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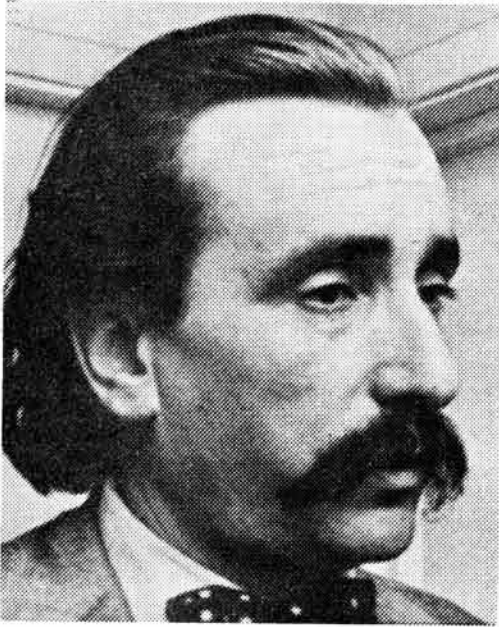
the Americas

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March 17, 1975

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CORAL: Lecturing in United States in defense of Latin American political prisoners.

## **Coral Continues on Tour Despite Attack in Chicago**

### **Ford Told of CIA Assassinations**

### **Defeat for U.S. in Cambodia 'Inevitable'**

### **Immigrant Workers--Target of Reaction**

Australia

### **Stool Pigeon Awarded 'Hero' Status**

# NEWS ANALYSIS

## Put Guns Down and Debate Politically

In the wake of the shooting of "Official" Sinn Féin organizer Seán Garland in Dublin March 1, reports of violent incidents involving members of the "Official" republican movement multiplied in the Irish, British, and international press. Representatives of this movement accused the rival Irish Republican Socialist party of unleashing a "gang war" against them.

The capitalist press took the opportunity to portray both groups as gangs of political desperadoes. However, it concentrated its fire on the IRSP, claiming that the latter was regrouping the most dangerously violent and extremist elements from both the "Official" and Provisional IRA. One of the most biased and provocative voices was the *Irish Times*, the paper of the Dublin petty bourgeoisie and the old pro-British business interests. It made an editorial attack on Bernadette (Devlin) McAliskey, one of the leaders of the IRSP and the most prominent representative of the young radical generation than came to the fore during the mass civil-rights movement in Northern Ireland.

In face of such a campaign, the small, barely formed organization was obviously threatened with destruction. On March 7, the IRSP announced that it was dissolving its Belfast organization and would readmit members only one by one. The measure was clearly designed to weed out provocateurs and uncontrollable elements. The fact that the IRSP was ready and able to take such a step is a favorable indication of the alertness of its leadership to the dangerousness of the situation.

Any split in the republican movement offers an opportunity to anarchistic gunmen, including some gangsters, to gain political cover. A new organization lacks the structures, the authoritative leadership, and the familiarity with its members necessary to weed out such elements quickly.

Furthermore, republican splits are apt to take on a violent character. One reason for this is the nature of authority in such organizations. Another reason is the problem of property. In any split in a political organization, the question of the assets that previously belonged to the membership as a whole can be a source of bitter quarrels. Struggles often erupt over typewriters or mimeograph machines. The complications in an armed organization theoretically under wartime discipline may be easily imagined.

If the incidents between the "Officials"

and the IRSP originated in such problems, as some representatives of the "Officials" suggest, then at least one of the factors in this disastrous conflict is another militarist error of the type that has done so much harm to the organization in previous episodes. No equipment, whatever its monetary value, is worth the risk of internecine war. In this, the political losses far outweigh any military considerations, not to mention the cost of opening up the field for provocateurs.

One political leader like Seán Garland is worth the entire "Official" arsenal many times over.

It would also be a militaristic error to think that in a political split, "military discipline" can be imposed on those who have already rejected the authority of the leadership.

The response of the "Officials" to the development of the present conflict raises a more fundamental political problem. In his speech at the funeral of Seán Fox in Belfast on February 26 "Official" leader Cathal Goulding indicated that he considered the IRSP a "sectarian," that is, anti-Protestant group, and that the "Official" IRA feels itself duty bound to protect both the Catholic and Protestant workers from such elements. Goulding explicitly threatened military retaliation as a way of suppressing activities he regarded as "sectarian." The same theme has been sounded in other statements by this group.

At the funeral of a leader of the rival IRSP a few days before, Seamus Costello called for unity of all groups in the Catholic ghettos against the attacks of ultraright Protestant terror gangs and the British forces. In a statement to the press afterward, he specifically rejected retaliation against the "Officials."

Thus, following the logic of their schema that class unity between Catholic and Protestant workers must come before the national struggle and the emancipation of the oppressed Catholics, the "Officials" have come to a truly aberrant position. In the first place, this organization does not have the political authority in the Catholic community to pursue a policy of repressing "sectarian" groups. Any attempt to do so would simply be a form of "left" military elitism—or to use socialist terminology, petty-bourgeois populist terrorism—that led to the disasters of the Aldershot bombing and the shooting of Ranger Best in Derry.

An even more dangerous implication of the "Official" position is that this organ-

ization has lost sight of where the line in the struggle is actually drawn. In a statement issued in Dublin at the time of the Fox shooting, the "Officials" said that the No. 1 enemy was "sectarianism," that is, the antagonism between the Catholic and Protestant communities, and not the oppression of the Catholics.

The effects of such confusion go beyond the conflict with the IRSP, dangerous as that is. The "Officials" are also mistaken on the question of policing in the Catholic ghettos. Apparently the only major concession the Provisionals have been able to extract from the British government for their cease-fire is an agreement not to send police back into the ghettos and to allow nationalist militants to operate openly to prevent incidents.

This suggestion of "police powers" for the Provisional republicans can, of course, be a deadly trap if the oppressed community is not mobilized and a general political struggle is not developed and widened. If the people in the ghettos become convinced that there is a danger they will be subjected to gang rule, kangaroo courts, and arbitrary violence, they will eventually welcome back even the ill-famed Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) as liberators.

Leading Provisionals have apparently recognized this danger and called for forming a united front of organizations in the Catholic ghettos to build an unarmed peace-keeping force acceptable to the community. The "Officials," however, have reacted to these concessions granted by the British government to the Provisionals—which were dearly bought—as if they represented a threat to their own organization.

If there is a danger that the Provisionals might use their new position against their rivals, it will only be increased by such a dogmatic and self-centered response by the "Officials." Needless to say, a civil war in the Catholic ghettos between the "Officials" and Provisionals would be a disaster for the oppressed people as a whole. In the present situation it is essential to press for community control in the oppressed communities; and a united front of all the organizations in the ghettos is a prerequisite for this.

The only way the struggle of the Catholic people can be revived and carried forward is to establish a broad, democratic basis for mobilization. This is what the "Officials" have said they want.

However, it is clear that the logic of their "antisectarian" position is driving the "Officials" in the other direction. Instead of showing willingness to unite with other groups in the Catholic ghettos to push for community control, the "Officials" have called for a sanitized RUC and have said that any police force operating in the ghettos must be acceptable to Protestants

as well as Catholics. In fact, their program on the policing question is so far to the right that they have accused the liberal proimperialist Alliance party of "stealing" it.

It seems all too clear that the "Officials" dogmatic notion of "class unity first" has brought them close to passing over into the camp of the oppressor. If they try to suppress elements in the Catholic community judged by them as standing in the way of their perspective, they will in fact become an auxiliary police for the imperialist and Orange system.

It is important to call the attention of the "Officials" to the disastrous logic of the position they have taken. If, because of lack of protest, they become convinced that they can suppress groups they regard as politically dangerous, they will become a menace to every tendency in Ireland to the left of the Communist party.

However, it cannot be assumed in advance that the "Officials" will follow such a line to its logical end. In the conflict between this group and the IRSP it is necessary to establish the facts first, without any political bias, so that the full pressure of the left and the oppressed community can be brought to bear effectively to counteract the threat of violence and to return the dispute to a political level. Unless other left and anti-imperialist groups carefully investigate the facts and reserve judgment until these are clarified, they will simply be drawn into the conflict on one or the other side, thus helping to exacerbate the clash rather than end it.

The IRSP has given token of its good faith in pledging united action in the anti-imperialist struggle and in taking steps to weed out any provocateurs from its ranks. The "Official" press secretary has promised to help independent socialist observers verify the facts. What is most important is to end a conflict that can only be disastrous for all those involved, as well as to the struggle and aspirations of the Irish people.

## What Recession?

Rolls-Royce's latest model, the Camargue, sells for \$70,000 in Britain and \$75,000 in the United States, yet the entire 1975 production of fifty Camargues has been sold out in advance, and orders are pouring in for deliveries in 1976.

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## Coral Continues Tour Despite Attack in Chicago

A meeting for Juan Carlos Coral at the University of Chicago March 9 was attacked by a gang of fifty counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles. Coral, a leader of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party), was speaking in defense of Latin American political prisoners. He is addressing meetings across the country on a tour sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

The gusanos, part of the audience of more than 250 persons, began heckling as Coral neared the end of his talk. When he finished his remarks, he received a standing ovation. At this point, the disrupters, some of whom were armed with short clubs, began to move toward the podium.

"Talk about Cuba, you traitor," one of them shouted. Another yelled to Coral, "Shut up, you son of a bitch." "Go back to Russia."

Monitors formed a line in front of the podium to protect Coral. The disrupters tried to break through the line but were unsuccessful. Meanwhile, Coral was safely escorted out of the hall.

In the scuffle, several monitors were injured. Andrew Pulley, former vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party, was jumped by three of the goons. Twelve stitches were required to close the cuts he received.

The gusanos also attacked members of the audience. Although half a dozen university police came to the scene, none of the right-wing thugs were arrested. Eventually enough calm was restored so that a collection could be taken, and the audience was able to leave without further incident.

It was learned later in the day that Chicago police had been tipped off that a disruption was planned. University police told one of the monitors, Garret Brown, that Chicago police had told them that morning that through their "pipeline to the Spanish community" they had learned there would be trouble at the meeting. Chicago police did not inform the organizers of the meeting, nor did they have any uniformed officers at the scene.

A statement issued by the Chicago chapter of USLA demanded the arrest and prosecution of the right-wing thugs. Representatives of the chapter said they would not be intimidated and would continue their efforts to obtain support for Latin American political prisoners.

Jim Little, a representative of the national office of USLA in New York, stressed

that the Coral tour would continue despite the disruption. He said that USLA is calling on its prominent supporters and endorsers around the country to send telegrams of protest to Chicago Mayor Richard Daley. "The police knew in advance that the attack was planned," he said, "and they could have stopped it in a moment. Instead, they did nothing."

Little said that USLA would also encourage its supporters to demand that local authorities in other cities take effective measures to ensure that no further right-wing disruptions occur at Coral's meetings.

USLA is well known in civil-liberties, academic, church, and student groups for its eight years of work in defending political prisoners in Latin America. Its efforts were important in securing the release of Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian peasant leader condemned to death in Peru for his political activity.

More recently, USLA sponsored a nationwide speaking tour by Harald Edelstam, Swedish ambassador to Chile at the time of the Pinochet coup. Edelstam helped save the lives of hundreds of political refugees trapped in Santiago. His U.S. tour was part of an effort to build support for the political prisoners remaining in the junta's jails.

The University of Chicago meeting came at the end of the first week of Coral's tour. His speaking engagements began in Detroit March 4, where he spoke at Wayne State University. Later that evening he addressed a meeting at a church in the city's Chicano community.

At Indiana University in Bloomington the following evening, he spoke before an audience of 110 persons. After the talk a reception was held for him by the Latin American Students Association. Most of those present were students and professors from Latin America.

At the University of Illinois Circle Campus in Chicago March 6, Coral addressed eighty students in a political science class. A campus meeting immediately afterward drew 175 persons. When the time limit on the use of the auditorium ran out, the meeting had to be adjourned to another room to continue the discussion. About half the audience accompanied Coral to a nearby building, where he answered questions for another hour.

In addition to the wide support on campuses for the defense of political prisoners, one of the reasons for the high interest in Coral's tour has been the frequent

headlines in the American press on political violence in Argentina.

Coral has been "condemned to death" by the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance (AAA), the most prominent of the ultraright murder squads in the country. Seven members of the PST have been killed by the AAA, and a number of PST headquarters have been dynamited.

Coral has pointed out in his lectures that the violence in Argentina is not the product of a vendetta between right- and left-wing groups, as the newspapers seek to portray it. The terror is actually being carried out by ultraright parapolice groups that have the tacit support of the Peronist government.

The government, Coral said, "claims that the proof it has nothing to do with the violence is that there are dead from both sides. And I have answered, even in meetings with the president, that yes, there are dead from both sides, but there are prisoners from only one side—the left. And that is what proves the government's complicity."

One of the questions most frequently asked is whether terrorism by left-wing groups is an effective means of combating repression. Coral answers that only the organization and mobilization of masses of working people and other exploited layers can be effective against violence by the government and the right wing.

"The terror of small groups isolated from the masses," he explains, "only gives the government the pretext it needs to launch a generalized attack on the masses while making it appear to be a defensive reaction against the terrorists."

Professors, academic departments, student governments, campus speakers bureaus, and, in one case, the Catholic Campus Ministry have cosponsored Coral's meetings along with USLA.

Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and Latin Americans have been especially interested in what Coral has to say, and in building his tour. One meeting, for example, organized by Puerto Rican students at Northeastern University in Chicago working with USLA, was attended by sixty persons, the majority Puerto Rican.

The Puerto Rican Socialist party worked to build a meeting for Coral sponsored by USLA at the Centro Ramón Betances in the heart of Chicago's Puerto Rican barrio. About sixty persons attended the meeting, mostly Puerto Ricans, and it was conducted entirely in Spanish. Coral was introduced

by Juan Mendes, Chicago organizer of the PSP.

Coral has made a number of television and radio appearances. At the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor he taped an interview for a Spanish-language program on WCBN, the campus radio station. In Chicago, where an estimated 300,000 persons speak Spanish as their primary language, Coral was interviewed on the Raúl Cardona show on radio station WRCW. An interview with him was also featured in the Spanish-language evening news March 7 on WCIU-TV.

After Chicago, Coral is scheduled to speak at a number of meetings in California. On March 11 he is to speak at California State University at Los Angeles at noon, tape an interview for radio station KWKW in the afternoon, and address a meeting at the University of California at Santa Barbara in the evening.

On March 12, Coral is scheduled to address an afternoon meeting at the University of California at Los Angeles and an evening meeting at the University of California at San Diego.

On March 13, he is to speak at California State College at San Diego, returning to Los Angeles the following day to speak at the University of Southern California.

On March 15, Coral is to speak at the University of California at Berkeley, to be followed by meetings arranged at San Francisco State College, San Jose State College, and Stanford University.

When the California tour is completed, Coral is scheduled to speak at a number of meetings in Texas, including campus meetings at San Antonio College, Rice University, and the University of Houston.

Further information about the tour can be obtained from USLA, 156 Fifth Avenue, Suite 600, New York, New York 10010. □

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## 'State of Emergency' Extended Indefinitely

### Bhutto Bans Main Opposition Party in Pakistan

By Sharad Jhaveri

Jamnagar, India

The Bhutto government arbitrarily dissolved the main opposition party in Pakistan—the National Awami party of Khan Abdul Wali Khan—February 10 and confiscated its property and funds. The ban on the NAP places Pakistan under virtual one-party rule.

The action came two days after the death of Hayat Moḥammad Khan Sherpao, home minister of the North-West Frontier Province, in a bomb blast at Peshawar. It was justified by the Bhutto regime on the grounds that the NAP was "acting in a manner prejudicial to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan."

Bhutto did not order any inquiry into the home minister's death. He did, nevertheless, order the arrest of NAP President Wali Khan and Vice-president Rashid Ahmed.

On February 11, following a parliamentary boycott by the opposition, the National Assembly was adjourned for an indeterminate period. Despite strong protest from the opposition, it had earlier passed a bill extending indefinitely the state of emergency, which has been in effect since the 1971 war with India.

One of the oldest parties in Pakistan, the NAP was formed in 1949. It had six members in the 144-seat National Assembly, with a strong following in Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province. It has been banned twice before, the last time being in 1971 under Yahya Khan. The NAP governors in Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province were dismissed by Bhutto in February 1973 after arms were allegedly discovered in the Iraqi embassy. In August 1973, several top leaders of the NAP and of the tribes residing in those two areas were arrested. They are at present still in jail, although they have never been tried.

Since February 1973, the Baluchis have been engaged in struggle against the Bhutto regime. Initially their demands were for the reinstatement of their democratically elected NAP government. Bhutto's refusal to meet this demand led to an intensification of the struggle.

According to the People's Front for Armed Resistance, the fight in Baluchistan is a national resistance struggle "aimed at establishing a really representative and popular government."

Many Baluchis have fled to nearby Afghanistan to escape the Pakistani army's attacks. Reporting from Kandahar, Af-

ghanistan, November 17, 1974, Dilip Mukerjee of the *Times of India* said that a large influx of Baluchis had entered the refugee camps.

Anthony Mascarenhas reported in the February 1 *Illustrated Weekly of India* that "currently the revolt in Baluchistan has tied down about 80,000 Pakistani troops, armed militia, and units of the newly-created Federal Force. They are involved in a spotty military operation ranging from Loralai in the North, through Kalat and down to the vicinity of Panjgur and Turbat in Mekran."

According to Mascarenhas, the troops and militia are equipped with automatic rifles and light machine guns. The Pakistani air force provides the heavier firepower, blasting suspected guerrilla hideouts with napalm and antipersonnel fragmentary bombs.

"Whatever the name," Mascarenhas said, "it [the war] has the smell of death and disaster, well hidden from the noses, the eyes and the ears of the rest of humanity. Few bother about it, more so in the West. A world plagued by famine, recession and several dozen other current 'revolutionary' struggles is understandably given to compassion fatigue. But it is there, nevertheless, another secret world of tragedy." □

#### Only Capitalist Tanks Used

In an attempt to dispel the image of a "Bolshevik Peru, that has become the spearhead of the U.S.S.R. on the continent," a high Peruvian official denied that Russian T-55 tanks were used to put down the February 5 popular outburst that shook that country.

The outburst, which left about 100 persons dead, was met with French AMX tanks, the official said.

#### Police Raid PRT-ERP Print Shop

Argentine police announced February 23 that they had discovered a clandestine print shop, located in a basement twenty-five feet underground, where *El Combatiente* and *Estrella Roja* were being printed. *El Combatiente* is the newspaper of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers party). *Estrella Roja* is published by the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (Revolutionary People's Army). According to a report in the February 25 issue of the Italian daily *il Manifesto*, three persons were arrested in the raid.

# Ford Told of CIA Role in Assassinations

In a secret report to President Ford, Central Intelligence Agency director William Colby is said to have confirmed the truth of charges that the CIA was involved in plots to assassinate foreign political leaders.

Colby apparently thought his disclosures were too "hot" to be included in a private fifty-page report on the CIA's illegal domestic activities he submitted to Ford in December. A March 4 *Washington Star* dispatch, citing "informed sources," said that the written report "made no mention of assassinations."

"But when Mr. Colby met with Mr. Ford and a small group of other officials at the White House Jan. 3 to review the document," the dispatch reported, "he disclosed to the President information about what were described as several assassination plans, and apparently some attempts, overseas as far back as the early nineteen-sixties."

Colby's "oral addendum" was first disclosed February 28 by Daniel Schorr, a reporter for the CBS radio and television network. The CIA and the White House both responded to inquiries about Schorr's report with a terse "no comment."

"That the White House did not deny that report," *New York Times* associate editor Tom Wicker commented March 2, "suggests what can be unequivocally confirmed here—that President Ford does believe that close investigation of C.I.A. covert operations abroad would disclose activities—including assassinations—that would shock the American people, stain the reputations of numerous past presidents, and raise difficult problems of international relations. That is why in appointing his 'blue ribbon' panel to investigate the C.I.A., he carefully limited its inquiry to domestic activities, and chose a group of men he could rely upon not to go an inch past that limit into the area of covert operations abroad."

Schorr said Ford had told associates that if current investigations of the CIA "go too far" they "would embarrass the Government and damage relations with at least one foreign country." Reports so far have mentioned several foreign political leaders as CIA assassination targets. Among them are Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba, Premier Patrice Lumumba of the Republic of the Congo, and President Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. Both Lumumba and Trujillo were assassinated in 1961, and the Cuban authorities exposed several assassination attempts against Castro during the early 1960s.

