious alarm" at sentences recently pronounced against seventeen political prisoners. Qaddafi has changed court-imposed sentences of ten to fifteen years imprisonment to life imprisonment and death.

A statement from Amnesty International explained that a total of forty Libyans were tried in secret on charges of belonging to illegal political parties. "The accused were allegedly Marxists, Trotskyists and members of the Islamic Liberation Party," the human-rights organization said.

The group was originally tried and acquitted in December 1974. However, Qaddafi had them rearrested and this January they were tried by a specially constituted "People's Court" that passed the sentences of up to fifteen years. All forty have been adopted by Amnesty International as prisoners of conscience.

Bookburners in Thailand

The military dictatorship in Thailand has banned 100 books it considers "subversive or pro-Communist," an Interior Ministry spokesman reported March 24. Prohibited books include works by Marx, Lenin, Ho Chi Minh, Chou En-lai, Che Guevara and Mao Tsetung.

Earthquake Aid to Nicaragua Ends Up in Somoza's Pocket

The United States Agency for International Development is investigating charges that Nicaraguan strongman Gen. Anastasio Somoza and his close associates enriched their personal fortunes on the \$80 million in aid Washington sent following



ARGENTINE BUTCHER VIDELA: Rejects report on torture as "rash conclusions."

the devastating 1972 earthquake.

A study commissioned by AID found the Somoza regime had been siphoning off funds in fraudulent land deals. Grants and low interest loans from Washington were used to help purchase land for the reconstruction of the capital, Managua. By inflating the purchase price far above market value, Somoza and friends were able to profit handsomely.

In one instance cited in the report, a military aide of Somoza's purchased a tract of land in June 1975 for \$71,428. The same parcel was then sold to the government three months later for \$3,342,000.

Opponents of Somoza also charge that friends of the general, privy to information about where new roads were being built, made enormous profits in land speculation. Companies owned by the Somoza family also got exclusive contracts to provide unusually expensive cement blocks for roads, drainage canals, schools, and hospitals.

That such massive graft previously went unnoticed by AID officials seems highly improbable. A local agency director told the *New York Times*, "The Nicaraguan Government must submit proof of costs in order to receive payment. A.I.D. also approves the initial choice of equipment to be used."

Wall Posters Report Release of Tien An Men Protesters

Wall posters in Peking have announced the release of protesters arrested following last year's mass demonstrations in Peking's Tien An Men Square, Agence France-Presse reported March 18.

An unknown number of persons were detained after police and soldiers clashed with tens of thousands of demonstrators on April 5, 1976.

A Painless Act?

Brazil's cancellation of its military assistance treaty with the United States March 11, in protest over President Carter's criticism of human-rights violations, may have represented less than meets the eye.

Dependence on direct military aid from Washington has lessened substantially since the mid-1960s. Brazil has, for example, installed an ultramodern radar system with the help of French technicians, and purchased tanks and heavy armored vehicles from Germany, the March 8 issue of *La Opinión* reports. Furthermore, the locally produced Xavante aircraft is a Brazilian version of an Italian prototype. The Buenos Aires daily also reports Brazilian factories produce all of the army's light weapons, vehicles, and munitions.

The American arms credits Brazil rejected totaled \$50 million out of Brazil's current military budget of \$2 billion, which is underwritten primarily by loans from

foreign banks. A report in the March 20 *Washington Post* estimates that Brazil's outstanding loans total \$27 billion—\$10 billion of which is held by American banks.

Angela Davis on Suppression of Dissidents: 'No comment'

On a recent trip to Paris, Angela Davis was interviewed by Dominique Pouchin, a staff writer for *Le Monde*. Her remarks were published in the paper's March 19 issue.

Asked to comment on the cases of Vladimir Bukovsky, Leonid Plyushch, and other Soviet dissidents, the American CP leader and former frame-up victim said:

"There are dissidents and dissidents. Some of them are even racists, like Solzhenitsyn, who is such a reactionary that even Gerald Ford would have nothing to do with him."

"But what about the Polish workers, Charter 77, and all these European Communist parties taking their distance [from Moscow] these days?" Pouchin asked.

Davis hesitated a moment before replying. "In France, as you know, the CP is very strong and has a great deal of influence. In the United States, we are still very weak, and that's the main purpose of orchestrating the campaign around the dissidents—to keep us from growing."

