

Behind Gandhi's Defeat

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- Callaghan's Frightening Encounter With Five Trotskyists
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GANDHI: Flattened by steamroller.

Zaire—the Beginning of Another Vietnam?

Zaire—Beginning of Another Vietnam?

By Joseph Hansen

The situation in Zaire remains obscure. Dictator Mobutu claimed that on March 8 "foreign mercenaries" from Angola had invaded his country with the objective of seizing Shaba Province (formerly named Katanga). On March 14, the State Department announced that Mobutu had appealed for emergency aid from the United States. With Carter's personal approval, the State Department responded the following day by rushing shipment of \$2 million worth of supposedly nonlethal matériel.

It was reported March 17 that the Belgian government would send thirty planeloads of lethal military supplies.

The main unknown in the situation is the nature of the forces accused of invading Zaire. Their size has been estimated in the press as ranging from 500 to 5,000. The consensus is that they are former Katangese soldiers who were involved in the secessionist movement of the early 1960s backed by Wall Street against the leftist government headed by Patrice Lumumba.

When Mobutu seized power in 1965-66 the Katangese soldiers rebelled, were defeated and about 6,000 of them fled to Angola.

According to the press, the present "invaders" of Zaire consist of some of these soldiers. However, their objectives, particularly their political program, have not yet been publicized.

The CIA, of course, may be well informed. Stansfield Turner, the director of the spy agency, said in an interview on CBS television March 20 that the CIA "has a good idea" of what is going on in Zaire. However, he declined to say more than this on the subject.

In describing what is really at stake, the American commentators have stressed the resources of the area. For example, H.J. Maidenberg wrote the following in the financial section of the March 20 *New York Times*:

"The name of the game in strife-torn Zaire may be politics, but a key goal is control of the central African country's vital supply of cobalt, according to metals traders in New York and London who have been closely watching the situation unfold."

Cobalt, Maidenberg explains, "is a vital substance used in the metals industry, space exploration and in the construction of nuclear power facilities. Zaire is the source of roughly 60 percent of the world's cobalt supply, or 17,000 tons a year."

Charges have been made that Moscow is behind the invasion and that it is being led by Cuban troops. Don Bonker, a congressman from the state of Washington, considers this to be dubious. In an article in the March 20 *Washington Post* he said: "It is entirely unconfirmed, however, that Cubans are participating or even Angolans themselves. . . . It requires only due skepticism to note that, to judge from press accounts, the solitary source of the rumors of Cuban involvement is Zaire's Azap News Agency, and at that it has referred ambiguously only to 'mercenaries,' which can of course mean Katangese as much as Cubans."

Besides cobalt, the Shaba area contains rich deposits of copper. The province is the source of 10 percent of the world's supply. And there is uranium. In 1960, according to Dick Roberts (in a pamphlet *Revolution in the Congo*), a single company, Union Minière du Haut Katanga, produced 60 percent of the West's supply of that metal used in nuclear reactors.

High on the list of imperialist investors exploiting these resources appears the name of the Rockefellers.

Cyrus Vance, who was appointed secretary of state to replace Kissinger, spoke in tune with the imperialist moneymakers in testimony before the House International Relations Committee March 16. He put it succinctly: "If something should happen to the copper mines, it would be a very serious blow to the Republic of Zaire."

However, he assured the committee that no thought is being given by the administration to including U.S. troops in any African peace-keeping force, either in Zaire or elsewhere on the continent.

Two things should be noted about Carter's move. First was the speed with which he acted to send support to Mobutu. White House representatives told the press March 15 that "it was imperative to demonstrate friendship with Zaire" (as reported in the March 16 *New York Times*).

Evidently Mobutu meets Carter's specifications concerning upholders of human rights. The State Department recently mentioned the Mobutu regime in the following laudatory way: "Generally, however, after interrogation non-political prisoners are not subjected to repeated beatings."

Political prisoners are handled less leniently. According to the report, allegations have been made of brutal treatment, extended incarceration without trial, "and

even of death of prisoners under interrogation."

The second thing to note about Carter's move was its cautiousness. The situation in Zaire interferes with Carter's immediate political objective, which is to restore popular confidence in the White House. To become involved in another foreign adventure like Vietnam would utterly destroy Carter's efforts along this line.

White House press secretary Jody Powell said: "We're not sending arms. . . . We're sending batteries and shoes and britches and matters of that nature."

He also insisted that Carter was giving "no consideration to sending ground troops" to Zaire.

Whatever the nature of the conflict in Zaire may be, what Washington fears is the effect of added instability. Even if the forces struggling against Mobutu stood on the same basic platform as Mobutu—upholding capitalism—Washington fears that the downfall of the dictator could have an explosive effect, unleashing forces that could not be repressed or contained.

Carter would then be faced with the dilemma—escalate American involvement as in the case of Vietnam, or acknowledge that Africa has become so unstable that neither the CIA nor the Pentagon can control the drive toward revolutions in a number of countries.

Bonker put it as follows: "Maybe it can be argued that our aid at least has the effect of promoting stability and preventing what might be the worse alternative: chaos, bloodbaths, and inroads by Angola, Cuba or some unworthy internal dissident faction. But that is second-guessing. At the moment, we find ourselves in the embarrassing position of propping up a regime of corruption and repression, which actually may be guilty of waging the same aggression against Angola that it charges is being waged against itself."

Carter's decision to take steps toward shoring up the Mobutu regime are reminiscent of those taken by Kennedy at the beginning of involvement in Vietnam. The public reaction, however, is quite different. Even the reactionary *New York Daily News* acknowledged this in an editorial March 17:

"With memories of Vietnam still fresh in American minds, any U.S. intervention may cause nervous twinges. The nation is fearful of slipping, step by step, into another overseas quagmire."

Mary McGrory, a liberal columnist, voiced this sentiment in her March 21 column, saying among other things: "The most ominous and intriguing aspect of the situation is that Jimmy Carter, who will talk to anyone about anything, is tongue-tied about Zaire. What 'national interest' is he pursuing? Is he saving Shaba's copper mines for the free world and the corporations which own them?"

This is a typical expression of the

suspicion Carter's move has aroused. It is a healthy suspicion that ought to be encouraged. □

'Friends of FBI' Urge More Spying

Congressman Larry McDonald, a leader of the ultraright John Birch Society and an outspoken supporter of the FBI, has seized a new pretext to beat the drums for unrestricted domestic spying.

In a speech printed in the March 10 *Congressional Record*, McDonald charged that the March 9-11 takeover of three Washington, D.C., buildings by the Hanafi Muslim sect was "a direct result of the lack of advance information" available to district and federal authorities. The group held more than 100 hostages to dramatize their demand that the convicted killers of Malcolm X and of the wife and family of their leader be turned over to them.

Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s the FBI, the Washington Metropolitan Police, and the House Internal Security Committee all spied on various Muslim groups—including the Hanafis. However, according to a report in the March 11 *Washington Post*, police claim they destroyed their extensive files in 1974 following the outcry over the scope of illegal government surveillance.

Herbert Romerstein, a former investigator for the now-defunct House Internal Security Committee and current head of "Friends of the FBI," complained to the *Post* that a police informant infiltrated into the Hanafis was withdrawn the same year.

Both McDonald and Romerstein are well-known anticommunist witch-hunters and often serve as unofficial mouthpieces for the FBI. Of special concern to these two right-wing crusaders is trying to justify the years of illegal spying against the Socialist Workers party that the SWP lawsuit against the FBI and other government agencies has uncovered.

McDonald has repeatedly used his congressional forum to smear the SWP and the Fourth International as "terrorist." Romerstein's July 1975 testimony before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee was reprinted in a book-sized government document entitled "The Trotskyite Terrorist International."

In his tirade against the Hanafis, McDonald said: "These [Muslim] groups should be under surveillance. . . . But under pressure from special interest groups and some politicians, intelligence programs have been curtailed or ended."

And as a first step toward rectifying the situation, McDonald said, "Congress needs to reestablish the House Committee on Internal Security. . . ." □

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Behind Gandhi's Defeat

By Ernest Harsch

After twenty-one months of emergency rule, Indira Gandhi was defeated in the general elections held March 16-20.

In face of a stunning loss in her own electoral constituency of Rae Bareilly in the state of Uttar Pradesh, Gandhi announced early on the morning of March 21 that she would resign as prime minister. Her defeat marks a dramatic reversal for the Congress party, the main bourgeois party in India, which has ruled the country since it gained independence in 1947.

Together with the losses dealt to the Congress party in many other parts of the country, Gandhi's defeat reflects the deep opposition of the Indian masses to her repressive regime. The state of emergency that she imposed in June 1975 became the central issue in the elections. Shortly before Gandhi announced her resignation, acting President B.D. Jatti officially revoked the emergency.

By March 21, the election results were only partially in. But a number of other top officials closely identified with the state of emergency had already joined Gandhi in defeat.

Most notable was Gandhi's son, Sanjay, who had assumed an exalted role during the emergency as part of his training to succeed his mother.

Also ousted were Defense Minister Bansi Lal, a member of Gandhi's inner circle and a close associate of Sanjay's, and Law Minister H.R. Gokhale, who was responsible for drafting many of the repressive laws and constitutional amendments. Energy Minister K.C. Pant and Communications Minister S.D. Sharma likewise lost, and other cabinet officials were expected to be turned out when the final results were tallied.

Returns from 253 of the 542 constituencies, mostly from the northern states, showed that the Congress party as a whole was trailing its opponents. Although it held an overwhelming majority in the outgoing Lok Sabha, the lower house of Parliament, the Congress party had secured only 96 of the 253 seats.

The opposition Janata party and the Congress for Democracy (CFD) had already won 122 seats. The rightist Janata party is composed of the Organisation Congress, which split from the Congress party in 1969, the Bharatiya Lok Dal (Indian People's party), the Jan Sangh, and the Socialist party. The CFD was formed in February after Jagjivan Ram and several other Congress party leaders split from Gandhi's party.



SANJAY GANDHI

Two significant opposition victories were those of Raj Narain and George Fernandes, both leaders of the Socialist party who ran on the Janata party ticket. Narain was the candidate who defeated Gandhi in Rae Bareilly. In 1975 he charged Gandhi with irregularities in the 1971 elections, leading to Gandhi's conviction in court. Rather than resign, Gandhi imposed the state of emergency, arresting Narain and many other political opponents.

George Fernandes was the leader of a massive strike by railway workers in May 1974. After the emergency was invoked, he went underground to continue resistance to the regime until he was arrested in 1976. Facing charges of conspiring to overthrow the government, he conducted his election campaign from prison, winning in a constituency in the state of Bihar.

In 1971, Gandhi's Congress party won a big majority in Parliament against the various opposition parties on the basis of a demagogic promise to "abolish poverty." But the following six years were marked by growing discontent with her policies and with the deteriorating economic situation of India's poverty-stricken masses. The state of emergency was designed to bolster bourgeois rule and check the mass mobilizations that had rocked the country for a number of years. However, the emergency deepened popular resentment

against the regime even further.

Under the emergency, tens of thousands of persons were jailed for political reasons. Most basic democratic rights, such as freedom of speech, assembly, and the press, were suppressed.

Another source of mass anger against the regime was the policy of compulsory sterilization that was adopted in a number of northern states. In 1976 alone, about seven million Indians were sterilized, many of them forcibly. In some urban shantytowns, this policy was coupled with slum demolition and the arbitrary expulsion of slum dwellers to the countryside.

Under cover of the emergency, the Congress party's capitalist backers launched a major assault against the working class. Wages were partially frozen, the customary year-end bonuses were cut, hundreds of thousands of workers were laid off, and independent labor actions were stifled.

Signs of mass discontent over these measures were evident even before the elections were called. Mass protests against the sterilization and slum demolition programs erupted in several states and in October 1976 more than 100,000 workers struck in Bombay's textile mills.

In January of this year, Gandhi called elections. The aim was to head off even wider unrest by channeling the discontent into a carefully controlled campaign. Since the Congress party had the strongest electoral machine of any party in India and controlled much of the press under the state of emergency, Gandhi had expected to score an easy victory at the polls and thus legitimize her authoritarian rule. She miscalculated.

With the relaxing of the state of emergency and the launching of the campaigns, the anger against Gandhi's regime surfaced, upsetting the plan for a controlled election. Large crowds attended the rallies of the Janata party and the CFD, while Congress party candidates drew chilly receptions.

At a rally of 100,000 staged by the Congress party in New Delhi February 5, thousands of persons walked out during Gandhi's speech. At another rally for Gandhi in New Delhi March 1, tens of thousands of government employees booed, jeered, and walked out. When Gandhi attempted to defend the state of emergency at a mass rally in Patna, the capital of Bihar, the crowd responded by chanting, "Indira Gandhi, go back." The sentiment against Gandhi was reflected in campaign posters put up in Kerala state, proclaiming, "Delhi's Lady Macbeth Has Blood On Her Hands" and "End Dictatorship, Dethrone the Queen."

This pressure on the Congress party resulted in Jagjivan Ram's split and the formation of the CFD. In the following weeks, Congress party officials began defecting to other parties throughout the

country, further weakening Gandhi's position.

During the campaign, Gandhi tried to defend the emergency by stressing the alleged economic "gains" resulting from it. However, the broad opposition to the repression forced her to admit that some "excesses" had been committed. Her central argument against the Janata party and the CFD was that if they won, India would be plunged into "chaos."

In an effort to drum up votes, the Congress party employed a combination of bribery and intimidation. In a number of states wage increases, bonus payments, tax cuts, and other economic concessions were announced during the campaign. Large numbers of police and paramilitary forces were deployed to some areas in an apparent show of strength. During the voting, there were also reports of physical assaults. In Bihar, for example, five persons were killed in election clashes.

Taking advantage of the mass sentiment, the Janata party and the CFD focused their attacks on Gandhi's repressive rule and attempted to portray themselves as defenders of democracy. However, the Communist League, Indian section of the Fourth International, pointed out in its election manifesto* that both bourgeois parties, like the Congress party, would carry out anti-working-class measures if elected.

The pro-Moscow Communist party of India, which supported Gandhi's emergency, participated in an electoral alliance with the Congress party in the states of West Bengal, Kerala, and Tamil Nadu, while supporting the CFD in Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, and Bihar. The Communist party of India (Marxist), the other major Stalinist party in India, extended support to the Janata party and the CFD.

In opposition to such class-collaborationism, the Communist League called for the political independence of the working class from all bourgeois parties. It campaigned for Thakor Shah, a member of the League's Central Committee, who ran for a seat in Parliament from Baroda, Gujarat.

Shah campaigned on a revolutionary-socialist platform that included demands for the repeal of all repressive laws, the freeing of all political prisoners, the institution of full trade-union rights, and the establishment of a workers and poor peasants government in India.

The Communist League platform pointed out that workers democracy "can be achieved only by making a socialist revolution in India under the leadership of the Indian proletariat through proletarian methods of struggle and independent and militant class and mass mobilizations." □

* For the text of the Communist League's election manifesto, see *Intercontinental Press*, March 14, 1977, pp. 278-80.

Opposition Parties Demand New Election

Mass Protests Against Vote Fraud in Pakistan

Strikes and demonstrations have been staged throughout Pakistan by the opposition Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), following the March 7 general elections. The PNA charged that the election had been stolen through "massive rigging" by Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's party (PPP), and demanded that Bhutto resign.

The PNA, a rightist alliance of nine opposition parties, demonstrated its strength in massive preelection rallies. The alliance is led by a number of Islamic religious figures, as well as by retired Air Marshal Asghar Khan. A prominent supporter of the PNA was General Niazi, the Pakistani army commander during the bloody 1971 war against the Bangladesh independence struggle.

Despite the apparent closeness of the campaign, Bhutto claimed that the PPP had won 163 seats in the 200-member National Assembly.

New York Times correspondent Henry Kamm reported in a March 16 dispatch from Rawalpindi that some of the rigging techniques thought to have been employed by the PPP included, "frightening away voters by threats, gunfire or strong-arm methods and recording votes in their names; intimidation or suborning of opposition poll watchers to connive at irregularities, mainly stuffing ballot boxes, turning back voters, particularly women; and the announcement of falsified results even if voting and counting had taken place normally."

Nearly fifty persons were killed during the campaign in clashes between PNA and PPP supporters. Even before the elections were held, Asghar Khan declared that the PNA would not accept the results.

To back its demands for Bhutto's resignation and for the holding of new elections under the supervision of the military and the courts, the PNA called a boycott of the March 10 provincial elections and launched a series of mass protests.

Karachi, the capital of Sind Province and the largest city in the country, was paralyzed by a general strike March 11, as were Hyderabad and Sukkur. In the Punjab, Pakistan's most populous province, the cities of Lahore, Lyallpur, and Multan were reported to have been partly affected by the strike.

Bhutto responded with his customary use of repression, sending tanks into the streets of Karachi. According to a March 11 Reuters dispatch from Karachi, "The police used tear gas against unruly crowds defying a ban on public gatherings and to drive off opposition supporters erecting barricades to stop traffic. A gun battle

raged for nearly two hours in the industrial Korangi district, west of the city."

The PNA charged that Bhutto had arrested 2,500 persons in Sind Province alone. The regime admitted detaining 200 in Karachi after the strike. In the days that followed, demonstrators were reportedly killed by police in Lahore, Hyderabad, and Fort Sandeman, a garrison town in Baluchistan Province.

In Karachi, police and army units again clashed with demonstrators March 14. Kamm reported that the fighting lasted for more than five hours and that scores of protesters "were seized and loaded into police vans while being prodded and beaten by the policemen's lathis, the long sticks that are the principal crowd-control devices on the Indian subcontinent."

The same day, 50,000 persons reportedly marched through the streets of Lahore, and two principal opposition leaders were arrested while leading a march through Peshawar, the capital of the North West Frontier Province.

Asghar Khan, Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, Sherbaz Mazari, and Nasim Wali Khan, four central leaders of the PNA, were arrested March 17-18. More than twenty persons protesting the arrests were wounded in Karachi March 18 when police fired into the demonstrators with shotguns.

In face of these massive protests, Bhutto offered to enter a "dialogue" with the PNA. He also indicated that he might be willing to give the PNA about twenty-five additional seats in the National Assembly (it already holds thirty-six), as well as hold new provincial elections. □

Correction

Owing to a typographical error, the word "employers" occurred where "employees" was intended in a sentence in the "Election Manifesto of the Communist League of India," in our March 14 issue. The sentence in question should read as follows: "Let workers, employees, oppressed middle class, landless labourers, and poor peasants realise that all three bourgeois parties will join hands to suppress their movements and their rightful demands against the exploiters after the election, in the name of law and order and saving democracy."

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Italian Students Protest Cutbacks, Lack of Jobs

By Gerry Foley

Student protests originally touched off by the Andreotti government's schemes to cut back higher education escalated into a national crisis over the weekend of March 11-13. *New York Times* correspondent Alvin Shuster reported:

The weekend riots by students in several Italian cities have deeply shaken the governing Christian Democrats and the Communists and have left politicians worried about the stability of Italy.

The Communist party was shaken not only because it indirectly supports the government but because the explosion of mass demonstrations against the capitalist regime threatened its plans for a class-collaborationist solution to the economic and social crisis in Italy. A report in the *London Times* recognized clearly what the student revolt meant for the CP:

The danger for the Italian Communists is not that they may be thought to be responsible for student violence, but rather that they can be seen to be incapable of preventing it; and this is liable to diminish their attraction for large numbers of moderate or conservative voters who were coming to regard them as a necessary bulwark of law and order.

The *Times's* reference to "moderate or conservative voters" was apparently code meaning the bourgeoisie. The strategy of the Communist party boils down to striking a bargain with the capitalists whereby it can promise the workers that they will get concessions in return for not challenging the bosses' fundamental interests. But to make such a deal, the CP has to be able to prove that it can keep the masses under control.