In January 1971, columnist Jack

Anderson reported that the CIA had made six separate attempts to assassinate the Cuban premier between 1961 and 1963. According to Anderson, the assassination teams were recruited from among Cubans in Miami by John Roselli, allegedly "a top Mafia figure" whom the CIA had recruited to direct the murder missions.

Colby's reported admission has brought forward further disclosures. *New York Times* Washington correspondent Seymour Hersh reported March 10 that two former assistants to Robert Kennedy say that he told them in 1967, when he was in the Senate, that agents of the CIA had contracted with the Mafia in an aborted plot to assassinate Castro before the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961. The six CIA attempts to kill Castro reported by Anderson all occurred under the administration headed by Robert Kennedy's brother.

Ex-CIA operative Bradley Ayers, a former army captain, was quoted in the March 4 *Minneapolis Star* as saying that in 1963 he trained Cuban exiles in Florida in a CIA project "to terminate Castro with extreme prejudice—that means we were going to assassinate him."

As part of this project Ayers said he trained 75 to 100 men in "all phases of paramilitary commando operations" including small boat handling, underwater swimming and small-unit tactics," *Star* staff writer Randy Furst reported.

"A team of marksmen was going to maneuver into Havana and shoot Castro one day while he was standing on the podium with a cigar in his mouth," Ayers told Furst.

The disclosure that the CIA plotted Castro's murder comes at a particularly awkward time for Washington, which is under increasing pressure to end its embargo of Cuba and recognize the Castro government. On March 1, the day after Schorr's disclosure of Colby's secret briefing of Ford, Kissinger pointedly stated that Washington was "prepared to move in a new direction" in its relations with Cuba.

Allegations that the CIA was linked to the assassination of Dominican Republic dictator Trujillo have likewise been made previously—most recently by ex-CIA agent Philip Agee in his book *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*.

The circumstances surrounding the murder of Lumumba, the legally elected premier of the Republic of the Congo, have never been cleared up. He was killed in early 1961 while in the hands of the pro-Belgian Ka-

tanga Province government. He had been handed over by Congolese President Kasavubu, who was favored by Washington. The State Department was known to fear that Lumumba might develop into an African Fidel Castro.

Is it plausible that the CIA's "dirty tricks," including political assassinations, were limited to its activities in other countries? There are many unsolved questions, for example, concerning the 1965 assassination in New York City of Malcolm X, the most outstanding Black leader to emerge in decades. Many accounts have raised questions about possible CIA involvement in Malcolm's murder.\*

With such considerations in mind, the Ford administration is trying to ensure that present official investigations don't "get out of hand." Ford has failed to comply with a request by Senator Frank Church, chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, which is investigating CIA covert activity, that he issue a written directive to the CIA and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to cooperate with the Senate committee.

On March 3, CIA director Colby issued a memo to CIA employees, reiterating previous advice that they had the right to refuse to talk under official questioning. □

\*See, for example, *The Assassination of Malcolm X*, by George Breitman and Herman Porter. Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. 32 pp. 60 cents.

## Ex-FBI Men Admit 10-Year Campaign to Harass Martin Luther King

The Federal Bureau of Investigation mailed what some agents considered an "unsavory" tape recording, made from an electronic room bug, to Coretta King in 1965. The aim was to frighten her husband, civil-rights leader the Rev. Martin Luther King, into halting his criticism of the FBI, a former high official of the agency has now revealed. This incident was just part of nearly a decade of harassment against Dr. King by the FBI.

Then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy ordered a national security wiretap on King in 1963. From 1963 to 1965 it was estimated that 5,000 of his conversations were taped.

According to former FBI agents and officials, other incidents of harassment included:

- Attempts by the FBI to disrupt plans for a banquet in Atlanta in 1964 to laud King's winning of the Nobel Prize.
- A "monograph" on King's personal life that was circulated by the FBI among Kennedy administration officials.
- Attempts "routinely" carried out by the bureau to prevent King from receiving honorary degrees from colleges and universities by planting stories about his personal life.

## U.S. Embassy Feels 'Defeat Is Inevitable' in Cambodia

By Peter Green

"The best that can be hoped for here is little more than a negotiated surrender in which the only subjects open for discussion would be details, humaneness and orderliness of the Communist-led insurgents' takeover."

That is the assessment by the United States embassy in Pnompenh of the prospects for the Lon Nol regime, according to a dispatch by Sydney H. Schanberg published in the March 7 *New York Times*. The embassy sees the "erosion of the Government's position as inexorable and irreversible," Schanberg reported, and feels "defeat is inevitable." Schanberg based his account of the embassy's attitude on "persons with access to its views and on conversations embassy officials have had with diplomats and other visitors."

Pentagon officials revealed March 5 that they have a "fallback" contingency plan. When the Lon Nol forces collapse completely, marines may be sent in to protect the Pochentong airport or some other landing area while the 400 American civilians still in Pnompenh are evacuated by helicopter.

The U.S. helicopter carrier *Okinawa* with about 1,500 marines aboard has already entered the Gulf of Thailand for a possible evacuation operation. Another 300 marines at the U.S. base on *Okinawa* have been put on alert for similar duty.

Fears have been voiced in many quarters that Washington may use the rescue of U.S. civilians as a pretext for direct military intervention.

"If the situation is so dangerous, why don't they start evacuating them now by air?" Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield asked in an interview, according to a report in the March 6 *New York Times*.

The Soviet news agency Tass drew a parallel with the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965 to quell a popular uprising. The pretext then was to protect U.S. civilians also.

Norodom Sihanouk, who was ousted by Lon Nol in 1970, issued a warning March 7 against "direct intervention" by Washington in Cambodia. Asserting that the insurgents' victory was imminent, he said: "In the face of a situation which has been described as desperate by the most important leaders in Washington, the U.S. and its valets in Saigon are preparing to intervene directly in the Cambodian war."

But Cambodia 1975 is not the Dominican



Conrad/Los Angeles Times

Republic 1965. What the U.S. imperialists got away with then would be much harder for them to carry through today, given the immense antiwar sentiment in the United States that has already limited Washington's options in Indochina. The White House is well aware that any new escalation of the war could produce massive new protests.

In spite of the assessment by the U.S. embassy in Pnompenh that it's high time to throw in the towel, President Ford pressed Congress to vote an additional \$222 million in military aid for Lon Nol.

The attempt by Ford's supporters in Congress to speed up the decision on extra aid by a procedural shortcut has been dropped. This has been portrayed as a "setback" for Ford's plans, but could just as easily be part of the White House strategy of trying to shift the blame for "losing" Cambodia to Ford's Democratic party opponents, who control Congress.

As the military position of the Pnompenh clique rapidly deteriorates, Lon Nol becomes more and more expendable. Ford made this clear at his March 6 news conference when he said that "the personalities involved will not themselves constitute an obstacle of any kind to a settlement."

Lon Nol himself has become "a bargaining chip," wrote the editors of the *Washington Post* on March 4. They suggested that the time had come to offer him for bids. "If Lon Nol were to step down and peace talks to be established, then a context would be estab-

lished in which aid could truly serve the purposes of reconstruction and peace." Some newspapers are even setting the stage for a dignified exit, talking about the "ailing" Lon Nol.

Pochentong airport, the Pnompenh regime's only remaining supply line, was temporarily closed March 5 after the insurgents began shelling it with captured U.S. 105-mm. howitzers—more accurate than the 107-mm. rockets already battering the airport. The Pentagon-run airlift—described in the March 9 *Washington Post* as "an enormously risky and fragile operation"—was bringing in a daily total of 1,300 tons of food, fuel, and ammunition by March 6.

On March 7 Lon Nol's troops lost their last beachhead on the Lower Mekong River. The entire garrison of 800 to 1,000 men had to be evacuated.

Morale in the puppet troops is plummeting. Most of the reinforcements sent to bolster the dwindling ranks are desk soldiers, invalids, or technicians.

On March 8, a dispatch from Pnompenh in the *New York Times* reported, "the capital was swept by false rumors that had President Lon Nol fleeing the country, the insurgents overrunning the airport and several embassies closing up entirely."

Scattered looting was reported in Pnompenh. In the provincial capital of Siem Reap, about 200 miles northwest of Pnompenh, student protests against soaring prices broke out March 5.

In the March 8 *New York Times* Sydney H. Schanberg painted a picture of life in Pnompenh slowly coming to a stop:

"Primary schools are open only every other day now, and then only for a few hours. In Government offices, piles of paper mount steadily higher on the desks as the pace of work declines.

"Many professors stopped coming to class because with the astronomical prices here their pay does not even cover the cost of transportation to the university.

"Ambulances sometimes run out of gas coming from the battlefronts. Then, with the wounded inside slipping toward death, the vehicles simply sit stalled by the roadside because no one has money to get more fuel.

"In these and a multitude of other ways, one can see the institutional structure of Cambodia steadily grinding down in recent days like a slow-motion movie." □

# Gutter Press Witch-hunts Socialist Workers League

Is Trotskyism spreading at such a rapid pace throughout the world as to now threaten to take over Australia? The answer is an encouraging yes, if the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), the country's secret political police is to be believed.

To save Australia from being packaged up by the Trotskyists, the ASIO took appropriate steps, including phone tapping, sabotage, infiltration, surveillance, and break-ins.

The evidence came to light when an agent planted by the ASIO in the Melbourne branch of the Socialist Workers League (SWL) decided to tell his story to the *Sunday Observer*, a scandal-mongering, right-wing Melbourne newspaper.

This gutter rag is campaigning against the SWL as the currently most dangerous "red" organization. Under lurid front-page headlines—"SPY!" (in five-inch type) "ASIO's top agent exposes our amazing world of sex, treachery and terror"—the February 23 edition ran what purported to be an "exposé" of the Socialist Workers League and Socialist Youth Alliance. The "exposé" is based on the testimony of Max Wechsler, a former member of the SWL and a self-confessed ASIO informer.

The *Sunday Observer* tried to portray the SWL as a "terrorist" group. The editorial raved against "a group of blood-thirsty fanatics" intent on "over-throwing the established Government." The lead article charged that the SWL "is plotting to take over Australia. . . .

"The organisation will use weapons and men from world-wide terrorist mobs for a bloody revolution." And much more in the same vein.

A statement issued February 24 by the Political Bureau of the SWL denounced the witch-hunting articles as a "slander of the League and a falsification of its well-known and easily ascertainable political positions. In particular the SWL wishes to stress two aspects of its political position.

"The SWL is a completely legal organisation. All its activities are completely legal. They consist of campaigning openly in various ways to win mass acceptance of its socialist perspective. It has no secret aims. All of its objectives are openly stated in its press, the fortnightly socialist newspaper *Direct Action*, and other publications. Anyone can verify what these views are.

"Secondly, it is a pathetic slander to call the SWL 'terrorist.' The SWL has repeatedly stated its political opposition to the strategy

super agent  
the treachery  
to ruin us  
plot to take  
over  
Australia!

TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET

The SWL will field candidates in the next Federal election—whatever that may be. Wechsler has a copy of this top secret SWL manifesto. He says the nation will try to kill him because of it. It says in part: "In our efforts to expose and counter the ALP leadership and its program we carry out a combination of independent activity, internal ALP work and work on various mass movements.

The organisation has a general slogan worked out for the elections—'Vote Socialist Workers L. ALP 2.'

**Report**

The SWL plans to run candidates in three States—Victoria, NSW and South Australia. Its members have infiltrated the Young Labor movement and the Labor Party.

Police, state organizer, Mary Markovick, a woman's libber, Danny Hillebrand, hoodlum haremster, former chief and vice-chairman of the Young Labor Association, Dale Demachman, in charge of finances, and Doug Jordan, union organizer and a member of the Trotsky Union.

Working day and night Wechsler gave ASIO a steady flow of information about SWL meetings, dues, plans and tones.

ASIO agents using mini-cameras, movie cameras, and cameras with tele-photo lenses mingled with demonstrators, and set up spy holes in buildings to film the organization's activities.

Wechsler was regularly in demand to attend meetings in cars around various city parks with ASIO chiefs anxious to identify mug shots of people they'd photographed.

Wechsler helped ASIO organize a major phone tapping operation on the SWL.

The spy's own story



Trotskyists throughout the world can take heart from the sensational facts about Australia's precarious situation as revealed by the headlines in the *Sunday Observer*.

and tactics of individual terrorism. The February 7 *Direct Action*, for example, carried a review by one of the national leaders of the League explaining why socialists oppose individual terrorism."

"The Observer's 'exposé,'" the statement continued, "is far more interesting for the light it throws on the nefarious operations of Australia's secret police than for the smears it makes and the lies it concocts about the SWL.

"Wechsler's testimony reveals that ASIO has carried out a systematic harassment of a legal political organisation carrying on perfectly legal political activities."

According to the *Observer* article, Wechsler's activities included "eavesdropping, stealing documents, committing sabotage, manipulating finances and obtaining sets of duplicate keys to allow ASIO agents to

do a Watergate-type break-in at the SWL headquarters in Melbourne and Adelaide."

In addition to his own activities inside the organization, Wechsler assisted in other aspects of the ASIO operation:

"ASIO agents using mini-cameras, movie cameras, and cameras with tele-photo lenses mingled with demonstrators, and set up spy-holes in buildings to film the organisations's activities," the *Observer* reported.

"Wechsler was regularly in demand to attend meetings in cars around various city parks with ASIO chiefs anxious to identify mug shots of people they'd photographed.

"Wechsler helped ASIO organize a major phone-tapping operation on the SWL.

"It had the approval of the then Attorney-General, Senator Murphy."

Wechsler's testimony also revealed that



ASIO's interests were not limited to the SWL but included many other left-wing organizations—among them the Campaign Against Political Police, the Palestine Liberation Organization in Australia, and the Communist party.

In spite of the *Sunday Observer's* lurid headlines and rantings about "terrorism," "ASIO's top spy" was unable to provide them with a single piece of evidence in support of their smears. The SWL statement challenged the *Sunday Observer* "to find one single shred of evidence that the SWL is engaged in any 'terrorist plot.' If there was any such evidence the *Sunday Observer* would have printed it. It didn't because it doesn't exist."

Wechsler "smuggled" a "top secret" document out of an SWL "training camp" in January, the *Sunday Observer* reported. However, the educational camp was an open one, with anyone genuinely interested in the SWL's political views welcome to attend.

And what did the *Sunday Observer*, and ASIO, actually discover from the document "smuggled" out by their "top spy"? That "the SWL will field candidates in the next Federal election. . . ."

"The organisation has a general slogan worked out for the elections—'Vote Socialist Workers 1, ALP 2.'"

Dangerous stuff indeed.

Wechsler's "exposé" tries to portray other legitimate political activity by the SWL as a sinister conspiracy. Groups like the SWL are "behind a lot of trouble," which includes Aboriginal rights marches, the demonstrations against the bloodstained shah of Iran, and the projected PLO delegation tour. The SWL statement pointed out that "very many other Australians support these and other progressive causes. And they have the democratic right to do so."

"The SWL has the democratic right to help organise such activities. Every reader of *Direct Action* knows that we support these causes and that we help organise peaceful demonstrations, meetings, etc., in the course of our political work. There's no secret about it."

The SWL demanded that the Labor government and former Attorney General Lionel Murphy reply to the charges that they directed the operation. "Was ASIO acting under Government direction in its harassment of the SWL?" the statement asked. "At all events it seems ASIO's spying operations against the left are carried out just the same whether the ALP or the Liberal Party is in office. . . ."

"The SWL calls for the abolition of the secret police and the destruction of all ASIO's files. ASIO has no function other than to harass and attempt to intimidate legitimate left-wing and dissident political activity."

The SWL statement concluded by noting

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that "Wechsler's stool-pigeon act is hailed by the *Observer* as an 'act of conscience.' 'It was by almost any standard, a heroic act when Maximillian Wechsler decided to come in from the cold.' It might show a lack of idealism on our part but we'd like to bet that it hasn't been an entirely profitless exercise for Wechsler."

"James P. Cannon once wrote that you can tell the morality of a class or group by

## More Newspeak Called For?

## Declining Popularity of Recession



New York Post

Recession or depression? According to the bourgeois economists there's a difference—a depression is far worse than a recession. You'd better believe it.

But is a depression just *all* bad? Can depressions be graded? The way bananas are graded—from green to garbage?

Some experts appear to be saying yes. For instance, Robert H. Parks, chief economist with Advest Co., which has seats on the New York Stock Exchange, is now calling it a "depression." But, he forecasts, it will be only a "mild depression."

According to him, the current depression was "made in Washington." And Washington has done very little to turn things around. However, measures will eventually be taken; and these will keep the depression from getting any worse than mild.

As he explains it: "The downhill momentum already in place and the inevitable lag between the formulation, implementation, and impact of new expansionary policies virtually guarantee a mild depression."

The truth of it is that the capitalist

the people it exalts, by its heroes. The labor and socialist movement exalts its martyrs. The gutter press and its right-wing backers exalt stool pigeons and informers.

"The *Sunday Observer's* smear campaign will not intimidate the Socialist Workers League. Nor will ASIO harassment. We shall continue to campaign vigorously for our socialist views. And we shall fight unyieldingly for our democratic right to do so." □

system has always had depressions following booms. In the 1930s, the recurrent cyclone landed the world in the Great Depression.

That experience so affected the thinking of ordinary people that the capitalist statesmen decided they simply had to do something about it.

One of their measures was to get rid of depressions by eliminating the name. They came up with "recession," a gentle word that suggests occasional easy dips. And being in command, they changed capitalism so that from then on *depressions* were a thing of the past.

That was about the same time the American specialists in public relations decided that "War Department" was a misnomer. The glory and the romance had gone from mass slaughter. So they replaced it with "Defense Department," and from then on the Pentagon made defense not war.

Has "recession" now become so unpopular as to require surgery? Even "depression," the label of the bad old days, seems to be making a comeback. □

## New Arrests in Argentina

Arrests continue to mount under the state of siege declared November 6 in Argentina. The following cases were reported in the February 20 issue of the Argentine Trotskyist weekly *Avanzada Socialista*:

- Llanos, a member of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina). He is a young lawyer from Jujuy who has defended political prisoners.

- Raimundo Ongaro, head of the Buenos Aires printers union.

- Oscar Foressi, a shop steward in the metalworkers union at Acindar. He was arrested January 31.

- Domínguez, a leader of the textile workers union at the plant in Hidrófila.

## Selassie's Feudal Empire Comes Apart at Seams

By Ernest Harsch

[First of two articles]

Under the slogan "Ethiopia tikkem"—Ethiopia first—the nationalist military regime in Addis Ababa is seeking to smother the Eritrean struggle for independence. Despite the military regime's claim that it represents a "specifically Ethiopian socialism," its opposition to Eritrean independence does not differ fundamentally from that of the ousted emperor Haile Selassie. "Above all," the new regime proclaimed December 20, 1974, "the sacred unity of Ethiopia will be upheld."

After failing to bring the Eritrean guerrillas to the negotiating table, the Provisional Military Administrative Council in Addis Ababa declared January 28 that it had reached "the final point of its policy of restraint and will now proceed to eliminate those fighting against the unity of the country."

"From now on," the PMAC continued, "Ethiopia will demand the hands of true and vigilant sons to suppress bandit elements."

It was reported that on the same day as the announcement, the PMAC sent fourteen of its U.S.-supplied jet fighter-bombers to Asmara, the capital of Eritrea and the headquarters of the Ethiopian Second Division. Several months before, it had already increased its strength in the region to 15,000 troops, or one-third of the entire Ethiopian army.

Little reliable information about the actual fighting in Eritrea is known. The Addis Ababa regime has barred all correspondents from the war zone and has refused to talk to journalists or give reports on the war. As *Washington Post* correspondent David B. Ottaway revealed in the February 26 issue of the daily, much of the reporting from Addis Ababa about the fighting is based on rumor, exaggeration, questionable sources, and even fabrication (see *Intercontinental Press*, March 10, p. 322). Thus many of the reports from Ethiopia are suspect and have to be critically examined.

The first dispatches from Addis Ababa indicated that the fighting in Asmara had begun January 31 with rebel attacks against Ethiopian military installations and forces. The February 4 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* cited an unnamed representative of the Eritrean rebels in Cairo, who said that the guerrillas had not intended to occupy Asmara but had sought instead to

strike a "spectacular blow" against the Ethiopian army before it launched a broad offensive.