She added: "The slightest statement about the dissidents, and you can bet I'd make page one of the *New York Times*. I'm not going to let myself be manipulated by the American press."

70,000 Brazilian Peasants Driven Off Their Land

In the course of construction of a hydroelectric plant on the São Francisco River in northeast Brazil, 70,000 peasants were forced off their land without being paid enough compensation to resume farming elsewhere, according to a document issued March 8 by Catholic bishops from the area.

The bishops cited this case as only one of many victimizations of Brazil's rural population by development projects.

Fukuda Warns Washington on Danger of New Trade War

The recent state visit of Japan's Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda to Washington highlighted a dilemma that the Carter administration will face in the coming months—whether or not to raise tariffs on imports of shoes, sugar, steel, color television sets, and other products.

The March 23 *Wall Street Journal* reported that the administration is under heavy pressure from industry and the AFL-CIO leadership to raise tariffs. Meanwhile, America's trading partners in Western Europe and Japan are demanding that



JAPANESE PREMIER FUKUDA: Reminds Carter of how Second World War began.

current import restrictions be eased.

Prime Minister Fukuda took the opportunity of a speech before Washington's National Press Club to remind the White House that escalating protectionism has borne bitter fruits in the past.

Contending that the loss of free trade in the 1930s was one of the major causes of World War II, Fukuda said: "I am not suggesting that we are once again on the road to a world war. Yet I feel a deep anxiety about the social and political consequences for the world if we slide once again into protectionism, or a breakup of the world economy into rival trading blocs."

U.S. Trade Unions Demand Freedom for Argentine PST Leader José Páez

Two locals of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees have endorsed a resolution demanding the release of José Francisco Páez, a leader of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers party).

Páez has been imprisoned since January 1976 on charges of "illegal association" and possession of "subversive" literature. He is a former leader of the auto workers union in Córdoba.

The resolution, which is being circulated by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, pointed out that "Argentina's labor movement has been particularly struck by the military occupation of its headquarters, the persecution of its leaders through murder and widespread detention without trial, the abrogation of its right to engage in collective bargaining or its right to strike when necessary. . . ."

Baghdad's Forced Resettlement of 1 Million Kurds

[The following letter to Arab heads of state, and the memorandum on the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan that accompanies it, are reprinted from *Revolution in Kurdistan*, a collection of documents published by the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. (The collection can be ordered for \$1.00 from PUK, P.O. Box 72, East Amherst, N.Y. 14051.)

[The Baathist regime in Iraq has fought for years to suppress the demands of the Kurdish minority for democratic rights and autonomy. An agreement between the shah of Iran and the Baghdad regime in March 1975 resulted in a cutoff of supplies to the Kurdish fighters and enabled the Iraqi army to occupy the rebellious Kurdish areas. However, recent reports have indicated a revival of guerrilla activity among the Kurds. (For further information on the Kurdish struggle, see *Intercontinental Press*, May 24, 1976, p. 840, and November 17, 1975, p. 1580.)

* * *

Letter to Arab Heads of State

Since the Algiers agreement between Iraq and Iran, on 6 March [1975], the Iraqi authorities have sought to destroy the national identity of the Kurdish people. The government has evicted about a million Kurds from Kurdistan to the south of Iraq. This policy is inhumane, contrary to all international laws and treaties and goes against the Iraqi constitution and brings the whole Arab movement into disrepute. The Iraqi authorities by implementing this policy, condone the past deeds of the French in Algeria and Italians in Libya in their attempts to change the nature of the Arab people and Arab land. They condone what the Ethiopian authorities are doing to the Eritrean people now. The policy being applied by the Iraqi authorities against the Kurds is no different from that applied by the Israelis against the Palestinian people; stripping them of their land, evicting them and settling other people in their homes, changing the names of their towns in order to eradicate their culture and language. The Baghdad rulers are creating a second Palestine in Kurdistan. The Zionists themselves cite this policy in their propaganda against the Arab people.

Although the Iraqi authorities misguidedly attempt to create hatred between the Kurdish and Arab peoples, Arabs and Kurds have the same interest in building and defending Iraq. The Arabs in Iraq recognised the rights of the Kurds. The Kurds support the Arab people's ambitions

inside and outside Iraq. Evidence of this was provided when the "National Iraqi Groupings" was founded to work for democracy and autonomy for Kurdistan.

