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CARTER: Demonstrates his skill at old shell game.

What Carter Gained in the Moscow Conference

**Protests Demand: 'U.S. Out
of Southern Africa!'**

**Castro and Podgorny
Tour Africa**

**7,000 in Italy Say 'No'
to Nuclear Power**

**Workers Mobilizations
Erupt in Colombia**

**Troops Occupy University
in Santo Domingo**

**Sri Lanka—Interview With
Bala Tampoe**

Special Feature

The Foreign Economic Role in South Africa

What Carter Gained at the Moscow Conference

By Joseph Hansen

The breakdown of the March 28-30 "arms limitation" conference between Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance and General Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev has been described in terms ranging from a "setback" to a "disaster" for the cause of peace—or at least for the Carter administration.

The assessment is based on the assumption that Carter is genuinely trying to reduce the stockpiles of nuclear weapons on both sides, in this way lowering the chances for a holocaust that could end civilization if not all of humanity. This assumption is flawed, to say the least.

Vance laid two options on the table:

1. Accept "deep cuts" in the level of intercontinental nuclear delivery systems. This proposal amounted to a unilateral revision of the agreement reached by former President Ford and Brezhnev at Vladivostok in 1974. It would give the Pentagon a virtually free hand to push the development of the Cruise missile, a pilotless bomber that can carry nuclear weapons.

2. Or continue the Vladivostok agreement, but defer the question of limiting the Cruise missile and the Backfire bomber, a Soviet intermediate-range weapon which the Pentagon claims is "intercontinental," since it could reach the United States if the trip were one way.

Carter's proposals were given such great advance publicity in the United States that Murrey Marder of the *Washington Post* was able to calculate in advance (March 26) the cuts Vance would propose in Moscow: "... a 25 per cent reduction, or [a level of] about 1,800 strategic weapons on a side."

Marder noted that a cut to 1,800 "would mean reducing existing Soviet forces by 740, but cutting U.S. forces only 328."

He also observed that "what preoccupies Soviet leaders is the great U.S. advantage in existing multiple warheads. The United States has more than a 2-to-1 edge, with 8,500 strategic bombs and missile warheads to hit Soviet targets, compared with 4,000 Soviet bombs or missile warheads."

In view of this and other considerations, Marder said, "... U.S. officials anticipate a prickly exchange in Moscow over the goals set by President Carter."

A few criticisms have been voiced by some of the Washington pundits over Carter's tactics:

1. His public stand on "human rights," which was openly directed against the Soviet government as if in anticipation of

the conference, infuriated Brezhnev.

2. Carter's "open diplomacy" likewise made Soviet officials hot under the collar. Accustomed only to the dark channels of secret diplomacy, they cannot stand the light of day.

3. The critics claim that no tip-off was given to the Soviet embassy in Washington and that the Kremlin tops knew only what was reported by the wire services. Carter thus seemed to be telling them to sign on the dotted line, without studying the contract. To demonstrate a modicum of independence, Brezhnev had no choice but to say, "Nyet."

According to these friendly critics, the mistakes were merely tactical, stemming from Carter's naïveté in the tricky business of dealing with Moscow.

If we consider the gains Carter made at Moscow, a different picture emerges. First of all, his immediate response to Brezhnev's "nyet" should be noted. In a press conference March 30, Carter said:

Obviously, if we feel at the conclusion of next month's discussions that the Soviets are not acting in good faith with us, and that an agreement is unlikely, then I would be forced to consider a much more deep commitment to the development and deployment of additional weapons.

At the conference Carter ostensibly went all-out for "deep cuts" in nuclear stockpiles. The outcome was just the opposite—he gained an excuse to step up the arms race, which he at once converted into a new threat. Working the old shell game, Carter proved again that the hand is faster than the eye.

Secretary of Defense Harold Brown followed up at a breakfast meeting with reporters April 1:

Asked about the increased costs if the President should decide the Russians were not negotiating in good faith and ordered a speed-up in the development of American strategic weapons systems, he said:

"If there were no arms agreements, it would go up \$4 billion a year."

The present spending on strategic arms is \$10 billion, a total that already is scheduled to increase by \$2 billion annually for the next few years.

Officials explained that Mr. Brown was talking in terms of another \$2 billion annual increase if no agreement could be reached with the Soviet Union.

Carter's tough reaction to Brezhnev's "nyet" brought the right-wingers, the hawks, the Pentagon's partisans, and other riffraff to their feet in wild applause.

Carter had proved himself to be *their* president!

Thus Carter achieved what was undoubtedly one of his main objectives. The reactionary columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, who have been picturing the new president as a disaster, put it this way in their April 2 column, "... President Carter is now solidly entrenched with both congressional conservatives and the Pentagon, without any shaving of his liberal Democratic base. . . . Carter appears to have emerged from the Moscow debacle reinforced politically on all sides."

James Reston, writing in the April 3 *New York Times*, said that Carter has now "consolidated his political power at home":

In the short run, it was good politics but dubious diplomacy. By his defense of human rights, Mr. Carter reassured his liberal supporters, and by his open proposal of a freeze on new weapons, and a major cutback in old weapons, he reassured his conservative critics.

Another gain scored by Carter was the reinforcement of his image as a straightforward, guileless man of the people. The head of the world's most powerful and most rapacious imperialist power is for "open diplomacy." No less!

Brezhnev retired to his corner with a black eye and not a word to say. He had only himself to blame, of course, for sticking to a practice introduced by Stalin in imitation of the imperialists.

It was the opposite in the days of Lenin and Trotsky. They opened up the Tsar's files and published the secret treaties they found there. In foreign affairs they conducted negotiations in public, a prime example being the negotiations with the Germans at Brest Litovsk when Trotsky headed the Russian delegation.

To conduct everything in the open was highly embarrassing to the capitalist governments; but it was one of the practices that won great popularity for the Bolsheviks among the masses of the world.