In a period when the CP is trying to convince the bourgeoisie to accept it as a partner in the government, mass mobilizations erupting outside its control represent a serious setback. They also gravely threaten a weak capitalist government that depends on the CP's help not only to get a parliamentary majority but to keep control over the situation in the country.

Despite its giant size, its firm grip on the labor movement, and its disciplined organization, the Italian CP has proved incapable of preventing explosions of anger against the capitalist government it supports. What is more, its attempts to keep such a government in office have only led it deeper and deeper into a minefield.

Instead of assuring the stability of "democratic institutions," the CP's propping up a capitalist regime in crisis has helped to prepare the way for more violent



ITALIAN PREMIER ANDREOTTI

and uncontrolled explosions.

More than 50,000 students coming from all over the country demonstrated in Rome on March 12 in an extremely tense and violent atmosphere. One of the reasons for the demonstration, in fact, was to protest the shooting the day before in Bologna of twenty-six-year-old left student leader Pierfrancesco Lorusso. The incident was described as follows in a March 12 Associated Press dispatch:

Mr. Lorusso was shot during a clash between the police and some 1,000 students, who had thrown up barricades around the University of Bologna to protest the sentencing of a leftist youth for the killing of a Greek rightist two years ago.

The attacks of fascist gangs on university and even high-school students have helped to create an atmosphere of violence in the student movement. In its March 13 issue, for example, the Rome weekly *L'Espresso* noted:

In some cases this [student] revolt has been sparked by very grave provocations, as at the Mamiani and Margherita di Savoia high schools, where some students were attacked by fascist commandos seeking to restore order by using firearms.

Police toleration of these fascist gangs is notorious. Yet on March 4 the left student

Fabrizio Panzieri was sentenced, on the flimsiest of evidence, to nine and a half years in prison for killing the Greek rightist Mantakis. In its March 7 issue, the Paris Trotskyist daily *Rouge* commented:

The prosecution had not been able to produce the slightest proof against him. Throughout the trial, the press pointed to this fact. And on Friday [March 4], the main papers ran headlines saying: "Panzieri sentenced without proof."

The outrage aroused in the student movement by the sentencing of Panzieri was aggravated by a police attack on demonstrators marching to the prison where he was being held. Provocateurs may have provided the pretext for the police assault. According to *L'Espresso*, a bomb was thrown between police and demonstrators while the student leaders were negotiating with the authorities about rerouting the march. After this, police waded into the demonstration, setting off an afternoon of violent clashes. In the course of the confrontations a police armored car was burned, and a group reportedly attempted to storm a riot-police station.

Both Rome and Bologna are governed by Communist party mayors. After the shooting of Pierfrancesco Lorusso, some students raised the slogan: "Bologna is red, red with Francesco's blood."

The CP mayor's response to the student demonstrations and the clashes in the streets was that "for some months an attempt has been going on to show that Bologna is no longer able to assure public order." In its March 17 issue, the Milan daily *Corriere della Sera* reported that Bologna CP leaders concurred with Catholic church and Christian Democrat leaders in the need for calling in troops and armoured cars to "restore order."

Furthermore, the CP mayor reportedly called on the national government to close down a local radio station run by student leftists:

While guerrilla warfare raged Friday afternoon [March 11] Zangheri telephoned Attorney General Lo Cigno from city hall. In agreement with the Christian Democrats, he called for shutting down Radio Alice, which was linked to the extremists.

On March 16, Communists and Christian Democrats held a joint demonstration in Bologna against "organized violence." The well-organized workers contingents apparently believed the march was

against the right, since, according to *Corriere della Sera*, they told student counterdemonstrators, "If you are anti-fascists, your place is in the square." But it could only be, in effect, a demonstration against the student movement.

The combination of increasing violence against students and the fact that they were being thrown to the wolves by the organized workers movement led by the CP created ideal conditions for the development of violent incidents during and after the March 12 demonstration in Rome. These were played up in a sensationalistic way by the capitalist press. For example, Alvin Shuster wrote in a March 14 dispatch:

Not in years has Rome seen such violence. Groups of masked young men carrying iron clubs forced passengers from automobiles, overturned them, set them afire and then marched on restaurants and shops to smash windows and throw firebombs. . . .

A dozen policemen were injured in the rioting, several of them by gunfire. Scores of automobiles and shops were burned and damaged as Romans huddled in doorways or peeked from windows as mobs surged through the street.

A dispatch from Robert Solé in the March 15 *Le Monde* indicated that the violence disoriented and demoralized the demonstrators:

Terrified students were seen raising their hands and "surrendering" to the police. They apparently did not expect to be drawn into street fighting.

In the March 16 *Le Monde*, Solé wrote:

In the far left, there is only an appearance of unity. The "student movement" has not held up well in the face of the violence in recent days. It is trying to isolate the "toughest" groups but it does not always have the capacity.

Fascist commando groups are also numerous and active in the Rome region and have shown a skill in provocation.

The Communist party made a public self-criticism February 21 for not being attentive enough to the problems of the students. It tried to make some readjustments after the CP union leader Luciano Lama was driven out of Rome University by ultraleftists. Lama's statements apparently aroused anger among many students occupying the campus, and thus allowed a relatively small group to force him and his large contingent of bodyguards to leave.

The CP's shift in tone changed nothing as regards the party's fundamental line. Supporting a capitalist solution for the economic crisis in Italy requires supporting the same kind of solution for the crisis of the universities; that is, cutbacks. In fact, in the campaign for the June 20, 1976, legislative elections, the CP promised to support budget cuts.

In an interview published in the business section of the February 21 issue of *Der Spiegel*, Lama explained the CP's perspective as follows:

The free market economy should stay, but it should be linked to planning, which private entrepreneurs also find sensible and useful in some respects.

Der Spiegel's reporters asked Lama to explain why CP union leaders were not cooperating more consistently with the capitalists, despite their talk about "responsibility."

The leading CP politician Giorgio Amendola has accused the unions of not recognizing the fatal effects of inflation in time. Jobs and buying power can only be defended by achieving higher productivity and plant profitability.

Lama answered:

In principle, I would say the same thing. But a union has to concern itself with concrete questions, to defend concrete interests, and to answer to the workers on a day to day basis. We have no time, as Amendola does, to write clever newspaper articles.

In fact, when the government announced new austerity measures in October, with the support of the Communist party, wildcat strikes broke out in a whole series of CP-dominated industrial centers. The party was able to maintain its control, but only at the price of making some concessions to the workers' sentiment. At that time already, tensions appeared in the CP leadership, with the Central Committee's traditional left face, Luigi Longo, warning of the danger for the party in becoming too closely identified with a Christian Democratic government.

However, in the context of an economic crisis, concessions could not be given in one area without exacerbating problems in another. In its February 27 issue, *L'Espresso* noted:

. . . the slogans shouted by the student-unemployed at Rome University demonstrate how the ruling class has partially succeeded in shifting the tensions arising in this society onto the Communist party.

One example is the most recent discussions on government economic measures to reduce the cost of labor. Willing or not, the CP found itself forced to choose between a drastic halt to the sliding scale of wages, which would mean a blow to the wages of industrial workers, or important cutbacks in social subsidies, which means attacking the buying power of the entire country, especially of the poor masses in the South. . . .

The price paid by the CP for calming the dissatisfaction expressed by the masses of workers in the North during the fall may be a confrontation with the underemployed in the South next spring.

The desperation of the southern working masses had already blown up in the faces of the CP and the other reformist parties in February and March 1971, when local grievances sparked a semi-insurrection in the province of Reggio Calabria against the center-left government. The fascists were able to exploit this situation to get the beginnings of a mass base. Outside the South's largest centers, such as Naples, they virtually drove the left underground for a whole period.

The student revolt was very closely linked to the problem of unemployment.

In the March 13 *Le Monde*, Solé wrote:

The number of students has risen from 500,000 to about 900,000, and their social composition has changed. The number coming from plebeian backgrounds is now larger.

It is no accident that in this upsurge the first university occupations came in the center and south of the country, the regions hardest hit by the economic crisis. In 1977, the students' demands are essentially material. The new students are demanding above all work, a "presalary" to support themselves in school, and housing.

In a dispatch published in the *Washington Post* March 5, Turin sociologist Angelo Picchieri was quoted as saying: "Our universities no longer produce culture, research or science. They exist primarily in order to mask the true extent of unemployment among our youth."

This article noted, for example, that in a recent exam held in Palermo, Sicily, to fill 2,300 teaching jobs, there were 80,000 applicants.

Furthermore, the students are crowded into outdated and under-equipped facilities. Rome University, which was built to hold 40,000 students, now has 150,000. It is such conditions that help explain the explosive reaction to Education Minister Franco Maria Malfatti's decree in early February that there would no longer be a second chance to pass final exams. A March 7 dispatch to the *New York Times* reported the response of the students:

"How can you be expected to pass exams studying under these conditions?" asked Maria Bonci, 20, who is seeking a degree in statistics. We can't hear the professors in those big lecture halls. There's no place to study and no one to guide us."

"Most of us just prepare those semester exams by ourselves," said Aldo Pirelli, 20, an architecture student. "We'll never pass if we can't have a second crack at the exams."

Malfatti's austerity measures also included increasing tuition and limiting the number of admissions to medical schools. Since medicine is one of the few fields where graduates are assured of getting jobs, Italian students have been flocking to it. The authorities claim there is a danger of severe unemployment among doctors, if enrollments are not cut.

On the other hand, this dispatch quoted a biochemist as saying: "In biology there are precious few jobs. . . . There's little investment in research in pharmacy, agriculture, ecology, and even the size of the schools is shrinking so teaching is not providing outlets any more." □

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G.M. Cookson

LONDON, MARCH 6: Part of demonstration called by Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Condemn Labour Government's Collaboration With South Africa

London—3,000 March Against Apartheid

By Kevin Thomas

LONDON—Three thousand persons marched to a rally here in Trafalgar Square March 6, demanding that the Labour government end all collaboration with the racist regimes in southern Africa. Seven hundred marched in Glasgow the day before.

More than a third of the London demonstrators marched behind the banners of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), which called the action. The AAM has a membership of 3,000 and the affiliation of some 300 organisations, including 17 national trade unions and many local Constituency Labour Parties.

Banners of a number of national trade unions were carried in the march, including the National Association of Local Government Officers (NALGO), the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW), the Association of Scientific, Technical, and Managerial Staffs (ASTMS), and the Associated Society of

Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (ASLEF).

The National Union of Students (NUS) was represented by eleven of its areas and colleges. In addition, members of the newly formed African Students Union (UK) marched, as did Ethiopian, Zimbabwean, Iranian, and Iraqi students.

Of the major left-wing political organisations, only the Communist party, the Socialist Workers party (the new name adopted by the International Socialists), and the International Marxist Group (IMG), the British section of the Fourth International, had contingents.

The Labour party, although formally committed to opposing Britain's support for the regimes in southern Africa, did not mobilise its members. The Labour party Young Socialists, with the exception of a branch or two, was also notable by its absence.

Speakers at the rally included Member of

Parliament Joan Lester; Daniel Madzimbamuto of the Zimbabwe African People's Union; Mishake Muyongo, vice-president of the South West Africa People's Organisation; and Duma Nokwe from the African National Congress.

Lester, who spoke on behalf of the Labour party National Executive Committee, ridiculed the idea that British firms were investing in South Africa "in spite of apartheid." The truth is, she said, "they invested because of apartheid."

Madzimbamuto denounced the Smith regime's murders in Zimbabwe and its use of mercenaries. Muyongo explained how investment propped up the Vorster regime, and appealed to the British people—"Don't contribute to our slavery." Nokwe pointed out that British Leyland Land Rovers were used to carry the guns that mowed down the children of Soweto.

The preceding evening the IMG spon-

sored a rally in central London that was attended by about 200 persons. Loud applause greeted exiled Soweto student leader Barney Mokgatle, who described life in Soweto and called for all links with the Vorster regime to be broken. Mokgatle also urged the audience to support a picket of the musical *Ipi Tombi*. The play, performed in London by Black Africans under white management, is part of the Vorster regime's attempt to cover over the oppression of Black people in South Africa. He then read a statement calling for international solidarity actions on the first anniversary of Soweto.

Also speaking at the IMG rally was a representative from Combat Ouvrier (Workers' Fight), which is a group of Trotskyist militants from Guadeloupe and Martinique. He spoke on behalf of the international tendency of which Lutte Ouvrière (Workers Struggle) in France is the most widely known component.

The final speaker was C. Gabriel of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist League), French section of the Fourth International, who pledged the support of the world Trotskyist movement to the struggle of the African people.

The March 5-6 actions were important steps on the road to building a massive campaign of solidarity with the Black masses of southern Africa. However, weaknesses of the southern Africa campaign were also revealed. While opposition to the Labour government's policies is attracting increasingly broad support, the AAM leadership's policy got in the way of mobilising this sentiment to the fullest extent.

The leadership's refusal to allow speakers from all the major factions of the liberation movement in Zimbabwe is indicative of some of the mistaken political conceptions that need to be overcome. A campaign against the Labour government's support to apartheid will be seriously narrowed if it is forced to take sides and further promote factional divisions in the freedom movement in southern Africa.

The choice of other speakers further underlined the problem. Before the demonstration the IMG proposed that the speakers on the platform include one of the Soweto student leaders living in exile in Britain, but this too was refused, as was a request for a speaker from the IMG.

Everyone opposed to the Labour government's complicity in apartheid must work together in the months ahead if a truly mass campaign is to be built in Britain.

The sort of campaign needed is one like the anti-Vietnam War movement in the United States—one that draws in millions of persons and forces an end to all British collaboration with the white-supremacist regimes in southern Africa. The potential for such a broad-based campaign exists today. □

S. Lipavsky's 'Open Letter'

Kremlin Publishes 'Confession' Linking Dissidents with CIA

By Marilyn Vogt

Taking advantage of President Carter's hypocritical expression of "concern" for Soviet dissidents, the Kremlin rulers charged March 4 that several Soviet opposition activists are paid agents of the United States Central Intelligence Agency. Ten days later, one of the activists, A. Shcharansky, was arrested (see box).

By raising the club of possible espionage charges, the bureaucrats hope to intimidate both the dissidents and the Soviet people as a whole.

The accusations that dissidents are spying for the CIA were contained in two items in the Soviet government daily *Izvestia*. The first was an "Open Letter" signed by S. Lipavsky. In it, Lipavsky confesses that because he wanted to emigrate to Israel, he became involved with other persons who "for specific reasons, based on existing laws, had been denied permission to go abroad."

Five of these persons, all Jewish dissidents, are identified by name, and alleged CIA efforts to secure the cooperation of these five and "others" in espionage activities are described.

The second item in *Izvestia* was an article entitled "The CIA: Spies and 'Human Rights,'" which commented on Lipavsky's case and his letter.

Although these materials together make up nearly one full page of *Izvestia*, they included no evidence or direct statements by either Lipavsky or anyone else that the dissidents named had actually engaged in espionage activities.

The principal technique used in the Lipavsky letter is "guilt by association"—equating the dissidents' efforts to send samizdat (uncensored literature, appeals, etc.) abroad, often through foreign correspondents, with the passing of military secrets to the CIA—although no evidence is presented to prove that the foreign correspondents named by *Izvestia* were CIA agents.

Lipavsky says in his letter that in 1972 he was introduced to numerous correspondents and foreign government representatives through three activists, D. Azbel, A. Lerner, and V. Rubin. The persons he met included an employee of the American embassy who Rubin allegedly told him was a CIA agent.

Lipavsky claims that during 1974 and 1975 the American official, named Melvyn Levitsky, and the three activists tried to get him to obtain "important defense

Shcharansky Arrested

On March 15, the Soviet police arrested Anatoly Shcharansky, one of the founding members of the Helsinki monitoring group in Moscow. He is the fifth member of a monitoring group to have been arrested.

At the same time, however, the Kremlin was forced to back off in its persecution of two political prisoners. International defense work by intellectuals and working-class and prosocialist forces, primarily in Europe, won the release of Vladimir Borisov March 4 and Mikhail Shtern, a Jewish physician, March 15.

Borisov, a Marxist dissident and human-rights activist, had been arrested December 25, 1976, and faced an indefinite term of confinement in a psychiatric hospital prison.

Shtern, who was charged with extortion and bribe-taking, was sentenced to an eight-year term in December 1974 because he refused to dissuade his sons from emigrating.

information" from "an old acquaintance" who was head of a scientific institute near Moscow. He states that although he was interested in getting help from the embassy that would facilitate his emigration to Israel, when pressured to engage in espionage acts in return for that help, he was repelled. He then decided to "devote all his efforts to exposing the hostile activities of the renegades and betrayers of the fatherland who have sold themselves to the CIA."

The actual activities Lipavsky describes as having been carried out by the activists he was involved with were hunger strikes, protest demonstrations, and meetings in people's homes, where views on strategy and tactics were exchanged. According to Lipavsky, these meetings often included personnel from foreign embassies and foreign correspondents, with whom the three activists were allegedly "closely linked."

Frustrated in their attempts to "heat up" the emigration issue and "undermine the foundation of Soviet power," Lipavsky continues, the three activists decided to

link up with the so-called group to monitor compliance with the Helsinki accords. . . ."

V. Rubin helped to found the Helsinki group in May 1976, but neither Lerner nor Azbel have ever been members. In fact, Azbel had emigrated by January 1975 according to Lipavsky's own letter. Rubin emigrated shortly after the Helsinki group was formed.

Two other activists are named in Lipavsky's letter. One is Anatoly Shcharansky, a member of the Helsinki group, who is said to have been pressured to collect and prepare for distribution abroad "information to start a campaign for banning sales to the USSR of American equipment." The other is Aleksandr Luntz, who, along with Azbel and Lerner, was accused by Lipavsky of having received money "from abroad."

Vladimir Slepak is not mentioned in Lipavsky's letter, although the *Izvestia* article charges that Slepak and Rubin were "maintained" by the CIA. The purported evidence: "They loaded themselves up generously at the 'Beryozka' [foreign currency shops, where goods are of higher quality than in ordinary shops, but must be paid for in foreign currency], not being above marketing their newly acquired wares at speculative prices even to their own circle of friends."

In directing their fire at Jewish dissidents, the authors of the *Izvestia* commentary could not resist an anti-Semitic play on words. Speaking of *Washington Post* correspondent George Krinsky, who was recently expelled from the Soviet Union, they state that he "circulated in the rarefied medium of currency speculators

and parasites who present themselves as 'political opposition.' . . ." The Russian word used for "rarefied" here has the root "zhid," which is a vulgar reference to a Jew.

Slepak, Lerner, Shcharansky, Rubin, Azbel, and Luntz have been leading figures in the Jewish movement for emigration rights for several years. They have signed numerous appeals and been frequent members of delegations to authorities, demanding less restrictive emigration policies. They have all suffered considerable persecution because they applied to emigrate to Israel. (For a description of reprisals taken against A. Lerner, see box.)

Slepak, Shcharansky, and Rubin have also been involved with the opposition currents fighting for democratization within the USSR. Slepak, like Shcharansky, is a member of the Helsinki monitoring group in Moscow.

The Kremlin rulers' decision to charge these Jewish activists with being tied to the CIA, at the same time linking them to the Helsinki group, is a direct attempt to smear the members of that organization with the same charges.

The Helsinki groups were formed to publicize violations by the Soviet rulers of the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki accords. To do so, group members issue informational documents describing specific instances of violations (fourteen have been issued so far). They deliver these documents to the embassies of the thirty-four signatory governments and to foreign correspondents, as well as distributing them through samizdat channels. It is such activity the Stalinist bureaucrats are trying to depict as espionage and put a halt to. □

'Scottish Socialist'

Published in Glasgow

In November 1976, supporters of the Scottish Labour party (SLP) began publishing a bimonthly magazine called *Scottish Socialist*. A year ago, the SLP was formed by some Scottish Labour members of Parliament who opposed the British Labour party's stand against self-government for Scotland. At the SLP congress over the last weekend in October, the leadership attempted to purge "leftists," and a major split took place.