Some of the dispatches, including one in the February 14 *Washington Post* by Dial Torgerson, who claimed to have been in Asmara, gave sensationalistic treatment to unconfirmed reports of massacres of Eritrean civilians in Asmara and the surrounding villages by Ethiopian troops. There were also reports that the Ethiopian air force carried out bombing raids against some villages.

According to Woldeab Woldemariam, a leader of the Eritrean Liberation Front—People's Liberation Forces (PLF),<sup>1</sup> about 3,000 civilians were killed and at least seven villages wiped out in the first three days of fighting around Asmara. The Eritrean rebels also issued an "appeal to the conscience of the world" in Beirut February 3, condemning the "bombardment of the residential quarters of Asmara by the artillery of the Ethiopian military junta. . . ."

"We address this appeal at a time when thousands of the children of our people are dying under the debris of their homes in a war of extermination."

Addis Ababa, however, denied that Ethiopian troops had carried out massacres in Asmara. Instead, in a February 7 statement, the military regime accused "bandits" of inflicting "atrocities on innocent old men, women and children." In the official death tolls released February 22, Addis Ababa claimed that 2,321 rebels, 87 Ethiopian troops, and only 124 civilians had been killed.

### 'Even Harsher Measures'

Brigadier General Tafari Banti, the chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, was quoted in an interview with the Swedish daily *Göteborgs-Posten*, according to a February 4 Associated Press dispatch, as saying that "even harsher measures" would be taken if "the terrorism and devastation continues at the Ethiopian people's expense." Addis Ababa declared a state of emergency throughout Eritrea February 15 and ap-

pointed Brigadier General Getachew Nadaw as the martial-law administrator.

One possible indication of the level of fighting in Eritrea was a report that the military regime had sent more than 1,000 troops of the Territorial Army, a poorly equipped and poorly trained reserve force of 8,000 to 10,000 troops, to Eritrea. "Tapping it now would seem to suggest that the government has about run out of regular army soldiers available to be sent north," David B. Ottaway said in the February 17 *Washington Post*. Although Addis Ababa still had half of its regular army outside Eritrea, the entire Third Division was tied down in the Ogaden region (most of Hararge and Bale provinces and part of Sidamo province) to maintain control over the restive Somali population there. Another division was stationed in Addis Ababa itself.

In an effort to whip up chauvinist hysteria against Eritrean independence and as preparation for stepped-up military recruitment or possible conscription, the PMAC organized a series of progovernment demonstrations in Addis Ababa and other towns and cities. "Groups of marchers," Thomas A. Johnson reported in the February 17 *New York Times*, "included military veterans, women's organizations, and thousands of street youths who, with fists clenched, shouted: 'Give us arms.'"

Major Mengistu Haile Mariam, deputy chairman of the PMAC, who is considered the strong man of the military regime and of the Dergue,<sup>2</sup> stated before a rally of 5,000 army veterans February 18 that six million volunteer militiamen were prepared to "sacrifice themselves" to prevent the "dismantling" of Ethiopia.

To put Ethiopia on a full war footing, the PMAC may need more than just additional troops. "There is no way," David B. Ottaway commented in the February 9 *Washington Post*, "that the military government can sustain the current level of warfare in Eritrea for many more weeks without increased military aid, presumably from the United States, Ethiopia's main supplier for more than 20 years."

1. The PLF is also known under the initials ELF-PLF or EPLF. Another group is called the Eritrean Liberation Front—Revolutionary Council (ELF). Some news reports, however, use the initials ELF broadly to refer to both groups.

2. The Dergue (Amharic for "committee") is the armed forces coordinating committee that led the "creeping coup" of 1974 that ousted Selassie. Most of its members are anonymous. It reportedly functions within the PMAC as a sort of executive committee.

Addis Ababa appealed to Washington to send an emergency airlift of about \$30 million worth of light arms ammunition, in addition to another request for \$100 million worth of tanks, aircraft, and other weapons. Washington is already supplying \$22.3 million in military assistance to the Ethiopian regime, of which \$11 million is in sales credits for the purchase of military equipment, including M-60 heavy tanks, and \$11.3 million is in grants. In the past fifteen years, Washington has sent about \$150 million in military aid to Addis Ababa.

In November, after the killing of former PMAC chairman Aman Michael Andom and the execution of fifty-nine landlords, military officers, and officials of the old regime, Washington declared that it was suspending all economic and military assistance to Addis Ababa. But, according to a State Department source cited by David B. Ottaway in the February 9 *Washington Post*, that move was "basically just a public relations exercise," in which Washington entered into no new agreements for a period of two months.

"Without any public announcement," Ottaway reported, "Washington resumed military assistance talks with Ethiopia about a month ago, the source said. . . ."

"No shipments of arms were stopped after November, although some were delayed a bit. . . ."

Washington, however, has so far not granted the Ethiopian request for additional arms.

The PMAC has also been attempting to get the Eritrean rebels to declare a cease-fire and lay down their arms. It called on the Eritrean independence forces February 4 to enter "a peaceful dialogue to solve the Eritrean problem." Sudanese President Gaafar al-Nimeiry proposed in Khartoum February 10 that Addis Ababa and the guerrillas hold talks in the Sudanese capital. He said the conference should be preceded by a cease-fire and the granting of amnesty to the independence fighters.

Osman Saleh Sabbe, the secretary-general of the PLF, rejected al-Nimeiry's proposal February 18 in Beirut. He said that the PLF would not take part in peace talks with the military regime until it recognized Eritrea's right to independence. The Eritrean Liberation Front—Revolutionary Council has not yet announced a decision on the al-Nimeiry proposal.

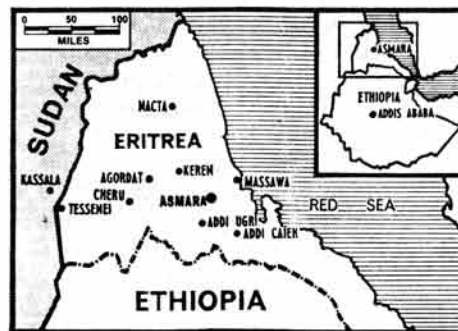
#### The Making of a 'Province'

As a justification for forcibly keeping Eritrea within the Ethiopian empire, Selassie often claimed that Eritrea was historically and socially a part of Ethiopia. To counter this claim, Eritrean independence leaders have pointed out that much of Eritrea had a separate existence for at least

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400 years, and probably much longer,<sup>3</sup> before it was annexed by Selassie in 1962 and converted into Ethiopia's fourteenth province.

Like most of the Horn of Africa, Eritrea is a patchwork of different ethnic and



The Observer

linguistic groupings. The largest are the predominantly Muslim Danakils (Afar) and Sahos in the eastern plains, who engage mostly in nomadic animal husbandry; the Tigrinya-speaking Christians in the plateau area south of Keren; and the 60,000 Beni Amer in the hills north of Keren, most of whom are Muslim and speak Tigre, a language descended from Tigrinya. About 30,000 Beni Amer also live across the border in the Sudanese province of Kassala, and Tigrinya is also the major language in the Eritrean province of Tigre.

Other ethnic groups are the Islamic Tigre-speaking Marya, Mensa, and Bet Asgade in the Keren area and the northern hills, and the predominantly Muslim Agau-speaking Bet Tarke and Bet Takwe in the northern plateau. The population of Eritrea as a whole is about half Muslim and half Christian.

Despite the ethnic diversities within Eritrea, most of the territory has had a common history separate from that of Ethiopia.

As early as the tenth century, many of the inhabitants along the Red Sea coast were converted to Islam and brought under the influence of the Arab world. Assab became an important port along the trade route between Africa and the Middle East. Arkiko and the port of Massawa were occupied by the Ottoman Turks in 1557. Although the Ethiopian emperors used Massawa's port, they were not able to take control of it. By 1866 Massawa came under Egyptian control, which was soon extended south to Keren.

In 1869, the same year that the Suez Canal was opened, the Italian Rubattino

3. An article in the February 1973 *Liberation*, monthly magazine of Eritreans for Liberation in North America, stated that after the collapse of the Axumite kingdom during the ninth century, the territory that is now Eritrea had an independent existence, under the name Medri Bahri ("the land by the sea") until the middle of the sixteenth century.

Navigation Society purchased Assab from the local rulers and in 1885 the Italians seized Massawa. The 1889 Treaty of Ucciale between Rome and Ethiopian Emperor Menelik II gave part of the Tigrean plateau to Italy. The following year Rome named the territory under its control "Eritrea" and proclaimed it an Italian colony.

The economic structure of Eritrea was radically altered by the Italian occupation. For their own economic and military reasons, the Italian imperialists modernized the Massawa and Assab ports, built roads and railways, introduced a number of industries, and set up commercial agricultural plantations. The cities of Asmara and Massawa grew considerably. The Italians surveyed Eritrea's mineral resources and discovered significant potash deposits in the Danakil Depression. As a result of this colonial occupation, Eritrea became more economically developed than Ethiopia, Eritreans acquired a higher level of education, and an Eritrean working class arose.

Eritrea's economic value continued to grow after the end of the Italian occupation in 1941. Natural gas was discovered off the coast of Massawa and by 1967 the Soviet-financed oil refinery at Assab, with a 500,000-ton capacity, was completed. In 1950 Eritrea had eighty industrial enterprises, while Ethiopia only had fifty-five.

It was for Eritrea's relatively greater industrial capacity and its strategic position on the Red Sea that Addis Ababa, with U.S. backing, moved to add the territory to Selassie's feudalistic empire.

After the Italian defeat in Ethiopia and Eritrea in 1941, Eritrea was administered by the British occupation forces while Addis Ababa and the various imperialist powers maneuvered to gain control over Eritrea. Rome tried to regain its former colony and London sought to partition it between Ethiopia and Sudan. The Unionist party in Eritrea, which was backed by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, called for the merger of Eritrea with Ethiopia.

Those forces in Eritrea opposed to merger, such as the Independence party, were often attacked by terrorist bands. An official United Nations report, for instance, stated: "Some people who were opposed to the annexation of the territory of Eritrea have been subjected by the terrorists to attacks on their person and property. Others, out of fear, have been compelled to follow the parties which advocate annexation. Prominent leaders of political parties favouring independence have been attacked several times."<sup>4</sup>

In 1950, Washington submitted a resolution to the United Nations proposing the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia, which

4. Report of the United Nations Commission for Eritrea, Official Records: Fifth Session [1950], Supplement No. 8 (A-1285), page 191.

was passed on December 2, 1950. The federal resolution provided that Eritrea would have full autonomy with its own parliament and constitution. The two official languages of Eritrea were Tigrinya and Arabic.<sup>5</sup>

From the very beginning of the "federation," Selassie sought to undermine it and began preparations for the outright annexation of Eritrea.

Those lands that had been expropriated from Eritreans by the Italian fascist administration were made over into imperial property. Thus the original owners became tenants on their own land and paid rent to the imperial regime.

In 1952, Selassie issued Order No. 6 and Proclamation No. 130, which extended into Eritrea the application of the Ethiopian constitution and the jurisdiction of the Ethiopian courts. Press freedoms were curtailed and in 1953 the *Voice of Eritrea*, the organ of the Eritrean Democratic Front, was suspended and its editors jailed. The Eritrean chief executive was replaced in 1955 by Asfaha Wold Michael, Selassie's vice-representative in Eritrea. One of Asfaha's first acts was to ban all political parties except the Unionist party.

After a four-day general strike in Eritrea in 1958, Selassie disbanded the Eritrean labor unions. Eritrean administrators and civil servants were replaced by Amharas<sup>6</sup> and the Amharic language was imposed as the sole official language in Eritrea.

On November 14, 1962, a "resolution" was pushed through the now-domicile Eritrean Legislative Assembly dissolving that body and formally annexing Eritrea as Ethiopia's fourteenth province. Selassie then declared, "Hereafter, there shall be only one nation and that is Ethiopia."

In 1961, the Eritrean Liberation Front, which called for the independence of Eritrea, was formed. It attracted a large number of Muslim Eritreans but also a layer of Christians who were opposed to the "Amharization" of Eritrea. Led by Idriss Mohammed Aden, a former president of the Eritrean Legislative Assembly in the 1950s, the ELF carried out a series of guerrilla actions over the next decade.

The Ethiopian troops maintained a heavy presence in Eritrea and often undertook reprisals against the civilian population. There were a number of reports of massacres in Eritrea. According to *Washington Post* reporter David B. Ottaway, in the October 18, 1974, issue, several hundred thousand peasants have been displaced

over the years by the fighting. More than 80,000 Eritrean refugees have been living in the Simsim area of eastern Sudan since 1967, according to the April 1974 issue of the Beirut *Eritrean Review*, which is published by the PLF.

The first internal differences within the ELF surfaced in 1968, and since then the Eritrean independence movement has undergone a series of splits and regroupments. The nature of those differences is still obscure. The main groups are the PLF, led by Osman Saleh Sabbe and Woldeab Woldemariam, and the ELF-Revolutionary Council, which has two factions within it, one led by Idriss Mohammed Aden and the other by Hruy Tadda Bairu. There also appear to be frictions between the foreign offices of the groups and the leaderships within Eritrea itself.

#### After Selassie's Fall

The revolts, strikes, and protests that began in February 1974 and steadily weakened Selassie's control over Ethiopia also gave an impetus to the Eritrean independence movement.

On July 15, three days after the reported massacre of Eritrean civilians at Omhajer near the Sudanese border, the Eritrean deputies in the Yeheg Memria (Chamber of Deputies) in Addis Ababa officially demanded that the Ethiopian military leaders establish contact with the Eritrean guerrilla groups. After a month lapsed with no government response, all twenty-three Eritrean deputies resigned August 16 in protest against Addis Ababa's policies in Eritrea.

They denounced the reported massacres, the suppression of news on events in Eritrea by the Ethiopian press, and the continued imprisonment of hundreds of Eritrean political prisoners (the Dergue had released many political prisoners in other parts of the country). August 16 was the same day that the Dergue, in a show of strength, stripped Selassie of some of his powers.

The action of the Eritrean deputies prompted Prime Minister Michael Imru<sup>7</sup> to declare on August 20 that Addis Ababa was ready to open a "peaceful dialogue and negotiations" with the independence forces, although he insisted that Eritrea must "remain a part of Ethiopia."

During the following months, Addis Ababa attempted to get the rebels to lay down their arms and enter into negotiations. These moves toward discussion were frequently interrupted by armed clashes and by threatening declarations from the military regime.

Lieutenant General Aman Michael An-

dom, an Eritrean who was the Ethiopian minister of defense and later chairman of the PMAC, visited Asmara August 28 and addressed a crowd of 20,000 Eritreans. He made a few vague statements about "peace" and denounced the "errors of the past." Another conciliatory move by Addis Ababa was the appointment of Ato Ammanuel Amdo Michael as the first Eritrean governor of Eritrea.<sup>8</sup>

According to Osman Saleh Sabbe, in an interview published in the November 3, 1974, issue of the Italian weekly *L'Espresso*, the PMAC sent a delegation to the Sudanese capital of Khartoum September 10 to ask the al-Nimeiry regime to act as a mediator with the Eritrean rebels. The independence forces subsequently told a Sudanese delegation that they would be willing to open negotiations with Addis Ababa after three conditions had been met: that the ELF be considered the only representative of the Eritrean people, that the talks be held in a "neutral capital," and that they be under the auspices of the United Nations.

The Ethiopian regime, according to Sabbe, replied October 12 through a Sudanese mediator in Beirut that it preferred to have a "miniconference" in Khartoum and stressed that it would not concede independence, only internal autonomy. On October 15, Sabbe said, three brigades of the Ethiopian Second Division, with air support, attacked rebel-held areas north and east of Asmara.

After PMAC Chairman Aman was assassinated in late November during a factional struggle within the regime, the PMAC took an even harder attitude toward the Eritrean rebels. Troop reinforcements were moved into Eritrea, and according to a December 26 dispatch from Asmara by *Washington Post* correspondent Asmare Tamene, more than 800 persons suspected of having connections with the independence forces were arrested. Sabbe confirmed this report in Beirut December 27. Sabbe also stated that some Eritrean student leaders had been assassinated for refusing to join the PMAC-organized campaign of sending students to the countryside to teach Amharic.

On December 28, the PMAC launched its major effort toward negotiations, sending a delegation led by Imru to Asmara to meet with Eritrean community leaders and elected officials. Speaking before an assembly of 350 Eritreans, Major Berhanu Baieh, a member of the PMAC, said that the military regime was willing to negotiate directly with the guerrillas.

A committee of thirty-eight Eritrean notables and elected officials, many of

5. Since Tigre is not a written language, many of the educated Tigre-speaking Muslims in Eritrea have adopted Arabic as their second language.

6. The Amharas are the dominant ethnic group in Ethiopia who have conquered most of the other peoples in the empire.

7. Imru is currently a political adviser to the office of the PMAC chairman.

8. He was replaced February 15 by Brigadier General Getachew Nadaw after martial law was declared in Eritrea.

whom had been considered loyal to Addis Ababa, met with the PMAC delegation and presented them with five demands: (1) that the Ethiopian troops evacuate the streets of Asmara and retire to their barracks; (2) that negotiations begin with the guerrillas, who, according to the thirty-eight, were the only true representatives of the Eritreans; (3) that the campaign of sending students to the countryside not be applied in Eritrea; (4) that all political prisoners be released; and (5) that the Ethiopian press publish all information about the negotiations and the Eritrean situation.

The PMAC then announced January 15 that its efforts to negotiate with the Eritrean rebels had broken down, and it pledged to fight "to the last drop of blood" to prevent Eritrea's independence.

### Rebel Gains

The attitude of the Eritrean civic leaders toward Addis Ababa was apparently only a reflection of the mass support that the independence forces had. *New York Times* reporter Charles Mohr visited Asmara in January, before the escalation of the war, and reported in the February 3 issue, "During a five-day visit to Asmara, the capital of the province, this correspondent could not find one Eritrean who favored anything short of full independence."

*Le Monde* correspondence Jean-Claude Guillebaud, in a generally well-informed history of the Eritrean independence movement published in the February 19 and 20 issues, wrote that many Eritrean civil servants, police, and students had left Asmara to join the rebels.

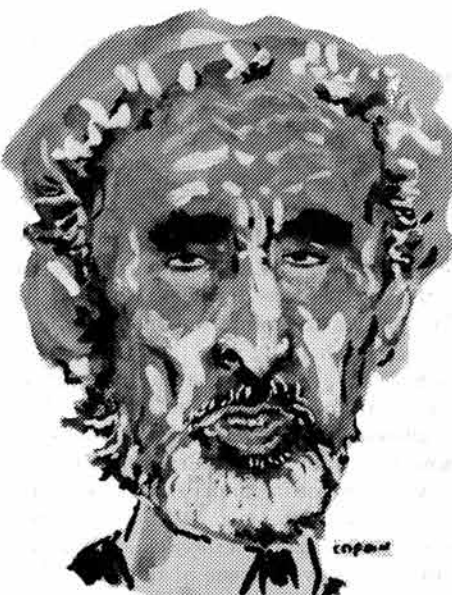
The reports of three Western journalists, who say they have traveled in Eritrea with the rebels, also give some indication of the popular support the guerrillas receive, although the area the reporters visited was limited to the western part of Eritrea. The reports contain detailed descriptions of the territory and the population, avoid sensationalism, and appear authentic.

Charles Glass, in a dispatch published in the March 2 *Washington Post*, wrote that the rebels were recruiting many young persons from the cities and that they were "also winning support from desert tribesmen, who wander with the seasons. Shepherds guided us to water wells, guaranteeing our survival in the desert. Nomads came to the guerrillas to give information or seek medical attention.

"Support crosses religious and tribal lines in the regions we visited."

"As far as the Bronze Age tribesmen of the Beni Armer and Hadan Dawa [Beni Amer and Hadeadoa] were concerned," Colin Smith reported in the March 2 *London Observer*, "the ELF was the Government, and it was to them that they brought their medical and social problems."

Philip Caputo, the *Chicago Tribune* correspondent for the Middle East, wrote in the March 2 issue, "From what we were able to observe, the spreading influence of the E.L.F. over Eritrea results on the one



SELASSIE: Annexed Eritrea in 1962.

hand from the broad support they have from the populace and on the other from Ethiopia's policy of conducting reprisals and massacres in the former Italian colony."

He also reported that the opposition to Addis Ababa's rule over Eritrea had spread to the Christian population, which has traditionally been less in favor of independence than the Muslim Eritreans.