How does Carter's maneuver affect overall relations between the United States and the Soviet Union? The leaks from the chancelleries indicate that the general opinion in those circles is that not much will change in substance. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim of the United Nations said April 2 in Vienna that there was no prospect of another cold war even if the relationship between the two countries had cooled.

The Kremlin certainly wants to continue the "détente." This can be judged by Gromyko's remarks at a press conference March 31. The Soviet foreign minister sought to counteract the publicity gains made by Carter, using language that was described as "harsh" in the Western press. As yet, only excerpts from the speech are available in New York, but these are sufficient to indicate that Gromyko was anything but harsh. It would be more accurate to say he was tearful:

We stand for an agreement that would curb the

arms race and remove the threat of nuclear war.

One cannot talk about stability when a new leadership arrives and crosses out all that has been achieved before. We would like to see our relations more stable, and we would like them to be founded on the principles of peaceful coexistence, and even better—that they should be friendly.

That was straight from the heart of this Stalinist bureaucrat whose most ardent desire is to make a favorable impression on the new man in the White House. Here is more of the same:

It was suggested that we would eliminate half the Soviet missiles that are called in the U.S. "too heavy." What has changed since Vladivostok? What dictates such a revision of the accords reached earlier? Nothing. The Vladivostok accords still constitute a good basis for concluding a new agreement to limit strategic arms.

Gromyko said that a version was being widely circulated in the West alleging that Vance had proposed a "broad disarmament program" that the Soviet leadership had rejected. The version, he said, is "basically false." "Nobody proposed such a program to us."

He included the following hint:

The results of talks with the U.S. Secretary of State indicate a substantial difference between the positions held by the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., but this does not mean that there are insurmountable obstacles.

Gromyko even made a mild effort at panicking Carter:

In the light of the latest American proposals, we have the right to raise the question of liquidating [American strategic bases in Europe and other areas], atomic submarines, bombers and other vehicles capable of carrying nuclear arms. This is required by our security interests.

Gromyko would have done better to make two simple counterproposals:

1. To conduct all further relations in the open, thus eliminating all secret diplomacy between the two governments.

2. To begin destroying *all* nuclear weapons, no matter who has the "most." Joint commissions could be placed in charge to allay any suspicions, and other members of the nuclear club ought to be drawn into this work for the cause of peace.

Of course, no capitalist power has ever engaged in self-disarmament. But that is precisely the point. A genuine challenge would immediately expose the fraudulent nature of Carter's maneuver.

Another policy could be followed—preferably in combination with the first—namely, abandoning class collaborationism and advancing the proletarian revolution.

Again, the Soviet bureaucracy is incapable of making such a turn; for it would engender a political revolution at home.

Both the White House and the Kremlin stand in equal fear of revolutions anywhere on earth, a fact impelling them to form a counterrevolutionary bloc. That is the fundamental basis of the "détente" and the reason it will continue. □

In This Issue

Closing News Date: April 4, 1977

FEATURES	381	Castro and Podgorny Tour Africa —by Ernest Harsch
	396	<i>Out Now!</i> —Chapter 24: The Vietnam Moratorium—by Fred Halstead
SOUTHERN AFRICA	380	Protests Demand 'U.S. Out of Southern Africa'
	380	Antiparthoid Protests in New Zealand and Australia
	390	The Foreign Economic Role in South Africa —by Ernest Harsch
COLOMBIA	382	Workers Mobilizations Erupt —by Eduardo Medrano
ARGENTINA	383	Protests Condemn Military Rule
IRAN	384	Political Prisoners Reluctant to Talk —by Susan Wald
INDIA	385	Regime Promises More Democratic Rights
SRI LANKA	386	Toward a New Period of Struggle —Interview With Bala Tampoe
USA	389	Pentagon Debated Use of A-Bomb in Korean War
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	399	Troops Occupy University in Santo Domingo—by Alberto Rodriguez
ITALY	408	5,000 Women Protest at Milan Clinic
NEWS ANALYSIS	378	What Carter Gained at the Moscow Conference—by Joseph Hansen
SELECTIONS		
FROM THE LEFT	400	
AROUND THE WORLD	402	Carter Silent as Gen. Brown Speaks His Mind
CAPITALISM		
FOULS THINGS UP	404	7,000 Turn Out for Italy's First A-Plant Protest
DOCUMENTS	407	For Legalization of All Workers Parties in Spain!
	407	Israeli Trotskyists State Position on PLO
DRAWINGS	377	Jimmy Carter; 383, Jorge Rafael Videla; 385, Sanjay Gandhi; 403, Park Chung Hee —by Copain

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Protests Demand 'U.S. Out of Southern Africa!'



Eric Simpson/Militant

SAN FRANCISCO, March 19: Part of antiapartheid protest of nearly 1,000.

Picket lines, marches, and rallies took place in cities across the United States March 26 to demand "U.S. Out of Southern Africa!" and to show solidarity with the Black freedom struggles in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe.

In New York City, about 200 persons picketed the South African Airways offices, chanting, "Majority rule in southern Africa now! End U.S. complicity with apartheid." The picket line and rally were sponsored by the March 26 Coalition Against Apartheid. The featured speaker at the rally was Khotso Seatlholo, a former president of the Soweto Students Representative Council and a central leader of the Black student protests that began in South Africa in June 1976. "I'm happy to see people in the U.S. moving against the racist South African regime," Seatlholo told the demonstrators.

Other speakers at the rally included David Sibeko of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa); Forbes Karimakwenda, a representative of the African National Council of Zimbabwe; Robert Earl Jones, an actor and member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Elombe Brath of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition; and Robert Des Verney of the Socialist Workers party.

In Boston, 300 demonstrators marched through the city chanting, "No U.S. aid to apartheid!" At a rally in front of the

federal building, Tsietso Mashinini, another main leader of the Soweto student protests, told the crowd, "Make this the beginning of a movement to get your country out of my country."