The policy of the Baghdad authorities towards the Kurdish people is as follows:

1. Eviction of thousands of Kurdish peasant and workers' families from their villages and towns to places in the south of Iraq.

2. Confiscation of the lands and possessions of the people by force.

3. Settling Arab tribes in the homes of the evicted Kurds.

4. The transfer of most Kurdish civil servants, soldiers and police to the south of Iraq.

5. The transfer of Arab civil servants to Kurdistan with promotion and generous allowances.

6. Ending teaching in the Kurdish language by schools in Kurdistan.

7. Emptying Sulaimaniyah University of Kurdish personnel.

8. Changing the Kurdish names of villages and towns in Kurdistan.

9. Neglect of Kurdistan as regards industrial and civil projects.

10. Subjecting the evicted Kurds to bad social conditions.

After the Algiers agreement, the Iraqi government put an end to the institutions which were established by the "autonomous laws" in 1974. These acts contravene the United Nations charter, the principles of Islam and the Arab national movement, threaten national unity and will inevitably lead to renewed fighting.

We beg you to do all in your power to stop this racial policy being waged against the Kurdish people. In so doing you will be acting for humanity and serving both Arabs and Kurds alike.

The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
(Founding Committee)
March, 1976.

Memorandum on the Situation in Iraqi Kurdistan

1. Forceful eviction.

The Baghdad rulers decided to forcefully evict, from Iraqi Kurdistan, one million Kurds and resettle them in Southern Iraq. This policy is being applied chiefly in areas of Kirkuk, Khanaqeen, Mendelie, Sheikhan, Zakho and Zemar and also Arbiel, the capital of the phoney autonomous Kurdistan.

(a) *Kirkuk*: for a long time the Iraqi authorities have been trying to change this city's status by evicting its citizens and

annexing its surrounding villages to other cities.

The entire population of the Raheemawa district of Kirkuk were evicted supposedly to make room for the building of a factory. Even if this unlikely excuse were true it could not possibly justify evicting the entire population of the district.

The same policy had been applied to people of Quriya and Imanam Qasim. In some cases entire areas have been demolished. The policy is also extended to areas around Kirkuk such as Aghjeler, Sheik Bezeny, Touz Khurmatu, Kifry, Shwan and Dibis. The following are names of some of the villages belonging to the above district: Kuptipa, Bulgamesh, Heyder Bek, Asker, Sutke, Mayla, Qalajogh, Dalewa Kurde, Delawa Rute, Goze Bora, Askender Beki, Asha, Qaradara, Qara Arbet, Qush Qaba, Qutani Gora, Qutani Khalifa, Khanaga, Hanjeera, Kirka Jal, Jobileja, se Canian, Gormel, Sona Koly, Baruly, Qirgha To, Shwarawa, Bajwan, Ismail Tawa, Alyawa, Milhy, Benja Ali, Arat, Idris Baboj, Dibs Alkubra, Dibs Alsughra, Combis, Karymiyah, Sayid Wali, Sayid Ali, Mala Omer, Siby Sirir, Hasan Yerheen, Taza Shar and many other villages.

The towns of Chamchamal and Kalar which used to be administered by Kirkuk are now made to be administered by the city of Sulaimaniyah, which is not included in the eviction policy, but suffers from a policy of "Baathisation," i.e. forcing the population to join the hated Baath party.

(b) *Sinjar*: the same policy has been applied to this town and the surrounding villages. The eviction included those Kurds who joined the Baath party, and those who were fighting on the side of the government.

The villages near Sinjar which have been affected by the eviction policy are: Kreeshk, Jiyaly, Khiranok; Bischarce, Rozh Afa, Kaheel, Shorkan, Haji Jafra, Yusfa, York, Sharif Aldeen, Kormak, Qizil Kend, Orfa, Kani Abdi, Jofrok, Jolan, Bakhleef, Tanga, Ta Hozawa, Du Holy, Ein Ghazal, Ein Faty, Kohbal, Romani and many others.

(c) *Al Shakhnan*: the town and following villages have been affected: Beetar, Mam Rashan, Kindala, Mahmoudan, Mouska Yeseediyah, Muqbila, Muhammed Rasha, Tus Qala, Muska, Seelka, Meekeers, Tel Deeb, Beka, Birton, Nour Aladeen Afa, Dize, Ashkaftendawan, Beery, Meersayda, Meerkuby, Tel Jomer, Gila Sheen, Bilan, Mal Keshan, Bysatt Alya and Beesatt Suffa. The towns of Atroush and Mereeba are also affected.