Caputo continued, "Tho much less politically conscious than urban youths, the rural people we met genuinely supported the E.L.F. because they regarded the organization as their sole means of freeing themselves from the Ethiopian yoke."

None of the three reporters actually saw any combat in the area, but they all described the rebel encirclement of Agordat, where two battalions of Ethiopian infantry were stationed. According to the reports, the guerrillas controlled the countryside and did not attack the Ethiopian troops unless they ventured outside the city.

The greater prospects for eventual success appear to have put more pressure on the two rebel groups to combine their forces. In the *L'Espresso* interview, Sabbe stated: "After more than a decade of struggle, the Eritrean liberation forces virtually have the country in their hands. However, as is well known, we are not united and it even happens that patriots of the two factions fight each other, as occurred in early October in the village of Merrara, not far

from Asmara. When the news of these bloody clashes reached Asmara, it was decided to organize big demonstrations to compel the liberation forces to return to unity. Among the main promoters of this initiative were two Catholic priests, Father Agostino and Father Abramo, who have done great services for our struggle, such as having our president, Woldeab Woldemariam, received in the Vatican. Something surprising happened. For two days, October 12 and 13, more than 20,000 persons camped around the village of Ad-Zen (eighteen kilometers from Asmara) surrounding the delegations of the two guerrilla organizations."

Guillebaud reported in the February 20 *Le Monde* that the PLF and the ELF-Revolutionary Council had reached a unity agreement January 20, although it is still not known whether they have carried out any joint or coordinated actions or on what basis the agreement was reached.

Another factor in the struggle is the material and political support the rebels have received, especially in the past months, from the various Arab states.

The main Arab backer of the PLF is the Libyan regime, which, according to Sabbe, gave the group \$5 million worth of modern weapons, including mortars, antitank weapons, anti-aircraft guns, bazookas, and surface-to-surface missiles, in January. The PLF also receives aid from the Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Abu Dhabi regimes.

The ELF-Revolutionary Council, and before the split the ELF as a whole, has long been backed by the Syrian and Iraqi states, which have given the rebels refuge and arms. The government radio station in Syria has a regular "Voice of the Eritrean Revolution" program.

According to the February 16 *L'Espresso*, the regimes in Somalia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South Yemen) give aid to both groups. In addition, the Egyptian and Sudanese regimes recognize the PLF and ELF-Revolutionary Council, but have reportedly not given either group any material aid. Some of the supplies that reach the Eritrean rebels, however, pass through Sudanese territory.

The Eritrean rebels told Charles Glass that they receive no direct aid from Moscow and that they have gotten no arms from Peking since the establishment of Chinese-Ethiopian diplomatic relations in 1968.

[Next week: Addis Ababa's Radical Measures]

### Fishermen Protest in Paris

About 250 Breton trawlermen dumped forty tons of fish in a Paris underpass March 3 to protest rising costs and lower prices for their fish. Police prevented the fishermen from marching to the Champs-Élysées.

### Arms Sales in Middle East Double in One Year

In the past year Washington has sold about \$5 billion in arms to Arab-Persian Gulf states, primarily Iran and Saudi Arabia. The Pentagon recently disclosed that it has nearly \$700 million in contracts to train military personnel in the area.

On February 9 it was revealed that several hundred former members of the U.S. Special Forces and other Vietnam war veterans are being recruited by a private U.S. contractor, the Vinnell Corporation of Los Angeles, to train the 26,000-man Saudi Arabian National Guard. These disclosures brought immediate calls for an official inquiry from some members of Congress. Senator Edward Kennedy called for a six-month moratorium on arms sales to Arab-Persian Gulf states. Senator Henry Jackson, who recently announced his candidacy for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination, claimed he was "completely baffled" by the Saudi Arabian contract.

"Only a short time ago, the President and Secretary of State indicated the option of U.S. military action might be considered under certain circumstances in the Middle East," Jackson said. The "senator from Boeing" was referring to official White House threats of military intervention against the oil-producing countries if high oil prices and a possible embargo in the event of a new Mideast war threatened the industrialized countries with what Kissinger has termed economic "strangulation."

The senators were not protesting all arms sales in the region. "To come extent, according to Congressional aides, the concern on Capitol Hill is most pronounced among confirmed supporters of Israel," *New York Times* correspondent John W. Finney reported from Washington February 23. "One objection raised by Senator Kennedy was that the arms sales to the Persian Gulf states would 'increase the risks that yet more arms will be diverted to the Arab-Israeli conflict.'"

#### Mercenaries Train Foreign Troops

The Pentagon down played the significance of the Saudi Arabian contract. A spokesman told the news media that private corporations had previously instructed the Saudi Arabians in the use of military equipment, and that Washington has had a military mission in Saudi Arabia for some time to instruct and advise the Saudi Arabian army.

But a Vinnell Corporation spokesman said that the company's contract, the first ever given to a private U.S. company to

train a foreign army, would ultimately involve training Saudi troops in tactical maneuvers at battalion level.

"It is the only one of this kind that I know of," he said.

The contract has also encouraged speculation that Vinnell, which carried on extensive engineering operations in South Vietnam during the 1960s, has ties to the Central Intelligence Agency.

To back its claim that the Saudi Arabian contract was nothing new, the Pentagon on February 19 listed its "technical assistance" contracts with foreign regimes. The list showed that government and private teams are training military personnel in thirty-four countries under contracts worth \$727 million. The mere listing of these contracts took up about forty column inches in the February 20 issue of the *New York Times*.

The list did not include direct commercial contracts between foreign governments and private U.S. contractors. Nor did it include approximately 1,800 active-duty military men and Defense Department civilian employees assigned to official Military Assistance and Advisory Groups (MAAGs) in about fifty countries.

The military assistance program in the Middle East involves lucrative contracts for U.S. companies. The Bendix Corporation, for example, has a \$139 million contract with the Pentagon under which it has assembled 700 civilian technicians to train Saudi Arabian troops in artillery maintenance and supply.

Northrup Corporation has a \$146 million contract to furnish a 545-man team to train the Saudi Arabian military to fly and maintain the F-5 fighter planes sold to that country.

Here are some further examples, as described by the February 20 *New York Times*:

"In Iran, the Bell Helicopter Company has a \$255-million contract to train 1,500 helicopter pilots and 5,000 mechanics; the Raytheon Company has a \$32.5-million contract to train Iranian personnel in the use and maintenance of the Hawk anti-aircraft missile, and McDonnell-Douglas, Westinghouse and General Electric maintain a 117-man team under a \$7-million contract to perform maintenance on various planes of the Iranian Air Force.

"The latest Persian Gulf entry into the training program is Kuwait, which recently concluded a \$65,392 contract under which the Hughes Aircraft Company will train her

military personnel in use of the TOW [tube-launched, optically tracked, wire-guided] anti-tank missile and a \$236,510 contract for the Raytheon Company to train her forces in use of the Hawk missile."

The war department said the technical military aid programs continued a pattern set in the 1950s, and were increasingly conducted by private corporations rather than by agents in the direct employ of the U.S. military.

Since 1950, it said, the Pentagon has trained 428,000 foreign military personnel both in the United States and abroad.

Such programs are currently concentrated in the Middle East. Twenty-four percent of the 9,535 contractor personnel—about 2,200 persons—are now in Iran, and a similar number are in Saudi Arabia. The programs are linked with the huge quantities of arms these regimes have purchased recently from the United States.

#### The Buildup in Iran

In a February 11 dispatch, Peter Arnett of the Associated Press described one such contract—a 1,500-man U.S. civilian force assembled in Iran in the past eighteen months by retired U.S. Army Major General Delk M. Oden, formerly the commanding general of the U.S. Army Aviation Center at Fort Rucker, Alabama.

"As president of Bell Helicopter International, the retired major general is directing his men to help create the Iran Sky Cavalry brigade, a strike force using helicopter gunships and assault helicopters modeled after the U.S. 1st Cavalry Division that fought in Vietnam's highlands," Arnett said.

The major general has hired many of the former airmen who fought under his command in Vietnam, where he pioneered the use of helicopter assault techniques against the liberation forces.

Under the five-year contract, the shah's troops will be trained in "combat assaults in coordination with ground troops similar to those perfected in Vietnam, acclimatizing troops to air movement, formation flying and special training for gunships including assault fire and attacking guarded objectives," Arnett reported.

Bell Helicopter sold 489 helicopters to Iran in 1973.

#### \$4 Billion a Year for Israel

There is more than a small dose of hypocrisy in the congressional protests against U.S. military aid to Iran and the Arab regimes in the Middle East. The Pentagon has long supplied Israel with some of the most advanced weapons and military training, without the slightest expression of disapproval from a single senator or representative. In fact, they all applaud such moves, and many have urged

even greater commitment to the Zionist state.

"Since the 1973 war," *New York Times* military analyst Drew Middleton reported January 24, "the United States has shipped [to Israel] 600 tanks, many of them the most modern in the American arsenal, 56 F-4 Phantom jets, sophisticated electronic equipment to protect warplanes against surface-to-air missiles, advanced sensors, so-called smart bombs, which seek targets, and thousands of tons of ammunition."

Israel's total U.S. military aid package is currently estimated to amount to about \$4 billion a year. And it is now backed by nuclear capability, according to Israeli President Ephraim Katzir. The Pentagon announced in January that it was planning to sell Israel 200 Lance missiles, which are regarded by the U.S. Army as primarily a nuclear weapon.

This massive Israeli arms buildup—the main source of the arms race in the Middle East—has for the last year and a half been accompanied by a very significant increase in U.S. arms sales and other forms of military assistance to other regimes in the Middle East.

#### Forecast Another 'Good' Year

In the fiscal year ending June 1974, U.S. arms sales abroad more than doubled to \$8.5 billion. Almost \$7 billion of that was for the Middle East, with Iran alone getting \$4 billion. And Pentagon officials are saying that fiscal 1975 sales are "going to be about like last year," *Wall Street Journal* staff reporter Richard J. Levine wrote February 18.

Since June 30, 1974, Levine said, Iran has already purchased \$1.7 billion worth of arms; Saudi Arabia, \$842 million; and Kuwait, \$331 million. Israel has purchased \$730 million in arms in addition to the outright grants and credits it receives from a sympathetic U.S. Congress.

The Pentagon is actively soliciting further sales—by such means, for instance, as a \$300 million "inventory replenishment fund" for foreign military orders that it has budgeted for fiscal 1976. Defense Secretary James Schlesinger says that the fund would permit the Pentagon to stockpile planes, tanks, missiles, and similar military hardware in excess of immediate U.S. needs and "in anticipation" of sudden foreign demand for them.

#### 'A Military-Industrial Complex'

Protesting the arms sales to Arab-Persian Gulf states, Senator Kennedy rhetorically asked February 22 if Washington was "going to continue to follow a policy of indiscriminately selling as many weapons as a country wants—as long as it has the cash?" The senator pointed to the obvious inference:



New York Times

"If we choose the latter course, then we will be lending credence to one of the worst accusations leveled at this country by our critics—that, for its very livelihood, the economy of the United States depends on a military-industrial complex that cannot be stopped, cannot be controlled."

In selling arms to both sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Pentagon and its business partners are indeed simply following the logic of the capitalist system, which is to invest where the highest profits can be obtained. And the arms industry is one of the most, if not the most, lucrative businesses.

Moreover, arms sales to Middle East oil-producing regimes are a convenient way of profitably getting back some of the "petrodollars" the United States has paid out for purchases of imported oil, thereby helping its balance-of-payments position.

The fact that the Ford administration is providing arms and military aid to countries it is threatening to invade is not as contradictory or "baffling" as Senator Jackson pretends. Washington's paramount interest in the Middle East is to ensure maximum stability for imperialist investments and profits. Fundamentally, this means strengthening the hand of reactionary regimes in the area, and assuring an uninterrupted flow of oil to the West.

#### For Political Arm-Twisting

White House reasoning was described by Richard J. Levine in the February 18 *Wall Street Journal*. "From President Ford on down," he wrote, "administration officials contend that U.S. arms sales ensure military balance in the Middle East, give Washington important political leverage in

the area, and generally further U.S. security interests.

"There is a security problem which these (Middle East) countries feel," Mr. Kissinger says. Often "the security problem is caused by a neighbor supported by Soviet or other Communist arms. . . . If the country didn't receive the arms, it would be subject to this neighbor—or else it would get these arms from other sources."

Translated into plain language, Kissinger is referring to the fear of revolution felt by many of these regimes and their dependence on imperialist support.

Washington regards the shah of Iran, for example, as a dependable representative of imperialist interests in the region. The shah uses his U.S.-supplied arms to threaten Iraq and help the sultan of Oman fight liberation forces supported by South Yemen. Iran maintains a force of 2,000 men in Dhofar, the southernmost part of Oman, and has offered the sultan a "guarantee" of Omani airspace against intruding foreign aircraft. Washington is quite prepared to provide whatever additional "security" is needed.

In return, Oman has been "requested" by the U.S. Air Force to provide a base on the strategic Masirah Island near the mouth of the Arab-Persian Gulf.

The overall aim, as Defense Secretary Schlesinger spelled it out in a message to Congress February 11, is to increase the Mideast regimes' dependence on U.S. arms and keep them within the imperialist sphere of influence. "We are dealing with sovereign nations whose perceptions of their defense needs may not coincide with our own," Schlesinger stated suavely. "They have the choice of buying from the U.S., from certain other Western countries or from Communist

countries. For many reasons, we would prefer that they purchase their military material from us, provided that the sale is consistent with our foreign-policy objective."

This "objective" in no way precludes Washington's using all the means at its disposal, including military intervention if necessary, to forestall these semicolonial regimes from using their control of petroleum resources to shift the underlying unfavorable relationship of forces with imperialism to their own advantage.

The growing U.S. reliance on imported oil is a further factor in increasing Washington's strategic interest in the Middle East. Canada and Venezuela are cutting back oil exports to the United States, while—as a result of years of deliberate underexploration and underdevelopment by the multinational U.S. oil trusts—the production from U.S. domestic oil fields continues to decline.

"We face a very vulnerable period in the years 1976 through 1979, because most of our imports will be coming from the Middle East," Federal Energy Administrator Frank

Zarb told Thomas O'Toole of the *Washington Post* in an interview published February 9. "What if we have an Arab embargo in 1977? I hate to think of what might happen."

Washington's ultimate defense of imperialist interests in the Middle East, as elsewhere, is its own armed forces, backed by its nuclear arsenal. In addition to the tremendous increase in arms contracts—many of which are not included in the Pentagon's budget, since they are handled directly between private corporations and the governments concerned—the Ford administration has called on Congress to approve an armaments budget of a record high \$104.7 billion. The biggest single increase is a \$7.6 billion jump over last year to \$35.9 billion for conventional fighting forces.

Congress is not expected to offer substantial resistance to this escalation of the arms race. As the editors of the *New York Times* pointed out January 23, "Congressional sound and fury in the past have rarely brought more than symbolic defense cuts."

## Jailed by Dublin for Possessing 'Incriminating' News Bulletin

### Eamonn Mac Tomás Serving Fifteen-Month Term

By Gerry Foley

When Eamonn Mac Tomás, former editor of the republican newspaper *An Phoblacht*, was sentenced last October, he warned that every newspaper editor in Ireland had better clear out of their offices, because he was sure they were probably "sitting on plenty of incriminating documents."

Mac Tomás had been found guilty of "membership in the Irish Republican Army" because he had in his possession copies of the Irish Republican Information Service Bulletin, a publication Dublin authorities now consider an "incriminating document." He is currently serving a fifteen-month sentence in Portlaoise jail. (See appeal for Mac Tomás printed elsewhere in this issue.)

The charges stemmed from a raid on the offices of *An Phoblacht* on September 17, 1974, where political police found copies of the bulletin. Since the IRA is formally an illegal organization in the Twenty-Six Counties, publications directly identified with it are considered "incriminating documents." Under the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act passed in 1972, the testimony of a "responsible police officer" is sufficient evidence to convict for "membership in an illegal organisation." Mac Tomás had just finished serving a six-

month term after such a "conviction."

As a veteran republican, now a middle-aged man with four children, his life has been interrupted again and again by prison sentences. His personal sacrifice has been all the greater because some of these terms at least could have been avoided if he had been willing to compromise on what he considered questions of principle, such as refusing to recognize the right of the Dublin regime's courts to try political cases. Mac Tomás is widely respected as a man of strict principles and honesty, even by leaders of the rival "Official" republicans.

Mac Tomás has also been quick to come to the defense of other revolutionists suffering repression. For example, he spoke in August 1972 at a meeting organized by the Revolutionary Marxist Group to protest the banning of the *Ligue Communiste* in France.

I spoke with him several times as a correspondent for *Intercontinental Press* in Ireland and found him to be an Irish republican of the old school. His decision to go with the Provisionals in the 1969 split had nothing to do with the military question. For him it was strictly a matter of political principle. He was opposed to the decision by the faction that came to be

known as the "Officials" to abandon the principle of nonparticipation in "partition parliaments."

"Republican principles might be rigid," Mac Tomás told me. "But they have kept us going for 800 years, and they'll keep us going for another 800 if necessary." He thought that the young radicals who supported the faction that became the "Officials" could not understand the sacrifices of old republicans, like Larry Grogan, who had spent much of their lives in prison on questions of principle.

While Mac Tomás stood with the Provisionals on traditional grounds, he did not care much for the bombing campaign in the North. It was not the sort of campaign he hoped for. He thought in terms of bold strokes that would make fools of the British and inspire the oppressed people to resistance without causing any irreparable harm to anyone except perhaps the British army, actions that would win the applause and goodwill of international public opinion.

If Mac Tomás's principles were perhaps a bit rigid, he has shown in the last two years that he was ready to follow them no matter what the consequences, and the consequences have been harsher for him as a senior clerk with a family than for younger republicans with more flexibility and less to lose.

The publication of his book on Dublin lore established him as an honorable Irish institution. This is what the well-known critic Ulick O'Connor said about it in the February 21 issue of the Dublin literary fortnightly *Hibernia*:

"Up to now there have been two books about Dublin in a class of their own. Maurice Craig's 'Dublin' and Brendan Behan's 'Hold Your Own And Have Another.' Now there are three. Eamonn MacThomais' *Me Jewel and Darlin' Dublin* must rank with these other classics.

"MacThomais has Brendan's personal touch. He introduces you to his world which also happens to be Dublin. He brings you into the centre of it with him. But he has a greater technical knowledge than Brendan and a wider social span than Maurice Craig. . . .

"MacThomais provides vivid descriptions of Endymion, Professor Maginni, Zozimus, Billy in the Bowl, President Keeley, Cyclone Billy Warren and other Dublin characters.

"He is not quite right about the 'Bird' Flanagan. It was the 'Bird's' father who owned the land around Crumlin, not the 'Bird' himself. I am sure if the 'Bird,' a famous practical joker, was around today he would be able to think up some stroke for getting a decent Dubliner like MacThomais out of Portlaoise."

Further information on the Mac Tomás case can be gotten from *An Phoblacht*, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1, Ireland. □



## Rosie Douglas Scores Racism in Canada

[Rosie Douglas spoke at a meeting sponsored by the Vanguard Forum in Toronto January 31. *Labor Challenge*, the Canadian revolutionary-socialist fortnightly, published extensive excerpts from his remarks, which we are reprinting below.]

\* \* \*

When we began to speak about racism back in the mid-1960s, nobody was listening. When we began to pose the question of racism in this country everybody thought, and many people on the left said: "You are sectarian, you are a chauvinist." We were called all kinds of names. But the question of racism had to be exposed.

It had to be exposed because this country was founded upon the premise of racism. This country came in as a colonial appendage of British capitalism, and very early it was made abundantly clear by the British that there were two types of colonies. There were settled colonies and conquered colonies. Britain delegated the conquered colonies to be those countries where nonwhite people, Black people, lived. These people were considered to be conquered and deserving no political rights. The settled colonies had the people who came from Britain, who were white Europeans. They "deserved" political rights and accordingly they were granted representative government.

From very early, then, the roots of racism were firmly implanted in the constitutional and historical structure of this country—firmly implanted. It was nothing invented by us. We were only giving vent to it in the 1960s when we began to speak about it.

If we look at the immigration laws in this country, we find a situation in which from 1898, when W.D. Scott was superintendent of immigration under Clifford Sifton, who was the minister of immigration at the time, we find a series of incidents beginning to happen then which show that official Canadian policy was to keep Black people out of Canada.