Maceo Dixon, a leader of the Socialist Workers party, stated, "Zaire and Uganda are being used to whip up racist hysteria for U.S. intervention in Africa. We must say no. We must say Black majority rule

Demonstrations in New Zealand and Australia

About 1,000 persons marched through the streets of Wellington, New Zealand, March 18 under the slogan "Black Majority Rule—South Africa/Let the Blacks Decide."

The march was led by a sizable Polynesian and Asian contingent. Among the groups represented by banners were Fiji Students, Nga Tamatoa, New Zealand Seamens Union, and Young Socialists.

Joe Hawke, a leader of the Maori land struggle at Bastion Point, told the rally, "The Maori struggle, and that of the Black people in South Africa, is part of an international struggle taking place across the globe."

Some 400 persons took part in a march in Auckland, New Zealand, the same day. The marchers carried placards demanding, "Free All Political Prisoners in South

now. We must say U.S. hands off Zaire. U.S. out of South Africa."

Just before the marchers in Boston reached the rally site, a group of thirty white racists attempted to disrupt the demonstration and shouted, "Niggers go back to Africa! Leave South Africa alone!" The marchers chanted back, "No to racism from Boston to South Africa!"

Nearly 400 demonstrators turned out in Philadelphia for a protest called by the area chapters of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) and the March 26 Coalition Against Apartheid.

Rashida Abdul-Ahad, a leader of the March 26 Coalition, told the rally in front of city hall, "Today is just the beginning. We have to build a movement that can force the government out. Every demonstration has to be bigger and stronger to make that a reality."

Tony Austin, a national coordinator of NSCAR, said, "Be wary of the maneuvers of President Carter and Andrew Young. They're testing the waters in Zaire. So while we demand U.S. out of southern Africa, we must also demand that the U.S. keep out of Zaire."

More than 200 persons from southern Michigan and northern Ohio marched through downtown Detroit, carrying picket signs demanding, "No U.S. support to Vorster and Smith," "Down with racism," and "Free all political prisoners." The march culminated in a rally of more than 300 persons.

In Washington, D.C., more than 200

Africa," "End the Repression," and "Black Majority Rule."

In Sydney, Australia, about 100 persons rallied March 21 to commemorate the anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre in South Africa.

The demonstrators assembled at the South African Airways offices and heard speeches by Tom Uren, deputy leader of the Australian Labor party in Parliament, and Bob Pringle of the Builders Laborers Federation. They then marched to the main rally site at City Square, where they were addressed by representatives of the Australian Union of Students, the Miners Federation, and the No Ties With Apartheid Campaign.

The placards and slogans at the demonstration focused on demands for an end to apartheid and for a halt to all Australian support to the South African regime.

demonstrators rallied at Lafayette Park, across from the White House, to demand an end to U.S. aid to the South African regime.

About 250 persons marched and rallied in Chicago to commemorate the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, in which South African police gunned down sixty-nine Blacks, and to protest U.S. complicity with the racist regimes of southern Africa. Several days before the demonstration, Khotso Seatlholo addressed 800 students at a high school in Chicago, where he was cheered and applauded.

Other actions on March 26 took place in

Houston, Pittsburgh, Miami, St. Louis, San Diego, and New Orleans. On March 25, more than 100 persons participated in a picket line in Portland, and 400 turned out at Clark College in Atlanta to hear Tsietshi Mashinini.

On March 19, nearly 1,000 persons attended a rally in the largely Black Western Addition district of San Francisco. The featured speaker was Mashinini. Earlier in the week he also addressed 700 persons at a rally at the University of California at Berkeley, as well as a total of 700 students at three other San Francisco area campuses. □

Cuban Premier Greeted by Large Crowds

Podgorny and Castro Tour Africa

By Ernest Harsch

Soviet President Nikolai V. Podgorny arrived in Tanzania March 22 at the beginning of an official visit that took him to Zambia, Mozambique, and Somalia. Three weeks earlier Cuban President Fidel Castro began a tour that included Libya, Algeria, South Yemen, Somalia, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Mozambique, and Angola.

Podgorny was the first high Soviet official to visit southern Africa. When he arrived in the Tanzanian capital of Dar es Salaam, he was greeted by President Julius K. Nyerere and several hundred persons. In a March 23 dispatch, *New York Times* correspondent John Darnton noted that the reception for Podgorny was not as warm as that for Castro, who had visited Tanzania a few days earlier. "The crowds were thinner and seemingly less enthusiastic than for Mr. Castro, whose image as a rough-and-ready revolutionary standing up to the United States has an appeal to Tanzanians," Darnton said.

Since the 1960s, Peking has had close relations with the Nyerere regime, providing it with \$358 million in economic assistance and much of its military equipment. Chinese advisers also helped in the construction of the Tanzam railroad that runs from Zambia to the port of Dar es Salaam.

However, correspondent David B. Ottaway reported in the March 24 *Washington Post*, Moscow "has provided Tanzania with a partial missile defense system, advanced Mig aircraft and, just recently, some medium tanks. Indeed, it seems well on its way to displacing China as this country's major arms supplier."

Podgorny's trip to Zambia gave President Kenneth Kaunda an opportunity to

try to refurbish his nationalist image, eroded as a result of his collaboration with the hated apartheid regime in South Africa. Kaunda and Podgorny issued a joint communiqué March 29 calling for a transfer of power to the Black majority by the white regime ruling Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), an immediate South African withdrawal from Namibia, and an end to apartheid in South Africa.

At the same time, Podgorny endorsed the position of the regimes in Zambia, Angola, Tanzania, Mozambique, and Botswana of giving official support to the Patriotic Front, an alliance of only two of the four main Zimbabwean nationalist currents. A communiqué released during his visit to Tanzania stated that the formation of the Patriotic Front, led by Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, was "an important step in the liberation struggle and the unification of the national and patriotic forces of Zimbabwe."

Zimbabwean nationalist leader Ndabaingi Sithole denounced the Soviet recognition of the Patriotic Front, warning that a civil war could break out between the nationalist groups.