(d) *Zakho*: the following villages of Zakho town have been affected: Sheen Aqa, Heetyan, Qirawla, Deerabeen, Feeshkhabour, Bajdi, Tousana, Yaraqy, Yaraqouk, Koly, Kelk, Eymilky, Kani Kirky, Jeemeena, Kheljy, Zharab Dar, etc.

(e) *Zimar*: Seebqa, Jiftak, Hammad Agha, Khani, Kirbeer, Hem Tawsa, Birwaga, etc.

The authorities who carry out these inhumane policies and rob the Kurdish people of their lands and homes mistakenly believe that their oppression will strengthen their authority in Iraq.

2. *The authorities take forceful possession of land and belongings of the Kurdish people.*

The Baath party organisation in Kurdistan together with the security police make a list of families they want to be transported. These families are "requested" to hand over the keys of their homes to the security police departments, and to abandon most of their belongings without any compensation.

3. *Settlement of the Arab Tribes in Kurdish regions.*

The authorities are replacing evicted Kurds by Arabs transported from the south. The evicted Kurd is forced to leave behind all his belongings, which are taken over by the Arabs. The Arab tribes who collaborated with the Baath party are: Zawba, Shamer, Jaheesh and Albuhammad, and some other tribes who have tribal links with the Baath rulers. However, there are Arabs who, after seeing the inhumane state of the Kurds, fled from Kurdistan. But the authorities forced some to go back and some were punished.

The Iraqi rulers agreed with the Egyptian authorities to bring 50,000 Egyptian peasants. Some of these have been settled in Kurdistan and some in the south, replacing the Arabs transported to Kurdistan.

4. *Transfers of Kurdish civil servants, police and soldiers.*

After the Algiers agreement the Iraqi rulers began transferring most of the Kurdish civil servants to the south, after demoting them, and they were transferred to isolated villages. Even those Kurds who had high positions in the government have been either "retired" or transferred to administrative jobs. For example the chairman of the General Company has been sent to the south and given a clerical job in the same company. He cannot even resign, since under a new law the penalty for resignation from certain categorised jobs is a prison sentence of not less than ten years. This new law was passed by the "Revolutionary Council," which is made up of twelve members of the Regional Leadership of the Baath party.

Kurdish soldiers and police have been sent to isolated camps and they are not allowed to visit their families in Kurdistan.



The Kurdish officers in the army and police have been transferred to clerical jobs in civil departments.

5. *Transfer of Arab civil servants to Kurdistan.*

Arab civil servants transferred from the south to Kurdistan are given responsible posts incommensurate with their qualifications and experience. They are expected to keep a watchful eye on their fellow citizens and are used as a supplementary security police which belong to the Baath party.

6. *End of Kurdish schools.*

Under the provisions of the first Iraqi constitution, teaching in schools of Kurdistan was to be in the Kurdish language and this was endorsed by other constitutions. This teaching in Kurdish has now been stopped. Even the Kurdish names of the schools have been changed.

In order to disclaim responsibility for such actions, the Iraqi Baath forced the families of students to sign petitions claiming their dissatisfaction with teaching in Kurdish.

7. *Emptying Sulaimaniyah University of Kurdish personnel.*

The Ministry of Higher Education has transferred most of the Kurdish staff of the University of Sulaimaniyah to jobs outside universities. Even those Kurds who were members of the puppet Kurdish political parties, such as Jawfreg Rushdy Ahmed, a lecturer in Islamic Philosophy in the college of literature, who has been transferred to the Ministry of Transport.

The University of Sulaimaniyah is also accepting less and less Kurdish students. In the Engineering College only four Kurds were accepted this year. The College of Literature, which was supposed to promote Kurdish literature and language, has only nine students and the rest have been sent to other colleges.

8. *Change of Kurdish villages and towns to Arabic names.*

The authorities have been changing names of Kurdish towns and villages to names such as Huriyah, Ishtarakiyah and Baath, which are slogans of the Baath party. They also changed the name of the Kurdish town Kirkuk to Taameem, an Arabic name. They seem to have learned

such policies from the French in Algeria, Italians in Libya and Zionists in Palestine.