In 1910, the Winnipeg Board of Trade passed a resolution saying, and I quote: "Up to a few years ago there were practically no Negroes here. Then a few families arrived. These found the climatic conditions congenial and sent back for their friends. It is hoped that the Dominion government might devise some means of stopping this undesirable influx." That was the Winnipeg Board of Trade in 1910.

W.B. Scott wrote a letter to W.L. Banstead

March 17, 1975

### The Rosie Douglas Case

Douglas, a native of Dominica, is a prominent Black activist in Canada who spent seventeen months in prison for his role in a 1969 student occupation protesting racism at Sir George Williams University in Montreal. He was a coordinator of the African Liberation Day protests in Canada. Recently he helped found the Black Workers Alliance in Toronto and was an initiator of a committee to defend the hundreds of Haitian refugees Ottawa is in the process of deporting.

On January 29, the Supreme Court of Canada upheld a deportation order issued against him by the Trudeau government in May 1973, following his release from prison. The certificate Douglas was issued describes him as a "risk to national security," although no evidence was presented to back up this charge.

The Supreme Court ruling "creates a precedent which would allow the Solicitor General to issue a Certificate of this kind against anyone without having to produce any evidence," Richard Thompson wrote in

*Labor Challenge* February 10.

"Douglas faces a hearing before the Immigration Appeal Board in Montreal in early March. Under the ruling, he cannot appeal on the basis of humanitarian grounds, as a political refugee. If the Immigration Appeal Board rules against him, he faces immediate deportation to Dominica. Douglas's book, *Chains or Change*, about conditions in Dominica, has been banned there. The government of Dominica has just passed new repressive legislation giving it the right to imprison or murder political dissidents."

Douglas has also been banned from all other colonies and former colonies of Britain in the West Indies.

Protests against Douglas's threatened deportation should be sent to Warren Allmand, Solicitor General, and Robert Andras, Minister of Immigration, at the House of Commons, Ottawa, with a copy to the Rosie Douglas Defense Committee, P.O. Box 194, Station P, Toronto, Ontario.

in 1914 and told him, as immigration agent in Halifax, that when you deny Black people the right to come to this country you need not mention in the form that you're denying them entry because they're Black. That is understood in Ottawa, you don't need to put it down.

This is the letter from Scott to Banstead: "Sir, I notice in a number of Board cases the cause of rejection include the statement that the person rejected is a Negro, and that instructions have been received to prevent the entry of Negroes in every possible way. While it is true that we are not seeking the immigration of colored people I do not think it is advisable to insert any notice of the policy or instructions of the Department in a Board decision, or other correspondence beyond stating in a proper place that the person is a Negro. I'm sure you will appreciate the view I have expressed and will understand the reason thereof." This is Scott writing to his man in Halifax.

These are concrete documented examples of the racism that has existed within this department.

We go on further. In 1947 [Prime Minis-

ter] Mackenzie King said: "The policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population by the encouragement of immigration. The government will seek by legislation, regulation and vigorous administration to ensure the careful selection and permanent settlement of such persons as can advantageously be absorbed in our national economy. With regards to the selection of immigrants much has been said about discrimination. I wish to make it abundantly clear that Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a fundamental human right of any alien to enter Canada. It is a privilege, it is a matter of domestic policy." So here is Mackenzie King in 1947.

Item 1, Section 61 of the 1947 Immigration Act which expired in 1956 gave the governor-general-in-council [federal cabinet] permission to make regulations prohibiting the admission of persons by reasons of nationality, citizenship, ethnic group, occupation, and geographic area of origin. This law was brought in, in 1947.

What they did in 1947, in fact, is that they

designated two categories. They said there would be preferred immigrants and nonpreferred immigrants. The preferred immigrants are the people who would come from Britain, the United States, France, Ireland, Australia, and South Africa—whites, of course. And the nonpreferred immigrants are the people who would be coming from Africa, from Asia, from Latin America—Black people. That is why the disparity still exists. This was the law of 1947.

Of course, we understand that there was a continuous growth of capitalist development after the war. The expansion which was taking place within capitalism, in effect, was an expansion aimed toward bringing profits to multinational corporations. It had nothing to do with meeting the fundamental needs of workers. And from 1947 until the present time, every time the economy found itself in crisis, we see tendencies to deliberately introduce inflation and encourage unemployment as a way to temporarily relieve the crisis within capitalism. Or starting wars like they started in Vietnam, and these measures usually have a tendency to allow a breathing space for capitalism. But today what we are seeing, my friends, is that the crisis has come to the point where the capitalist bourgeoisie in the western world has nowhere to turn to.

But even with the present crisis they still continue to spend \$230 billion a year on arms in the western world. And they turn to the people of the Third World and say that they are the cause of the crisis and say that the cause of the crisis is the increasing prices of raw materials, the increasing price of oil. But between 1972 and 1973 export prices increased by \$40 billion, \$29 billion of which went to the developed capitalist world, and \$11 billion of which went to the Third World. And of the \$11 billion that went to the Third World, most of that came back to service the interest on the national debt of many of the countries of the Third World. But the capitalist economy is again in crisis and they have to find a scapegoat.

It is within this context, then, that we have to look at Canadian immigration policy.

In 1952 they introduced the domestic scheme whereby Black women from the Caribbean had to come here as second-class citizens and work as domestics in order to work in this country. Many of them, still today, work for wages of less than \$100 a month.

In 1967 they introduced the point system whereby they set up five categories. They said: "If you get fifty points, ten in each category, you will be allowed to come in." But even with the point system the discretionary power of the Immigration officer again remained paramount.

As revolutionary people we have to

recognize that if the political people within the left are not able to move to organize workers, first in a defensive struggle for their fundamental interests and then to move to eventually take power, it means that the bourgeoisie will continue to build



ROSIE DOUGLAS

strength and move more and more towards what Hitler had to move towards in the second world war. And when they move towards that type of fascism it's going to be far worse than Hitler because they have biological and nuclear facilities available at their disposal to use against workers.

We must recognize that the time has come to move in a very serious way to organize politically, to develop the level of political consciousness among workers. First of all to increase their share of the national income, to demand full employment without inflation, to demand a reduction of the workweek to 32 hours, to demand low-cost and better housing, day-care facilities—to demand all these fundamental things—and then to move on from that level to the offensive political struggles, which means taking power from those who control the means of production.

The time has come to recognize, therefore, that if 90 percent of Black workers are nonunionized, then we have to move to unionize them. We have to mobilize them around their basic interests so that when they're moved against by the Immigration department, when they're moved against by people like [Immigration minister] Andras, when they're moved against by the vampires of capitalist society, the landlords, the racketeers, the financiers, and all these

people, they will be organized and able to take care of themselves. We see that struggle as an integral part of the anti-imperialist struggle the world over.

When we took a position at Sir George Williams University we weren't taking a position against a professor. What it was, more than anything else, was a confrontation between Black students, with some white supporters, and the ruling class in this country. Because the people on the board of governors at Sir George Williams University were the very same people that control the economy of the Caribbean.

We moved at Sir George in a very small thing—over racism in courses. That goes on in all universities, as any Black student can tell you.

I believe that wherever racism is, and wherever injustice is, it must be dealt with. And any country like this which preaches democracy but practices racism against members of the population has to be exposed. Not later or next year, it has to be exposed now. And that is the position we took at Sir George. It was an uncompromising position.

We took that position and we're paying the price for it. In my case there is a possibility that I may be deported to Dominica, and might be able to live for awhile, although the laws that have been passed there now are parallel to the anti-Communist law in Haiti. My book, *Chains or Change*, focused on Dominica, has been banned in Dominica, and it has occurred to me that if I go back there now things are going to be hard. But I took a stand. I refused to plead guilty. And they decided that I was going to go to jail.

Many people said: "You guys broke the computers, you guys smashed the computers."\* There are many people here who actually believe that still. But the convictions against us were for taking part in an illegal sit-in. Nobody was convicted of arson or destruction. So for the same thing that Martin Luther King got a Nobel Peace Prize for, we went to jail for. And we're being deported for the same thing. I went down to the Caribbean and explained to the brothers and sisters what the situation was up here, who the people on the board of governors were, that we were fighting against the same people. We have people like Doctor Ken Patrick on the board of governors at Sir George. Dr. Ken Patrick owns the stock exchange in Trinidad. Dr. Ken Patrick owns Bennett-Bryce in Antigua. In St. Lucia in one year he made \$1

\*The students occupied the university's computer center. When police attacked the 200 Black students and their white supporters, breaking up the occupation, two computers were damaged. Ninety-seven students were arrested.—IP

million selling property to Canadians coming down there to retire. He owns a number of hotels throughout the islands.

We have people like Bronfman. Bronfman owns Seagrams. Seagrams owns Appleton Rum in Jamaica and other distilleries in the Caribbean.

We have people like Peters of Alcan Aluminum. I don't need to tell you anything more about people like Alcan. And Nathaniel Davies, the president of Alcan Aluminum. These are the people on the board of governors at Sir George.

And because of our class position we took a position against that. We ended up being hounded, ended up going to jail.

For myself, I've been in this country for twelve years. I was in this country for four years and eleven months when the deportation order was issued against me. Judge Choquette came out in court here in Toronto and said he was completely against the pressure that was being put on him by the minister of immigration to have a deportation order issued against me. That was said openly and reported in the bourgeois press.

They went further than that. Because of the twenty-seven Caribbean students involved in the incident, everybody had a deportation order against them. The orders were dropped because they figured they were well behaved. They figured that in my case the immigration order might also be dropped, so they issued a certificate on top of the deportation order saying I'm a risk to national security. Right?

So we appealed and went to the Supreme Court and we said that issuing a certificate calling a man a risk to national security is contrary to the Bill of Rights. It's against the rule of law. The minister of immigration and the solicitor general are not even obliged to bring evidence. They could pick up any one of you and say you're a risk to national security and not have to bring any evidence. The Supreme Court said they were operating within the Canadian constitution. A ruling came out two days ago that it is within the Canadian constitution to issue a certificate against anybody calling them a risk to national security and they need not bring any evidence to prove it.

They said that I cannot appeal on humanitarian grounds. But Mr. Allmand, who is the solicitor general, who signed the certificate, met with me in Montreal a month ago and said: "I'm prepared to give you a job in my department." I said: "Well, I don't want to work in your department. You have introduced a writ saying I'm a risk to national security and you want me to work in your department." He said: "That's no problem. That can be waived off. That's no problem at all." These are the sort of games they play, you know.

I don't want his job. If it means being deported, I'll be deported. If it means

staying, I will stay because I took a principled position. If you're committed to something you're going to fight to the end. That's the only kind of fight I understand, fighting to the end. There is no signing of any peace treaty in between. The last time people signed peace treaties in this country you can see what happened to the native people.

It's not good enough to say that Canada is a junior partner of imperialism. Canada, in its own right is into the Caribbean and engaging in imperialist activity. The Canadians have got about \$1 billion invested in the Caribbean out of which they pull in a profit of about 20 cents on the dollar every year. That's close to \$200 million a year in profit from an impoverished area.

They give \$25 million in aid every year, with all kinds of strings and rubber bands attached. They give you some money to build a school. You get Canadian engineers, Canadian materials, Canadian this and Canadian that, and you pay them back in ten years with interest. That is the extent of Canadian aid.

The Canadian military trains in Jamaica every year. They say it is to acquaint themselves with tropical conditions in case they have to fight with UN emergency forces. They train in Jamaica every year, in an explosive situation. They recognize that the revolutionary potential of the Jamaican people is increasing.

They control most of the hotels. They control 70 percent of the banking. Even if they say that the United States cannot control more than 5 percent of Canadian banking, they control 70 percent of ours and

say it's all right. And if you talk about it you're a militant, a radical, you're a Communist. That is the situation that we face.

But the Caribbean people, like the people of southern Africa and Vietnam, are not going to lie down and take it easy. We're going to be fighting. We're going to move from strength to strength. And we're going to move to overcome the weaknesses in the left in the Caribbean at the present time by clarifying our positions. We're going to move to provide the leadership, the revolutionary leadership for workers and peasants in the Caribbean.

My friends, you have a great responsibility. And that responsibility has to be tackled very seriously, very determinedly. We are doing our part in the Black community. But the problem of racism is embedded in the minds of white workers and it is your responsibility to help eradicate it. It is your responsibility to explain to them, and not in any half-hearted way, what racism is; what apartheid in South Africa is all about; what Zionism is all about—to explain that to be anti-Israel doesn't mean to be against the Jewish people. And as soon as people can begin to understand these things, I think the basis will be there for world revolution.

The Western European economy is in chaos; the United States economy is in chaos; and the Canadian economy, a variant of that, is in chaos. But to say that is not to say that workers are mobilized and organized. To say that is to admit to the objective weaknesses that exist and to tell you that you have a responsibility. □

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## Immigrant Workers—the New Target of Reaction

By Dave Frankel

*You are going to complain? You? And just who are you? . . . You have no passport. In any civilized country he who has no passport is nobody. He does not exist for us or for anybody else. We can do whatever we want to. And that is exactly what we're going to do right now.*

*From The Death Ship, by B. Traven.*

Once again the capitalist world has been hit by an economic crisis. Unemployment levels are already higher than at any time since the Great Depression, and they continue to climb. And once again the imperialist rulers are turning to racism and xenophobia as a means of directing the anger of the masses away from its rightful target. In one country after another an ominous campaign against immigrant workers has been gathering force.

In the United States the brunt of the racist campaign has been aimed against the estimated six to seven million (some estimates run as high as twelve million) immigrants without papers—the so-called illegal aliens. Here is the beginning of one series of articles that appeared in February in the *New York Daily News*, the biggest mass-circulation newspaper in the United States:

"While 270,000 New York City residents stagger under the effect of today's severe unemployment problem, more than 100,000 illegal aliens work each day in well-paying, nonmenial jobs—jobs that not only keep legitimate workers off the employment rolls, but also rob the federal, state and city governments of more than \$200 million in taxes each year."

The third article in the same series drove home the point once again. "Within six months," it said, "100,000 jobs can be opened up for unemployed city residents, immigration officials say, if only the federal government would declare an all-out war on illegal aliens who work here."

The more staid journals of the capitalist class, such as the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, have also been beating the same drum. And speaking in the Texas border city of Brownsville on October 30, 1974, then-U.S. Attorney General William Saxbe called the presence of undocumented workers in the country a "severe national crisis."

Saxbe vowed that with an increase of \$50 million for the budget of the Immigration

and Naturalization Service (INS), the border patrol could deport in 1975 "one million persons now holding jobs—and then find those who are buried more deeply into our society."

### Gunning for Jews, Mexicans

Saxbe, who achieved some notoriety in April 1974 for his remarks about "Jewish intellectuals" who were "enamored with the Communist party," insisted that "no prejudice of any kind" was involved in his anti-immigrant proposals. At the same time, he took note of a Los Angeles police study claiming that 36 percent of those arrested on felony charges in one particular area were "illegal aliens."

More than 90 percent of the immigrant workers in the United States come from Mexico. Others come from the Caribbean, Taiwan, Hong Kong, the Philippines, and southern Europe. Those coming from Mexico, driven by unemployment and hunger in their native country, face barbed-wire fences, electronic sensing devices developed originally for use in Vietnam, and racist brutality from INS officials and border police.

Mexican immigrants have been found suffocated in coffin-like hiding places, and whole families have been found frozen to death in the forbidding mountains and deserts that some try to cross.

Once in the land of opportunity they face vicious exploitation. At best they are paid substandard wages and subjected to illegal working conditions, while living in constant fear of *la migra*—the immigration police. At worst, they are cheated of their wages altogether by employers who call in the border patrol when payment is due. Instances of virtual slavery are not uncommon.

The atmosphere in which immigrant workers without papers must live in the land of the free is indicated by the fact that San Diego, California, with a Chicano population of 250,000, had 157,000 deportations in 1973. One instance was reported in which San Diego cops barged into a church in the Chicano community, stopped the service, and checked everybody's papers. Those who couldn't produce proof of citizenship were hauled away.

Washington's racist campaign has been turned to account as a weapon against

political refugees as well as against immigrant workers in general. One thousand Haitian refugees have arrived illegally in the United States during the last two years, many risking their lives in small open boats. The policy of the U.S. government is to return them to the torture chambers of the Duvalier regime.

Those who challenge this policy and apply for political asylum in the courts are denied authorization to work. "The denial of work authorization, which was granted to the first groups of Haitians, is linked with unemployment, which reached 7 per cent here in December," reported Eleanor Blau in the February 11 *New York Times*.

One INS official in Florida, she wrote, "estimates that 50,000 illegal aliens, mostly from the Caribbean area or Latin America, now live in Dade County. . . ."

"Two-thirds of these are working illegally, taking jobs from our American citizens," he said. . . ."

The same argument is made by trade-union bureaucrats, who have been among those yelling the loudest and the longest about the "illegal alien threat." A pamphlet published in 1974 on the legislative aims of the officialdom of the main trade-union federation in the United States said:

"The AFL-CIO has long advocated congressional action to 'enact laws and provide for their effective enforcement' to stop 'the employment of illegal aliens and bring under control the existing widespread use of Mexican commuters.'"

The latest legislative proposals against immigrant workers in the United States—and against the rights of the entire working class as well—include what would amount to the imposition of a national identification and labor permit system. If the Justice Department got its way, all workers would have to show proof of their legal immigration status before they could be legally hired for a job. The proposal also suggests that welfare funds be made dependent on such proof.

The outcry against immigrant workers in the United States has reached such a pitch that when two Greek workers were arrested in January not one article in the capitalist press noted the irony of their case. They were picked up while painting the Statue of Liberty, once the symbol of a country built by immigrants, on whose base is the inscription: "Give me your tired, your poor,

your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free. . . ."

### Ottawa Tails Behind Washington

Washington's junior partner to the north has its own racist offensive. The Ottawa government is duplicating Washington's cynical refusal to grant Haitian refugees political asylum. About 1,500 Haitians face deportation from Canada, which has rejected their claim to being political refugees.

"If we gave the kind of special treatment that they want to everyone who came here because he was displeased with the economic or political situation of his own country, we would have them coming by the millions," said one government representative.

But in an interview published in the October 28 issue of the *Gazette*, a Montréal daily, Pierre Gousse, a Haitian official, labeled the immigrants "essentially subversive" elements who had "cut the bridge for a return to Haiti." He promised that "they will not find in Haiti favorable ground for their activities."

Another step in tightening Canadian immigration policies was announced October 22. The government reported new regulations that are expected to reduce immigration from an expected 250,000 in 1975 to 200,000. "The principal impact is expected to be on the flow of nonwhite immigrants," Robert Trumbull said in the October 23, 1974, *New York Times*.

Minister of Manpower and Immigration Robert Andras complained: "Immigrants are applying and arriving in increasing numbers at a time when employment levels may well be uncertain, when housing is scarce and expensive, and many social services are strained to a critical point."

Brian Steward, a commentator on the government-owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, was more blunt about the racist motivation for the move. "Canada is becoming a multiracial country at a staggering rate. . . . Only 10 years ago Europeans made up more than 70 per cent of all immigrants. Today there are less than 45 per cent and still dropping."

### No Different in Europe

Estimates place the number of immigrant workers in Europe at eleven to thirteen million, mainly from North Africa, Yugoslavia, Italy, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, and Greece. Ultraright organizations in Britain, France, and Switzerland are campaigning against immigration. The signs of the rising racist propaganda were noted by *Washington Post* reporter John Goshko in a July 30, 1974, article:

"They are evident in the slogans scrawled on the walls of ghetto dwellings in Marseille: DON'T TURN MARSEILLE INTO

March 17, 1975



Vadillo/Siempre

**ANOTHER HARLEM.** They appear in Brussels as SUPPORT YOUR POLICE posters showing a virginal white girl menaced by a dark and sinister foreigner. They crackle into violence in Rotterdam when young Dutch street toughs set fire to the houses of Turkish workers."

•In Switzerland immigrants comprise one-sixth of the total population, and foreign workers make up more than one-third of the work force. Last October a referendum calling for the expulsion of half the foreign population in Switzerland by the end of 1977 won 34 percent of the vote. The Swiss government responded to the racist campaign July 9 by announcing a measure limiting the number of new foreign workers that would be allowed to enter Switzerland during the following twelve months to 20,500—less than half the number admitted in 1973. Meanwhile, a new referendum calling for expulsions over a ten-year period has already been introduced.