Podgorny also stopped his tour in Mozambique, where on March 31 he signed a friendship treaty with the regime of Samora Machel. Machel and Podgorny addressed a rally reported to have drawn 10,000 persons.

During his tour, Podgorny sought to reassure Washington that Moscow's diplomatic moves in Africa were being carried out within the détente and in the interests of "peaceful coexistence." On March 23 he said that the Kremlin favored the "lessening of international tension" and the

"elimination of hotbeds of conflict."

After southern Africa, one of the most explosive regions on the continent is the Horn of Africa, which includes Ethiopia, Somalia, and the French colony of Djibouti. Podgorny visited Somalia, and Castro visited both Somalia and Ethiopia.

The Somalian regime, which has received substantial military aid from Moscow, arranged a reception of 20,000 persons for Castro March 13.

The next day Castro flew to the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa, where he was met by head of state Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam. In contrast to Somalia and other stops on his tour, Castro attended no mass receptions in Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian military junta, which claims to be "socialist," has in recent months escalated its attacks against leftist opponents, reportedly gunning down scores of students and other activists. It is also engaged in a war against the Eritrean independence struggle, as well as against guerrilla units in several provinces.

On March 14, Castro told Mengistu and other Ethiopian officials, "We consider it to be a revolutionary duty to draw closer to you, to get to know you and to let you know of our feelings and solidarity and our readiness to cooperate with the Ethiopian Revolution. With you, we feel that we are among friends and revolutionaries." (Quoted in *Granma*, March 27.)

The junta apparently hopes to obtain Cuban aid. In an interview published in the March 27 weekly English-language edition of *Granma*, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist party, Mengistu said: "The Ethiopian Revolution will learn much from Cuba's experiences and we are convinced that, with the support of the government and people of that country, we will be able to defeat our enemies."

After Ethiopia, Castro went to Tanzania, Mozambique, and Angola, where he was greeted by crowds reportedly numbering in the thousands.

While in Tanzania, Castro declared March 21 that "not a single Cuban" was involved in the reported military intervention in Zaïre's mineral-rich Shaba Province. "We have nothing to do with it and have not equipped nor trained the forces which are fighting the ruling clique in Zaïre," he said.

The next day he also denied that Havana was intending to send troops to fight with the Zimbabwean, Namibian, or South African freedom fighters. "It is not Cuba's intention to send soldiers to free any part of southern Africa," he said. "Independence is never delivered from abroad, the people concerned must fight for their independence."

Graham Hovey reported in the March 23 *New York Times* that the Carter administration was watching the Podgorny and Castro tours with "concern." □

Workers Mobilizations Erupt in Colombia

By Eduardo Medrano

[The following article appeared in the April 4 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a fortnightly newsmagazine published in New York. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

BOGOTÁ—As office employees were leaving work at five in the afternoon on February 17, they found that Route 7—the main road through the center of the city—was closed to traffic for the length of fifteen blocks. Instead of the usual streams of cars and buses, a demonstration of solidarity with the petroleum workers and against the high cost of living was beginning to inundate the streets. The lengthy march was headed by a column from the CSTC,¹ the union federation controlled by the Communist party and the second in importance of the four that exist in Colombia.

Some 12,000 persons marched in all. A few days before, on February 4, a demonstration with the same purpose had taken place along the same route. That time about 8,000 persons participated. On each occasion thousands of police were posted on both sides of the road, but they didn't dare attack any of the columns.

The López Michelsen government found itself obliged to grant permission to those who asked to hold these demonstrations and others in various cities of the country. Only in Barranquilla, where the Maoist groups opposed asking the governor for a permit ("We can't utilize the channels of bourgeois democracy to mobilize the workers," they said) was the demonstration repressed by the Fuerza Disponible.² In other places where this approach was rejected the demonstrations were successful.

These marches reflect what is happening among the workers of Colombia.

The López Michelsen government is trying to unload the burden of the economic crisis on them. The cost of living rose 43 percent last year, and in February this year alone it went up 4.5 percent, despite statements by Finance Minister Abdón Espinosa Valderrama that the government is winning the fight against inflation. Mass firings in both the private and state

sectors are becoming more and more frequent. Cutbacks in government spending for education and health have been scandalous. Universities such as Distrital de Bogotá and public hospitals like La Hortúa are totally in ruin.

Nineteen seventy-seven is the year in which most labor contracts expire. Many struggles have begun.

In response to the workers' challenge, the regime is seeking to maintain the state of siege,³ impose a wage freeze, and destroy the most combative unions. One of its most odious and frequently used methods is to classify a particular section of workers as "public employees." This automatically means these workers can't sign contracts or go on strike, although they still have the right to organize a union. If they strike, it is declared illegal and mass firings are authorized.

The regime has struck such a blow at many strikes recently—Vanytex, Gaseosas Colombianas, and the physicians association. The latter—thanks to the militant solidarity of other unions—was not defeated.

Under these conditions, the unions run the risk of being wiped out. It is to just this end that the bosses and the government are devoting their energy. For example, the minister of education reclassified the teachers with a stroke of the pen—all he had to do was draw up a new "educational statute." FECODE⁴ has initiated a struggle against this measure. As a result, the teachers were among the participants in the demonstration on the seventeenth. Now they must struggle not only to be paid on time and in defense of their wages, but also for the very right to organize!

However, the most threatening government attack at the present time is directed at another sector, the workers of the ECOPETROL⁵ petrochemical complex.

3. Although Colombia is formally a bourgeois democracy, the government has often resorted to the imposition of a state of siege to deal with workers' struggles. The most recent one was imposed October 7. (See *Intercontinental Press*, March 29, 1976, p. 490, and November 1, 1976, p. 1568.)—IP

4. FECODE—Federación Colombiana de Educadores (Colombian Federation of Educators).—IP

5. ECOPETROL—Empresa Colombiana de Petróleos (Colombian Petroleum Enterprise), the semistate entity that controls the nationalized oil extraction and refining sector.—IP

There the workers are organized in a strong union with a long and glorious tradition of struggle, the Unión Sindical Obrera (USO—General Workers Union). It is perhaps the most important union in the country, because of the place it occupies in the productive process, the degree of unity in its ranks, and the militancy of its members. It has thus been able to resist the assaults of the government and the national and imperialist bosses.