The *Scottish Socialist* reflects the views of the left wing that the original leaders of the SLP are now trying to excommunicate. Issue No. 2 (December-January) carries a blow-by-blow account of the split, as well as articles on the abortion and gay rights questions in Scotland, and on unionizing the North Sea oil rigs. An editorial on the Scottish local assembly provided for by the devolution bill now before Parliament indicates the publication's view of what attitude socialists should take to the sentiment for Scottish self-government:

"It is traditional for socialists of the British Labour Party variety to take a firm and principled stand against nationalism. 'We are Internationalists,' they declare, 'we oppose all barriers between men.' This, no doubt, explains their frequent calls for immigration restrictions and import controls. And, no doubt, the insistence of their devolution White Paper on the sovereignty of the British parliament and the British Queen.

"From their inflexible viewpoint, the debate on the Assembly is crystal clear. The enemy is nationalism. Concessions are needed to appease the enemy. But too much must not be given away lest the enemy take all. . . .

"We do not think that the assembly will usher in socialism, or even meet the simplest social needs of working people. There is room for wide debate concerning the attitude which Scottish workers should take towards it. But on one question there should be no debate. The Scottish people in their majority are clearly for an elected Assembly. Any attempt to bar its passage, to make it conditional, or to limit its powers, negates the right of the Scottish people to determine their own future, a right which no socialist can deny.

"The recognition of this right by the whole British working class, and a recognition of the justified democratic feelings of the Scottish workers and the particular social problems they face, is the best possible guarantee of unity in the common struggle imposed by a common capitalist class."

A one-year subscription to *Scottish Socialist* costs £3. (US\$5.10), and the address is 40 Regent Park Square, Glasgow G41. □

How A. Lerner Became a Nonperson

[The following excerpt is taken from *A Chronicle of Current Events*, no. 24, March 5, 1972.]

Prof. A. Lerner, Doctor of Technological Science and an eminent Soviet cyberneticist, was dismissed for wishing to emigrate to Israel by the Institute of Control Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences, where he had worked for over twenty years, and by the Moscow Institute of Physics and Technology, where he had taught for over ten years. At the same time he was removed from his elected offices: those of chairman of the sub-committee for the applications of automated mechanisms of the USSR National Committee for Automated Control, member of the Cybernetics Board of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, member of the Academic Board of the Institute of Control Problems, member of the editorial boards of the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia* and of the journals *Automation and Remote Control* and

Instruments and Control Systems, and so on. An attempt was also made to remove A. Lerner from the position of deputy chairman of the Committee for the Applications of Automated Mechanisms of the International Federation of Automatic Control, but this was rebuffed by the Federation. The Nauka and Metallurgiya publishing houses deleted books by A. Lerner from their prospectuses, although publication of them had already been announced. References to his work are being removed from all books and articles on control theory currently appearing. Since 1 December 1971 A. Lerner and his wife have no longer been entitled to medical attention under the Academy of Sciences scheme. On the same date his son and daughter were expelled from graduate studies at the Institute of Control Problems. On 23 December 1971 A. Lerner and his family were refused permission to emigrate to Israel.

Can New Strong Man Stabilize Ethiopian Regime?

By Ernest Harsch

The factional conflicts within Ethiopia's ruling military junta reached a climax February 3 with the killing of Brig. Gen. Tafari Banti, the head of state.

According to conflicting accounts broadcast over the government-controlled radio, Tafari and six of his supporters were either simply executed or killed in a shoot-out with other members of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, known as the Dergue. A statement published by the Dergue shortly after the killings claimed that Tafari and the other officers had planned to carry out a "fascist coup," but were thwarted.

Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam emerged from the power struggle as the apparent victor. On February 11, he was named head of state by the Dergue and became its chairman, as well as chairman of the largely civilian Council of Ministers and the Defense and Security Council. Mengistu was also made commander of the armed forces.

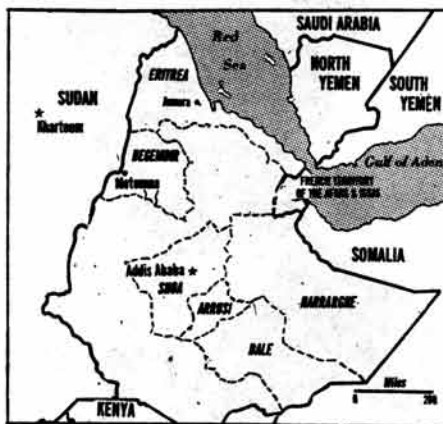
Whatever its immediate causes, the eruption of the factional struggle within the Dergue reflects the mounting pressures on the military regime. A recent rise in antigovernment protests in Addis Ababa, the advancing Eritrean struggle for independence, and continued guerrilla activities in several provinces have confronted the junta with the greatest challenge to its rule since it seized power two and a half years ago.

Declining Support

When the junior and noncommissioned officers of the Dergue ousted Emperor Haile Selassie in September 1974, they had a great deal of popular support.

Under the pressure of a mass upsurge in the cities and countryside throughout 1974, the Dergue was forced to initiate far-reaching economic reforms. It nationalized all banks, credit institutions, and insurance companies, as well as many foreign and domestic firms.

Its most radical measure was the land reform program, which nationalized all rural land, promised the distribution of land to landless peasants, and canceled all debts and obligations by sharecroppers and tenant farmers. In parts of the country, particularly in the southern provinces where large estates had been owned by absentee Amhara landlords, the agrarian reform measures overturned feudal property relations that had existed for centuries.



Washington Post

Like similar neocolonial regimes elsewhere in Africa, the Dergue has attempted to retain popular support through militant-sounding rhetoric. It proclaimed its adherence to "scientific socialism" and promised to carry through a "national democratic revolution" as a stage toward a subsequent "socialist revolution." Its actions, however, have shown that its real goal is to "modernize" Selassie's old feudal empire within the framework of capitalist rule.

The junta's commitment to the capitalist system is the source of its instability. Shifts in the composition of the junta, whether by assassination or otherwise, will not change this. A more radical rhetoric will not change it either. The masses want something more substantial than empty promises.

Illusions in the regime began to erode soon after the Dergue came to power. Its nationalistic doctrine of "Ethiopia tikkem" (Ethiopia first), which stressed the "sacred unity" of the country prompted the Eritrean freedom fighters to redouble their efforts to gain independence. It also spurred resistance by other nationalities against the central government in Addis Ababa.

In an effort to curb the independent peasant mobilizations and to extend the regime's influence in the countryside, the Dergue has tried to organize the peasants into thousands of associations under government control.

In December 1975, the regime issued an economic decree banning unauthorized strikes, while at the same time lifting some of the restrictions on foreign and domestic companies. A few months later it promised incentives to Ethiopian businessmen and traders.

In a direct attack on the working class, the Dergue abolished the Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions, which had carried out mass struggles against the Selassie regime. It was replaced by the new, government-controlled All-Ethiopia Trades Union Federation. Formally launched in January 1977, the federation's officials are appointed by the regime. In addition, a new labor code prohibits workers from quitting their jobs without permission.

To enforce these measures, the Dergue has turned increasingly toward repression, arresting or killing labor leaders, students, and other critics who dare to openly oppose its policies.

Unrest in Addis Ababa

Despite the repression, the ferment in Addis Ababa has escalated in recent months. One factor fueling the discontent is the capital's deteriorating economic situation. The cost of living, spurred by the spiraling price of cereals, rose 26 percent in 1976. Some basic food items, like *teff*, a grain, are scarce. Unemployment is also high.

Although strikes had erupted sporadically for a number of months, a new wave swept the city in late September. Workers in banks, insurance companies, utilities, and government-run food markets walked off their jobs, despite the Dergue's restrictions on the right to strike.

On January 27, students at the National University in Addis Ababa and in the city's high schools began a boycott of classes to press for the dismissal of several professors and to support demands raised by university employees.

The following day, a group of students protested in front of the U.S. Information Service Building and the offices of the British Council. According to a report by David B. Ottaway in the January 29 *Washington Post*, the American building "apparently was a target because of continuing U.S. support of the Ethiopian military government."

Ottaway also reported, "Police and heavily armed soldiers opened fire at three high schools in an attempt to break up student gatherings this morning [January 28]. The government made no official statement regarding casualties but in one incident a student was known to have been shot dead and four others injured."

When the regime attempted to reopen the university and secondary schools in late

February, most students continued to boycott, bringing attendance down to less than 10 percent.

The regime has blamed most of the urban unrest on the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary party (EPRP), an underground group opposed to the military junta. According to a report in the January issue of the London monthly *Africa*, the Dergue "charged the EPRP with leading strikes, sabotaging factory production, campaigning for the reinstatement of former labour leaders and preventing workers from taking part in pro-government celebrations."

In an interview in the November 1976 *Africa*, General Tafari declared that the EPRP "is actually an anti-revolutionary group and it is anarchist as well. . . . It claims to stand for socialism but in fact stands for anarchism. And what it is doing at the moment is trying to penetrate the workers and to create confusion."

The Dergue acknowledged executing fifty persons in November, most of whom were identified by the regime as "anarchists" or members of the EPRP. According to sources in the EPRP, more than 6,000 "progressives" have been arrested by the junta, more than 1,000 of whom were killed.

In an account of the repression in the January issue of the London monthly *New African Development*, Anthony Shaw wrote: "There have been reports that at least 100 bodies have been found—most of them were known or suspected EPRP supporters, people who had openly criticised the military council in union meetings or in professional associations."

Since the EPRP is underground, its size and extent of support are not known. *New York Times* correspondent John Darnton reported in a February 25 dispatch from Addis Ababa that the party is composed of "students, teachers, and trade unionists." The EPRP was the organization that called the student strike, and Darnton said in a March 2 dispatch that "presumably it draws a large following from teen-age students."

The program of the EPRP, which was released in August 1975, says in part:

The E.P.R.P. is the party of the working class. It is guided by the working class ideology Marxism-Leninism. Its aim is to strengthen the unity and alliance of the workers and peasants so as to ultimately establish Proletarian Dictatorship in the era of Socialism and eventually establish a classless Communist Society free from oppression and exploitation of man by man. Nevertheless, the immediate goal of the E.P.R.P. is to consummate the New Democratic Revolution, under the leadership of the working class.

A representative of the EPRP said in Paris November 1, 1976, that the party had engaged "in armed struggle against the fascist regime in Addis Ababa" since the summer of 1976. The EPRP has set up an armed wing, the People's Revolutionary

Army, and has claimed that it has 700 urban guerrillas, mostly in the capital.

The EPRP stepped up protests against the regime in late January. The night before the beginning of the student strike,



TAFARI BANTI

a large number of posters and slogans were put up throughout the city, including the EPRP's red hammer and sickle symbol and demands for a "provisional people's government." After Mengistu was named the new head of state, a number of student demonstrations were held in several parts of Addis Ababa, and posters appeared calling him a "fascist."

In a February 4 speech, Mengistu pledged to crush the EPRP and to "create terror in their camps." In early March, the Dergue began to arm officials of the city's *kebeles*, the local administrative units. The aim, according to the Dergue Vice-Chairman Lt. Col. Atnafu Abate, was to "rid the city of undesirables opposed to the interests of the Ethiopian masses."

Ottaway reported in the March 2 *Washington Post* that as many as 1,500 EPRP supporters, mostly students, had been arrested since February 3, the day General Tafari was killed. In a March 2 dispatch, Darnton said that "underground opponents have stepped up a campaign of street assassinations. In turn, they are being arrested and executed in increasing numbers by the Government, their bodies left in ditches or shallow graves on the outskirts of town. . . ."

Citing word-of-mouth reports, Darnton estimated in a February 25 dispatch that anywhere from two dozen to 200 students had been killed in the previous two weeks.

The Eritrean Independence Struggle

The most massive challenge to the

military junta continues to come from the Eritrean population. Despite the presence of half the Ethiopian army—about 20,000 troops—and large-scale counterinsurgency actions, the Ethiopian regime has been unable to bring Eritrea under its control. In fact, the Eritrean independence struggle has continued to make steady gains.

Under the terms of a 1950 Washington-sponsored United Nations resolution, Eritrea, a former Italian colony, was recognized as autonomous but federated with Ethiopia. In 1962, Selassie's feudalist regime abolished most basic democratic rights, imposed Amharic as the official language,¹ and directly annexed Eritrea, converting it into a province.

After coming to power, the Dergue continued these policies. In February 1975 it launched a major offensive against the Eritrean freedom fighters, but was unable to crush the resistance. Since then, hundreds of Eritrean youths have joined the guerrillas, and the independence forces have won even greater support among the Eritrean population as a whole. The Ethiopian forces are now limited to the major towns and a few military garrisons, some of which can be resupplied only by air.

In May 1976, the regime in Addis Ababa offered to grant Eritrea "regional autonomy," while making it clear that it was still opposed to full independence for the territory. At the same time, it attempted to divide the Eritrean liberation forces, charging that the Eritrean "secessionist movement included reactionary leaders who were instruments of colonial rulers and expansionist forces." It offered "to discuss and exchange views with the progressive groups and organisations in Eritrea which are not in collusion with feudalists, reactionary forces in the neighborhood and imperialists."² All the Eritrean liberation groups rejected this bid and continued to press for independence.

About the same time, the military regime attempted to organize a massive and ill-armed peasant army against the Eritreans. But after the first few skirmishes, the peasant contingents fell apart and the effort was abandoned.

By the beginning of 1977, the Eritrean freedom fighters had scored new gains. Ottaway reported in the February 3 *Washington Post*: "In the past few weeks, more than 200 [Ethiopian] soldiers were reported to have either surrendered to rebel forces or sought asylum in Sudan. In addition, the Eritrean Liberation Front last month captured three army garrisons and two towns along the Sudanese border,

1. The major languages spoken by Eritreans are Tigre, Tigrinya, and Arabic.

2. "Policy Declaration of the Provisional Military Government To Solve the Problem in the Administrative Region of Eritrea in a Peaceful Way," (Addis Ababa: May 16, 1976), pp. 5, 13.

partly, it seems, because of a collapse of morale among Ethiopian troops."

The Addis Ababa regime admitted that it lost twenty troops in a clash at Karora, in northern Eritrea, and that Ethiopian troops had taken refuge from the guerrillas by fleeing across the border into the Sudan. Two of the Ethiopian soldiers in the Sudan were quoted as saying that their company at Um Hager had been "totally destroyed" by the Eritreans.

As in the past, the Ethiopian forces have directed much of their repression against the civilian population. According to the January issue of the *Eritrean Review*, which is published by the Eritrean Liberation Front-Popular Liberation Forces (ELF-PLF), Ethiopian troops massacred 105 civilians in Hargigo January 10.

Citing Eritrean sources in Khartoum, Ottawa reported that the largest of the Eritrean liberation organizations was the Eritrean Liberation Front-Revolutionary Command (ELF), which is estimated to have about 22,000 guerrillas in its ranks. Although the ELF was originally dominated by Muslims, it now claims that about 60 percent of its members are Christian, indicating the growing involvement of the Christian population in the independence struggle (Eritrea is about half Christian and half Muslim). The Eritrean People's Liberation Forces (EPLF) was thought to have about 12,000 troops and the ELF-PLF between 2,000 and 3,000.

Despite the organizational divisions among the Eritrean groups, they have at times carried out coordinated actions against the Ethiopian army.

The Splintering of Selassie's Empire

While the Eritrean independence struggle is the most immediate threat to Ethiopia's "sacred unity," the Dergue is also confronted with guerrilla resistance in several other regions of the country. These scattered conflicts testify to the continued disintegration of Selassie's feudal empire, into which various nationalities had been forcibly incorporated by the Amhara conquerors.

In Tigre, just south of Eritrea, the Tigre People's Liberation Front (TPLF) has stepped up opposition to the military regime.

The TPLF reportedly controls parts of the province and has support in the peasantry, which has resisted the Dergue's agrarian policy. Unlike the south, where much of the land had been owned by absentee landlords, the land in the north-central provinces is largely farmed under communal tenure. The Dergue's failure to initiate reforms geared to the specific needs of the peasants in these areas, combined with the arbitrary implementation of the agrarian program—which the peasants fear may entail the loss of their land—appears to have turned sections of the peasantry against the regime.

Colin Legum reported in the January 23

New York Times that the TPLF has close ties to the EPLF in Eritrea. Since many of the key roads and other links between Addis Ababa and Eritrea pass through Tigre, the course of the conflict in Tigre could affect the Dergue's ability to continue to wage war against the Eritrean population.

In the Ogaden desert region in southeast Ethiopia, the Somalis, who are related to the people of the neighboring country of Somalia, have for years resisted control by Addis Ababa. With aid from the Somali regime, the guerrillas have increased their activities along the Webi Shebelli river in October and November, attacking a police post and ambushing Ethiopian troops.

Osman Saleh Sabbe, a central leader of the ELF-PLF, reported in Beirut December 26 that forces of the Western Somalia Liberation Front, as well as Oromo (Galla) guerrillas, had attacked towns in the provinces of Bale, Sidamo, and Arussi. He said that the Ethiopian air base at Goba, the capital of Bale, was attacked October 14. The Oromo Liberation Front, which is based on the Oromos, the largest single nationality in Ethiopia, has opposed the central government for a number of years.

The mounting unrest has given rightist elements linked to the old Selassie regime an opportunity to step up their own activities against the Dergue.

The Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU), based in the Sudan, claimed January 21 that it had captured the town of Humera in Begemdir Province, killing 122 Ethiopian troops and police and capturing more than 200. The Dergue admitted the loss of Humera and confirmed the defection of Lt. Col. Fisseha Gebre Wubet, along with many of his troops, to the EDU. The EDU has also reportedly carried out actions in the provinces of Kassala and Tigre.

An International Flashpoint

The spreading ferment in Ethiopia could have repercussions throughout the Horn of Africa and the Middle East. Eritrea in particular occupies a strategic position overlooking the Bab el Mandeb strait between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. As the old Ethiopian empire continues to disintegrate, the major international powers, as well as the regimes in the region, have tried to jockey for position.

Washington has been a longtime supporter of the central government in Addis Ababa, both under Selassie and under the Dergue. Since 1952 it has provided the Ethiopian regime with \$350 million in economic aid and over \$275 million in military assistance. For many years, Addis Ababa received more than half of all U.S. funds allocated to the Black regimes of sub-Saharan Africa. Since the Dergue came to power, it has bought more than \$150 million worth of American arms, including M-60 tanks, F-5E jet fighters, radar equipment, and other war matériel.

In relation to Eritrea, William E. Schaufele, then the assistant secretary of state for African affairs, said August 6, 1976, that Washington's policy was based on "maintaining the principle of territorial integrity" against the independence movement.

At the same time, however, American officials have raised public doubts about the wisdom of Washington's massive aid to Addis Ababa. In August 1976, State Department expert John Spencer argued before a Senate committee for a shift in U.S. policy, pointing to the weakness and instability of the military regime. A report in the February 19 issue of the London *Economist* noted, "The rebels in Eritrea, angry about the losses they have suffered from Ethiopia's American-supplied aircraft and artillery, could turn out to be a problem for Red Sea shipping if they fight their way to being an independent state."

Perhaps reflecting some of these considerations, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance announced February 24 that Washington was ending military grants to Addis Ababa, which totaled about \$6 million last year. However, arms sales credits of \$10 million and economic aid of \$13.9 million for the current year are to continue. Moreover, forty-six American military advisors are still aiding the Ethiopian armed forces.