### 'Pimps, Lunatics, Killers'

•The immigrant workers in France account for more than 15 percent of the labor force, and with their families they make up about 8 percent of the population. Confined to the worst slums and shantytowns—some without even running water—those from North Africa have also been subjected to continuing racist attacks.

Following the killing of a Marseille bus driver by a demented Algerian immigrant in August 1973 the mass-circulation daily *Le Méridional* wrote, "We have had enough of Algerian thieves, Algerian thugs, Algerian braggarts, Algerian troublemakers, Algerian syphilitics, Algerian pimps, Algerian lunatics, and Algerian killers."

During the next three weeks eleven Algerian workers in France were murdered and scores of Arab workers were assaulted. These attacks were answered by massive strikes by immigrant workers throughout France.

Despite such resistance, attacks have

continued. In July 1974, after an incident in which 50 French marines attacked North Africans in the streets of Toulon, the mayor of that city said the resulting riot showed the "need for better organization and control over the arrival of immigrants."

Since July 1974 the French government has barred the entry of immigrant workers from all countries not in the European Economic Community. Moreover, many French companies have not renewed the contracts of foreign workers and have specifically asked for French citizens when hiring.

•The government of Norway also joined in. It announced January 10 that as of February 1 it will ban the entry of immigrant workers for one year. Workers from other Scandinavian countries and those with special skills are exempted.

### 'Gastarbeiter' in Germany

•In Germany as well the economic downturn has led to government attacks on foreign workers. The 2.5 million *gastarbeiter* (guest workers) in that country include 600,000 Turks, and the Turkish community as a whole exceeds a million.

"In the years of boom, Turks and other foreigners," Henry Kamm wrote in the January 23 *New York Times*, "were ready to accept hardships—separation from family and home, living in an unfamiliar environment, among people who are mainly indifferent and sometimes hostile, sleeping in joyless dormitories or crumbling tenements—for the sake of wages unattainable in less-developed countries. . . ."

"Every Turkish worker questioned, including those who, after long residence, have acquired fluency in German and familiarity with the ways of the country, reported open refusals to rent to them. They also feel that they are being charged higher rents than Germans."

On January 13 Bonn announced new measures to reduce the number of foreign workers in Germany and to give preference to German job seekers. The German govern-

ment had already banned immigration of workers from non-EEC countries in the fall of 1973.

In addition, many factories are offering lump sum severance payments to workers who offer to resign. Most who accept this offer are immigrant workers. As Kamm explains, "The feeling of being less than welcome was a factor for many who decided to take severance pay."

### Anti-Irish Witch-hunt

In Britain, while racist demagogues such as Tory Member of Parliament Enoch Powell built careers on opposition to immigration, the government passed increasingly restrictive laws aimed at holding down the entry of nonwhites from its former colonial possessions. About 1.3 million British residents from India, the Caribbean, Pakistan, and Africa face racist discrimination in housing, employment, and other aspects of daily life.

But the biggest component of the immigrant community in Britain—one million persons—are Irish. Following two bombings last November that killed twenty persons in Birmingham, the Irish population in Britain has been subjected to an intense witch-hunt. Although the Irish Republican Army (IRA) disclaimed responsibility for the bombings, the British press and politicians didn't bother with such details.

Sweeping repressive legislation rushed through Parliament allows for the expulsion of any Irish person—including those holding British citizenship—from the island of Great Britain if they are *suspected* of the "preparation or instigation of acts of terrorism."

As one newspaper explained, "In every Catholic Irishman there lurks a sneaking sympathy" for the IRA. Irish workers were subjected to beatings, several Irish stores were bombed, and Irish immigrants faced increased harassment in general.

When British authorities tried to deport an Italian immigrant worker in December, their tactic was to claim that he was connected with the IRA. Irish workers in Britain—some residents for twenty years—have been deported simply on the basis of their outspoken support for the unification of Ireland.

Although it was written in 1870, Karl Marx's observation on British domination of the Irish is applicable today to the relations between immigrant workers and the proletariat of the imperialist countries in general. Marx explained that "the English bourgeoisie has not only exploited the Irish misery to keep down the working class in England by forced immigration of poor Irishmen, it has also divided the proletariat into two hostile camps. . . . in all the big industrial centers in England

there is a profound antagonism between the Irish and English proletarians. The average English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers wages and the standard of life. He feels national and religious antipathies for him. . . . This antagonism between the proletarians in England is artificially nourished and kept alive by the bourgeoisie. It knows that this split is the true secret of maintaining its power."

In Asia, no less than in Europe and North America, the doors have also been closed to immigrant workers. In the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong, immigrants from China were welcome as long as a labor shortage existed. But on November 30, 1974, the colonial administration reversed its policy of allowing illegal immigrants from China to remain, and by the following month thirty persons had been arrested and handed over to Chinese authorities.

In Australia, in January 1973, the newly elected Labor government made a demonstrative show of ending the last vestiges of the "white Australia policy" that had openly discriminated against Asians. Even then, the end of discrimination was a largely paper affair.

The new regulations gave preference to those with relatives already in Australia, and to those with desired skills. "The demand for unskilled workers is zero," Immigration Minister Albert Grassby declared. "We have unemployment in this category now."

Two years later, David Lamb wrote in a *Los Angeles Times* dispatch from Sydney: "Australia, which once beckoned settlers to its shores with promises of sunny days and unlimited opportunities, has begun restricting its migrant intake because of economic storm clouds and a shortage of jobs. . . ."

"In quick order, the government has suspended its overseas advertising campaigns to attract settlers, required for the first time that citizens of other Commonwealth countries obtain visas before entering the country and stepped up efforts to deport an estimated 50,000 persons in Australia without valid work permits. . . ."

"One of the first to feel the effects of the new immigration program will be Asians who have neither skills nor families here. More than 40,000 persons in the Philippines alone have applied for Australian residency."

### Trotsky's Opinion

The social crisis that threatens world capitalism is only in its earliest stages, but all the deadly signs of a revival of xenophobic hysteria of the same type that became epidemic in the 1930s are already apparent. Although the bourgeoisie is quite willing to encourage the spread of racist sentiment for its own ends, the growing

persecution of immigrant workers involves more than government policies.

Shunted from country to country because of economic forces over which they have no control, declared expendable by enterprises whose sole motive force is profit, the immigrant workers are victims of the division of the world into rival states. The underlying problem was explained by Leon Trotsky in 1933 in an article on "Nationalism and Economic Life."

"As a consequence of the [first world] war," Trotsky wrote, "all the contradictions of the past were aggravated. One could half-shut one's eyes to this during the first years after the war, when Europe, aided by America, was busy repairing her devastated economy from top to bottom. But to restore productive forces inevitably implied the reinvigorating of all those evils that had led to the war. The present crisis, in which are synthesized all the capitalist crises of the past, signifies above all, the crisis of national economic life.

" . . . the interminable series of political, economic, financial, tariff and monetary conferences only unfolded the panorama of the bankruptcy of the ruling classes in face of the unpostponable and burning task of our epoch.

"Theoretically this task may be formulated as follows: how may the economic unity of Europe be guaranteed, while preserving complete freedom of cultural development to the people living there? How may unified Europe be included within a coordinated world economy? The solution to this question can be reached not by deifying the nation but, on the contrary, by completely liberating productive forces from the fetters imposed upon them by the national state. But the ruling classes of Europe, demoralized by the bankruptcy of military and diplomatic methods, approach the task today from the opposite end, that is, they attempt by force to subordinate the economy to the outdated national state."

### In the Time of Lenin, Marx

The use of immigrant labor is hardly a new development. Lenin notes in his work on imperialism that one of the special features of imperialism is "the decline in emigration from imperialist countries and the increase in immigration into these countries from the more backward countries where lower wages are paid."

The example of the Irish immigration to nineteenth-century Britain has already been mentioned. In the United States in the nineteenth century, the pattern of immigration shifted from the west and north of Europe to the south and east.

Germany had 800,000 foreign workers in 1907—more than one-third of the Ruhr miners were Poles. Switzerland had half a million foreigners in 1910—15 percent of its

total population, compared to no more than 18 percent today.

But along with the reactionary imperialist tradition of exploitation and intolerance, there is an equally old tradition of revolutionary solidarity among the workers of the world. A decree of the French National Assembly passed in 1792 said that the revolutionary French nation would "adopt in advance all foreigners who, by abjuring the cause of its enemies, shall range themselves under its banners and consecrate their efforts to the defence of liberty."

In giving the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association—the First International—in 1864, Marx noted, "Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts."

The General Rules of the First International, also written by Marx, again stressed that efforts aimed at the emancipation of the working class "have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labor in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries. . . ."

### Where Foreigners Were Welcome

The revolutionary tradition of internationalism was continued by the Paris Commune of 1871, the first workers government in history. After the elections to the commune, it was decided that "considering the flag of the commune to be that of the universal republic," the election of foreigners was valid.

The constitution of the Russian Federated Soviet Socialist Republic, adopted in 1918, conferred the rights of citizenship "without any irksome formalities" on "foreigners working within the territory of the Russian republic, provided that they belong to the working class or to the peasantry working without hired labor." In addition, citizenship was offered to all prisoners of war who were prepared to declare their loyalty to the new Soviet government. (Huge numbers of Austrian, German, Hungarian, and other prisoners were on Russian soil as a result of World War I.)

This is the tradition carried on by the Fourth International. As Trotsky wrote in 1938 in the *Transitional Program*, "Before exhausting or drowning mankind in blood, capitalism befouls the world atmosphere with the poisonous vapors of national and race hatred. . . ."

"An uncompromising disclosure of the roots of race prejudice and all forms and shades of national arrogance and chauvin-

ism, particularly anti-semitism, should become part of the daily work of all sections of the Fourth International, as the most

important part of the struggle against imperialism and war. Our basic slogan remains: Workers of the World Unite!" □

## New York 'Daily News' Beats Drums for Racist Campaign

### Immigrants Made Scapegoat for Unemployment



Daily News

[The following article appeared in the February 13-March 7 issue of *Le Patriote Haïtien*, newspaper of the Mouvement Haïtien d'Action Patriotique (Haitian Movement for Patriotic Action).\* The translation from the French is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

With the campaign against "illegal aliens" being whipped up by the press, radio, and television, and with the U.S. Department of Justice and Congress getting ready to adopt "drastic measures," some new kinds of actions are already under way against foreigners not blessed with residence cards.

Thus on Friday, February 7, at the Pitlow lamp factory located at 39th Street in Fort Hamilton, Brooklyn, the union representative summoned all the foreign workers and demanded that they show their green cards. Those who didn't have one were immediately fired.

Several Mexican workers, two or three Haitians, and other Latin Americans were among the victims.

The union representative declared that he

\*GPO Box 2984, New York, N.Y. 10001.

had received his orders from the boss. He added, moreover, that the boss had received a letter from the government demanding that the "illegal" workers be dismissed or else he would face a fine of \$1,000 for each "illegal" working there.

This operation constitutes one of the first mass dismissals of this kind. Normally the immigration authorities intervene directly to arrest "illegals." If this new method is made a general practice—as is threatened—it will have serious consequences for the Haitian community in the United States.

The New York *Daily News* has launched a hysterical campaign against the "illegals," whom it holds responsible for the unemployment crisis in New York City. In an opening salvo, the Monday, February 3 *Daily News* ran the banner headline: "100,000 Illegal Aliens: Job & Tax Robbers." It claims that 100,000 "illegal aliens" work each day and are well paid while 270,000 New York City residents cannot find work.

A series of three consecutive articles in the same vein incites the anger of American workers against the so-called illegal aliens who earn their living in the harsh conditions of New York. In this way, the ultrareactionaries of the *Daily News* hope to deceive the American people indefinitely. But sooner or later the working masses will come to recognize those really responsible for the crisis: the ruling class, whose power rests on the billions of dollars profit squeezed from the labor of working people, whether they be "legal" or "illegal" Americans. □

### France Preparing New A-Bomb Test

France is preparing its first underground nuclear tests in the South Pacific, officials announced February 18. Ships were warned to keep thirty miles clear of two atolls, Mururoa and Fangataufa.

The French deputy for Polynesia, Francis Sanford, protested the tests and declared: "We're taking big chances, very big chances.

"No technician, no physicist, no geologist," he added, "can be sure that these tests won't open up fissures in the subsoil of the atoll or that there won't be any contamination of the ocean by radioactive material."

# AROUND THE WORLD



## **Fourteen Face 'Conspiracy' Charges for Leafletting British Soldiers**

Fourteen supporters of the British Withdrawal From Northern Ireland Campaign face trial on charges of conspiracy to violate Britain's "Incitement to Disaffection Act." The law, passed in 1934, provides that "if any person maliciously and advisedly endeavors to seduce any member of H.M. Forces from his duty or allegiance to Her Majesty, he shall be guilty of an offence under this Act." If convicted, the fourteen face possible sentences of life imprisonment.

The defendants, all of whom are pacifists, call for withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland and for an end to Britain's political involvement there. The charges against them stem from the distribution of a leaflet containing information about ways of leaving the army.

Their defense committee points out that the British government is making an increasing practice of using repressive legislation to silence those who disagree with government policy. In addition to its own case, it cites the case of the Shrewsbury 24, trade unionists arrested for violating an 1875 antipicketing ordinance.

Letters of protest against the trial of the fourteen British Withdrawal Campaign activists may be sent to Home Secretary Roy Jenkins and Prime Minister Harold Wilson, 10 Downing Street, London, England. Copies of the protests should be sent to the British Withdrawal From Northern Ireland Campaign Defence Group, Box 69, c/o 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC 1, England.

## **U.S. Consul Killed in Argentina**

The body of John Patrick Egan, an honorary U.S. consular official in Córdoba, was found February 28, wrapped in the flag of the Peronist Montonero guerrillas. A piece of cardboard propped against the body carried the slogans: "Perón or death. Long live the fatherland. Forever my general." The body was also partially covered with a newspaper that carried the details of the deaths of two Montoneros in a clash with police in Córdoba February 24.

Egan was kidnapped from his home in Córdoba February 26. The next day several journalists received a communiqué signed by the Montoneros, claiming credit for the

kidnapping and demanding that four captured Montoneros be presented alive on television. The message set the deadline for 7 p.m. February 28. The Argentine government let the deadline pass.

## **Iraq's Pact With Shah Paves Way for Stepped-up War Against Kurds**

The rulers of Iran and Iraq agreed March 6 to settle their border dispute and to end "subversive infiltration" from either side of the 800-mile border separating the two countries.

The dispute centers on the Shatt al Arab waterway, shared by Iran and Iraq where the Tigris and Euphrates rivers empty into the Arab-Persian Gulf. Under a 1937 treaty, Iraq controlled the entire waterway. The new agreement put the countries' border at the center of the channel, a concession to Iran. In return Iran has agreed to stop providing aid to the Kurdish national minority in northern Iraq.

According to Mohammed Dosky, a representative in the United States of the Kurdish movement, Iraq took immediate advantage of the agreement to begin a major military campaign against the Kurds. On March 7 Baghdad launched armored, infantry, and air attacks on several areas of northeastern Iraq. Heavy bombing of the Kurdish town of Galalah began at noon, he said, killing fifty civilians by evening.

## **100,000 New Delhi Marchers Protest Corruption, Inflation**

At least 100,000 persons marched through the center of New Delhi March 6 to protest corruption, repression, and the policies of the Congress party government. Organized by Jaya Prakash Narayan, the leader of the mass anticorruption movement in Bihar state, and by other opposition figures and parties, the demonstration marked the beginning of a month-long campaign. The aim of the campaign is to force the repeal of emergency measures that enable the regime to arrest dissidents or trade unionists without charges. Similar marches are to take place in the state capitals until April 6, when an all-Indian protest is scheduled.

The New Delhi march coincided with Narayan's presentation of a "charter of demands" to the Indian parliament. The charter calls for reform of the educational

and electoral system, land redistribution, and the lifting of the emergency decrees. "The Government's ruinous policies," the charter states, "have led to economic stagnation on the one hand and increasing poverty, soaring prices and growing unemployment on the other. Nonavailability of essential commodities has become a permanent feature of the lives of the weaker sections. Nearly 60 percent of the population lives in conditions of semistarvation and their number is increasing at an alarming rate. Social inequalities are increasing."

The opposition parties that backed the "charter of demands" and organized the march included the Bhartiya Lok Dal (People's party of India), Jan Sangh, Socialist party, Peasants and Workers party, and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (Dravidian Advancement Association).

## **Torture Continues in Brazil**

The arrest of Marco Antônio Tavares Coelho, a former Communist member of Congress, was made public February 28 when a letter from his wife protesting his torture was printed in full by two Brazilian dailies. Although Defense Minister Armando Falcão denied the charge, a television film clip of Coelho showed him walking slowly and heavily, with his head at an awkward tilt.

Another case of torture was made public March 7. Attorney Roberto Camargo, who was arrested February 28, told the Brazilian Bar Association that his tortures included beatings and electric shocks.

## **Victim of Britain's Tiger Cages Files Suit Against Home Office**

Michael Williams, one of the first prisoners to be sent to a new special "control unit" at Wakefield jail, has begun legal proceedings against the Home Office, charging that the conditions under which he has been kept there for nearly six months are illegal.

Wakefield houses one of two maximum-security "control units"—the other is at Wormwood Scrubs—where "subverters of prison order" are confined. They are subjected to an extremely rigorous regime, and virtually cut off from normal human contact.

Williams's attorney, William Nash, who



is an officer of the National Council for Civil Liberties, says his client "was detained for 90 days' initial solitary confinement, although the normal maximum permitted is 56 days. . . ."

Williams does not know why he was put in the unit. "All he has been told is that the units are intended for troublemakers."

He is still in virtual solitary confinement. "There are only two others in the unit, with whom he is now allowed limited association," Nash says.

Following a closely watched visit with Williams on September 28, 1974, his sister, Molly Newell, reported he had lost weight, was nervous, disoriented, and very depressed. At that point, he had only begun the "control unit" treatment.

### UN Cites 'Deplorable' Health Conditions Among South Africa's 14 Million Blacks

A report released by the United Nations World Health Organization has revealed that Black South Africans suffer from a "massive prevalence of preventable disease and premature deaths due mainly to nutritional deficiencies and infections." The report described the nutritional conditions of the more than fourteen million Africans as "deplorable" and noted the high incidence of pellagra and kwashiorkor, which are diet-deficiency diseases, as well as tuberculosis.

In South Africa, the report stated, there is one doctor for every 400 whites, but only one for every 44,400 Blacks. In 1973, only fifteen Blacks graduated from medical school, compared with 440 whites. Moreover, 43 percent of all hospital beds in South Africa are reserved for whites, who make up only 18 percent of the country's population.

### March 29: International Day of Protest for Bukovsky and Moroz

An international day of protest on behalf of imprisoned antibureaucratic fighters Vladimir Bukovsky and Valentyn Moroz is scheduled for March 29. The call for international protests was issued by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, together with such leading figures of the democratic movement in the Soviet Union as Andrei Sakharov and Pavel Litvinov.

Litvinov, who is now in exile, will be the keynote speaker at a public meeting on March 18 in New York City, where George Novack, a leader of the Socialist Workers party and one of the organizers of the Dewey Commission against the Moscow trials, will also speak.

Moroz is a thirty-eight-year-old Ukrainian historian, the author of several exposés of the bureaucratic regime in the USSR and particularly of its Great Russian chauvinist policy of suppressing Ukrainian national rights. He has spent all but nine months

of the last ten years in prison. When he went on a hunger strike to protest his solitary confinement, he was brutally force-fed for 145 days. Because of his persistence and international protests, he was returned to "normal" prison life. But his health has been destroyed, and his life is in danger unless he is released.

Bukovsky has been active in the democratic movement since he was a high-school student. Most of his adult life has been spent in prison. He became a special target of the secret police when, in 1970, he managed to get a report out of the USSR proving that the regime uses mental hospitals as prisons for dissidents.

### OAU Calls for Aid to PLO

Foreign ministers of the forty-three countries belonging to the Organization of African Unity adopted a resolution February 18 calling for a new African approach to the Arab East, including financial assistance to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

### We Liked the Original Better

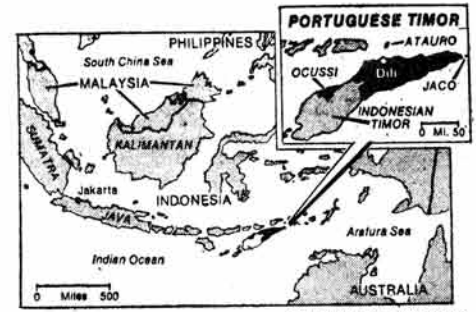
A stonework mural on the Toronto Stock Exchange building, carved by the late Frederick Winkler, symbolizes various facets of industry and commerce. One of the figures is a worker striding along. Immediately behind him is a capitalist carved so his hand disappeared into the worker's pocket. Stock Market officials had a hand carved onto the extended arm of the capitalist, but the artist's intent is still visible and clear.