9. *Neglect of Kurdistan from industrial and civil projects.*

Kurdistan is the richest region of Iraq in petroleum, minerals and tourist areas; Kirkuk is a major petroleum producing city. But the region's share of industrial and civil projects is very low compared with its natural resources. This share was about 7-12% in the years between 1970-75. The refineries have been removed from Kurdistan to Hammam Ali, an Arab region, even though the cost of building new plants has risen by 20%. The government has also moved the steel industry to Basrah, in the south, even though the necessary raw materials such as iron and copper come from Kurdistan. The same applies to other industries; in Kurdistan there are four industrial projects out of 150 in the whole of Iraq.

The policy is being extended to building and construction. Since the Algiers agreement the government has built about 252 kms of road. This figure was printed in the Iraqi papers on 20.11.1975. However, the 252 kms of road have been exclusively for military purposes.

10. *Conditions of the evicted Kurds.*

Those Kurds who have been forcibly evicted have been dumped in the deserts and Arab marshes of the south, without any of the basic amenities of life. They live in little cramped rooms vulnerable to cold, heat and disease. There is no medical care or any sort of social services.

PUK

March, 1976.

Vorster Backs Down on Censorship Bill

In the face of stiff opposition, the South African government announced March 23 it would set aside proposed legislation aimed at tightening censorship over the country's press. Prime Minister John Vorster said he would give the newspaper industry a year to demonstrate it can "discipline itself effectively" under a revised voluntary press code.

The original bill would have established a Press Council to oversee a code of conduct. Among other provisions, the legislation required that newspapers ensure the "name of the republic is not damaged abroad." Violations could have resulted in heavy fines for newspapers and suspension of publication. Reporters could also have been fined.

The severity of the measure had drawn protest from a number of South African newspapers. The Afrikaans *Die Vaderland* called it "censorship by fear":

"The provisions are so wide open to interpretation that the newspaperman will, for fear of transgression, not be able to perform his normal duties. . . ."

BOOKS

What Is American Fascism?

Reviewed by David Frankel

It is common for people today to look back on the rise of Hitler to power with some puzzlement. With the aid of hindsight, it seems hard to imagine that millions could have been confused and unsure about the mortal danger from the Nazi movement. That, however, was the case.

From this point of view, *What Is American Fascism?* takes on special interest. This educational bulletin, the third in a series on fascism published by the Socialist Workers party in the past year,* focuses on three incipient fascist movements that appeared in the United States during the depression of the 1930s and the cold war witch-hunt of the 1950s.

The fact is that when home-grown fascist movements began to raise their heads in the United States, their true character was not at all obvious to many people. In some cases, questions on the character of these movements were raised inside the SWP itself.

* The two earlier bulletins were *Counter-Mobilization: A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks*, by Farrell Dobbs, and *The Fight Against Fascism in the U.S.A.: Forty Years of Struggle Described By Participants*, by James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Vincent R. Dunne, Joseph Hansen, Malik Miah, and others. Both are available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.



Laura Gray/Militant

Charles E. Coughlin, the "radio priest," was the most easily recognizable of the fascist demagogues dealt with in this bulletin. Coughlin, an obscure Catholic priest, began broadcasting over the radio in Detroit in the middle of 1926. The depression came a few years later, and Coughlin gained the national spotlight with a series of violent attacks against communism.

At first, Coughlin urged his listeners to

What Is American Fascism? Writings on Father Coughlin, Mayor Frank Hague, and Senator Joseph McCarthy, by James P. Cannon and Joseph Hansen. New York: National Education Department Socialist Workers Party, 1976. 45 pp. \$1.25 paper.

place their trust in President Herbert Hoover. Then he switched to Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal. In 1936 he backed Republican candidate William Lemke for president. Lemke was defeated, and after a short-lived retirement Father Coughlin returned to public life.

In his 1939 pamphlet, *Father Coughlin: Fascist Demagogue*, which is reprinted in this educational bulletin, Joseph Hansen noted that Coughlin "came back on the air with a new twist to his political program—against the Jews . . . revolution . . . prepare for violence. . . ."