Since early February, both Moscow and Peking have made significant overtures to the military regime. On February 4, the day after Tafari's death, Soviet Ambassador Anatoli P. Ratanov met with Mengistu and conveyed his "admiration for the measures taken by the military against the counterrevolutionaries." The next day, Mengistu received Chinese Ambassador Yang Shou-cheng, who, according to the official Ethiopian news agency, also expressed his "joy" at the crushing of the "counterrevolutionary coup."

Such overtures by the Soviet and Chinese Stalinists, it should be noted, date back to the Selassie period. The late emperor visited Moscow in 1959, 1967, and 1970 and received some financial assistance from the Soviet regime. Chou En-lai visited Addis Ababa twice and Selassie went to Peking in 1971, also receiving some Chinese aid.

The Cuban, Yugoslav, East German, and Hungarian governments also sent messages of support to Mengistu.

Indicating a possible shift in Addis Ababa's international alignment, Lt. Col. Atnafu announced February 11 that the Ethiopian regime would try to obtain arms from Eastern Europe.

A number of the Arab regimes, such as

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those in Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait, have given aid to the Eritrean independence fighters since the 1960s. Gen. Gaafar al-Nimeiry of the Sudan declared in January that his regime also backed the Eritrean rebels against Addis Ababa.

Since several of these Arab states are strongly supported by Washington, their aid to the Eritreans may reflect hidden

American efforts to influence the course of the Eritrean struggle. Washington and the reactionary Arab regimes would certainly do everything they could to keep a formally independent Eritrea within the "free world."

Another area of conflict is along the border between Ethiopia and Somalia. The Somali regime has claimed the Ogaden

desert region in Ethiopia, which is peopled by Somalis. The two regimes went to war over the area in 1964 and there have been recent reports of skirmishes between Ethiopian and Somali troops. The two regimes have also made rival claims on the French-ruled territory of Djibouti, which is scheduled to gain its formal independence later this year. □

Callaghan's Frightening Experience With Five Trotskyists

A Specter Is Haunting the British Labour Party

By Tim Wohlforth

In the witch-hunt of Trotskyists in the British press and within the British Labour party, most, but not all, of the furor has centered around Andy Bevan, who was appointed National Youth Officer of the Labour party. Bevan is an open supporter of the *Militant*, the paper of a leftist group within the Labour party headed by Ted Grant. (See "Witch-hunt Against Trotskyism in Britain" by Michael Baumann in the December 27, 1976 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, p. 1842.)

The right wing sought to block the appointment of Bevan by acting through a union organization called the National Union of Labour Organisers, which claimed jurisdiction over his job. The maneuver was transparent, as many appointments have been made in the past of nonmembers of the NULO. Also, the Transport House members of the Transport and General Workers Union (T&GWU, Britain's largest union) voted to accept Bevan as a member and to support his right to hold the youth post.

This position was then backed up by a close vote on the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the party, the highest party body.

However, Bevan's victory did not stop the witch-hunt. Shortly after voting to sustain his appointment, the same NEC voted to open an investigation of the *Militant* group and other supposed "en-trist" forces within the Labour party.

The *Militant* group is not the only victim of witch-hunting attacks. Other groups associated in one way or another with Trotskyism are coming under attack and an offensive has been launched against Trotskyism itself.

An interesting part of this offensive was an article which appeared in the January 25 issue of the *London Times*. Entitled "How Trotskyist wreckers bend democracy," it was written by Max Morris, a past president of the National Union of Teachers. It turns out that Max Morris was, until four months before writing this piece, a member of the British Communist party.

Now in his new position as an open supporter of the right wing in the trade unions and Labour party he digs up the old Stalinist slanders of Trotskyism. Here is a typical sentence from the article: "A common pattern runs throughout all these Trotskyite activities: to disrupt, to sabotage, to wreck, in every area of social conflict the possibility of any immediate solution which would actually show that progress can be made by democratic means."

Morris's target is not the *Militant* group but the International Socialists (IS, now called the Socialist Workers party). This group, which originated in the Trotskyist movement, views the Soviet Union as state capitalist.

Indicative of the climate in Britain, this article was picked up by none other than Prime Minister James Callaghan. According to the January 27 *London Times*, the prime minister reported to the NEC that he has five Trotskyists in his constituency Labour party and he agreed with Max Morris as to the disruptive tactics of the Trotskyists. Anthony Wedgwood Benn, a leader of the left wing in the party, stated that he did not believe one should pay too much attention to Morris's article as the man had been a member of the Communist party up to four months ago.

The prime minister answered: "I was not suggesting, Tony, that we should make a decision on the opinion of Max Morris. I was stating that what he had described had occurred in my own constituency."

Benn replied: "Well, it doesn't take place in mine. I have a number of members in the *Militant* tendency and they have been very helpful."

One cannot but get the impression from this discussion that the prime minister objects to Trotskyists in his party because he does not like having to report back to constituency parties who disagree with his policies of collaboration with the British capitalists.

Benn's position in the Labour party is a bit different as is his attitude toward Trotskyists. As an alert politician he is

aware of the general leftward drift within the rank and file of the Labour party. He hopes to play on this mood and to utilize it in a bid for party leadership. Thus he not only came out openly in defense of the *Militant* group but defended the role of Marxists within the party. He has stated on several occasions that there have always been Marxists in the party and there should always be room in the party for them in the future.

Another example of the witch-hunt appeared in the February 2 issue of the sensational tabloid, the *Sun*. A headline screamed in the boldest type: "Trot Kids Stir It Up At Riot School." The short article accompanying the headline reported that the youth organization of the IS is seeking to get support in a school, Heaton Comprehensive School, Newcastle upon Tyne, where protests occurred the preceding year against the extension of corporal punishment to girls as well as boys.

Case of Alan Thornett

Witch-hunts against Trotskyists are not new in Britain but they have been escalating over the past period. The first big press witch-hunt was launched in 1974 against Alan Thornett (called "the Mole" by the press) while he was a member of the Workers Revolutionary party (WRP, headed by Gerry Healy). It involved a successful attempt to victimize him while he was leading an important strike in the Cowley complex of the British Leyland auto combine. This witch-hunt was revived against Thornett when he ran in union elections in an attempt to regain positions lost in the earlier period. Thornett was by this time the leader of the Workers Socialist League, the group railroaded out of the WRP because it dared raise questions about Healy's policies.

Around the same time the press whipped up a campaign against a WRP educational school held at a country estate owned by a supporter of the party. The estate was named "the Red House" in the press.

While witch-hunts are quite common in many countries, particularly the United States, they are usually directed against the Communist party. They are motivated, as is no doubt this current campaign in Britain, out of fear of militant elements going beyond the class-collaborationist policies of their leaders. Thus the insurgent candidate in the United States Steelworkers Union, Ed Sadlowski, was subjected to a witch-hunting barrage.

There is also another consideration. The capitalists seek to blame "communists," "infiltrators," and the like for the elemental rebellion of the masses against unbearable conditions created by ruling-class policies. This was certainly a factor, for example, in Sadat's attempt to blame "the Communists" for the mass upsurge in Egypt against high prices.

Another motive is a kind of blackmail. The capitalists of one country seek to get aid from the dominant U.S. capitalists by pointing to the "communist danger" within their own country if they do not receive assistance. This was clearly an element in the latest witch-hunting in Britain, where the government has been involved in negotiations for a \$3.8 billion loan from the International Monetary Fund.

What is distinctive is the centering of the attack on Trotskyism. This is made quite explicit in an editorial in the February 2 London *Times*. Entitled "A Popular Front of the Disgruntled," it concentrates on the recent policy statement issued by the British Communist party. But it does not appear to be the Communist party that the editors are really worried about, for they state: "Indeed, the different Trotskyite groups are in all probability now a greater menace, partly because they are younger and more flexible, partly because they are not so widely perceived to be a danger to society, and partly because they do not bear the stigma of international Communism."

The British capitalists and their press representatives are among the most skilled politicians of the world capitalist class. They certainly gained enormous experience in repressing masses of workers and peasants during their century of world dominance and empire building. So we must assume they have good reason, from their viewpoint, to fear the development of Trotskyism in England.

Williams Tries to Do Carving Job

The most sophisticated attack against Trotskyism came in the form of a speech by Shirley Williams that filled a full page in the January 22 *Guardian*. Shirley Williams is no minor figure. She happens to be the minister of education.

She entitled her address "Trotskyism and Democracy." Her aim, as she explains at the beginning, is not to deal with any specific Trotskyist group but to take on Trotskyism itself. She wishes to prove that Trotskyism is essentially antidemocratic.

Because of that she maintains that those holding Trotskyist views have no place within the British Labour party.

Williams begins by attacking Marx.



CALLAGHAN

"The one thing that is certain," she asserts, "is that Marx laid no great emphasis on representative democracy and did not regard it as an essential element of the new socialist society he envisaged."

She seeks to back up this bald statement with a single quote from Marx. "He even described the vote by millions of tradesmen, artisans and craftsmen in the first election after the 1867 extension of the franchise as 'a hopeless certificate of destitution for the English proletariat.'"

No greater falsification of Marx's views on democratic rights could possibly be fabricated. Marx, together with Engels, had actually participated in the 1848 revolution in Germany, fighting in its extreme democratic wing for, among other things, the extension of democratic rights in an united Germany.

Upon coming to England as an exile he soon began work on assembling the forces for the First International. Among those he collaborated with were key leaders of the British Chartist movement who had fought for the extension of the franchise Williams refers to. Marx not only supported them, but won some of them over to participate in the General Council of the First International.

By 1867 the franchise had been won, though the Chartist movement had collapsed. At the time, the British workers had no political party. So far as voting

was concerned, the British parliamentary system offered them only the capitalist Liberal or Tory parties.

We cannot find the exact quote Williams is referring to, if it is exact. While in charge of British education, she seems herself to not have learned the necessity of citing sources. However, Marx did write to Engels in 1868 complaining about the political state of affairs and observing: "But it remains a disastrous certificate of poverty for the English proletariat all the same." (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On Britain* [Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1953] p. 500.)

Both Marx and Engels fought for the formation of a mass workers party in Britain. Thus Williams not only slanders Marx but refuses to admit the fact that Marx and Engels played a pioneering role that contributed to the later development of the very party she now claims to represent.

Engels wrote an article in 1881 entitled "A Working-Men's Party": "And yet there never was a more widespread feeling in England than now, that the old parties are doomed, that the old shibboleths have become meaningless, that the old watchwords are exploded, that the old panaceas will not act any longer. Thinking men of all classes begin to see that a new line must be struck out, and that this line can only be in the direction of democracy. But in England, where the industrial and agricultural working-class forms the immense majority of the people, democracy means the dominion of the working-class, neither more nor less."

He affirmed: "Moreover, in England, a real democratic party is impossible unless it be a working-men's party" (ibid, pp. 480-481).

What does Williams think of this Marxism of Marx and Engels? Would she be in favor of these two defenders of democracy being members of the British Labour party today?

Marx and Engels always valued highly the democratic achievements of the bourgeois revolution. However, in view of their experience, particularly the vacillating role of the bourgeoisie in the German revolution of 1848, they became more and more convinced that the capitalists could not be entrusted to carry out the democratic struggle. This task, they felt, fell to the working class.

Marx and Engels defended bourgeois democratic rights, including the parliamentary system, which they fought to extend and which they urged workers to participate in with their own parties. But they were also critics of bourgeois parliamentarism. This was particularly true after the Paris Commune of 1871.

The Commune experience convinced Marx and Engels that the working class was capable of creating a state form qualitatively superior to the capitalist state, not only in its economic base but in

its democracy. Ordinary workers could participate in it. All representatives would be subject to recall and elections would be held with great frequency. In place of a rigid bureaucracy distant from the masses there would be an apparatus of ordinary working people paid at the same rates as the working class as a whole.

To Marx and Engels, socialism would carry forward all the great gains of the earlier bourgeois revolution and go much further because behind even the most democratic capitalist government stood the dictatorship of capital, which determined the lives of the great masses while protecting the privileged position of a small property-owning minority.

Williams does not comment on this real critique of the limits of bourgeois parliamentarism because to do so would reveal that Marx and Engels were far more consistent defenders of democratic rights than she is. This is particularly clear in view of the fact that Williams's polemic is part of a witch-hunt aimed at proscribing the democratic right of Labour party members to hold Trotskyist or Marxist views.

Trotskyists Not Responsible for Kremlin

Next Williams treats us to a lengthy polemic directed against the totalitarian character of rule in the workers states. "At a time when representative democracy and its associated civil liberties are far from safe," she asks, "is it surprising that some of us distrust these half-hearted allies? Or reject the double standards of those who denounce the vicious suppression of political opponents in Chile and Rhodesia, but fall silent when law-abiding dissenters find themselves thrown into Soviet mental asylums, or blown up trying to leave East Germany?"

And who, pray tell, are these "half-hearted allies"? Certainly not the Trotskyists, who defend the rights of the Soviet dissidents and are unyielding political opponents of the Stalinist bureaucrats who suppress the working class. Williams, of course, is trying to take advantage of the crimes of Stalinism. But she is completely dishonest in suggesting that Trotskyists in any way cover up the lack of democratic rights in the Stalinist countries.

We would suggest that she might better direct the word "half-hearted" against herself and her fellow members of the British Labour government. After all, it is this government that preaches democracy in the Soviet countries, yet is complicit in upholding racism in Rhodesia and South Africa, keeps troops in the north of Ireland, and fosters the spread of racism in Britain.

Next we are treated to a paean of praise for the "mixed economy," which we are told "allows a genuine dispersal of power to ordinary people."

The particular "mix" of the economy in Britain is quite obvious to any British

worker. Profitable industries remain in the hands of capitalists who dictate the policy of the British government to sustain their profits by lowering the living standards of the masses. Those industries like coal mining that have long since lost their profitability are operated by the state in the interests of the main centers of capital.

The result is to keep the principal sectors of the economy completely outside the "power of ordinary people" and as the prime source of minority power over the majority.

On this question Trotskyists have a big difference with Williams. We favor nationalizing the basic industries and operating them under the direct democratic control of the working people. Until this takes place the dictatorship of the capitalists will persist in Britain under cover of the parliamentary machinery.

Finally Williams reaches her peroration, only to disclose that she has lost the thread of her argument somewhere along the way: "But what, you may say, has all this to do with Trotsky and Trotskyism?" What, indeed? "The answer is," Williams ventures on, "that it has a great deal to do with it. Leon Trotsky, himself, cared nothing for individual liberty; he cared nothing for parliamentary democracy."

The proof to back up this assertion is no more convincing than her similar charge directed against Marx. She tells us that Trotsky crushed the Kronstadt uprising. But Trotsky was not personally involved in that action.*

He defended the measures taken by the Bolshevik government under the circumstances because it was faced with an armed uprising directed against the workers state under conditions of civil war. Many things, he pointed out, had to be done during those difficult years whenever dissent went over to direct military action against the workers state. Trotsky always saw such actions as exceptional in character and not the model for the proper democratic functioning of a workers state. Thus he fought bitterly against Stalin's attempt to utilize exceptional measures taken in the civil war period to justify his later bureaucratic suppression of the working class.

Next Williams treats us to a lengthy quote from Trotsky's book *Terrorism and Communism*. The sentence which strikes her most is the following: "But the path of Socialist ideas which is visible through all deviations, and even betrayals, foreshadows no other outcome but this: to throw democracy aside and replace it by the mechanism of the proletariat, at the moment when the latter is strong enough to carry out such a task."

This quote can be found, for those

* See, for example, Trotsky's article "More on the Suppression of Kronstadt," reprinted in *Writings of Leon Trotsky [1937-38]* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1976) p. 376.

interested, at the top of page 41 in the Ann Arbor edition of the book (University of Michigan Press, 1961).

What Trotsky states here and throughout the book (which by the way was written in 1920 and not 1922 as our minister of education claims) is also discussed by Lenin in his *Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky* and in his pamphlet *State and Revolution*. It is simply a development of the position of Marx and Engels already sketched. Bourgeois parliamentarism is an inadequate form of democracy and actually a cover for the continued existence of capitalist dictatorship. What Trotsky advocates is its replacement by the "mechanism of the proletariat," that is, democratic council rule of the commune type or the early Soviet system before its bureaucratization by the Stalinists.

Of course, in the interim Trotsky defended every struggle to extend existing democratic rights, no matter how limited, under capitalism. He never saw a contradiction between the fight for democratic rights under capitalism and the fight for the superior council system. But he did see a contradiction between the continued existence of capitalism and the full development of democracy.

Williams and her friends, we think, would not be too happy under the "mechanism of the proletariat." After all the workers might recall them! They seem to be having enough difficulty under the highly limited democratic system within the Labour party, which still permits constituency parties from time to time to remove MPs as future candidates.

If Callaghan finds it uncomfortable to hold membership in the same constituency party with only five Trotskyists, we would suspect he would be even more uncomfortable under a government run by the workers. Perhaps Williams is afraid Trotskyists want a bit too much democracy—thus her efforts to throttle existing democracy within the Labour party.

Strikes at American Trotskyists, Too

Williams even cites the American Socialist Workers party. This is what she has to say about Trotsky's position on the internal struggle within the SWP with a group headed by Max Shachtman: "As late as 1940, not long before his death, he rounded on a group in the American Socialist Workers' Party, who demanded the right to appeal to the masses over the head of the party. Trotsky dismissed the right to appeal to the masses as a 'monstrous pretension.' I do not regard it as a monstrous pretension. I agree with Tawney in regarding the appeal to the masses—in other words, democracy—as an essential condition of the socialist commonwealth."

We must say we find it inconsistent of Williams to attack Trotsky for denying the right of a minority group in a party to

appeal to the masses, since the aim of her article is to bolster those in the British Labour party who wish to deny the Militant group that right.

As minister of education, Williams must certainly be aware that Trotsky did not oppose the right of Shachtman to independently present his views to workers as a separate party. Trotsky always championed that right for everyone no matter how sharp his disagreements with them.

The question raised in 1940 was the right of a minority section of the party to go over the heads of the party itself and present its views to the public. This is inconsistent with the principles of organization developed by Lenin, which permit the fullest expression of opinion within the party, including the right to form tendencies and factions, but which insist that the party as a whole act as one in carrying out decisions reached democratically.

The Labour party is not a democratic centralist party. It permits groups to publish journals holding independent views. What is involved currently is a witch-hunt, mounted by the right wing, to block left-wing groups from exercising this right.

All that the Trotskyists and other leftists in the British Labour party request is that they receive the same rights as other members of the party and that the party's organizational principles be applied fairly to all concerned.

Williams ends her article with an attack on David Coates of the International Socialist group. She states that Coates accuses the Labour party of being dogmatic about parliamentary democracy. She also quotes him as talking of "class war" and "violence."

We will let Coates answer for himself, which he does in a letter published in the January 28 *Guardian*.

"The crucial question at stake in the current debate on the Left in British politics turns on how to transform capitalism into a genuinely Socialist society, and on what that society would or could look like. Many Marxists feel that that transformation cannot come through the action of members of Parliament alone, and that parliamentary action will, at the very least, need to be supplemented by industrial militancy if truly radical change is to be achieved. The Marxist Left has always argued that socialism will come only when a majority of working people and their families act collectively to create it; and so it is quite illegitimate to slide from a recognition that Marxists are aware of the limits of parliamentary democracy to an assertion that they are opposed to democracy per se. All the Marxist groups seek to create a society in which the majority participate fully in the governing of their own lives—a conception of democracy that is more ambitious than the electoral preoccupations of the Labour Party, but no less democratic for that." □

160 Students Killed by Rightist Commandos

Murder Squads Terrorize Turkish Universities



TURKISH PREMIER DEMIREL

"Political violence has become a more and more usual part of Turkish everyday life as the elections promised for fall draw closer," Ulla Lundström wrote in the March 1 issue of *Dagens Nyheter*, Sweden's most authoritative daily paper.

"Since the beginning of this year, thirty-five students have been shot down in the streets.