The USO's most recent contract expired this year. When the union presented its new demands, the company simultaneously presented a counteroffer, with terms that would mean the loss of all the most important gains the USO has won up to the present time. If ECOPETROL succeeds in carrying out its intentions, the workers will be declared "public employees," the conquests of their union will be eliminated, and they will be conceded only a laughable wage increase of 18 percent, which the government has recommended be imposed in all sectors.

But the ECOPETROL workers organized themselves even better in order to fight a new battle in defense of their interests. They demanded the opening of negotiations and the withdrawal of the company's counterproposal. They began to organize section committees and to call on all other workers for solidarity.

The Colombian workers know that if the regime defeats the USO's movement, López Michelsen will gain the upper hand against the working class on a national scale. If the USO is defeated the government will be able to impose its policy of an "integral salary"⁶ on other sectors of workers more easily. And the regime will be able to declare the physicians and teachers "public employees" without any more obstacles.

In this situation all sectors of the bourgeoisie unleashed a vigorous campaign of defamation against the movement of the USO and the teachers. ECOPETROL refused to withdraw its offer on the grounds that accepting the demands of the USO would bankrupt the company. But this is a vicious lie: In the last report to the board of directors, Villarreal, the manager of ECOPETROL,

6. The regime's "integral salary" consists of a cut in social spending sanctioned by law and a cut in the benefits workers have won contractually, all in exchange for a "substantial" salary that in the long run will be converted into nothing more than a mountain of paper without purchasing power.—E.M.

1. CSTC—Confederación Sindical de Trabajadores de Colombia (General Trade-Union Confederation of Workers of Colombia).—IP

2. The regime's "antiriot" police.—IP

proclaimed the "excellent financial situation of the company."

The government sent the army to the vicinity of the plants in Barranca and El Centro, and denounced supposed "communist infiltration" in the conflict. All this did was to alert the other sectors in struggle about how the regime would react to each particular conflict. Now other unions that currently face contract negotiations are actively showing their solidarity with the oil workers.

Besides the 1,500 teachers who marched on February 17, there were the members of SINTRATELECOM and SINTRAVAL, and workers from state sectors such as the Colombian Institute of Social Security, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Justice, the national highways department, the health workers, and so on.

The National Association of Small Peasants also formed a contingent. A large number of university students were present, as well as residents of the eastern neighborhoods, who constantly face the threat of eviction by the authorities of the smaller suburbs. Also displaying placards were the unions of bank employees. And, of course, the left political organizations made their presence known with their own contingents. Among these were the Communist party, the Movimiento Obrero Independiente y Revolucionario, and the Unión Revolucionaria Socialista.⁸ The Trotskyists were represented by the Bloque Socialista and by a joint contingent of Espartaco, Comandos Camilistas, and the Liga Obrera Comunista.⁹

With some variations in the slogans, everyone was against the state of siege, the wage freeze, and the mass firings, and in solidarity with FECODE and the USO.

Demonstrations with similar composition and with the same aims were reported in Medellín, Cali, Pasto, and Bucaramanga.

At no time in the past two years had it been possible to organize solidarity on such a large scale. These efforts to constitute working-class united fronts are showing the workers the strength they can have

7. SINTRATELECOM—Sindicato de Trabajadores de Telecom (Union of Telecommunications Workers), SINTRAVAL—Sindicato de Trabajadores de Avianca (Union of Aviation Workers).—IP

8. Independent Revolutionary Workers Movement, a Maoist organization; Revolutionary Socialist Union, a recently formed right-centrist grouping.—IP

9. The Bloque Socialista (Socialist Bloc) is a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. Espartaco (Spartacus) is the Colombian section of the Fourth International. The Comandos Camilistas (Camilist Commandos) and the Liga Obrera Comunista (Communist Workers League) are also sympathizing organizations, and are in the process of fusing with Espartaco.—IP

and the changes they can bring about if they are mobilized by the thousands.

The proof is the immediate results these demonstrations have had. A few days after the demonstrations, López Michelsen sent a conciliatory letter to the USO asking for more "flexibility" on the part of both sides. He met in his office with the union leaders,

proposing formulas for settlement. Three days later, ECOPEPETROL withdrew its counteroffer and the proposals of the USO gained ground. Nevertheless, the workers remain prepared for a struggle. They are ready to strike if a tribunal of binding arbitration convened by the Ministry of Labor is not dissolved. □

Protests Condemn Military Rule in Argentina



VIDELA

More than 100 prominent individuals signed a statement, published in the March 27-28 issue of *Le Monde*, calling for an end to political repression in Argentina.

Condemning the military junta that seized power one year ago, the signers demanded:

- "An immediate halt to the kidnappings, torture, and murder.
- "The immediate publication of a complete list of the political prisoners and their release.
- "The return of the trade unions to the workers; the restoration of the right to strike and other trade-union rights.
- "The restoration of constitutional rights, including the right of option (the right of untried prisoners to leave the country).
- "The resumption of functioning of the democratic institutions and of activity of all political parties, without exception."

Among the signers were Nobel Prize winner Laurent Schwartz, Simone de Beauvoir, Italian CP head Enrico Berlinguer, Spanish Popular Socialist party head Enrique Tierno Galván, Spanish singer and composer Joan Manuel Serrat, Swedish Royal Academy member Gunnar

Myrdal, Lord Brockway of the British Labour party, Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget, and Israeli civil libertarians Felicia Langer and Israel Shahak.

Four days earlier Amnesty International had announced that the Argentine junta was holding between 5,000 and 6,000 political prisoners, and that torture and summary executions were still common occurrences under the military dictatorship. The Amnesty report also said that "between 2,000 and 5,000 people have disappeared without trace" since the March 1976 coup.