### Independence Struggle in Timor Threatened by Indonesia

The Indonesian military is reported to be maneuvering to prevent the people of East Timor from obtaining independence.

Australian newspapers have reported rumors of an impending Indonesian invasion, while the official Indonesian news agency, Antara, is issuing reports that hundreds of inhabitants of East Timor have crossed the border to escape "the terror" of "left-wing groups that are in virtual control of the Portuguese territory."

According to the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, "reliable sources in Timor, Indonesia and Australia" report that dozens of Indonesian secret service and army personnel, under the guise of tourists, are flocking into Dili, the capital of East Timor, for information on the political situation and military installations. Indonesian army leaders have reorganized the military command in Indonesian Timor, replacing Timorese with battle-experienced Indonesian officers. The Indonesian navy is reported to be active off the coast of East Timor. Indonesian "tourists" have been



visiting villages with members of the small pro-Indonesian party, Apodeti, warning villagers that if they do not support integration into Indonesia, the Indonesian army will take over.

East Timor has been ruled by colonial powers for about 400 years, since the Portuguese first came to the island. Since the April 1974 military coup in Portugal, a large independence movement has developed among the population of 600,000.

At the end of January, two independence parties, the Revolutionary Democratic Front for the Independence of East Timor (Fretilin) and the Democratic Union of Timor (UDT), announced their intention to wage a common struggle for independence in opposition to both Portuguese rule and Indonesian intervention.

### Basque Nationalists Arrested in Spain

The secret police in Pamplona have announced the arrest of fourteen alleged members of the ETA (Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna—Basque Nation and Freedom). They charged the fourteen with stealing cars, carrying out bombings, flying the Basque national flag, painting slogans on walls, distributing clandestine propaganda, and taking part in strikes and demonstrations.

The civil guard in Toledo announced the arrest March 1 of fifteen persons alleged to have possessed clandestine propaganda. In Madrid, police imposed individual fines ranging from US\$185 to \$3,711 against fifty-two university students charged with taking part in a "pray-in" at a Catholic cathedral in protest of a government order closing down the University of Valladolid.

About 300 students demonstrated outside a church in Barcelona March 2 to commemorate the execution of anarchist Salvador Puig Antich one year before.

### The Family Coffers

Indian tax officials took charge of nearly a ton of gold during their investigations into the wealth of the former ruling family of Jaipur, the capital of Rajasthan state. The market value of the gold was estimated at more than \$4.5 million. Officials also reported discovering half a ton of silver and jewelry.

### La Fundación Russell Lucha Contra Ordenamiento

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Russell Foundation Fights Demolition Order" publicado en *Intercontinental Press* el 10 de marzo de 1975.

[La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

La Fundación Bertrand Russell para la Paz,\* organización activa en la defensa de los presos políticos en todo el mundo, continúa siendo amenazada por dos lados. Inland Revenue [recaudadora de impuestos en Inglaterra] está exigiendo el pago de una supuesta deuda por concepto de impuestos atrasados por la cantidad de £35,200. Al mismo tiempo, los funcionarios municipales en Nottingham han decretado un ordenamiento para demoler el inmueble donde se encuentran las oficinas y la imprenta de la fundación.

El intento de llevar a cabo el ordenamiento de demolición aún persiste, aunque los funcionarios de Nottingham han admitido que no tienen planes concretos que justifiquen la destrucción del local de la fundación. Cuando el Consejero Municipal Peter Price pidió a la Comisión Planeadora de Nottingham que le explicara la orden, éste se enteró de "que no hay proposiciones detalladas, ni planes terminados, ni una asignación precisa del uso que se le dará al terreno, ya sea en el Departamento de Planeamiento o en el Departamento de Servicios Técnicos."

En una carta al funcionario encargado del planeamiento, Price señaló que "en vista de su declaración de que era necesario una Orden de Compra Obligatoria para poder dar entrada, esta falta de planes, en realidad crea una situación extraordinaria: ¿Cómo se puede saber qué entradas se necesitan hasta que no se hayan elaborado los planes que indiquen a qué se necesita dar entrada?"

Una visita hecha al director técnico de servicios mostró la misma falta de planes concretos. J.C. Halsam, el director, aseguró a Price que el no sabía cuál era la razón por la cual se demolería los locales de la fundación.

La demanda hecha por los recaudadores de impuestos tiene su origen en el intento por parte de Inland Revenue de obtener una cantidad mayor de las regalías de la venta del primer volumen de la autobiografía de

Bertrand Russell. Su primer intento fue denegado por los "Special Commissioners" en 1973. Sin embargo, en agosto de 1974 los funcionarios recaudadores de impuestos decidieron apelar la decisión, con el propósito de poner a prueba el caso.

Protestas contra la demanda de los recaudadores pueden ser enviadas a Prime Minister Harold Wilson, 10 Downing Street,

London, England. Protestas contra la amenaza de demolición de las oficinas de la fundación pueden ser enviadas a Lord Mayor of Nottingham, Old Market Square, Nottingham, England. Copias de todas las protestas deben ser enviadas a la fundación.

Ya se ha recolectado más de la décima parte de las £30,000 que necesita la fundación para seguir funcionando, según sus calculos. Sin embargo, la directiva de la fundación ha señalado que el ordenamiento de demolición impide un canal posible de ayuda. Mientras el ordenamiento siga en vigor, la fundación no puede hipotecar el edificio donde tienen sus oficinas. □

### Scores Easy Victory Over Heath

### Tories Elect Margaret Thatcher to Head Party

By Jo O'Brien



THATCHER: Won fame for ending free-milk program for schoolchildren.

London

Margaret Thatcher has become the first woman to lead the Conservative party in Britain. On February 11, she received from Conservative members of Parliament 146 votes in the second round of the leadership elections, more than all other candidates combined. Running second with 79 votes was William Whitelaw, former secretary of state for Northern Ireland in the Heath government.

Although the mass media are paying much attention to the fact that Thatcher is

female, she is unlikely to consider as one of her priorities the improvement of the condition of women in Britain today.

As minister for education in a previous Conservative government, Thatcher earned the disgust of the British working class for her responsibility for ending the daily distribution of free milk to schoolchildren throughout the country. The school milk-system was introduced by the postwar Labour government, and was only withdrawn when Thatcher went on an economy drive—earning the description "Thatcher—milk snatcher." British doctors warned that ending the free milk program would be detrimental to the health of the children, especially those from impoverished homes, but the welfare of the children was of no interest to Thatcher and the government she represented.

Thatcher easily defeated former Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath in the first round of the party leadership elections, after a long campaign amongst Conservative MPs to get rid of Heath. He was felt to be responsible for their defeat by the Labour party in the two general elections held in 1974. His handling of the 1974 miners' strike, which brought the Conservative government down, was felt to have been particularly inept. □

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\*Bertrand Russell House, Gamble Street, Nottingham NG7 4ET, England.

## The Workers League and the International Committee

By Tim Wohlforth

[Last of four installments]

### F. Pabloism and Gerry Healy

In the 1952 and 1953 period, Michel Pablo created great havoc within the international Trotskyist movement. He intervened in section after section of the international movement, expelling this person or tendency and backing that person or tendency. He cared little for the historically created cadres of the weak international movement. As a result Pablo almost completely succeeded in destroying the movement Leon Trotsky founded in 1928.

Trotsky had never functioned that way. He intervened only in the most cautious way in sections. He rarely if ever advocated organizational measures. He saw the problems of the sections as problems of the objective conditions the movements had grown up under. He sought to learn from each difficulty and with infinite patience steer the movement in a revolutionary direction.

Michel Pablo disregarded the cadres of the movement because he began with his own subjective impressions. He was convinced that with *his* policies, even a few people would quickly succeed in placing themselves in an effective mass position because of *his* assessment of the objective conditions of the period. He thought he could somehow jump over the isolation which the Trotskyist movement then faced if only the cadres were "flexible" enough to adapt to the Stalinists, etc.

Michel Pablo's method was the method of *subjective idealism*. This led in practice to an *organizational* approach to party building which ignored the problems of building a serious and independent leadership in each country familiar with the problems of the working class of that country, and trained to make decisions on its own, to develop and build its own movement.

Comrade Gerry Healy has in practice in the recent period gone over to the organizational methods of Pablo. Seized by this impression or that, he has intervened in the internal life of a party so as to change the basic character of its leadership and—as is now clear—of its political policies. He has expressed the greatest impatience with the real problems of de-

velopment of leaderships which themselves are the product of decades of experience. He proceeds from *his* moods, *his* impressions.

He is seized by at times what approaches madness for subjective idealism is a form of madness as it rearranges the world according to the individual. He becomes convinced that he is surrounded by CIA agents and proceeds on that basis. Anyone who objects is denounced for being an anti-internationalist. But an international is not a person. To the extent that an international becomes a person, it must express that person's idiosyncratic character.

Comrade Healy did intervene in the internal life of a section. He actually removed the national secretary of a section, the person who had founded the movement. He removed another leading comrade from the party. He did all this without any prior authorization of any international body and without the slightest discussion within the ranks of the section involved. In time his own inquiry would prove his thoughts of late August to be mere delusion, madness, without a shred of factual basis in the material world outside Gerry Healy's head. The organizational steps which had been based upon this madness are preserved. The leadership is changed. The leading cadres dispersed. The party turned back to centrism.

Comrade Healy proceeds in an impatient way to break up a party as did Pablo. He also shares characteristics with James P. Cannon. To Gerry Healy there is a complete identity between the international movement and his national party, the Workers Revolutionary Party. Internationalism stops at the frontiers of Britain. It is seen as a "principle" which requires the subordination of *other* parties to the International which is seen as identical with the WRP. To what is the WRP subordinate?

That Gerry Healy should express in his relations with the Workers League tendencies which marked all factions of the earlier movement simply proves our point. The explosion which has taken place between Comrade Healy and the Workers League is of great historic significance. Condensed within this experience is all the past experience of the Fourth International. That such issues now come up

is the surest sign that great historic tasks will face us in the next period in all the major countries of the world.

### G. The 1974 Summer Camp

Some two weeks before the 1974 Summer Camp I received an emergency phone call from Gerry Healy in England. He urged me to drop everything and immediately fly to London. As it so happened, I was in Cleveland holding a meeting with all the branch organizers in the Midwest area. We were in the critical final stage of the drive for the camp. A turnaround in the Midwest—an area of great strength for the League in that period—would, combined with New York City, be decisive. We got that change and the Midwest made a major contribution to the 1974 Camp.

I proceeded as soon as I could to England for a one day meeting. It was unlike any other trip in one important respect. I could not for the life of me figure out why I had been summoned. There were problems with the camp but we were fighting them through. Questions of perspectives could be considered in a serious manner in two weeks when the British and other international comrades came to the camp. I was not prepared for the shock I was to receive.

Over the past year we had learned from time to time of the activities of the former party members. Comrade Frankel in particular had conducted an intermittent gossip campaign against the party leadership among these former party members. The campaign was intermittent because, she, like the other comrades who had left the movement were preoccupied with their personal lives. This campaign was 90% personal gossip. The 10% politics reflected the political outlook of the Hall-Seltzer-Gagnon forces at the 1973 conference.

Over the summer of 1974 this grouping once again began to be formed. This time Comrade Gagnon, who had a centrist group of Haitians around him, combined with Comrade Frankel bringing in Jeff Sebastian and Alex Steiner. The latter two comrades had a long history of propagandist resistance within the leadership of the party. This group sent Gagnon to England.

Gagnon was surprised by his welcome in England. Comrade Healy received him

with open arms. He listened to every criticism with relish. Even the most outlandish gossip was carefully noted down for future use. Comrade Healy immediately jumped to the conclusion that this group had been forced out of the movement, that the movement had been virtually liquidated over the past year, that the policies which he had himself spoken against in 1973 were after all correct policies. My 14 years of close and loyal collaboration with Comrade Healy and the British movement carried no weight. The assessment of the situation in the League and its work developed in common through close collaboration over the past year was conveniently forgotten. The position of the International Committee itself arrived at in Conference with sections present from throughout the world was of no consequence. Comrade Healy had, after all, seen the light.

Comrade Healy, however, did not leave matters there. He added his own element. He immediately concluded that the loss of leading members over the past year was the work of the CIA! This was Comrade Healy's original contribution having never occurred to either Gagnon or Frankel. After all, as he saw it, the League was breaking up. The CIA would like to see the League break up. Therefore, the CIA must be at work. Americans are familiar with such reasoning from the Labor Committee. Marcus holds that since Baraka's work and other community controllers aid capitalism—they are all CIA men, or KGB men, Rockefeller men, etc.

Comrade Healy began immediately to seek to discover who was the CIA agent in the leadership of the League. Since Comrade Fields was relatively new in the leadership, and in addition had been associated with the whole past year's drive into the youth and thus hated by those who had left the League, she was his prime suspect. Such was the situation when I arrived at Heathrow airport.

I was whisked to a special meeting with Comrade Healy also attended by Comrade Banda and other comrades. The following was immediately proposed: (1) the whole past year had been a mistake, a turn into community politics and a retreat from the working class; (2) the former party members who had left were driven out by myself and Comrade Fields who represented a clique leadership; (3) Comrade Fields was probably a CIA agent; (4) there was to be no national conference this Fall; (5) the group of former party members was to be urged to come to the camp for discussions and brought back into the party without discussion with the PC.

Comrade Gagnon was then brought in. He went into a recital of the most absurd gossip. He then became choked up, started to cry and seized me hugging me declaring his deep personal devotion to me.

Then off he flew back to New York to organize his group for the camp. Comrade Healy persisted with his view that I had virtually completely destroyed the movement over the last year.

I returned to the United States a bit shell-shocked. The British comrades, I thought, had always been right. They must now be right. I did my best to hold to that position while I proceeded to build the summer camp—now less than a week away.

Comrade Fields, Comrade Galen and myself proceeded to set up the camp. Comrades and youth rolled in from throughout the United States and Canada. Despite every difficulty it was a bigger camp than in 1973. The youth at the camp felt more a part of the Young Socialists with a layer of them having participated in the YS for at least a period of time. There were also more new trade unionists there than last year.

The role of the party comrades also represented a change. The comrades had had much more experience working with youth and were able to fight among them politically better than the preceding year. Also a layer of propagandists was not there. There were fewer party members at the camp than last year. Thus the camp was not only larger numerically but a larger proportion of the camp were non-party youth and workers. This represented a difficult challenge for the party members at the camp. A new youth leadership was only in its beginning stage of development.

There was also a changed political situation since the last camp. The crisis was now here. For these youth the future was the present. There was no way out—no prospect of jobs, of a future. Therefore these youth were confronted with revolutionary tasks *now*—they face *now* what the whole class will soon face. The reaction among these youth had to be contradictory. They put forward every bit of backwardness, every bit of individualistic resistance they had in them—as part of the process of breaking with backwardness and individualism. This gave to the camp an *explosive* character.

The party had definitely developed since the last camp. However, the objective situation had developed at a faster pace than the party cadres had developed. The party was thus *behind* the requirements posed in this new period. This was the contradiction which the camp faced. This real, material contradiction needed to be faced up to not only to preserve the camp but to learn from the camp so as to shape the course of work over the next period.

This is why the first days of the camp became preoccupied with the question of discipline. It actually took longer this year than last to get some agreement on the rules which governed the camp. Even after this agreement was reached the disciplin-

ary problem would plague the camp to its last day. The question of discipline was the form in which the question of revolution itself was concretely posed to the youth at the camp. Thus the first days of the camp involved a rich discussion and a rich experience.

Anyone who now dismisses this experience as a "disaster" dismisses the real material struggle to build a movement of workers. The revolutionary party itself is a "disaster" in the sense that its perpetual crises reflect in its highest form the contradictory class forces at work within the working class itself. The United States is the center of the capitalist crisis. A peaceful, orderly camp would reflect only the unreal, idealist distance of such a camp from the class struggle in America.

Comrade Healy arrived from England in the midst of this very fruitful but difficult camp. By this time the camp had begun to settle in. We were finally able to hold small group discussions and these discussions vibrated with theoretical conflict and life. Comrade Healy, however, was proceeding on another wave length, with another fixed image of "reality" in his head. He would collide with and disrupt this process irreparably.

Comrade Healy sent Comrade Slaughter ahead of him to make sure it was "safe" for him to come. Comrade Slaughter was to call England to reassure Healy. A special Political Committee meeting of the WRP was scheduled to decide whether or not Comrade Healy would be allowed to come to the camp without risking his life. Such was the absurd and hysterical state Comrade Healy had whipped himself and those around him into. Comrade Slaughter phoned England to reassure Comrade Healy that the trip would be safe and Comrade Healy came.

Immediately upon arriving in Canada Comrade Healy began on the question of the CIA. He had instructed Comrade Gagnon to get a dossier on Comrade Fields. He was ably assisted in this task by Comrade Frankel and Comrade Neal F. They had "discovered" what had been common knowledge in the movement for years—Comrade Fields' uncle had worked for the CIA until 1961. Comrade Fields had broken off all relations of any sort with her uncle in 1964 and had worked her way through college. Comrade Frankel had been her roommate in college and was well aware of this whole situation. Comrade Frankel added to the report her opinion that it was absurd to consider Comrade Fields a CIA agent. This last part of the dossier was ignored. Comrade Healy was now convinced he was in the midst of a nest of the CIA. He even considered the thought that the whole Workers League was a CIA front. Comrade Healy was possessed with this thought. He even feared for his life once

he learned that Comrade Fields was aware of the location of his motel!

A meeting was immediately organized of IC comrades at the camp. I was accused of harboring and covering for a CIA agent. It was stated that I had failed to report on Comrade Fields' past CIA "connections" at the time of the last IC Conference which Comrade Fields attended as a delegate. This endangered our Comrades in Spain, Greece and Peru. It was then added that when in England I had hid this information from Comrade Healy once again. I pointed out (1) I considered it absurd to even think that Comrade Fields was a CIA agent; (2) Not only I but no one in the leadership would even consider there was anything to report to the IC on this matter and thus it occurred to no one to make such a report; (3) Comrade Fields' old family connection had not been remembered by me when Comrade Healy raised the question in late August. I tried as best I could to accept everything Comrade Healy stated in the way of criticism of the League and my functioning. I no doubt accepted more than I should have. But I simply could not accept this charge against Fields. It was too preposterous. Therefore Comrade Healy was determined to break me. He almost succeeded—but not quite.

## H. A Leadership is Changed

Comrade Healy proceeded to negotiate completely on his own to bring the former party comrades back into the party and at the same time to build up a group in the League against myself and Comrade Fields. Comrade Mazelis was groomed quickly for party leadership. Every bit of scandal or accusation was carefully dragged out of leading comrades.

Towards the end of the week, Comrade Healy organized a special meeting with the former party members with which he was meeting secretly in an isolated section of the camp. The camp we used was a children's camp both a boys camp on one side of the lake and a girls camp on the other. While we rented both sides of the lake we used one side only to house the older comrades and family people. That was where Comrade Healy was meeting the former party members. During the entire negotiation I as National Secretary did not even see the comrades.

The Political Committee was taken in a large van across to the other side of the lake. There we sat silently with the former party comrades and Comrade Healy proposed their readmission. Without so much as a word being said the Political Committee voted the comrades back into the party. Among those voted back in was Karen Frankel who had played a central role in the gossip cam-

paign against the leadership for most of a year. While the other comrades returned to the other side of the camp and stayed with the youth in the cabins, Comrade Frankel stayed in a motel. Two weeks after the camp she resigned again from the party having accomplished her goal.

On Friday night Comrade Healy, at the suggestion of the German comrade called a special meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers League, attended also by IC members present at the camp.

At this meeting everyone was encouraged to denounce the leadership of the party in order to bolster the characterization of the past year of party work as liquidationism. Comrade Healy called the session "Christmas" and thoroughly enjoyed it.

It was at this meeting that Comrade Healy first proposed that I be removed as National Secretary of the party. In actual practice, the shift in leadership was already well under way. By Saturday Comrade Mazelis—without a vote of any body of the party or international—was already making the major decisions on the camp grounds without even consulting me.