"A wave of murders has swept the entire country. This is a systematic campaign of slaughter carried out by the so-called Commando Groups. The youth group of one of the most notorious parties in the ruling right-wing coalition, the almost national-socialist Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi [National Action party], has become more and more of a power in Turkish politics, even though it has only three seats in parliament, under its leader Colonel Alpaslan Türkes.

"Accusations that the government has directly or indirectly instigated the actions of the Commando Groups has never been denied by the Demirel government."

The present government claims that its predecessor, the liberal Ecevit government, is responsible for the political violence because it "let the Communists go" in the 1974 general amnesty. Lundström pointed out, however, that in the two years the right-wing Demirel government has been in office, 160 students have been murdered,

nearly all of whom were supporters of left organizations. She quoted a student representative as saying:

Only a few years ago, the commando groups were an insignificant organization. Despite the fact that even now they have only a few hundred members here in Istanbul, their murder squads are spreading a wave of terror that has paralyzed education in universities and colleges throughout the country.

Lundström's informant came from the Technical College in Istanbul. He described how a student was shot there while sitting in a classroom.

It was late Saturday morning, when a Commando Group of five persons stormed in past police posted at the gate. They jerked open the door of the first lecture hall, but since they didn't come upon anyone they recognized, they continued on to the next door. Before more than a few realized what was happening, shots were fired. A pistol was aimed at a student who was pointed out by one of them as a leftist. The student died instantly, and two others were seriously wounded.

The group sauntered out and disappeared. The police did not lift a finger.

There were at least twenty witnesses. We know the name of the one who fired the shots. But every attempt to get him arrested has run up against a blank wall.

In a subsequent article in the March 3 issue of *Dagens Nyheter*, Lundström noted:

Despite the fact that Alpaslan Türkes has openly stated that his youth organization is armed, the Commando Groups, or "Idealists' Clubs," as they prefer to call themselves, have been allowed to go on spreading terror with impunity.

Lundström reported that the country's largest independent union, the Devrimci İşçileri Sendikası Konfederasyonu (Revolutionary Workers Trade-Union Confederation), along with other large organizations, issued a statement saying that the wave of terror was a planned operation carried out by forces linked to the CIA. In fact, this kind of large-scale parallel police activity has been carried out in a number of countries, beginning with Guatemala after the CIA-directed invasion that toppled the Arbenz government. Argentina is the latest example of such an operation.

Lundström wrote: "Turkey is again under threat of a military takeover still harsher than the 1971 coup. There are more and more signs of this.

"Not only students, but a series of teachers, professors, journalists, and lawyers have been attacked or threatened in recent weeks by the so-called Grey Wolves [Alpaslan's "Idealists"]." □

OUT NOW!

Chapter 23

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

By Fred Halstead

[First of two parts]

The lack of an authoritative national coalition made it difficult to get the preparations for the Easter 1969 actions underway in most of the seven cities for which they had been projected. The initiative nationally was largely left to the Student Mobilization Committee. Insofar as the resistance among adult leaders to following this initiative was overcome, that was largely attributable to a sense of urgency about the war itself. In spite of Nixon's promises, there were over half a million U.S. troops in Vietnam and the bombing was still escalating. More than a few local figures in the antiwar movement swallowed their doubts and went along because "We just have to do something."

This factor was certainly uppermost at a well-attended meeting of the New York Parade Committee February 13 where I reported on the Easter actions and proposed that the Parade Committee organize the New York demonstration. The bitterness of the SMC

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split had deeply affected the Parade Committee and the staff was generally hostile to what was considered an SMC-originated proposal. Dave Dellinger and Norma Becker, the Parade Committee coordinators, were not expected to be friendly to the idea but did not speak against it. Becker simply encouraged full discussion. She was a working schoolteacher who somehow always made me feel like a slightly errant schoolboy whenever she chaired a meeting, a feeling which was heightened on this occasion. The sentiment, however, was clearly in favor of the action, and toward the end of the meeting both she and Dellinger gave their approval. For some reason the opponents centered on the fact that the proposed date was Easter Sunday, April 6. They were taken aback when we agreed to change it to April 5 and the proposal was adopted overwhelmingly.

A GI planning board for April 5 was set up in New York by active-duty GIs. It worked jointly with the Parade Committee and the SMC. Key figures in this formation were Pvt. Allen Myers of Fort Dix, New Jersey, and Pvt. David Cortright, a member of the army band at Fort Wadsworth at the entrance to New York harbor.

It may appear odd that this unit, whose duties included playing patriotic music at military and state occasions in the country's largest city, would develop into a nest of antiwar sentiment and activity. Cortright later explained: "Most of the members of the 26th Army Band stationed within the Fort Hamilton complex at Fort Wadsworth were professional musicians who had enlisted for duty as bandsmen to avoid a draftee infantry assignment in Vietnam; many were decidedly anti-military and outspoken in their views against the war."¹ The embarrassment this caused the army brass eventually resulted in a number of punitive transfers,

no doubt to the detriment of the quality of the music-making.

With both the Chicago Peace Council and the New York Parade Committee as well as the SMC firmly committed, the Easter actions now had enough authority behind them to allow the drawing together of local coalitions to organize the demonstrations in other cities, including San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Austin, Texas. The project got a boost when on February 16 Seattle jumped the gun and some 200 GIs there led a march of 4,500 civilian supporters demanding withdrawal from Vietnam. The march was organized by the GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace (GI-CAP), which had grown out of an SMC-initiated conference in October 1968.

The spring actions were larger than expected. Some 100,000 marched in New York April 5 in spite of rain. The Chicago turnout was 30,000, the largest yet for that city. In San Francisco April 6 some 40,000 marched to a rally at the gates of the Presidio, demanding an end to the war and freedom for the Presidio Twenty-seven. The Atlanta turnout was 4,000. Los Angeles had 6,500, and Austin had a march of 1,200 including a hundred GIs. The Austin and Atlanta marches were also the largest to date in those cities. Active-duty GIs were speakers at all these demonstrations.

In addition, the Quaker-inspired National Action Group (NAG), which had originally projected April actions in half a dozen places, found itself organizing them in more than thirty cities. These were smaller than the GI-Civilian demonstrations and generally involved some sort of nonviolent civil disobedience, but they received considerable publicity and had a wide impact, particularly among church groups. (Many Quakers, incidentally, were particularly concerned over Nixon's war policy because the president professed the Quaker faith.)

In general the spring 1969 antiwar actions were far more successful than originally anticipated. Organizationally the effect went beyond the cities in which the major demonstrations were held. Local coalitions were refurbished or built in many other areas where supportive activities took place and new GI groups were organized on a number of bases. The Student Mobilization Committee emerged greatly strengthened compared to its condition in December, particularly among high school students. It was increasingly, though sometimes grudgingly, recognized as the main organizer of antiwar youth on a national scale.

* * *

An incident occurred at the April 5 New York demonstration that further increased tensions between Dellinger and me and had a certain effect on subsequent developments. In the Parade Committee it had been agreed beforehand that Dellinger would speak on behalf of the defendants in the Chicago "Conspiracy Eight" indictments; if other defendants were present they would be introduced, but neither Jerry Rubin nor Abbie Hoffman would speak. Both Hoffman and Rubin made no secret of the fact they considered peaceful demonstrations a waste of time, and the

1. David Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt: the American Military Today* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1976), pp. 68-69.



Dave Warren/Militant

SAN FRANCISCO, April 6, 1969: Part of march of 40,000.

majority of the committee—especially the trade unionists and GIs then involved—didn't trust the two Yippie leaders to refrain from appealing for an ultraleft confrontation then and there.

On the march, there was a small group of Crazies carrying poles on the end of which were speared the heads of pigs they'd gotten from butcher shops. They taunted the cops with these along the route and generally comported themselves in a provocative fashion. The march itself was so massive that this small group was lost in the crowd, but at the rally a steady rain thinned the audience and the Crazies managed to elbow their way to the front, just behind the contingent of active-duty GIs seated in front of the speakers' stand.

During Dellinger's speech he invited Rubin and Hoffman onto the stage and then handed the microphone over to them. They proceeded to make deliberately outrageous appeals to the Crazies and the crowd to attack a few police lined up nearby. The GIs were between the Crazies and the cops.

Fortunately the crowd didn't respond and the GIs held the Crazies back. But if a melee had resulted some of the GIs would undoubtedly have been caught in it and arrested. That would have given the military authorities just the excuse they were looking for to victimize another group of antiwar GIs. As chief marshal for this demonstration I was livid at what I considered Dellinger's irresponsibility. He was roundly criticized by Al Evanoff, myself, and others at the next Parade Committee meeting. It is not that Dellinger agreed with what Rubin and Hoffman did. He criticized that himself. But he apparently just couldn't bring himself to say "no" to these self-appointed representatives of the wildest countercultural youth.

* * *

One of the speakers at the April 5 GI-Civilian demonstration in Chicago was Pvt. Joe Miles, then on a weekend pass from Fort Bragg, North Carolina. Miles was the National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union (NBAWADU) organizer who had led the high school students' demonstration in Washington, D.C., at the time of Martin Luther King's assassination a year earlier.

Miles had been drafted into the army in the fall of 1968 and was sent to Fort Jackson, South Carolina, in early January, 1969, for advanced training. There, in the company he was assigned to, he found a ready receptivity to his Black nationalist and antiwar

views, and began organizing among his fellow GIs. One of these was Pvt. Andrew Pulley, a big, tough seventeen-year-old who had been arrested in a Black uprising in Cleveland's Hough ghetto and given the choice by the judge of going to jail or enlisting in the army. Pulley later recalled:

"It started when Joe Miles suggested to some of us in the barracks at B-14-4 [B Company, 14th Battalion, 4th Brigade] that we listen to some Malcolm X tapes. It started as all black and Puerto Rican just listening to the tapes and talking about it afterward. The first night about fifteen GIs came. The second night it built up to thirty-five."²

Miles later commented: "It was like Malcolm had been made for this kind of audience and we were ready for him. It was like walking around during one of the rebellions, just saying, 'Oh my, I'm so glad I'm black.' . . . So guys were running around there in brotherhood. The brotherhood there, you could cut it, cut it in the air. We'd hug each other, greet each other, spend ten minutes shaking each other's hands. Guys would grab the PA [public address] system and announce, 'All you brothers on the third floor, black and proud, let me hear you.' And guys would come yelling down the steps, 'black and proud.'"³

It wasn't long before some of the officers and noncommissioned officers became disturbed and began to harass these Black GIs. Pulley and Miles lodged a complaint with the Inspector General (IG) about a lieutenant calling Miles "boy" and some of the lifers (career soldiers, usually noncoms or officers) trying to provoke Pulley into physical fights so they could court-martial him. The IG, in effect, told them to go to hell. Soon fights were breaking out. According to Miles: "Brothers were going around and every dude they considered a racist was wasted. . . . That's when the Army made the charges against several black guys who had been in the meetings, charges for assault and so on. Actually the guys they charged hadn't done anything. But there was a general situation around there of fights happening. Then guys started discussing it. 'We're all going to end up in jail if this keeps up,' and 'What are we going to do about our relations with the whites?' We had to have a serious discussion about all this at the next meeting. It

2. Fred Halstead, *GIs Speak Out Against the War* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), pp. 31-32.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 84.

was by far the best meeting we had had. Sixty guys showed up.”⁴

They made a calculated decision to organize white GIs as well and to appeal to them to join in a struggle against the war. Miles was a member of the YSA before he was drafted and one of the whites he invited to the next meeting—attended by eighty GIs—was Pvt. Joe Cole, a tall, soft-spoken Georgian who had been in the YSA in Atlanta. Cole later recalled:

“I was Permanent Party [attached to the base staff, not a trainee] and there’s a post regulation that prohibits Permanent Party from associating with trainees, and I had on a Permanent Party patch and insignia on my hat, [so] when some sergeants from my company came by the meeting, some of the guys took my hat off and crowded around me so the sergeants wouldn’t see me. The automatic response of those guys at that meeting was just fantastic for me to see. Everything was just perfect. It was an experience I’ll always remember. And all the other meetings were just like that.”⁵

Out of these meetings grew an organization, GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, which later spread to other bases. At Fort Jackson the authorities attempted to stop the meetings by restricting the men to barracks, and so on. GIs United circulated petitions—first in defense of other antiwar GIs who were facing court-martial, and then requesting an open meeting on post “at which all those concerned can freely discuss the legal and moral questions related to the war in Vietnam and to the civil rights of American citizens both within and outside the armed forces.”⁶

Meanwhile, Miles was transferred on three-hours’ notice to Fort Bragg, North Carolina. The organizing continued, however, sparked by Pulley and Pvt. Jose Rudder, a Puerto Rican from Washington, D.C., and a Vietnam combat veteran. GIs United was constantly harassed, but it also constantly sent its material to the press and TV, called press conferences, and began to receive significant publicity. On March 3, Cole and another YSAer at Fort Jackson who was not in a training company, Steve Dash, walked up to the post headquarters to present the petition for an open meeting. The presentation had been announced to the press and the army had placed the training companies on restriction, so Cole and Dash had to do it. In front of the press the commanding authorities refused to accept the petition and Cole and Dash were given direct orders to return to barracks. The news reports attracted considerable attention. Shortly thereafter the Huntley-Brinkley TV news show sent a crew to Fort Jackson to interview GIs United and this was on national TV.

On March 20 an impromptu meeting outside the B-14-4 barracks took place. Over a hundred GIs attended and Rudder, Pulley, and others spoke. Within a few days eight members of GIs United were put in the stockade, or under barracks arrest, all under charges stemming from the meeting. Thus began the case of the Fort Jackson Eight. The defendants were privates Pulley, Rudder, Cole, Edilberto Chaparro, Dominick Duddie, Delmar Thomas, Tommy Woodfin, and Pfc. Curtis E. Mays.

The case became a *cause célèbre* and proved a major embarrassment to the warmakers. The men had committed no crimes, violated no orders, and were being held because they spoke out against the war. A ninth GI, Pvt. John Huffman, who had been arrested along with the others and had retained the same defense counsel, surfaced in the court hearings as an agent planted in GIs United by army intelligence. He had sat in on meetings between defendants and counsel and this created something of a legal scandal.

Cole later recalled: “We were always aboveboard legally. We realized that if we didn’t operate that way it would be a quick trip to the stockade for no good cause. So we had gotten our heads together and decided that our best bet was not to operate underground but to let as many people know about us as possible.

“We knew there were a lot of agents around anyway so we decided we wouldn’t fall for the normal GI escape of using drugs

and so forth. Huffman was always trying to convince us to use LSD and so forth. We told him it was illegal. . . . He also tried to get us to cold cock a barracks sergeant. That is, hit him in the head with a boot when he was asleep. We told him that was illegal too. At that point we had questions about Huffman because he didn’t seem to understand what GIs United was all about. We weren’t after any individual sergeant or anything like that. We weren’t after any products of the system. We were after the system, after the war that was killing us and killing Vietnamese.”⁷

A vigorous publicity and legal-defense campaign was launched by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, whose secretary was Matilde Zimmermann. A representative of the committee, Helen Schiff, and her husband, Attorney Mike Smith, went to Columbia and maintained frequent contact with the defendants. Students from the University of South Carolina demonstrated at the federal courthouse in Columbia when the men were brought there for hearings. The case was featured at all the GI-Civilian demonstrations in April, and received support from the broadest antiwar and civil liberties circles. The legal defense was handled by a team of lawyers including Leonard B. Boudin, David Rein, Dorian Bowman, Diane Schuler, and Thomas Broadwater.

Under pressure of the publicity and legal work, the army finally dropped the charges against all eight defendants. The last to be released—after sixty days in the stockade—were Rudder, Pulley, and Cole. They were booted out of the army with undesirable discharges in spite of the fact there were no charges against them. All three became activists in the civilian antiwar movement.

Meanwhile Joe Miles started another GIs United at Fort Bragg, this time not mainly among trainees, but among GIs who were combat veterans of Vietnam. The army retaliated by putting him on a one-man levy to a base above the arctic circle in Alaska. The fight against this was only partially successful, and he was eventually sent to Anchorage, where he finished out his hitch in the army, flying into the lower forty-eight for antiwar conferences whenever he could get a leave.

* * *

Shortly after the spring demonstrations, the radical weekly *Guardian* declared in an editorial:

“It is clearly time for the general antiwar movement to recognize in theory what it is in practice—a mass radical movement with Vietnam as its central but not exclusive thrust. . . . Any effort to revive the old left-liberal coalition as it formerly operated—resulting in a watering-down of radical politics, compromise and caution born of conservatism—or to push the movement back to a Vietnam-only perspective, could bring things to a standstill again. . . .

“Being against the war is not enough. The newly radicalized antiwar movement must struggle against the source of imperialistic war and it must conduct that struggle here and now against the capitalist system, its institutions, politicians and policemen which make such wars inevitable. The movement, simply, must struggle for power to the people.”⁸

This approach wasn’t new, of course, and it was widespread among the so-called new left radicals, as well as a lot of the old ones, including radical liberals. One of the main problems with the suggested reorientation was that they couldn’t agree among themselves what the program of the new multi-issue radical movement ought to be, and always fell out among themselves whenever they tried to work that out within a particular coalition. This was one of the factors that had paralyzed the National Mobilization Committee.

Writing in the *Militant*, SWPer Gus Horowitz answered the *Guardian* editorial as follows:

“No thank you. We don’t want to scrap the antiwar movement for demonstrations that are *limited* to the select few. We prefer the present method which calls on everybody who is ready to act

4. Ibid., p. 97.

5. Ibid., pp. 33-34.

6. Ibid., p. 102. The petition is reproduced in full.

7. Ibid., p. 46.

8. *Guardian*, April 12, 1969.



The Fort Jackson Eight (left to right) Andrew Pulley, Jose Rudder (hidden), Delmar Thomas, Edilberto Chaparro, Tommie Woodfin, Dominick Duddie, Joe Cole, Curtis Mays.

Larry Seigel/Militant

against the war to come out in the streets and demonstrate. . . .

"What the *Guardian* incorrectly and disparagingly calls the 'lowest common denominator' is, in actuality, the only basis on which independent *mass actions* can be built against the imperialist war in Vietnam. . . . Furthermore, when it is possible, in the midst of an imperialist war, to mobilize masses of people—including members of the armed forces!—in militant demonstrations demanding the immediate withdrawal of the imperialist forces and self-determination for the 'enemy,' that is far from a 'lowest common denominator.' It is concrete, meaningful struggle against an imperialist war—not hollow verbiage."⁹

In a report to the SWP branches across the country Horowitz declared:

"It is clear that it is possible to organize another major mass mobilization against the war. To do so will require the rebuilding of the national antiwar coalition, since the National Mobilization Committee is no longer viable, has lost considerable authority, and did nothing for the April 5-6 demonstrations. In the next few weeks we hope to lay the groundwork for another major antiwar conference. It is important that such a conference be representative of the groups in the antiwar movement. Accordingly, we are proceeding immediately to initiate the necessary preliminary discussion with other forces to obtain agreement for the idea of such a conference and to build it with adequate time and preparation to insure a representative attendance. It would be helpful if preliminary discussions about the idea of such a conference could be held among the central antiwar figures in each area, so that we can have a clear picture of what to expect."¹⁰

Horowitz recalls: "We [the SWP] thought there was enough of a

changed mood in the masses that a big demonstration could come off. Two, we thought there was enough receptivity for this idea in the antiwar movement as a whole that, if a call to a conference were issued, it would be successful. The problem was to get some authoritative coalition body within the antiwar movement to call it. The best bet seemed to be the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council (CAPAC)."¹¹

CAPAC, like many other antiwar formations, had virtually ceased to function in the fall of 1968, after the Chicago Democratic Party demonstrations. But it had been refurbished during preparations for April 5-6. The Cleveland SMC had done remarkably well recently, especially among high school students, and worked closely with CAPAC. In addition Cleveland had been the site of the conferences which gave birth to the great national demonstrations of April 15, 1967, and it was hoped this would increase the interest in the conference. This would be enhanced if Sid Peck, who had played a central role in those previous conferences, would back the idea.