Earlier in March, protests had focused on specific cases of Videla's repression.

A meeting of women was held in Paris to demand the release of Luisa Segura, a member of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party), and other women prisoners in Argentina. At the rally, organized by the Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU—United Socialist party), an open letter to Videla was circulated and signed by 140 of those present.

In Argentina itself, two actions were reported in protest of the February 1977 disappearance of Oscar Smith, the leader of the Light and Power Workers Union in Buenos Aires.

On March 7 leaflets appeared at the gates of electric plants in Buenos Aires. They had a picture of Smith on them, along with statements such as "Your union demands your release," and "They kidnapped him because he found solutions."

Four days later in downtown Buenos Aires a demonstration by Light and Power Workers demanding Smith's release was broken up by the federal police.

The March 11 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* reported a petition demanding freedom for Hipólito Solari Yrigoyen, a former member of parliament in Argentina who was arrested more than six months ago. The petition was signed by former Argentine President Arturo Illia and Radical Civic Union head Ricardo Balbín, along with ten other prominent Argentines.

The February 16, 1977, arrests of Dr. Daniel Divinski and Ana María Miler, the owners of the Argentine publishing house Ediciones de la Flor, have been protested by twenty-seven Italian publishers, including Bompiani, Feltrinelli, Mondadori, Einaudi, and Rizzoli. □

Iranian Political Prisoners Reluctant to Talk

By Susan Wald

International protest over violations of human rights and the torture of political prisoners in Iran is an increasing source of discomfort to the dictatorial regime of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi.

The regime's concern was reflected in an interview given by Queen Farah of Iran to a Canadian television network. The interview was published in the March 3 issue of the Tehran semiofficial daily *Etela'at*.

Asked to comment on reports in the world press of severe repression in Iran, the queen said she thought that the regime's previous policy of ignoring such criticism and denying the existence of political prisoners had been a mistake. "This problem," she said, "started out as nothing and then it snowballed, getting bigger and bigger until it turned into a mountain."

The queen said she thought that the criticism could be deflected by inviting foreign reporters to inspect Iranian prisons. "This is exactly what we should have done from the very beginning," she added.

As part of the shah's attempt to polish up the image of his regime, Yvon Toussaint, a reporter for the Belgian daily *Le Soir*, visited Iran in February and was allowed to interview eight political prisoners whose names had been furnished by Amnesty International. Toussaint's account of his visit was published in the newspaper's issues of February 18 and 19.

This is not the first time that foreign reporters have been allowed inside the shah's jails. However, the fact that Toussaint was permitted to engage in long discussions with prisoners who had been singled out by Amnesty International marked a change in the regime's attitude toward such visits.

Toussaint was told by Amir Abbas Hoveyda, the Iranian premier, that he was only the first of several foreign journalists "concerned with these problems" who were expected to visit Tehran.

The interviews were conducted at the Evin prison north of Tehran, a prison run by the SAVAK, the Iranian secret police. Several SAVAK agents were present during the interviews.

Among the prisoners seen by Toussaint were several whose cases have been widely publicized by Amnesty International and the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, a U.S.-based organization dedicated to publicizing the plight of Iranian prisoners.

Two of the prisoners, Narmin Baraheni



Le Soir

NARMIN BARAHENI

and Mahmoud Dowlat-Abadi, were released early in March.

Narmin Baraheni, twenty-two, was a medical student at the University of Azarabadegan at the time of her arrest in January 1976. She is the niece of the poet and literary critic Reza Baraheni, a former political prisoner and outspoken opponent of the shah who left Iran in 1974.

Question. Why were you arrested?

Narmin Baraheni. Because I was researching some material for leaflets to hand out in the street. I was home alone in Tabriz. The SAVAK and some policemen surrounded my house, and I was arrested. A search warrant was issued, but nothing was found.

Q. Where were you taken?

NB. First they interrogated me on the spot, quickly. Then I was taken to Tehran, to the Comité prison. . . .

Q. How did the interrogation go?

NB. Very quickly. My friends, who had been arrested along with me, had confessed.

Q. Did you undergo any harsh treatment? Were you tortured?

NB. No.

Q. Not at all?

NB. No.

Q. You were tried how long after your arrest?

NB. Five months. I had a lawyer whom I had chosen myself, because I knew him. I confessed. I was sentenced to seven years in prison.

Q. Where are you being held now?

NB. They took me immediately to Qasr prison in Tehran, where I have been ever since. I was only brought here, to Evin, to meet you. . . .

Q. After you were sentenced, did you ever experience any harsh treatment?

NB. No, never.

Q. People in other countries have said that some of the prisoners are badly treated. Have you heard anything about this, as far as other people are concerned?

NB. No, never. . . .

Q. You have been accused of subversive activities, of belonging to a communist group, and you confessed. What do you think about all of this now?

NB. I wasn't actively involved in that kind of thing. It wasn't very important. I don't think much about it.

Mahmoud Dowlat-Abadi is one of the most widely read writers of the young generation in Iran. He was arrested and imprisoned by the SAVAK in 1975. At the time of the interview, he was scheduled to be released within a few days.

Mahmoud Dowlat-Abadi. I wrote books in accordance with the laws of my country. I put my manuscripts at the disposal of the authorities, who approved them for publication; they included plays, novels, and so on. And yet, after they were published, I was arrested. Later, at the trial, I was told that these books had a provocative side to them, and that they were being read by people whose ideas were contrary to Iranian society. I did not understand. I had no political ideas. I am a writer. My books were realistic, they described, in particular, the old relations between the peasants and the feudal landowners. I was sentenced to two years.

Q. Did you have a lawyer?

MD-A. Yes, a lawyer appointed by the military tribunal. . . .

Q. Have you, at any time, experienced abuse?

MD-A. No, never.

Q. Have you heard of people being mistreated?

MD-A. I have nothing to say about that. . . .