By 1939 forty-eight radio stations were broadcasting Coughlin's speeches to an audience that may have numbered millions. His National Union for Social Justice spread across the country, appealing especially to the seventeen million unemployed. But success did not make Coughlin drop his protective coloration. Hansen described this side of Coughlin's propaganda:

"I am for a just annual living wage," he [Coughlin] declares. "I am for labor's right to organize. I am for the cost of living being maintained on an even keel; and I am for preferring the sanctity of human rights to the sanctity of property with government's chief concern for the poor."

. . . Why should a program so commonplace as that create such excitement and clamor, and out of an obscure priest create a national political



figure with apparently unlimited funds at his disposal?

Because that is not his real program.

At the same time that Coughlin talked about "a just annual living wage," and "cost of production plus a fair profit to the farmer," he opposed the institution of Social Security benefits for the workers, calling for the regimentation of labor and a corporate state. Anti-Semitism, support to fascist regimes abroad, virulent anti-communism, and opposition to strikes and the organized labor movement were all characteristics of the Coughlinite movement.

Trained goon squads selling *Social Justice*—the Coughlinite magazine—clashed regularly with trade-unionists, Jews, and Blacks. Frequently, the Coughlinites sold their hate sheet in Black or Jewish neighborhoods with the help of the police. Open assaults on trade-union headquarters, radical meetings, and individual Jews were also carried out.

The Catholic Church hierarchy refused to condemn Coughlin's activities, and in practice the churches became one of the main organizing grounds for Coughlin's movement. This gave Coughlin an advantage over his competitors for hegemony in the incipient fascist movement. His *Social Justice* movement was the biggest and most prominent of the 800 fascist groups that were operating in the United States by 1939.

But precisely because of his connection with the Catholic Church, and because—despite all attempts at camouflage—Coughlin was so clearly a fascist, the "radio priest" was not a likely candidate for the American Hitler. This was noted at the time by the Socialist Workers party.

A successful fascist movement in the United States, the SWP predicted, would not be able to follow the pattern set by Hitler and Mussolini in Europe. It would have peculiarly American characteristics, and it would not be easily recognizable for what it was. A case in point was the rise of Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City, New Jersey.

Hague did not begin as a fascist. He was the boss of a big-city electoral machine held together by patronage—a common enough figure in American politics. He was elected mayor of Jersey City in 1927

after winning control of the New Jersey State Democratic party. Hague rose to the position of a vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and his machine kept New Jersey in the Roosevelt column during presidential elections.

With the rise of the industrial union movement, however, Hague turned to fascist methods to prevent union organizing in Jersey City. "Combining political pressure with ultrapatriotic, anticommunist demagoguery, Hague mobilized mobs of cops, city employees, special deputies, war veterans, and others to smash union and socialist meetings," explains Fred Feldman, who edited the educational bulletins on fascism and wrote the introductory notes to the material in them.

One article from the May 7, 1938, *Socialist Appeal* (the newspaper of the American Trotskyists at that time) describes how Hague's cops ran Social Democratic leader Norman Thomas out of town when he tried to speak in the city's main square. Subsequent articles detail the assaults by the Hague machine on those trying to protest the outrage—including liberal congressmen.

Also reprinted is an account from the *Socialist Appeal* by James Raleigh on "How Hague Rules." According to Raleigh:

Today, ordinary people in Jersey know in advance who will "pass" civil service examinations for key jobs before they are conducted, who will be "elected" to public office before they are nominated, and who will be sent to jail for election law "violations" before they are tried.

No one of importance criticizes Hague publicly without suffering retribution. . . .

No one may vote against him if in the future he wishes a favor. The "secret" polling booth has no curtain to hide the mark on your ballot. In Jersey City pro-Hague citizens hand in their ballots unfolded as they leave the voting booth. . . .

. . . men are removed from federal WPA jobs and pointedly told that they had voted against Hague. . . . Theatre projects, writers' projects, sewing projects, music projects, lawyers' projects—all these New Deal palliatives are mysteriously closed to enemies of Frank Hague.

Leon Trotsky called Hague "an American fascist" and "an advance scout of the American capitalist class." Yet Hague, who organized his antilabor goons through the apparatus of the Democratic party and the local government, seemed quite different from the more familiar European fascists who organized independently of the existing governmental apparatus.