Peck had helped found CAPAC and had been its chairperson until shortly after the August 1968 Chicago demonstrations. He had not been active in it recently, though he still lived in Cleveland. He had been preoccupied with other matters, including his own defense in a case stemming from the confrontation outside the Hotel Hilton during the 1968 Chicago events. He had, however, demonstratively announced his support for the April 1969 actions and had chaired the April 5 rally in Chicago.

The current chairperson of CAPAC was Jerry Gordon, a forty-year-old practicing attorney with a background of some years as an active trade unionist before he finished law school. He favored a conference.

Horowitz made several trips to Cleveland to discuss the proposed conference with Gordon, Peck, and others. Everyone

9. *Militant*, April 25, 1969.

10. Antiwar Report by Gus Horowitz, April 16, 1969. (Copy in author's files.)

11. Taped interview by author with Gus Horowitz, August 25, 1975.

said they were in favor of reconstituting a national antiwar coalition and for major fall demonstrations. On May 10, CAPAC unanimously passed a motion to host the conference and proceed with the preparations, first by sending a letter to the major regional coalitions requesting their approval for the idea and tentatively setting the date for the July 4 weekend. Peck, however, was not present at the meeting and balked at signing the letter, though he had helped edit it beforehand. Gordon strongly favored calling the conference but was reluctant to proceed without Peck's approval. The letter was not sent.

Peck in turn was anxious to get the agreement of Dellinger and others with whom he had worked in the National Mobilization Committee, and they were obviously expressing reservations. The whole thing was tied up in one hesitation after another.

During this period Dellinger called me and asked to talk things over. We met in a cafe in New York along with Rennie Davis and my companion, Virginia Garza. Dellinger pleaded with me not to press the national conference. He and Davis said something important could soon be expected from SDS in connection with the opening of the trial of the "Conspiracy Eight" in Chicago. The trial was set to begin in September, and this they said would be the proper focus for a major fall action.

I told them I didn't trust SDS—which had not even been able to bring itself to discuss, let alone support, the April 5-6 actions—to take the lead for the antiwar movement. If we didn't press for a national conference, we could end up without a fall action, or with one that would repel the broad forces that could now be involved.

It seemed clear to me that we had a weighty difference on the character of the fall action. Dellinger and Davis wanted a confrontation, Chicago 1968 style, and Garza and I wanted a major mass action that could involve the broadest forces. Dellinger insisted that on the basis of nonviolence the two perspectives could be reconciled. I didn't believe so, and certainly not if the initiative were left exclusively to forces like SDS, the Yippies, and the "Conspiracy."

The fall mass actions would require a certain level of discipline, particularly if nonviolent civil disobedience were involved. "Do your own thing" would simply not work. If there weren't enough damn fools around to mess it up, the government's political police agencies would provide some. In my view we had to present our different perspectives before a conference that was open to the whole antiwar movement and let the conference decide one way or the other, or else work out a compromise in terms which would be widely understood before the organizing began.

We finished our talk without agreement, and for Dellinger and me, who had worked together for a long time, with a touch of sadness at the growing parting of the ways.

* * *

Shortly thereafter, in early June, Gus Horowitz left for another trip to Cleveland. This time I went with him to help break through the hesitations there. Farrell Dobbs, then national secretary of the SWP, told us as we left: "Don't come back until the call to that conference is in the mail."

In Cleveland Gus and I had some preliminary discussions with Gordon, Professor Richard Rechnagel, and others, and it was clear that CAPAC was more than anxious to proceed if only Peck would agree. The whole thing finally came to a head in a meeting at Peck's house that lasted far into the night.

To avoid disturbing the rest of the household we met in the kitchen. Those present included Peck, Gordon, Horowitz, and for part of the time, Don Gurewitz of the Cleveland SMC and Louise Peck, who was active in Women Speak Out for Peace and Justice. In addition Dellinger was consulted several times in the course of the meeting by long-distance phone.

The Pecks agreed to a conference, and Dellinger apparently understood it was going to happen without him if he didn't go along. But both Sid Peck and Dellinger insisted it be a small conference, by specific invitation, rather than a large, open one. Horowitz, Gurewitz, and I insisted on an open conference, with every antiwar group invited to send delegates since there was no structure for democratically selecting a small group of invitees.

Also we wanted the differences that we were convinced existed over tactics argued out before the largest possible audience. Neither Peck nor Gordon thought that the differences were as great as we feared.

Gordon recalls: "I favored an open conference, but I urged that we agree with an invitational one primarily for two reasons. One was that it became clear to me that a unified conference could not be held unless it was on the basis of an invitation. The movement was in a weak state, and we needed each other; we needed the unity. Secondly I anticipated that out of a conference, even an invitational one, a mass action would result. I simply could not believe that Dellinger and Peck and the others of that milieu—because the movement had been left in such a shambles as a result of Chicago—would come to this national meeting, and in effect propose the same thing, another Chicago."¹²

The impasse was broken when someone came up with the idea that observers be welcomed, while only the invited delegates would have vote. Peck and Gordon agreed. So did I. Gurewitz and Horowitz drew me aside. They didn't like the compromise. "We've got to break the impasse," I told them. "If the call gets out with observers welcome, all sorts of activists will be there and the arguments will take place in front of them. By then decisions will be up to the conference, not to a handful of people in a kitchen and one on the phone." So we agreed to an invitational conference with observers welcome.

Then Sid Peck, Gordon, and I, with Dellinger on the phone, drew up the list of those who would be delegates at the next national conference of the American antiwar movement. I made it clear I considered the procedure lacking in democratic virtue and was only going along with it to break the deadlock.

We finished early in the morning with a list of sixty-six names, plus allocations of delegates to a number of groups and regional coalitions. Gordon did manage to convince Peck to allow a certain flexibility in the formula in case we had overlooked something. Additional names could be sent to CAPAC and presumably decided upon by the credentials committee of the conference. The next day we drew up a call to the conference. Peck and Dellinger phoned around the country and got twenty individuals, including many from the old Mobe steering committee in its better days, to act as the steering committee and initial endorsers of the conference. This was very important because it insured continuity and eliminated any effective charges of divisiveness against the CAPAC initiative.

After all that was agreed to, Gus and I stayed around the CAPAC office until the call to the conference was in the mail to the list of invited groups and individuals. In fact we watched while it was being dropped into the mailbox. Then we returned to New York.

After the national office of the Student Mobilization Committee received the invitation, it sent out its own call for a national student antiwar conference, also in Cleveland and on July 6, the day after the close of the other conference. This would allow the SMC to take immediate action on the results of the preceding conference and begin building the actions without delay. But there was also an element of pressure involved. The SMC call had the following paragraph: "The Cleveland Area Peace Action Council (CAPAC) has called a national conference July 4-5 to broaden and unify the antiwar forces in this country and to plan coordinated national mass actions this fall. The SMC urges all student organizations and individuals to participate in this conference as observers or representatives (write CAPAC if your group wants delegate status.)"¹³

The SMC call was given wide distribution, assuring that the movement generally would be aware of the July 4-5 conference. Dellinger and others on the conference steering committee took a dim view of this action of the SMC, but the word was out and there was nothing they could do to reverse it.

[To be continued]

12. Taped interview by author with Jerry Gordon, November 14, 1976.

13. SMC leaflet, undated. (Copy in author's files.)

Amnesty International Seeks Facts on 1,500 Who 'Disappeared' in Chile

By Judy White

"Amnesty International has reason to believe that a minimum of 1500 people have disappeared since 1973," Rose Styron told a March 16 news conference in New York. The conference marked the launching of an international campaign to free political prisoners in Chile. Styron is a member of the board of directors of the human-rights organization's U.S. chapter.

"These figures" she said, "are based on two thousand pages of primary documents in our files." These include "testimonies of persons who were witnesses to arrests or detentions, copies of government documents and press-cuttings from Chilean newspapers, identity cards, photographs and reports of assassinations, both in Chile and abroad, of persons who had disappeared earlier."

Also speaking at the news conference was Professor Eugenio Velasco, himself a victim of the Pinochet dictatorship.

A former dean at the University of Chile, Velasco was kidnapped in May 1976 at the time of the meeting of the Organization of American States in Santiago, where he had circulated a letter pointing to human rights violations. He was sent to Argentina, where he took asylum in the Venezuelan embassy.

Velasco told the press there had been an increase in kidnappings. He explained that this represented the government's solution to the adverse publicity over political imprisonment, enabling it to imprison or kill people without taking official responsibility.

Styron pointed out that the proportion of "disappearances" to arrests had jumped from 5 percent in January 1976 to 57 percent in August of that year. "The figures for 1977 seem equally disturbing," she said.

Amnesty International has issued a packet of documentation on the disappearances of prisoners in Chile, including some of the material referred to by Styron.

One case described is that of Jacqueline del Carmen Binfa Contreras, a thirty-year-old secretary arrested August 27, 1974.

She is one of a group of 119 Chileans whose deaths outside Chile were announced in mid-1975 in several newspapers. . . . Since the Chilean government has denied that any of the 119 had ever been arrested, it is relevant to reproduce here an example from among dozens of similar pieces of documentary evidence—extracts from the sworn testimony of a woman who was held in the same Chilean detention center as Jacqueline



PINOCHET: Prohibits all political parties.

del Carmen Binfa Contreras. The woman who made this testimony is now in exile. . . .

"During the first night of my detention, all the prisoners in the room were taken out in order to remove the chairs so that we could sleep on the floor. First of all, they let the men in and afterwards I heard a guard say: 'We will leave these two girls near the door.' This was my first contact with Jacqueline Binfa when we were trying to keep warm on the floor. I remember her saying: 'Flaca (slim one), take off your coat and cover your feet with it.' . . .

"During the next few days, they began to remove my fellow detainees from the room. The guards called out her name: 'Jacqueline Binfa.' I also learned that they even took her out of prison to do some errands. On two occasions, she brought me a sandwich. One day when she returned, she sighed sadly and said: 'It was awful, they made me remain outside my house for a long time, and I wasn't able to see my mother or my brother.'"

Amnesty International also reports the case of Bernardo Araya Zuleta and María Olga Flores Barraza de Araya:

. . . aged 67 and 61 respectively, [they] are a married couple who, prior to their arrest, were living in Quinteros in Valparaiso Province. Bernardo Araya is a member of the Chilean Communist Party and a former member of

parliament. He is also a prominent trade union leader who was the secretary general of the Central Unica de Trabajadores (CUT—Central Chilean Workers' Union). Both were arrested on 2 April 1976 in their home. No order was shown or sent later to the family.

Araya was seen later that day by two of his grandchildren, who were arrested along with Barraza's brother and a third grandchild. He was being tortured. At one point, the children saw their grandfather "hanging by the hands and moaning." A habeas corpus writ was presented for the couple but the authorities stated that they were not being held. Their present whereabouts are unknown.

In addition to stepping up kidnappings, Pinochet has recently taken other repressive steps.

On March 11 the junta renewed the state of siege for six months, introducing censorship of the mail and several new work and press restrictions.

The following day the dictatorship banned all political parties. Leftist parties were outlawed immediately after the 1973 coup that toppled Salvador Allende, but the Christian Democrats and other bourgeois parties that supported the military takeover were declared only to be "in recess."

The new ban prohibits "the existence, organization, activities and propaganda" of all political parties, bodies, and organizations. Violators can be fined, imprisoned, or exiled.

The military junta claimed it was taking this action because it had discovered a Christian Democratic plot aimed at overthrowing the government.

The plans, allegedly drafted by Christian Democratic leaders Andrés Zaldívar and Tomás Reyes, called for fundamental changes in the regime to permit "democratic recuperation," an Associated Press dispatch reported in the March 13 *New York Times*.

"This is called subversion in any country," said Gen. Herman Bejares, the government secretary general. □

Washington Bans Import of Rhodesian Chrome

President Carter reimposed a ban on imports of Rhodesian chrome March 18. Several days earlier Congress had cleared the way for the action by repealing the 1971 Byrd Amendment.

Washington honored the United Nations' sanction against importing the Rhodesian ore from 1966 until 1971, when a bill sponsored by Sen. Harry Byrd of Virginia overturned the ban.

The March 15 *Wall Street Journal* reported that the steel industry, which is the major consumer of chrome ore, backed down from its strong opposition to reimposing the ban after recently developing methods for using a cheaper grade of ore available from other countries.

Chronicle of Current Events

Reviewed by Marilyn Vogt



After Stalin's death, eleven of the fourteen nationalities that had been summarily deported from their homes during World War II were eventually allowed to return to their lands. However, the Crimean Tatars, Volga Germans, and Meskhetians were forced to remain in exile.

Some of the developments in the ongoing struggles of these three peoples are included in the recent issue of this samizdat journal.

The Crimean Tatars have held mass demonstrations, sent delegations to Moscow, and written hundreds of appeals calling upon authorities to free imprisoned activists and allow Crimean Tatars to reestablish their republic, which was formed in 1921 by the Bolshevik government, but abolished by Stalin in 1946.

The Tatars have also tried to realize their aspirations by returning to live in Crimea despite official prohibitions. The treatment they receive from the authorities resembles the treatment "illegal aliens" receive from American officials.

They are not given official permission to live in Crimea on their internal passports; hence, they cannot legally work, and many are arrested for vagrancy or "parasitism," as happened to Zekie Abdulaeva and her husband, Musa Mamut, on May 18, 1976. He received a two-year term in a labor camp, and she received two years' probation.

The authorities often refuse to recognize the validity of the purchase of a home by a Crimean Tatar and arrest the person for illegally living in someone else's house. This happened to Yakub Usmanov on May 11, 1976. However, forty Crimean Tatars from a nearby village protested in a letter to authorities. In it they referred to an article in *Izvestia* concerning a landlord in England who had been imprisoned for forty-five days because he had posted a sign saying "for sale only to an English family."

"Is it possible that in Crimea the sale of homes to Tatars is prohibited?" they asked. "No? Then why did the judge ask the former owner in court: 'Why did you sell your home to Tatars?'" They asked why those who prohibited the sale were not punished.

When all else fails, the secret police forcibly deport the families out of Crimea,

and demolish their newly acquired home with a bulldozer—or try to.

They destroyed the house of Resmie Yunusova May 13, 1976. So she and her husband and paralyzed daughter began living in a tent in the yard next to the ruins of their home. The police and local Communist party leaders forced them into a bus, threw their belongings into a truck, and sent them away. The family returned

Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytiy—A Chronicle of Current Events (Russian-language samizdat journal from the USSR), no. 41, August 3, 1976. Available in printed form with name index from Khronika Press, 505 Eighth Ave., New York, New York 10018.

two days later and started rebuilding the house, with the help of neighbors. But the collective farm chairman and other officials returned, this time with a bulldozer, and destroyed the home again. So Resmie Yunusova and her family again lived in the tent.

On other occasions, the police attempts to destroy the Crimean Tatars' homes are foiled because the bulldozer drivers refuse to do the job or because the Crimean Tatars' neighbors—Tatars, Russians, and Ukrainians—gather around and refuse to allow the authorities to proceed. This happened in the case of one Crimean Tatar family of five in the Belogorsk Region on June 18 and to another in the Pioneer Simferopol Region on June 17, 1976.

The *Chronicle* relates events, described in Crimean Tatar samizdat *Informational Report No. 237*, occurring in July in the village of Voinka in the Krasnoperekop Region in Crimea, where seventy Crimean Tatar families live—thirty-one of them without permission.

On July 19, a detachment of twelve militiamen tried to deport the family of seventy-year-old Muradasil Akmollaev, but the neighbors prevented them. Women and children sat down in front of the truck loaded with the family's belongings and refused to move. But the authorities did not give up.

On July 21, a new detachment of eighty militiamen and a number of common prisoners, who were serving fifteen-day

terms on drunkenness charges, were dispatched to the village. This detachment did succeed in deporting the Akmollaev family, but only by posting a guard outside the door of every Crimean Tatar home, keeping the Crimean Tatars inside where they could not physically interfere with the police work.

Compared to publicity on the Crimean Tatars, little is known about the struggle of the Volga Germans for the restoration of their full national rights. The Volga Germans, whose ancestors were invited to Russia by Catherine the Great in the eighteenth century, were deported to Siberia during World War II, and their republic also was abolished by Stalin. In many ways, the chauvinist maltreatment suffered by the Volga Germans during World War II resembles the way Washington treated Americans of Japanese origin: they were deported en masse to concentration camps, all their rights were abolished, their land was taken away, and they became the victims of a government-sponsored hate campaign. Volga Germans still suffer from the residue of this sentiment today.

The *Chronicle* reports that in May 1976, some 600 Volga Germans living in Kazakhstan and Kirgiz signed a statement renouncing their citizenship and appealing to the West German government for support. About 200 turned in their passports to local police stations. Genrikh Raimer, whom the authorities labeled a leader of the Volga German movement, was arrested and charged with having conducted anti-Soviet propaganda.

Another Volga German, Konstantin Vukkert, sent a letter to the government heads of East and West Germany and the USSR in which he said that since the Soviet government refused to restore the Volga German Republic, it should grant Volga Germans the right to emigrate to either East or West Germany. He stated he was convinced that no thoughtful Soviet German could feel confident in the Soviet government any longer, since over the past three decades it has refused to recognize their problems, protect them from insults and degradation, or help them preserve their national culture.

The Meskhetians, a Turkish people numbering 300,000 at the time of their expulsion from their homes in the southern

region of the Georgia Republic in 1944, have at various times since Stalin's death had a strong movement to support their demand for the right to return to their homeland in Georgia. In February 1969, for example, they held a protest meeting attended by more than 7,000 persons, according to a previous issue of the *Chronicle*.

In the spring and summer of 1976, representatives of the Meskhetian people went to Tbilisi, capital of the Georgian SSR, to request from current officials permission for their people to resettle in their homelands. They also demanded that the education of their children include study of Meskhetian history and culture.

Their demands were denied by the officials, and the delegates were detained from several hours by the police on "suspicion of speculating in carpets."

The *Chronicle* continues to report persecution of religious groups. The quality of life under repressive bureaucratic rule fails to meet either the physical or the intellectual needs of the people, and as a result, the religious movements continue to grow.

Individuals actively involved in a religious group, particularly in what is officially referred to as "a religious cult," i.e., an unregistered religious current, are regularly arrested, put in psychiatric prison-hospitals, or if they are parents, deprived of their children. Such persecution is often answered by protests from the victim's religious and nonreligious friends. The following example of persecution, described in this *Chronicle*, provides an idea of the absurd extremes to which the bureaucracy will go to suppress unapproved religious thought.

Petr Zimens, a Baptist, was arrested May 2, 1975, in the Kazakhstan Republic after a religious meeting was dispersed by the police. He was sentenced to a three-year term in a labor camp for "influencing minors" with religious ideas and keeping anti-Soviet literature. "In particular," the *Chronicle* states, "the experts discovered anti-Soviet statements in the Bible."

The religious protests tend often to be an expression of generalized opposition to the stagnant, prefabricated culture and the Russification policies. The movement in Lithuania is a case in point. The Catholic Church, as one of the better-organized non-government, non-party institutions, has tended to become a center of protest activities. Just beneath the surface of protests against the repression of church activity, and fueling these protests, is the massive opposition among Lithuanians to Russian domination. This opposition often finds direct expression:

November 28, 1975, in Vilnius, after a football game in which the local team "Zhalgiris" won, a crowd of 2,000 went twice around the stadium and headed toward the center of town, chanting "Zhal-gi-ris" and singing Lithuanian songs. Going along the main street, the demonstration encircled the quarter where the KGB building was located. The demonstration was dispersed

with the assistance of troops that were called in. Several demonstrators were arrested.