Three of the prisoners interviewed—Nasser Rahmani-Nejad, Mohsen Yalfani, and Saeed Soltanpour—are well-known Iranian theatrical personalities who were arrested in connection with an attempt to produce Maxim Gorky's *The Lower Depths* in Tehran.

Nasser Rahmani-Nejad, a playwright, director, and critic, was arrested in February 1975, tried in a military court, and sentenced to eleven years in prison.

Question. What were the charges against you?

Nasser Rahmani-Nejad. I was a theater director, and I was in charge of a group called the Iranian Theater Company. I was arrested because of my theatrical activities, and also

because of certain aspects of Iranian society today.

Q. You were accused of directing productions that had a political coloring?

MR-N. The plays that we intended to produce had been approved by the authorities, by a special commission. This was the case with Gorky's *The Lower Depths*. We were in rehearsal, but ten days before the opening we were all arrested.

Q. All?

MR-N. The members of the company, plus several of my friends.

Q. I assume you were accused of specific political activities.

MR-N. I have never been a Communist or a left-winger.

Q. After your arrest, you were interrogated by the security forces?

MR-N. I would like to discontinue the interview. I'm sorry.

Mohsen Yalfani, a director, translator, and critic, and a close friend of Rahmani-Nejad and Soltanpour, was sentenced in November 1975 on charges of "having taken part in communist activities." He told Toussaint: "Please do not ask me any questions. I do not wish to be interviewed."

Saeed Soltanpour, an actor, playwright, and poet, was recently tried in secret for his participation in the production of the Gorky play, and given a five-year term.

Question. Why were you arrested?

Saeed Soltanpour. For having written poems, which anyway were not published.

Q. What was there about your poems that the authorities didn't like?

SS. I can't talk about it. I have nothing more to say.

Another prisoner who declined to be interviewed was Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi. A former sociologist and researcher at the University of Tehran, she was arrested in July 1972 and sentenced to eight years in prison by a secret military court. The proceedings of her trial, the charges against her, and the facts of her arrest have never been made public by the Iranian government.

International concern had focused on Tabrizi in particular because of reports that she had been subjected to extremely severe torture. Recent reports had led to fears that she might have been murdered by the regime.

Tabrizi spoke to Toussaint in French. "I don't want to answer your questions. I don't believe in all of this!" she said, in the presence of several SAVAK agents.

Later, in her cell, in the company of other prisoners, Tabrizi thanked Toussaint for asking about her health, but said she did not want to be interviewed.

There were other indications that the prisoners were reluctant to talk about what they had experienced for fear of reprisals. Aziz Youssefi, aged fifty, who had spent the last twenty-five years in prison because of his membership in a Kurdish nationalist organization, said that he had been tortured at the time of his arrest. He

added that he did not expect to be released.

"In order to be freed, you have to ask for a pardon. I do not consider myself guilty, so I don't see why I should ask for a pardon."

Another prisoner, when asked if he had been tortured, addressed the reporter directly, in English: "Don't ask about past times."

Commenting on the interviews, Nemat Jazayeri, CAIFI national secretary and a staff member of CAIFI's national office in

New York City, said:

"It is obvious that under pressure from international public opinion the shah of Iran has been forced to open the doors of his jails to foreign reporters. This is something that he had refused to do in the past.

"This should serve as an impetus to further isolate the shah's government in the eyes of world public opinion, and force him to free all political prisoners." □

Forced Sterilization to Be Scrapped

Indian Regime Promises More Democratic Rights



SANJAY GANDHI: Former "crown prince" is under investigation for corruption.

In its first detailed policy statement, the new Indian regime of Prime Minister Morarji Desai promised March 28 to reverse many of the repressive measures instituted under Indira Gandhi's dictatorship.

"The most urgent task," acting President B.D. Jatti said in Parliament, "is to remove the remaining curbs on the fundamental freedoms and civil rights of the people, to restore the rule of law and the right of free expression to the press."

In face of mass sentiment for the return of those democratic rights abrogated under Gandhi's state of emergency, the regime has promised to repeal the Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matter Ordinance, to review "with a view to repealing" the draconian Maintenance of Internal Security Act, and to amend the constitution "to prevent the abuse of the power to declare emergency."

Much of the mass resentment against Gandhi that led to her downfall in the

by the forced sterilization program carried out under the emergency. Jatti, whose speech had been written by Desai, said that the regime would "pursue family planning vigorously" but "as a wholly voluntary program." He noted that the forced sterilization campaign had "caused a major setback to the program, which is vital for the welfare of the nation."

On April 1, Home Minister Charan Singh told Parliament that the regime would order investigations of corruption charges involving Gandhi, her son Sanjay, and Bansi Lal, the former defense minister. The charges involve the embezzlement of \$65,000 from the State Bank of India by former Gandhi aide H.M. Nagarwala, allegedly on Gandhi's behalf. An inquiry is also to be made into Sanjay Gandhi's automobile factory near New Delhi, which was allegedly built with the help of political favors from his mother and Bansi Lal.

At a news conference March 24, Desai indicated that his regime's foreign policy would involve a shift away from Gandhi's close relations with Moscow. Desai, who has expressed admiration for Washington in the past, said, "If the Indo-Soviet friendship treaty involves any want of friendship with others, then it will have to change." □

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Toward a New Period of Struggle in Sri Lanka

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

* * *

We are publishing below an interview with Bala Tampoe, general-secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU, originally a white-collar union which has since gained a base among other sectors of workers) and one of the leaders of the Revolutionary Marxist party (RMP), Ceylonese section of the Fourth International. In this interview, which was taken February 2, 1977, Comrade Tampoe draws the first lessons of the strikes that swept Sri Lanka between December 1976 and January 1977. The government crisis has worsened since then, and the situation is evolving rapidly. Faced with the danger that the Communist party and the opposition might make a motion of censure in parliament, Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike has suspended National Assembly sessions until May 19, three days before the parliament's term runs out. Concurrently, the cabinet decided to lift the state of emergency that has been in effect since March 16, 1971. The reemergence of about twenty publications banned since 1973 has also been authorized, and the universities, closed since November 1976, are to reopen on February 21. It was difficult for the government to maintain the state of emergency while suspending the parliament sessions which are supposed to ratify the extension of the emergency on a monthly basis.