With the outbreak of World War II, the radicalism arising from mass unemployment and other scourges of the Great Depression died down. As a counterforce, the fascist groups lost their reason for being. At the same time, the willingness of the labor bureaucracy to go along with the war made a fascist movement an unnecessary embarrassment for the capitalist rulers. Coughlin sank back into obscurity, and Hague returned to more conventional

methods of operation. It was not long after the end of World War II, however, that a new would-be Hitler began to win a broad following.

Like Father Coughlin and Mayor Hague, Joseph R. McCarthy did not have a history of activity in extreme right-wing circles. Feldman notes that he "was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1946 with the support of the Communist Party and liberal organizations."

When the anticommunist witch-hunt was initiated by the Truman administration in 1947, McCarthy was not especially conspicuous in its prosecution. But in 1950 McCarthy made a speech charging that the State Department was ignoring "Communist infiltration." The witch-hunt had already swept through liberal political groups, professional organizations, the mass media, the trade unions, and schools and churches. Now it was extended into the upper reaches of the government itself, and McCarthy was catapulted into national prominence.

Today, McCarthyism is commonly used as a synonym to denote the anticommunist witch-hunt as a whole. But as the "Draft Resolution on the Political Situation in America," prepared by the SWP Political Committee for the party's December 1954 convention explained:

. . . the witch-hunt drive has shown increasing signs of splitting into two fundamental segments—the witch hunt of the capitalist regime as such which develops organically so to speak from the old structure of bourgeois democracy towards a police state, and the witch hunt led by McCarthy that has as its fundamental aim replacing the bourgeois democratic structure with a fascist regime founded on the destruction of the old democratic institutions and above all the destruction of the trade unions as independent working-class organizations.

McCarthy's distance from the more conventional capitalist witch-hunters was revealed most sharply when he attacked both Harry Truman and President Eisenhower. As the SWP draft resolution said:

Like Hitler's charge of "14 years of shame and treason," McCarthy's charge of "20 or 21 years of treason," which he levels against the Democrats and somewhat more carefully but nevertheless plainly against Eisenhower, is the pivot of fascist demagoguery. The treason charge marks the boundary between the official witch hunt and its unofficial fascist offspring. . . . the McCarthyites charge that the U.S. government has been infested with conscious and unconscious Russian agents for two decades and more. They claim that the highest military circles deliberately handed half of Germany and all of China to Moscow. They claim that the government is still honey-combed with spies and traitors.

McCarthy's incipient fascist movement was thrown into disarray and rapidly declined when the American ruling class decided it could not go to war against the Soviet Union. At the same time, the economic prosperity in the United States did not provide fertile ground for the continued growth of a fascist movement.

But McCarthyism is well worth studying because it was so different from the ordinary conception of a fascist movement. McCarthy, after all, did not organize extralegal shock troops, and although he was moving toward the development of a demagogic social program, this was only in the embryonic stage. Like Hague before him, McCarthy posed as a defender of democracy and "Americanism" against communism.

In an article in the March 15, 1954, issue of the *Militant*—part of a series on McCarthyism included in *What is American Fascism?* James P. Cannon said:

Those who would judge specific American forms of fascism too formalistically by the European pattern, arbitrarily limit capitalist



Laura Gray/Militant

SENATOR JOSEPH McCARTHY

aggression against the workers' movement in two forms:

They see the democratic form by which the workers are suppressed through strictly legal measures in accordance with the law and the Constitution—such as the Taft-Hartley [anti-strike] Law, formal indictments and prosecutions for specific violations of existing statutes, etc. All this, despite its obvious "inconvenience" to the workers' movement, is characterized as democratic.

On the other side they see the illegal, unofficial forms of violence practiced by "storm troopers" and similar shirted hooligans outside the forms of law, as in Italy and Germany. This is characterized as fascist.

But what about violence which is technically illegal and unconstitutional, but carried out nevertheless by duly constituted officials clothed with legal authority? What about such things as the breaking up of meetings and picket lines by official police and special deputies; wire tapping; inquisitions; screening and blacklisting of "subversives"; and all the rest of the intimidation and terror of the witch hunt? These procedures don't fit very well into the "democratic" formula, although their chief instruments are legally-constituted officials, supported and incited by press campaigns, radio demagogues etc.

This kind of illegal violence under the outward forms of law has a distinctive American flavor; and it is especially favored by a section of the ruling class which has very little respect for its own laws, and cares more for practical action than for theories as to how it is to be carried out. This is, in fact, an important element of the specific form which American fascism will take, as has already been indicated quite convincingly.