While the Stalinist rulers' practice of confining human-rights activists in psychiatric hospitals has received publicity abroad, the use of the same practice against ordinary citizens who temporarily step out of line is less publicized. Here is one case reported by the *Chronicle*:

Moiseev Veniamin Mikhailovich is a teacher from central Russia, around fifty years old. In 1966, he went to the regional party committee seeking an apartment. Receiving a rude refusal, he lost his temper and said exactly what his opinion was of the party and party workers. After that, Moiseev was charged under Article 190-1 [anti-Soviet fabrications discrediting the Soviet system]. A panel of psychiatric experts found him not responsible for his actions. Moiseev has spent nine years in a special psychiatric hospital. During this time, he has nearly lost his sight.

Defiance of bureaucratic power also takes place among small groups of youths who simply aspire to independent avenues for cultural expression. During the 1960s, the state-sponsored cultural productions had their unofficial counterpart— independently staged productions, in which a group of writers, singers, and musicians in Moscow performed. In 1967, they formed an amateur song club.

Branches of the club emerged in institutes, schools, and other institutions, and the club had gatherings of several thousands. Participants in the club were victimized—interrogated by the security police, fired from jobs, expelled from institutes, or kicked out of the Young Communist League. In 1973, apparently resigned to the existence of the club despite attempts to repress it, the government "legalized" it, and it began to function under the aegis of the Young Communist League, being administered by its own council. A dispute arose among council members in 1975 and one of the members, V. Abramkin, resigned. In the fall of 1975, he was questioned by police and accused of trying to disrupt the Young Communist League and carry on antisocial attacks on official institutions.

Following the disputes within the club's council, "mini-rallies" began to occur, attracting part of the club's members. Several groupings decided to have regular independent "mini-rallies" that would be held on non-working days and would be called "Sundays."

Before the first "Sunday," scheduled for May 1, 1976, was held, Abramkin was questioned by the KGB and again accused of "antisocial" behavior. He was threatened with criminal charges and told the "Sunday" must not take place. But it did, and several dozen people attended the gathering in a forest near Moscow, where fragments of Campanelli's "City of the Sun," Korolenko's letters to Lunacharsky, and speeches of Prosecutor Krylenko were

read and songs of dissident songwriter Galich were sung.

Afterward, during May, a number of people were called in for interrogation as authorities sought grounds for suppression of participants on anti-Soviet or religious charges. Nevertheless, on May 23 and June 20 two more "Sundays" were held, drawing around 200 people. At the June 20 "Sunday," a communiqué on "Sundays" was read, which the *Chronicle* summarizes:

"Sundays were conceived for informal and independent creative contact," and are not intended to interfere or compete with Young Communist League functions.

"In view of the fact that Sundays have already been labeled 'anti-Soviet demonstrations' and 'antisocial gatherings,'" the *Chronicle* summary continues, "it is necessary to state that Sunday meetings do not have a political character, and in no way violate the laws, or interfere with the work of official organizations."

Sundays are not an organization and have no leaders. Anyone can take part who wishes to and no one is responsible for what other participants do or say. Accordingly, the communiqué concludes, "any efforts aimed at stopping Sundays . . . can only be viewed as illegal persecution."

The concert began at noon and continued until 6 p.m. without KGB interference.

Bulldozing homes to force evictions, confining people in psychiatric hospital prisons, and imposing three-year prison terms for possession of a book—such actions of course have nothing in common with socialism. But they are necessary procedures for the Stalinist bureaucracy if it is to maintain its privileges and control.

A *Chronicle of Current Events* and the other samizdat literature, reporting both the larger events of well-known dissidents in Moscow as well as the activities of individuals and groups far from Moscow and in the non-Russian republics, play an important role in exposing the bureaucracy's crimes. In doing so, these documents assist the defenders of socialist democracy, both within the USSR and abroad. □

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Capitalism Fouls Things Up



French Victims Say: Ban World's Noisiest Plane

Residents of the area surrounding Charles de Gaulle Airport near Paris have called on the New York Port Authority to uphold its ban on the Concorde.

In a letter to the Port Authority, the Residents Committee of the Roissy-Charles de Gaulle Area called the supersonic jet "the noisiest airplane in the world" and said the authority should "set an example" by excluding the aircraft.

The letter continued: "You must know that, contrary to the statements of British Airways and Air France, the four daily flights by Concorde will cause a considerable increase in noise in the New York area. . . .

"Here, the five weekly supersonic flights have been painfully experienced over the past two years by the inhabitants of a 25-kilometer area around the airport northwest of Paris."

The committee takes in twenty smaller associations with a membership of several thousand persons.

D'Estaing Fears U.S. Courts Will Refuse to OK Concorde

A decision on whether the French-British supersonic transport (SST) will eventually be allowed to land at New York's Kennedy International Airport was postponed March 14, the day before a court hearing was to open. Airline attorneys asked for the postponement upon the insistence of the French government.

The American press speculated that the delay was sought by French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing to prevent adverse court action that could affect his

party's chances in the municipal runoff elections on March 20.

A final decision by the Port Authority itself had been postponed earlier, primarily on the ground that French and British engineers had come up with new proposals for alleviating some of the noise pollution caused by the plane.

These involved restricting takeoffs to two runways that have the least noise impact on surrounding communities, and reducing weight of the cargo. The French experts claimed that with the runway change, the aircraft would pass over only one inhabited area. The weight reduction would "result in noise levels . . . of the [same] magnitude as those produced by many long-range subsonic aircraft."

All this may just be part of an effort to actually get the Concorde into New York, on however restricted a basis. Weight reduction could not be permanent, since the plane must carry a maximum number of passengers to be at all profitable. And merely changing runways is no solution to the noise problem.

According to a study reported in the January 11, 1976, *London Observer*, the Concorde's actual "noise footprint" covers an area *forty-one times* that of conventional aircraft. The area in which the Concorde produces enough noise to drown out normal conversation extends *fifty-six miles*. (This is a sound level of ninety decibels. The decibel scale is logarithmic—for each increase of ten decibels, the perceived level of sound doubles.)

When flights began at Dulles airport near Washington, D.C., last spring, noise on takeoff was measured at levels as high as 129 decibels. Lower recordings were

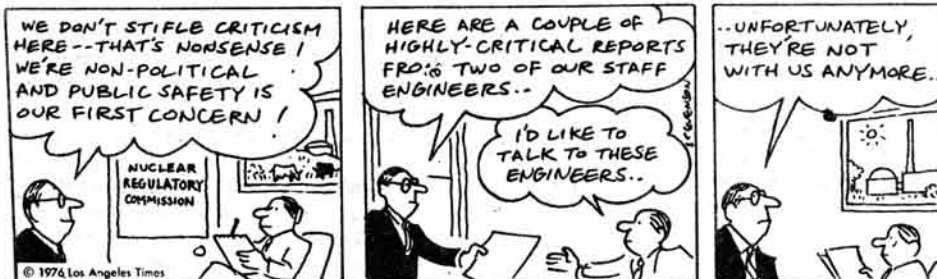
registered only when Concorde pilots began turning the aircraft sharply upon takeoff to avoid passing directly over the noise meters. Even so, Dulles takeoffs regularly exceed the 112-decibel maximum required by the New York Port Authority at Kennedy airport. They also violate the 105-decibel limitation adopted by Fairfax County, Virginia. (County authorities have been convinced by the Federal Aviation Administration not to enforce this law.)

If supersonic flight is expanded, the persons living near major airports will of course be the most directly affected. This involves between 6 and 20 million persons in the United States alone. In recent years this part of the population has been speaking up for its rights and has been able to win a few gains. Lawsuits against airport authorities have been filed totaling \$900 million. Limitations on night flights have been imposed in a few cities, such as San Diego. But noise standards set by Washington in 1969 are still exceeded by 80 percent of the American commercial airline fleet.

Charles Elkins of the Environmental Protection Agency has said: "I think the debate over the Concorde was just a tiny piece of the overall aviation noise problem. We've been working on the problem for years and I think it's going to explode. People are not going to wait much longer for the federal government."

Least inclined to "wait for the federal government" have been the residents of the communities that border Kennedy airport on Long Island. When Concorde flights into Kennedy looked imminent last spring, the opposition to more noise was expressed in direct action. On two consecutive Sundays motorcades of 500 to 1,500 automobiles filled with SST opponents converged on Kennedy, tying up traffic at the airport for several hours. Shortly afterwards, the Port Authority imposed its temporary ban on the Concorde. Fear that such actions could be repeated on a more sustained and massive scale is a major factor keeping the Port Authority from lifting this ban. As the *New York Daily News* reported March 9, "in the communities near the airport . . . the opposition is solid and is growing more militant. . . ."

Although the noise produced by Con-



Stevenson/Los Angeles Times

corde takeoffs has been the main issue in recent opposition to SST flights, potentially even more dangerous is the damage the high-flying planes do to the earth's thin layer of ozone, an upper-atmosphere gas that shields living organisms from the sun's ultraviolet radiation. A study by the National Academy of Sciences has shown that the introduction of 500 SSTs into regular commercial use "would trim the ozone layer by 15% a year, leading to 125,000 more U.S. cases of skin cancer a year and 1,800 more deaths" (*Wall Street Journal*, February 4, 1976). In approving sixteen months of trial Concorde flights last year, then-Secretary of Transportation William Coleman admitted that these alone might result in 200 new skin cancer cases, but it's "difficult to balance the danger of nonfatal skin cancer against the benefits of supersonic flight."

The Concordes also contribute substantially more to ground-level air pollution than do conventional aircraft: five times more nitrogen oxides, twelve times more carbon monoxide, and seventeen times more hydrocarbons, according to the same study.

On March 17, six years after all work on an American supersonic transport was halted by Congress, the House of Representatives voted \$15 million for "preliminary research" into such a plane. Supporters claimed this was only to maintain "technology readiness" in case an "environmentally acceptable" SST ever became possible.

Protests Stall U.S. Nuclear Plants

Efforts to speed up the construction of nuclear power plants in the United States are "doomed to failure," the General Accounting Office has concluded.

Because of "growing public opposition," among other factors, the GAO said in a recent report to Congress, it now takes utility companies ten or more years to complete the planning, licensing, and construction of nuclear plants.

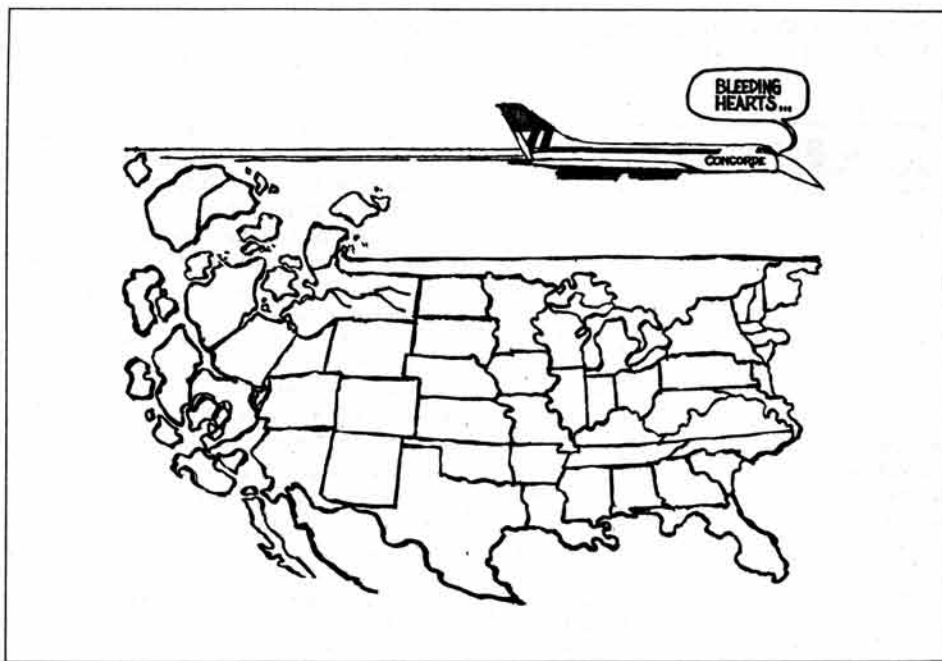
According to an account of the report in the March 15 *Christian Science Monitor*, the federal government is trying to reduce the delay to six years.

Vermont Says 'No' to Nuclear Power

The effort to halt the development of unsafe nuclear power plants in the United States took a step forward on March 1. On that day, persons attending "town meetings" in thirty-one communities in the state of Vermont voted to oppose the transportation of nuclear materials, the construction of nuclear plants, and the storage or disposal of nuclear wastes within the borders of their towns.

Thirty-seven towns in all voted on the proposals, and only one voted in favor of nuclear development. Five others postponed action.

Although the town-meeting votes are not



Peters/Dayton Daily News

binding, they are indicative of the growing antinuclear sentiment in the United States.

Vermont citizens no doubt have had second thoughts about nuclear power through their experience with the Vermont Yankee atomic plant, located in the southern part of the state. It has been shut down more than a dozen times by malfunctions, and last July an accident there dumped 83,000 gallons of liquid waste containing radioactive tritium into the Connecticut River. Also, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has been considering using Vermont's abandoned marble and granite mines as national storage areas for atomic wastes.

In anticipation of the town meetings, the Vermont Yankee Nuclear Power Corporation doubled its public-relations budget earlier this year. After the votes, Herman Bleustein of the Vermont Public Interest Research Group, the consumer organization that built support for the proposals, said: "We call on Vermont Yankee to end its expensive public-relations campaign. . . . They should use the money to prevent radiation releases into the environment."

The town of Brattleboro votes on March 19. Since all shipments to and from Vermont Yankee pass through Brattleboro, the plant could be isolated if that town adopted laws against transportation of nuclear materials.

West German Atom Plant Blocked

Construction of a nuclear power plant at Wyhl, West Germany, was delayed March 14 when the Administrative Court in Freiburg ruled favorably on a suit filed by citizens' groups. Wyhl has been the scene

of numerous demonstrations against nuclear power, including one of 20,000 in February 1975. That action was followed by an occupation of the construction site lasting several months.

The judges said the reactor's design lacked safeguards protecting against possible rupture of the pressure vessel—the part of the plant where nuclear reactions take place at very high temperatures. Since all eleven atomic plants currently under construction in West Germany follow basically the same design, the decision could effectively halt all nuclear power development in the country. Work on the other plants is going ahead, however, and the Baden-Württemberg state government is appealing the decision.

Brown Ice, Iridescent Beaches

Now that the winter ice on the Hudson River has begun to melt, the 420,000 gallons of No. 6 fuel oil spilled by the barge *Ethel M* on February 4 have begun to move downstream into New York Harbor. (For a full report on this spill, see *Intercontinental Press*, February 21, p. 178.)

Efforts at cleaning up the oil have been notably unsuccessful. The Coast Guard would "probably not pick up more than 10 percent" of the oil, according to Richard T. Dewling, an Environmental Protection Agency official.

Dewling added that it was "highly probable" the oil would reach Jones Beach and the Rockaways (popular New York recreation areas) "in a couple of weeks or a couple of months," but only in "nuisance" quantities. Coast Guard patrols are already reporting a "light iridescence" off Coney Island and brown ice in Gravesend Bay.

Selections From the Left

Socialist Action

Published twice monthly in Wellington, New Zealand.

In the March 11 issue Hugh Fyson reports that immigration authorities are continuing the campaign to drive out workers who emigrated from Pacific islands to New Zealand seeking jobs:

"The government claims that there are still 2,000 'overstayers' who have not registered, nearly all of them Pacific Islanders. There is no basis for this estimate in official figures; immigration authorities confess that they do not know how many people here have overstayed their entry permits. The reason for the government throwing around such a high figure is to lend credibility to their continuing campaign to harass and intimidate Pacific Island workers. . . .

"Nobody can be blamed for not registering, because there is a high chance the registrant will not be allowed to stay in the country. Of the first register of 4,647, about half were told to get out. . . .

"The Socialist Action candidate for Mangere, Brigid Mulrennan, believes that all Islanders in New Zealand, whether registered or unregistered, legal or illegal immigrants, have a right to stay. The register is just a way to cut down the numbers of Island workers because of the economic recession, she says.

"I stand for a total amnesty for all 'overstayers' and open immigration from the Pacific to New Zealand," she said in a February 17 statement."

the mole

Paper of the Revolutionary Marxist Group, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. Published twice monthly in Toronto.

In face of the Canadian government's vitriolic attack on Québec's right to decide its own future, leaders of the labor movement in English Canada have either caved in or remained silent.

"In taking these positions," the editors point out in the February 25 issue, "Labour leaders are calling on English Canadian workers to put 'national unity ahead of their own interests and ahead of their Québécois brothers' and sisters' struggles against national and social oppression. Such positions divide the working class. At best, they prepare the way for passive acceptance of future government intervention in Québec. At worst, they provide a fertile breeding ground for reactionary,

chauvinist vermin whose main objective is to crush Québec once and for all.

"This danger can only be countered effectively if it is met head on. Militants and socialists in the unions and NDP [New Democratic party, Canada's labor party] must begin to take up and fight the positions of labour leaders—explaining the legitimate character of Québécois demands and the need for English Canadian labour to express its unconditional support for Québec's right to self-determination, up to, and including, national independence. . . .

"We can begin now by initiating discussion on Québec in unions and the NDP, proposing motions calling for labour movement action against further threats to Québec's right to self-determination and denouncing the threats which have already been made.

"We can demand that union and NDP leaders do the same."

revolución socialista

"Socialist Revolution," organ of the Socialist Bloc. Published weekly in Bogotá, Colombia.

A call for a united front to fight the López Michelsen government's escalating attacks against the working class is featured in the February 24 issue. The call was issued jointly by the Socialist Bloc, Communist Workers League, Spartacists, Camilist Commandos, Communist Organization (Rupture), and Socialist People's National Alliance. It says, in part:

"The extremely serious economic and social problems we face have been deepened by the ruling classes, who show with greater clarity every day that they cannot satisfy the aspirations of the working masses.

"In the last year, inflation reached the unprecedented figure of 27 percent, while salaries remained frozen or, in the best of cases, rose barely 15 percent. This meant increasing hunger in people's homes and more profits in the businessmen's pockets. Official sources themselves report almost one million workers unemployed and another million with only occasional employment and subhuman wages. . . .

"Meanwhile, we hear daily about how well things are going in banking and the stock market, about the millions of coffee exporters are raking in. . . .

"To carry out their plans, the bosses and the government are cutting back trade-union and democratic rights by a series of arbitrary acts and increasing military repression. Right now the state of siege is the key tool the regime wants to use to advance its plans against the masses and to contain the protest from the workers

and the people. Under its cover, the government is instituting exceptional measures that authorize firings and arrests. These include the security decrees relating to persons suspected of political involvement and those turning the courts over to the police.

"The army occupies cities. Universities and factories have been placed under military control, as happened in Barranca. In the countryside there is a reign of murderous terror. A recent example is the killing of Josué Cavanzo, the president of the municipal council, in Cimitarra."

The call urges united action by all groups willing to fight to roll back López Michelsen's offensive.

HNH

"Nedeljne Informativene Novine" (The Week's News), published in Belgrade by "Politika" enterprise.

In a special box, the February 20 issue published comments by the head of the Spanish mission in Belgrade, Germano de Casa Riduara, on the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The diplomat appeared well prepared for a mission to a state marked by a "cult of the personality" by training under Franco, whose official title was "The Leader."

"I am happy that Yugoslavia is one of the first socialist countries with which we have established diplomatic relations. There are many things our two Mediterranean countries have in common. . . .

"Riduara expressed special admiration for President Tito, who, he said, is 'one of the world's greatest defenders of peace and peaceful coexistence, a great man from whom all the peoples of the world can learn.'"