The next Central Committee was called for midnight on Saturday night when the camp would be settled down. In attendance were almost 40 people. Comrade Healy started the discussion with his charges that Comrade Fields was an agent of the CIA. I was held complicit in the situation was [*sic*] not reporting it to the IC at the last Conference or in my discussions with Gerry in the middle of August.

As could be expected with such a charge, an atmosphere of complete hysteria dominated the meeting. Comrade Fields requested permission to go to the ladies room. Comrade Healy insisted that she be accompanied by two guards. Comrade Healy in an extremely emotional state completely dominated the proceedings. In the middle of these proceedings I stated that I disagreed with the whole proceedings. This produced an extreme reaction in Comrade Healy.

It was this very mild resistance on my part which encouraged Comrade Healy to go ahead with the already well developed plans to remove me as National Secretary. Comrade Healy proposed that Comrade Mazelis put forward a motion to remove me as National Secretary and to suspend Comrade Fields from party membership pending an investigation into the CIA charges. This Mazelis did and it passed unanimously receiving even my vote and that of Comrade Fields. Then Comrade Healy proposed that I nominate Comrade Mazelis as National Secretary. I proceeded to do so and it passed unanimously. In this fashion Comrade Healy intervened into the internal affairs of the

Workers League, changed a leadership which was the product of 21 years of history—all without any serious discussion in the party on any level.

I shortly discovered that the action taken on August 31 was definitive in character. A special meeting of the IC was called which after the fact: (1) endorsed Comrade Healy's totally unauthorized actions; (2) specifically barred me from any role in the day to day political leadership of the party; and (3) barred Comrade Fields from any contact with the League of any sort. I offered my resignation from the League in response to this action. To continue in the League would have been a mockery of the entire struggle which had preceded August 31.

Then an inquiry commission composed of Comrade Alex Mitchell and Fred Mazelis was formed and met. It decided after an investigation that after all there was *no substance at all* in the charges levelled against Comrade Fields in relation to the CIA! Thus Comrade Healy's own inquiry concluded that the actions of August 31st had been based completely on the unsubstantiated whimsy of Comrade Healy. The commission stopped its inquiry at that point—never probing how it was such wild charges could be allowed to be issued by a man in authority in an international movement and a leadership changed on the basis of these charges.

As the inquiry commission specifically invited me to return to the party—though very consciously *not* restoring me to the position of National Secretary and specifically barring Comrade Fields from holding any office for two years—I decided to apply for membership in the League. I felt it was best that the discussion that was so desperately needed on these events and on revolutionary perspectives take place within the Workers League which as politically part of the International Committee would mean a discussion within the IC as well.

Comrade Mazelis seemed agreeable to this proposal—until he consulted Comrade Healy. It was Comrade Healy, who holds no post in the IC, who rejected my application for membership in the Workers League insisting that I must first appear before the IC. I rejected this proposal as a maneuver intending to block my return to the party, aimed at bolstering the weak centrist leadership of Mazelis, and preventing any serious opposition to develop within any section of the IC to the policies of Comrade Healy.

This position is completely consistent with the Statutes of the Fourth International passed at the 1938 Founding Conference. The Statutes clearly state: "In all countries the members of the Fourth International are organized into parties or leagues, which constitute the national sections of the Fourth International (World Party of the Socialist Revolution)." There-

fore, the Fourth International never recognized any relationship of an individual directly to the International. It always insisted upon the membership of individuals in sections, these sections thus being related to the International. To by-pass this correct procedure would be to recognize Comrade Healy's personal usurpation of the Fourth International.

I then appealed to Comrade Mazelis for my right to appeal his decision to the National Conference of the Workers League. Again I urged reconsideration so that the absolutely unavoidable discussion be carried on within the party and the IC. This proposal, after consultation with Comrade Healy, was also rejected.

I have therefore been left with no other alternative than to remain silent as the Workers League turns to centrism and the principles of internationalism are being trampled upon or—to place my assessment of this situation before the working class public. I have chosen the latter course. Any other course would be unprincipled.

## I. Where We Stand Today

Where, then, do we find ourselves? We can only enter the present shaped by our past. The past of the whole Fourth International has been characterized by an extremely sharp contradiction. Only the Fourth International defended and developed Marxism over the last decades. But this very same movement has been unable to live its ideas, to be a part of living revolutionary struggles. It has been molded out of a non-revolutionary generation, even generations.

The tremendous weight of centrism which this engenders within the Workers League—today it dominates—reflects an international phenomenon. What is distinctive about the American situation is that the paucity of theory is most pronounced in this technologically most developed capitalist society. Our movement could not go far beyond the limits of our day, and the peculiarities of American development.

We have been involved in a determined battle against centrism for two full decades now in the Fourth International. These recent events illustrate that this battle is far from over. We have in one sense lost each skirmish with centrism since 1952. That sense is that the cadres of our movement have time and again succumbed to centrism and drifted away from the revolutionary struggle. These included many very good and dedicated people. But they have been devoured by the times. First, thousands were lost in the battle with Pablo. Then thousands again were lost in the 1960s. There was the break of the SWP with the IC, the renegades of the

LSSP<sup>21</sup> in Ceylon, Robertson's wrecking operation, the drift to social democratic positions on the part of the OCI of France. Now what remains of the International Committee is being treated in the most cavalier manner by a man who fought the centrists. In this respect Comrade Healy follows the path of Comrade Cannon.<sup>22</sup>

This is not an unusual development for the Marxist movement. Marx and Engels were almost the only survivors of the generation of 48ers to persist in the revolutionary struggle. They were surrounded by a generation of Lilliputians. Lenin stood quite alone within the Second International at the time of World War I. Even Lenin, who had fought revisionism for so long, was surprised by the extent of the collapse of the German party before its own bourgeoisie. Trotsky was, again, the sole survivor of the revolutionary generation of Communists—perhaps the greatest revolutionary generation of all time.

It was James P. Cannon who developed the reactionary idealist theory that a cadre could somehow be "preserved" as one preserves fruit in order to lead a movement in a future period. The revolutionist of one generation who survives to the next is the rarest exception. Such individual exceptions are extremely important precisely because of this rarity. Such individuals embody great experience. This is why we must proceed with such care, with such restraint and caution, when moving organizationally with a cadre.

In the history of the revolutionary movement, as in natural and biological processes, there have been breaks in continuity. In fact this has been the dominant development. All signs point to the fact that we are presently witnessing such a break. But history is history. What has happened, happened. The truth eventually finds roots among the new revolutionary forces and these roots lay a basis for a swift development of the next revolution-

21. Lanka Sama Samaja party. In 1964 the majority of the leaders of the LSSP accepted posts in the government of Sirimavo Bandaranaike. For crossing class lines in this way in flagrant violation of the principles of Trotskyism, they were summarily expelled from the Fourth International. For a discussion of Healy's views on this question, see "The Ceylon Example" in *Marxism Vs. Ultraleftism: The Record of Healy's Break With Trotskyism*, p. 18. — IP

22. James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism and one of the founders of the Fourth International. Here and a bit further on, Wohlforth ascribes positions to Cannon that were never held by the late revolutionary leader. — IP

ary generation. We hope that this document may contribute to this.

We have been able over the past 21 years to make some important contributions to the development of the workers movement in the United States and internationally. This history, which cannot be undone, has helped lay a basis for the next revolutionary development in this country.

In 1956, in response to the Hungarian Revolution, we took up a struggle against the centrism of Max Shachtman. This historic fight was the first blow in the struggle against centrism delivered by a new post-war generation of revolutionists. Then, together with the leadership of the SWP, we launched the Young Socialist Alliance, the first Trotskyist youth movement in America since 1940. That struggle was of the greatest importance because it established an important foothold for Trotskyism among youth prior to the massive student movements of the late 1960s.

In 1961 we joined with the SLL and the French movement in a fight against the revisionism of the SWP leadership. Our fight within the SWP is not to be minimized. It was the only internal party struggle against Pabloism in that whole period. It raged from January 1961 until August of 1964. The documents of that stand as an historic record of what we achieved and the *principled* basis upon which we collaborated with the IC.

Between 1964 and 1971 we persisted in a most difficult struggle to construct a principled Trotskyist movement. Starting with only eight people, we persisted and built up the strength to acquire our own web offset plant and to launch our paper as a twice-weekly. We stood up to the centrism of Robertson and stood by the International Committee in a continuous struggle for principles. Only the Workers League has such a history!

In 1971 we made a turn into the working class youth. This turn was successfully carried out despite the greatest internal crisis in the history of our movement. This cannot be denied. We stand by the years 1973-74 as the highest point in the development of the Trotskyist movement in the United States since the 1930s.

We surpassed the earlier movement in the United States in an important respect. Only our movement penetrated the revolutionary layers of minority working class youth. Only our movement touched those forces central to the forging of a *revolutionary*, as distinct from centrist-radical, movement in America.

What now lies ahead? So far we have dealt with only one side of the contradictory situation we now face. It is true we lost the skirmishes with the centrists but we won the theoretical fight at each point. We have left a priceless heritage in this theoretical struggle. This now passes on to the new generation of revolu-

tionary fighters who face the big battles with the capitalist class itself.

This is not 1957 when we started the YSA under conditions of the isolation created by the boom and the McCarthyite witch-hunt. This is not even 1969-70 when a massive movement of students took place in the absence of any powerful political movement of the working class. Today the capitalist crisis is here and now. It cannot be denied. Everyone must face up to it one way or another. Tremendous political struggles of the working class lie just ahead. The Boston March is but the weakest expression of a powerful movement in preparation.

New forces are already beginning to be stirred up by the colossal class energies seething just beneath the surface. These forces are not likely to emerge among

the old radical forces. What is wrong with the Workers League is wrong with the rest of the radical movement. The great crime of the Mazelis leadership lies precisely in the extent to which it reflects this centrism which dominates all sections of the American radical movement.

The United States suffocates today intellectually under the weight of its own technology. But this very same advanced technology lays a material basis for a tremendous leap in that most materialist of sciences—Marxism. What has been achieved in physics, chemistry, astronomy and the like will pale before the leaps in knowledge social man can make through those who are willing to reflect in their thinking the aspirations and movement of the world's most powerful and technologically developed working class: the American working class. □

## Appeal for Eamonn Mac Tomáis, Jailed Irish Writer

By Deasún Breatnach

[The following article is from the February 28 issue of *An Phoblacht*, the weekly newspaper published in Dublin that reflects the viewpoint of the Provisional republican movement.]

\* \* \*

In an age when, all over the world, governments and prison authorities are doing their utmost to encourage prisoners to take up creative pursuits, a best-selling Irish writer has had chapters for a new book destroyed and precious reference works, including volumes lent him by learned societies, torn up.

He is Eamonn Mac Tomáis, author of "Me Jewel and Darlin Dublin," still top of the charts in Dublin and elsewhere throughout the country, and the writer of numerous other historical works based on the Irish capital where he was born and reared.

The story was told me by his wife, Rosaleen: "I had heard the rumours," she said, "but thought they were grossly exaggerated, that, after the Portlaoise political prisoners' protest, their private property, worth thousands of pounds, had been destroyed by warders and Gardai (police).

"I couldn't believe that any regime today could be so barbaric until I heard the story from Eamonn himself. The manuscript of a new book was deliberately destroyed and precious books, long out of print, in Eamonn's words were 'frittered.' These books are irreplaceable. Some are his own, collected over some twenty years. The others were lent by the Old Dublin Society

and other learned bodies. They all went the same way.

"New clothes I sent in to him recently also were destroyed and also, of course, his radio. When the bunch of warders had taken almost everything from him they tried to get his Rosary but he held on to it, shouting and screaming.

"It was a Penal Rosary, a present from me, and he treasured it dearly. They also wanted to take from the cell the pictures of our four children.

"The shouting and screaming was so loud that a Garda sergeant put his head in the door to ask what all the ructions was about. When Eamonn told him, he told the warders to get out, so Eamonn still has his Rosary and the children's pictures, but nothing else. He has no facilities for writing.

"Everything that was taken from him was in his cell with permission from the Governor. His latest book was written in jail, with the knowledge and permission of the Governors of Mountjoy and, later, Portlaoise. Eamonn said that a few of the warders were very vindictive and seemed to resent his literary success."

At a time when the state black propaganda machine was screaming hysterically about "Provo propaganda," in reply to every report of outrage emerging from Portlaoise, I told Rosaleen's story of Eamonn's experiences in a letter to three Dublin newspapers, two of which pride themselves as patrons of literature.

No paper published the letter though two of the papers have called for an independent public inquiry into Portlaoise

and recent events there, including the goading of the political prisoners into revolt and the destruction of their legitimately held personal property.

The Dublin regime has ignored all such demands and appeals: it tries to smother in silence reports which it finds embarrassing and it is assisted in this by the voluntary censorship, suppression and biased reporting of the media.

Those who pretended to stand as watchdogs of the freedom of the press and the liberty of the writer have been intimidated or bought by the authorities into acquiescence, even of this latest barbarity: Pen, the National Union of Journalists, of which Eamonn is a member, An Chomhairle Ealaíon (Arts Council), the universities, the clergy.

"I am worried for Eamonn," his wife told me in their Ballymun<sup>1</sup> home, "because his writing helped to keep him sane in the terrible conditions of the political prisoners in Portlaoise Jail. It kept his mind occupied. It helped to put in the time for him until his release about August next.

"Now, he is terribly depressed, being allowed to do nothing which would occupy his mind. But, of course, all the political prisoners are in the same boat. That was what forced them to adopt the only weapon left to them, to go on hunger strike for recognition as political prisoners."

Eamonn was not the only political prisoner to write books in jail. Before the Mountjoy protest, during which the prison was wrecked to a far greater extent than in Portlaoise, Diarmuid O Súilleabháin, the prize-winning Irish language author, had almost completed a book which, after the protest ended (with the granting of political recognition), Diarmuid gave to the prison authorities for safe-keeping. It was returned to him when he had completed his sentence.

Much of the writings of Brendan Behan and Máirtín O Cadhain<sup>2</sup> were done in prison, especially in the Curragh Concentration Camp in the 'forties. A considerable body of good writing has come out of the Northern concentration camps and prisons.

That writing includes the work of the Sinn Féin organiser, so much in the news of

1. A working-class suburb of Dublin.—IP

2. A native of the Cois Fhairrge Irish-speaking community in County Galway, acknowledged as the greatest modern prose writer in the Irish language. His major work was his novel *Cré na Cille* (Graveyard), a study of the generations and different levels of the life of an Irish-speaking village in Connamara. He was a member of the Irish Republican Army, a socialist, and a pioneer in the radical social movement in the Irish-speaking areas. He was also well known as a teacher of Irish to imprisoned republicans. He held the chair of Irish literature at Trinity College, Dublin, when he died a few years ago.—IP

late in connection with ceasefire negotiations with the British: Séamus Loughran.

Prison, at home and abroad, has been made more tolerable, less grim, by understanding administrations. Literature and all mankind has been the gainer. One remembers the work of such as Dostoevski, Ho Chi Minh, Mao Tse Tung, Oscar Wilde, Pastor Bonhoeffer, John Mitchell and many others.

This issue of "An Phoblacht," as others, will go around the world, to be read by writers and other creative artists in many places.

I appeal to them to check the facts given here, if they are in doubt as to their accuracy and then, convinced, to agitate widely and continuously for an end to the mental crucifixion of an Irish writer in an Irish Jail.

UNESCO should know about it. Pen International, Amnesty Unions and associations of writers and artists everywhere: the injury to one is a threat to all. The treatment of Eamonn Mac Tomáis is a gross violation of human rights on the basis of the persecution of the writer alone, the destruction of his manuscript and reference books, and the denial to him of the elementary right to use his artistic talents.

Eamonn Mac Tomáis was the editor of this paper. Twice he was jailed, convicted of being a member of an illegal organisation on the unsubstantiated word of a policeman.

On the second occasion use was made of a document, allegedly illegal but freely available in every newspaper office in Ireland, for which, in court, he disclaimed responsibility, and an innocent man was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment, despite newspaper editorials and other protests at the blatant injustice.

At the time of his second arrest he had been free for less than three weeks after completing a similar sentence for the same alleged offence.

The real crime of Eamonn Mac Tomáis was that he was an efficient and successful managing editor of "An Phoblacht," having cleared the paper's debts on taking it over, and having turned it from a money loser into a profit maker, increasing its circulation out of all proportion in the process.

A member of the Dublin government which has stood over the arrest and "trial" of Mac Tomáis, his imprisonment, the destruction of his manuscript and his reference books, and the denial to the writer of the right to put together another successful work is that internationally known journalist, writer, and educationalist, the liberal Dr. Cruise O'Brien, one-time champion of civil rights in the United States of America. □

## Sakharov's Open Letter to the KGB

[Stalin's heirs continue their efforts to silence the samizdat journals. For example, recent reports tell of a seven-hour KGB search of the apartment of Tatyana Khodorovich, one of the founding members of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR. She is an outspoken defender of the *Chronicle of Current Events* and of numerous arrested dissidents. At least two searches have been carried out at the apartment of Andrei Tverdokhlebov, a member of the Human Rights Committee in Moscow. In both cases large quantities of literature were confiscated.

[The target is still the *Chronicle of Current Events*, the samizdat journal that has eluded the Kremlin bureaucrats' vicious three-year drive to crush it. Five issues of the journal have circulated since it reappeared in the spring of 1974 after a lapse of one and a half years. Issue No. 33 reportedly began to circulate in Moscow in December 1974, although copies are not yet readily available abroad.

[Academician Andrei Sakharov, who has continued to speak out in defense of the regime's political victims, has been subjected to renewed and ominous harassment. KGB agents under various disguises have threatened both him and the lives of his family. Since December 1974, his telephone calls to other countries, which had often been important sources of contact between Soviet dissidents and their defenders abroad, have been disconnected. He has expressed the fear that in view of the decrease in international publicity of his activities, he and his family may be in serious danger.

[We print below a statement by Sakharov dated January 6 documenting the KGB threats and calling for international support. The translation was done for *Intercontinental Press* by Marilyn Vogt.]

\* \* \*

To the Chairman  
of the State Security Committee [KGB],  
Yu. V. Andropov:

On December 20 [1974], I received a letter from a fictitious Russian Christian party containing threats against my son-in-law Yefrem Yankelevich and my one-year-old grandson. The authors of the letter threaten to take reprisals against them if I continue my public activity. The content and entire tone of this letter make it completely obvious that it was composed by your agents for the purpose of frightening me and forcing me into silence. I surmise that my silence is particularly essential at precisely the present time, in the current international and domestic situation.

One day earlier, I received notification from the OVIR\* that Yankelevich and his wife had been denied a trip to the USA upon the invitation of the president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Prior to this, their application had been pigeonholed for twenty months without being given consideration. This coincidence cannot be accidental. I maintain that members of my family are hostages, a means for putting pressure on me. This was once again confirmed today.

Two of your agents, lying in wait in the street for my son-in-law, repeated verbatim the same threats against him and my grandson, accompanying the threats with choice profanity, and demanded that [my] activity cease, saying: "How many warnings will be necessary?" (As a small additional comment, they said: "We'll get you and your son. You'll lie dead on this heap of trash.")

A year earlier, I heard threats made against members of my family by agents of yours who were posing as Palestinians. Then, my wife heard these threats from investigator Syschikov, clad in the official uniform of your department. Palestinian Arabs, a KGB investigator, pseudo-Christians, hooligans of the street . . . the circle is completed.

I demand that pressure on me end. I demand an end to the harassment and a guarantee of security for members of my family. Don't further disgrace your department with threats on the lives of children similar to what was practiced in the times of Stalin. Under the existing circumstances, which your department is responsible for, I demand immediate permission for Yefrem Yankelevich and his wife, Tanya Semenovaya, and their son to go to the USA for an indefinite stay, but with Soviet passports giving them the right to return to their native land when their safety so permits.

It is absolutely clear that they are hostages. The only way to end this form of pressure on me is immediate visas for them. I also demand immediate permission for a trip to Italy for my wife for treatment. I demand that you not interfere with my international telephone calls. I demand an end to judicial and extrajudicial persecution of my friends, including Sergei Kovalyov, who was arrested on December 27.

While sending you this letter, I am at the same time making it public, and I appeal to the world community for support and defense.

Andrei Sakharov  
Academician

January 6, 1975

\*Otdel Vis i Registratsii—Visa and Registration Department.