There were some in the SWP who did not agree with the characterization of McCarthyism as an incipient fascist movement. An answer by Joseph Hansen to two critics who argued that McCarthy was in fact merely another bourgeois democrat marshals an impressive array of arguments to show the real character of McCarthyism. Hansen summarized the SWP's analysis of McCarthyism by saying:

McCarthy's whole course of action reveals his aim—the destruction of bourgeois democratic forms. Once this aim was clearly revealed, it was sufficient to demarcate him from the bourgeois democrats. And as soon as it became clear that his principal means to achieve this was the organization of a middle-class following independently of the Republican and Democratic machines, we had sufficient criteria to characterize him as a fascist. But if we are prepared to call McCarthyism "fascism," why do we put the adjective "incipient" in front of it?

The reason is that although McCarthyism is fascism in essence it is far from being fully formed. It has not even built its own party. At present it exists as a faction primarily in the Republican Party but also extending into Democratic ranks. . . . Its propaganda likewise is far from finished in form. And the same goes for its extra-legal squads and activities.

Similar problems will be posed in the future when Marxists have to analyze developing fascist movements. If McCarthy had managed to survive for a longer time as a fascist demagogue, his movement doubtless would have begun to

organize its own armed bands and would have become more easily recognizable. The point, however, is to be able to identify a fascist movement before it reaches the stage attained by the Nazi party in 1930.

McCarthyism, of course, is today only an unpleasant page in American history. But as the class struggle heats up, we will see new incipient fascist movements arise, both in the United States and elsewhere in

100 Delegates in Attendance

Portuguese LCI Holds Fourth Congress

[The following article appeared in the March 17 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The Fourth Congress of the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League), Portuguese sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, was held in Lisbon February 25-27. After a discussion opened in September 1976 and marked by intense debate in all the cells of the organization, the Congress amended the resolutions presented by the outgoing Central Committee. The approximately 100 delegates present adopted various documents unanimously or by majority vote. These dealt with the political situation and the building of the organization, work in the factories, work among student youth, work among women, the international situation, and the fusion with the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores PRT—Revolutionary Workers party). The Congress also adopted new statutes and elected a new leadership.

Many sections of the International sent delegations to the Congress. The LCI delegates gave an especially warm welcome to the representative of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) of Spain, who also brought the greetings of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. A PRT delegation participated in the entire Congress discussion.

The closing session heard representatives from the Portuguese Communist party as well as from the Popular Socialist Front (FSP) and the Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR).

This Congress marked significant progress for the Portuguese Trotskyist organization since its Third (Extraordinary) Congress of December 1975. This was reflected in the important political success won through participation in struggles

the world. The question of how to analyze these movements and how to deal with them has already been raised on a small scale in numerous countries, and tomorrow it will reappear with even greater urgency.

The experience that is summarized in *What Is American Fascism?* and its two companion bulletins constitutes a most useful introduction to the problems of fascism. □

against the government austerity plan, the group's emergence during the December municipal election campaign and the preparation of the trade-union congress last January, the intervention among women, and the building of the National Union of Portuguese Students (UNEP). It was also reflected in the organizational strengthening of the LCI. A campaign to raise money to buy printing equipment adapted to the LCI's growing needs has just been successfully concluded. This will pave the way for improvement of the weekly *Luta Proletária*, which has been appearing regularly for a year now, and for promoting the new theoretical journal of the Portuguese Trotskyists, *Acção Comunista*, the first issue of which contains a long and very rich article drawing the balance-sheet of three years of the Portuguese revolution as well as several contributions on the present situation and revolutionary strategy in Europe. (To order a copy, write to *Acção Comunista*; Francisco Louca; Rua Conde de Sabugosa 29, 90 Esq; Lisboa 5; Portugal.) □

Forecast for Britain: Cloudy, Plumes of Highly Radioactive Dust

Plans for Britain's National Health Service in the event of a nuclear war have been brought up to date, according to a report in the February 5 *London Times*.

Although details of procedures previously outlined were not reported, the prognosis for survival does not appear to have improved.

The new plans are said to take into account the assumption that the "greater part of the country would be covered, in varying degrees, by plumes of highly radioactive dust and that the intensity of the fallout would prevent movement for at least 48 hours in most areas."