RED WEEKLY

The paper of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.

The lead article in the March 10 issue condemns efforts by Britain's Labour party government to break the month-old strike for higher pay by 3,000 toolroom workers at British Leyland's Cowley auto manufacturing complex. Some 30,000 other Leyland workers are honoring picket lines, thereby crippling production and threatening to undermine government wage restraints.

The Callaghan government's response, the paper says, can best be characterized as "blackmail":

"Whether it comes from the National Enterprise Board, the Labour Government or trade union leaders, the message to the toolmakers is the same: 'Get back to work or we will throw the lot of you on the dole queue.'

"Some still have to look twice to make sure it is a 'Labour' government which is spearheading the campaign; to check that it is one time 'left' union leader Hugh Scanlon who joins in waving the big stick of unemployment at the Leyland workers.

"But it is a Labour government, it is Hugh Scanlon. Looking at the history of the last couple of years, it is not really surprising. For the threat of unemployment is only possible because Labour has created a situation of mass unemployment, which makes all workers have genuine fears of spending a long time on the dole."

Labour government Industry Minister Eric Varley blames Leyland's ailing financial situation on auto workers' low productivity. Not so, answers *Red Weekly* in an accompanying article:

"Productivity at Leyland last year increased by 11 per cent, nearly four times the UK average for car output. . . . This was despite the decline in spending power Leyland workers, as with workers elsewhere, suffered under Phase 2 of incomes policy."

In fact, says the article, a 1975 government report pinpoints Leyland's reluctance to replace outdated machinery as responsible for the company's dwindling share of the market: ". . . since British Leyland was formed in 1968 nearly all the profits were distributed as dividends instead of being retained to finance new capital investment."

labor Challenge

Fortnightly newspaper published in Toronto, Canada.

In the March 14 issue Tom Baker and Art Young describe Canada's second annual Prairie Socialist Conference, co-sponsored this year by the Revolutionary Marxist Group, the Young Socialists, and the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

Baker and Young report that 153 persons from a dozen cities attended the February 26-27 conference held in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

"The gathering was one of the most important meetings of socialists in recent years. It afforded socialists and activists on the Prairies a chance to overcome the huge distances that separate them, to exchange information about what they are doing, to discuss how they can aid each other, and to review strategy.

"At the same time, the conference marked an important step forward in the collaboration between the sponsoring organizations. . . .

"The LSA/LSO and the RMG have begun working more closely together,

aiming through a process of collaboration and political discussion to achieve a principled fusion of the two groups.

"The success of the conference certainly showed the enormous advantages the groups gain from working together."

The final session—"Québec After the PQ [Parti Québécois] Victory"—was the high point of the conference, Bev Bernardo writes in an accompanying article.

It "launched the tour of two Québec socialists—Suzanne Chabot, managing editor of *Libération* and a leader of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière; and Jean-Paul Pelletier, a leader of the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire. They will speak in six English-Canadian cities.

"The responsibility of socialists in English Canada to defend the right of Québec to self-determination was a recurrent theme of this key discussion."

DIRECT ACTION

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

The March 3 issue reports a partial victory in the campaign to win political asylum in Australia for Malaysian student leader Hishammuddin Rais. Tasma Ockenden writes:

"On Friday, February 25, a magistrate in the small Victorian Western Districts town of Casterton dismissed four minor criminal charges laid against Rais by Victorian police on January 17. . . .

"The summons served on Rais on January 17 relates to incidents which allegedly occurred *three months previously* outside Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's property, Nareen, during a demonstration against Lee Kuan Yew, the dictator of Singapore. These incidents were seen as another method to discredit Rais, once the attempts to deport him on the spurious grounds of an allegedly expired visa had failed.

"If the Australian Government could paint Rais as a 'criminal,' his claim for asylum would be undermined and deportation could proceed."

Defense attorneys brought out that the incidents at the demonstration actually resulted from an unprovoked police attack. The dismissal of a charge against Rais for wearing a mask during the protest was especially significant.

"Rais made a statement to the court explaining that he was wearing a mask as a Malaysian student leader wanted by his home Government under the Internal Security Act. He had been attempting to avoid detection by Malaysian and Singaporean security police spying in this country in order to protect both himself and his family's welfare back home."

The court agreed with Rais, thereby lending weight to his claim that political asylum is warranted.

Sixty supporters of Rais picketed outside the Casterton courthouse during the trial. Simultaneous demonstrations drew nearly 300 persons in Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane.

claridad

"Clarity," the paper reflecting the views of the Puerto Rican Socialist party. Published weekly in Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico.

In the March 11-17 issue, the editors state their position on human rights in response to a challenge issued to *Claridad* by attorney Bennie Frankie Cerezo on Puerto Rican television:

"*Claridad* backs without any reservations the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and believes its cardinal principles should prevail and be completely respected on all parts of the planet. Independent of the social system or political regime of each country, there are certain principles of respect to human dignity and personal freedoms whose violation cannot be tolerated.

"We maintain that to achieve full human rights, it is necessary to extinguish every form of exploitation, and this can only be accomplished through socialism. We are aware that even if socialism is essential to advance full freedom, this does not mean that there have not been flagrant injustices and violations of the most elemental rights of man committed in the name of socialism. We condemn those crimes with much more vehemence than anyone else, precisely because the sacred cause of socialism has been invoked to try to justify them. For those reasons, for us, the repressive inheritance of Stalinism in the Soviet Union will never be an example to emulate but rather a grave error which we hope Puerto Rican socialism will never fall into."

The editors go on to explain that "however liberal and democratic a capitalist regime might be, it cannot overcome its essentially oppressive nature." Under socialism things are precisely the opposite: "No matter how tyrannical a given socialist regime might have been, it will always end up opening the way toward full liberation. . . .

"For that reason we distinguish with complete clarity between what may be unjustifiable violations of human rights in any socialist country and the inalienable right of the workers who have reached power in those countries to fully exercise their class dictatorship so as to prevent the old exploiters from returning to power. Moreover, it has not escaped our notice that in the case of the so-called Soviet dissidents, there are more artificial cases fabricated by the intelligence systems of the imperialist countries than there are cases that truly reflect violations of the human rights of true citizens of that country."

AROUND THE WORLD



Storm of Protest Over Murder of Jumblatt

Tens of thousands of mourners thronged the March 17 funeral of slain Lebanese leftist leader Kamal Jumblatt while a twenty-four-hour general strike led by his followers was observed in the Moslem half of Beirut. Jumblatt, fifty-nine, was assassinated March 16 by four unidentified gunmen near his village of Mukhtara.

During Lebanon's civil war Jumblatt headed the National Movement—a coalition of eleven leftist and Muslim parties that allied with the Palestinians against right-wing Maronite Christian militias and the Syrian army.

After hearing the news of the assassination, Beirut residents began stocking up on food.

New York Times correspondent Ihsan Hijazi reported that 4,000 Syrian soldiers had been sent to the mountain area near Jumblatt's village following reports of increasing violence. Right-wing sources claimed that within hours sixty-six Christians had been killed in retribution for Jumblatt's death.

In Cairo, Yasir Arafat brought word of the murder to a meeting of the Palestine National Council. Arafat told the gathering: "An era of assassination has begun. They were not able to kill the Palestinian revolution and National Movement. So now they are trying to kill their symbols.



JUMBLATT: Ambushed in mountains.

But this will not weaken us."

Both left- and right-wing political leaders have condemned the assassination as a provocation aimed at undermining the Lebanese cease-fire.

Executions Reported in China

More than two dozen persons have been executed for offenses that included political crimes in Shanghai and Canton, according to an Agence France-Presse dispatch from Peking. The report said travelers from Shanghai saw court notices posted in the streets announcing 53 people had been sentenced for various crimes and "counterrevolutionary" activities—twenty-six of them to death. Travelers from Canton said three persons there were executed for espionage.

Mass Murder in East Timor

Atrocities committed by Indonesian troops during the invasion of East Timor in December 1975 make the My Lai massacre "look like a gentlemen's picnic," according to Australian diplomat James Dunn, who conducted a lengthy investigation. A report of his findings was published in the February 1 issue of the *London Times*.

In interviews with refugees from the former Portuguese colony, Dunn was told of mass executions, torture, looting, and rape. Chinese living in Timor seemed a special target for Indonesian soldiers.

Dunn estimated that about 500 Chinese civilians died on the first day of fighting alone. Within a year, he said, about half the country's Chinese population, or 7,000 persons, had been butchered.

In some cases, Dunn found that Timorese acting as bearers for Indonesian troops had witnessed mass killings. One such incident occurred in June 1976, when Indonesian troops shot down an estimated 2,000 refugees.

Fullest documentation is available on the massacre that took place in the Timorese capital of Dili the day after it was occupied. After an Indonesian paratrooper was killed by a sniper, troops rounded up a group of civilians and marched them to the wharf.

There, they were lined up and shot one-by-one while a second group of civilians was made to count as each body fell in the harbor. The counting stopped when the total reached fifty-nine.

Dunn conducted his research on behalf of church and private aid agencies while on leave from government service. A spokesman for the Indonesian embassy in London told the *Times* that relations between Australia and Indonesia were very good, and that Dunn was "differing from the views of his Government" on East Timor.

Student Protests in Santo Domingo

United Press International reported March 10 that a "rising wave" of student struggles was shaking the Dominican Republic. According to UPI, students in Santo Domingo are demanding the government of Joaquín Balaguer raise the monthly subsidy paid to students at the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo, which has an enrollment of more than 33,000.

After police took over a secondary school, students went into the streets and the Federación de Estudiantes Dominicanos (FED—Dominican Students Federation) threatened a student strike. Clashes between police and students on March 8 resulted in twenty-five arrests and left eight wounded.

While the strike was called off after police abandoned the occupation of the secondary school, students said the demonstration showed "the decision of the students to make themselves heard." More actions would be called, they said, if the government maintained an "intransigent attitude."

Balaguer responded by appointing a "high level" commission to study the subsidy question.

The March of Science

A survey of 500 British households has revealed a strong correlation between happiness and the possession of material goods. According to a report in the February 3 *London Times*, the study found that modern "luxuries" like central heating, comfortable bedding, and color television were important to a sense of well-being.

Italian Officials Charged in Lockheed Bribe Case

The Italian Parliament voted March 10 to lift the immunity of two former defense

ministers and send them to trial on charges involving bribes from Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. Under Italian law, government ministers and former ministers are immune to prosecution unless Parliament approves a trial.

The two, Luigi Gui and Mario Tanassi, will be tried by a special tribunal chosen by the Parliament. Both men strongly deny any guilt.

From 1968 to 1970 Italian officials negotiated with Lockheed for the purchase of fourteen C-130 transports for the Italian Air Force. Lockheed reportedly paid \$2 million in bribes to secure the deal.

A United States Senate committee also suggested an unnamed former prime minister was involved in the bribe scandal, but the Italian Parliament confined its indictments to the defense ministers and nine other nonpolitical figures.

West German Government Caught in New Bugging Case

Only one day after the West German government officially cleared Dr. Klaus Traube, a nuclear engineer whose house was bugged in an alleged hunt for "terrorists," fresh revelations of illegal electronic surveillance came to light.

Local authorities in Stuttgart admitted March 17 that in early 1975 they secretly monitored conversations between three members of the so-called Baader-Meinhof gang and their lawyers. The local police said they received "technical help" from federal agencies.

Attorneys for the three have withdrawn from the trial and demanded a ruling of mistrial or acquittal for their clients.

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is especially compromised by the new revelations. Last year he publicly rejected conservative demands to permit electronic surveillance of lawyers in "terrorist" cases. Now it is clear that local West German security agencies did it anyway—with approval from Bonn.

Carvalho Faces Army Trial

A March 16 communiqué from Lisbon said thirty-two military officers will be tried by a disciplinary council of the armed forces. Included is Maj. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, who ran in last year's presidential elections.

The thirty-two are accused of abuses of power, illegal arrests, and breaking down military discipline. Several held key posts in the Armed Forces Movement until the abortive ultraleft coup attempt in November 1975.

Factory Workers Demand Release of Argentine PST Activist

One hundred fifty workers at the Super-Tap plant in Chivilcoy, Argentina, have called for the release of Carlos Genaro Boggan, a co-worker and member of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores

(Socialist Workers party). Boggan was arrested March 27, 1976, and charged with "possession of Marxist-Leninist materials."

The protesters circulated a petition, which was signed by the overwhelming majority of the plant's workers and later submitted to Minister of the Interior Gen. Albano Harguindeguy.

AFL-CIO Cites 'Patriotism' in Backing B-1 Bomber

The AFL-CIO Executive Council has voted to endorse full funding for the \$26.1 billion B-1 strategic bomber program over the next ten years. The vote by the labor organization's thirty-five-member leadership body occurred February 27 in Bal Harbour, Florida, where AFL-CIO tops are wintering.

Although the statement was portrayed as the unanimous position of the executive committee, the United Press International reported that several bureaucrats, led by Communications Workers President Glenn Watts, wanted the council to wait until President Carter had stated his position on the bomber project.

The council maintained that it was moved more by patriotism than economics. After all, a representative said, the \$26 billion for the project would create just as many, if not more, jobs if spent in other areas.

Sex Discrimination Under Attack in Japanese Public Schools

Japanese women have formed an organization to campaign for an end to compulsory sex segregation in that country's public schools, according to a March 2 Reuters dispatch from Tokyo.

The Association to Promote Domestic Science Classes for Boys and Girls is preparing to challenge the traditional education policy of training boys for a career and girls for the home.

At present, girls are sent off for classes in cooking and sewing for a minimum of four hours each week while boys learn carpentry, electronics, and body-building. By 1980, according to a recent Ministry of Education proposal, elementary education is to be completely segregated by sex.

Foes of such reactionary practices are gaining support. A recent poll of 5,000 Japanese women revealed that less than 50 percent still agreed with the notion that girls must be educated to be gentle and boys to be strong. This represented a drop of more than 30 percent from a similar survey taken four years ago.

Carter Gives Makarios Clean Bill of Health

The White House has sent out another apology to a political leader named in news reports as receiving CIA funds.



Dunagin/New York Daily News

"World leaders are outraged over the millions of dollars paid to King Hussein . . . they all want a raise."

According to an official announcement released in Nicosia, Cyprus, March 16, President Carter has apologized to Archbishop Makarios for "groundless assertions" that the Cypriot president had been on the CIA payroll.

The statement quoted Carter as saying: "As you know, I have no control over the news media in my country and cannot prevent groundless assertions. I wish to assure you of my high personal esteem for you and the people of Cyprus and I trust that these stories, which you have so effectively dismissed, will not affect the friendship we value with you."

Similar letters of apology were previously sent to former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt and President Carlos Andrés Pérez of Venezuela.

Thai Junta to Charge 143 Students With 'Rioting'

Five months after Thai police and troops massacred more than 100 students at Thammasat University in Bangkok, the military junta has announced that it will place charges against 143 students. In an effort to shift the blame for the October 6 massacre to the students themselves, Col. Prachakra Bunnag said March 8 that the students would be charged with rioting and various other offenses. He declared that seventy-four of them would also be charged with "Communist activism."

The regime claims that of the several thousand students arrested during and after the massacre, all but 110 have been released on bail. Colonel Prachakra said that the 143 students facing charges included the 110 still in custody, plus thirty-three others who have allegedly jumped bail. The police refused to release the names of those still in jail.

FROM OUR READERS

"After a day of successful activities furthering the gains and impact of the women's liberation struggle," writes K.J.M. of Seattle, Washington, "finding the current IP in my mailbox was like having a good friend come over for an evening's discussion."

"500 people marching through downtown Seattle protesting infringements on abortion rights, a program and good speaker, a large picket of a 'Right to Life' event in Tacoma and the IP for Sunday reading—these things make one glad to be a Trotskyist!"

M.S., Houston, Texas, sends this note with his change of address:

"Thank you. I enjoy the magazine very much. Coverage of the dissident movement in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union is particularly interesting."

"My wife and I recently received a sample copy of your publication," writes R.S.H. of Geneva, New York, "and were more than pleased with its excellent coverage on national and worldwide involvement in the Struggle. We are somewhat new to various areas in the Movement and view your magazine as very informative and needed by all who want to see past the ruling-class journals."

"This brings me to a problem concerning myself and I believe others also. I do realize the cost of IP must be very high, but being on a limited income and raising children leaves little for much else. Those of us who would like to receive IP regularly are not able to do so, at least not myself. . . . I guess until I am called back to work, my subscription will have to wait."

"Putting all that aside you are still to be congratulated on your fine coverage. Keep up the good work. I really hope we will be able to return to IP sometime in the future so that we can keep an eye on things with the rest of you."

M.A.P., Fort Hood, Texas, sent the

following note with \$1 for a copy of our December 27 issue:

"I enjoy reading your very informative newspaper. I'm a former school teacher from the state of New Mexico. I was fired from two teaching positions because of my belief. We all must continue to be strong in our never compromising ways."

"I haven't received the extra copy of issue No. 46 of December 6 that I ordered on December 12," writes G.A.C. of Washington, D.C.

"What reminded me was seeing my letter in the issue of January 24 ['From Our Readers' column]. A new comrade noticed it, which means that a lot of your readers read every word in the IP."

"You all are doing a good job. Les Evans's analyses of the China scene are so interesting and looked forward to that I had to write my appreciation to him last weekend."

S.M. of Long Beach, California, adds this note after giving us a change of address:

"Also—my compliments to Chef Copain for the tasty drawings she/he serves us with each week. Energy and pattern accompany just enough suggestion of mood to make every individual distinct. Much thanks."

The following letter was received from D.F. of Washington, D.C.:

"I was confused by a sentence in the news analysis on CIA payoffs to King Hussein that appeared in the February 28 issue. It said, 'Hussein first received money in 1957, the same year the U.S. Sixth Fleet rushed to his aid to help him survive a coup attempt.'"

"The U.S. Sixth Fleet is generally based in the Mediterranean, while Jordan's only port is Aqaba, on the Gulf of Aqaba. Is it possible that the article was referring to the U.S. intervention in Lebanon in 1958, when the Sixth Fleet landed 14,000 Marines? British paratroopers were used to prop up Hussein in that crisis. As far as I

know, U.S. forces have never intervened directly in Jordan, although plans for a joint U.S.-Israeli operation were set in motion during the September 1970 civil war."

D.F.'s geography is correct, but the reference in the article was to Eisenhower's action in April 1957, ordering the Sixth Fleet to sail from the waters of southern France to the eastern Mediterranean. Though American ground forces were never landed in Jordan, the strategic stationing of the Sixth Fleet was a crucial factor in assuring Hussein's survival.

A front-page article in the May 6, 1957, *Militant* reported: "Under cover of the atomic-armed U.S. Sixth Fleet . . . Hussein is conducting a purge of all opposition to the puppet government. . . ."

The article continued, "It [Hussein's government] remains in power, all agree, only because U.S. finances and the threat of Sixth Fleet intervention are supporting Hussein's army, in its brutal suppression of the population. . . ."

The postal service continues to deteriorate. Fresh evidence is piling up as shown by the following letters:

D.B. of Union Grove, Wisconsin, writes: "Toward the end of my last subscription I received your newspaper 4 weeks late and was very distraught."

"Please tell me if you can reassure me of a current timely issue if I pay the 1st class rate."

R.R. of Houston, Texas reports that he has not received any of his IPs for two months and asks us to "find out where the problem lies—with you or the infamous U.S. Postal Service. . . . I have been receiving the IP two or three weeks late but two months late arouses suspicion in my mind."

P.H., Atlanta, Georgia, says that "late in October problems started again until by mid-NOV. I had been missing it constantly. I realize I'm writing late about this problem, but something has to be done. Two months with no IP is unbearable!!!"

The *Wizard of Id* cartoon tells about an even longer delay. □

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