But this combined resort to the carrot and the stick did not enable Bandaranaike to avert aggravation of the government crisis. The Communist party (pro-Moscow) has resigned from the government, in which it had been represented by its secretary-general, P. Keuneman. Five members of parliament and the minister of industry and scientific research, Subasinghe, have quit the ruling Sri Lanka Freedom party (SLFP). The government coalition formed with the elections of 1970 has thus ceased to exist. In fact, the departure of the CP had been preceded in September 1975 by the expulsion of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP—Ceylon Equal Society party, a party of Trotskyist origin which has since become reformist), so Bandaranaike's SLFP thus remains in the government alone. And this party itself seems to be suffering great internal tensions.

On February 25 Bandaranaike announced that the next legislative elections would be held in six months. The CP, even though it is now in the opposition, is putting forward a very moderate line. It defends its previous participation in the government in the name of solidarity against the right, declares that it is prepared to support any "progressive" measures the cabinet may take, and is issuing appeals to the "left" of the SLFP. The CP may participate, along with the forces that have split from the SLFP, in the "Socialist United Front" that has been called for by the LSSP.

The development of the situation during the month following the end of the December-January strike wave thus confirms that the masses were not beaten, despite the failure of the mobilization for their demands, and that the Bandaranaike cabinet is now on the defensive politically.

* * *

Question. Can you give us an overall view of the events of December 1976 and January 1977, of the context in which the transport strike took place?

Answer. The strikes started in mid-December, in a railway repair shop, and quickly turned into a general strike of all the main categories of workers in this industry. Rail transport was completely paralyzed from December 21-22 to January 13, that is, for about three weeks. (See *Inprecor*, No. 66, January 27, 1977.)¹

At first the strikes were essentially spontaneous. But for reasons relating to the structure of the Ceylonese workers movement, to which I will return later on, three parties were especially involved in the development of these strikes: the LSSP, the CP, and the UNP (United National party—the rightist bourgeois party—*Inprecor*). Each of these parties reacted differently to the confrontation that shaped up between the workers and the government after the strikers rejected the government's proposal for a compromise on their demand for bonuses of 500 rupees, which was the original demand of the strike. The LSSP decided to help in hardening up the strike in order to put pressure on the government, to weaken it by forcing the CP to quit. The CP tried to avert the broadening of the movement, but was forced to follow the stream while waiting for a more favorable moment to

impose a compromise. The UNP also played a double game and was forced to declare support for the workers in struggle.

In fact, discontent among the workers of the public sector had been building up for a long time. They had many unsatisfied demands, including wage problems and their demand for a sliding scale guaranteeing wage increases of 2.50 rupees for every one-point increase in the cost of living index (this measure was won in the private sector many years ago mainly thanks to the action of the CMU). In the private sector, as well as in some state companies to which the advantages of the private sector have been extended, bonuses are distributed at the end of the year on the basis of the profits made. In the absence of the sliding scale and these bonuses, most workers in the public sector suffer heavily from inflation, even though they can be considered relatively privileged compared to the rest of the working class in that they benefit from greater job security and various other advantages such as pensions, transport cards, and so on.

During the period when the LSSP was in the government the workers hoped their demands would be met essentially through the action of the LSSP and the CP. But this expectation was not fulfilled; there were only occasional and arbitrary wage increases.

The movement that started in December 1976 was thus the result of six or seven years during which inflation was developing. One of the major lessons of this strike, in fact, is the confirmation of the failure, from the standpoint of defending the interests of the workers, of the long period of government collaboration of the LSSP and CP. This return to class-struggle action was made possible by the expulsion of the LSSP from the government in September 1975. A year after this expulsion, the cumulative effect of the lack of satisfaction of the workers demands reached the breaking point.

The government responded by threatening repression. It brandished the Essential Services Order, which dates from March 1971. This law calls for the automatic layoff of all strikers, but it is not always applied. Generally it is simply brandished to prevent the outbreak of a strike or to make strikers go back to work. In this sense, the December-January strikes were illegal from the outset. But the depth of the mobilization made it difficult for the government to defeat it. On January 6 the government issued an ultimatum enjoining the workers to return to work. Not only

1. See also *Intercontinental Press*, January 17, 1977, p. 13.—IP

did the strikers refuse, but new sectors entered into struggle, among them the government clerical workers.

In addition to the railway workers (about 30,000 of whom were on strike), the government clerical workers (10,000), transport workers in the port of Colombo (5,000), Ceylon Transport Board workers (about 50,000), and many municipal employees (also about 50,000) were involved in the mobilization. Although the figure of 400,000 strikers advanced in the article published in *Inprecor* was a bit exaggerated, it is true that the strike mobilization was no less broad and militant.

It could have won, even without extending to new sectors. The determination of the workers was great; they showed that. Nevertheless, after a second ultimatum from the government and a hardening of the repression, the strike was stopped. At some point, around January 12, the workers began to understand that victory had passed out of their reach. They lacked effective leadership and were beginning to feel the disintegrating effects of this. This question of the leadership of the strike is essential in understanding the evolution of the battle and its ultimate failure.

Each of the parties controlling major unions in the sectors of striking public employees maneuvered in line with their own objectives. Clear slogans appropriate to a general strike were never raised. They thus left themselves open to government attacks denouncing the strikes as a political operation of the opposition. The participation of the CP in the strike despite its membership in the cabinet convinced the prime minister to hit hard. Felix Bandaranaike, assigned by the prime minister to deal with the strike, made it clear that the CP would have to choose between supporting the government and supporting the strike. And it was obvious that in practice the CP was primarily supporting the government. It was seeking to end the strike and gave the government all the necessary information about the real state of the movement in the workshops and within the leadership. Thanks to this, the government was able to immediately exploit any decline in morale, any division that cropped up.

The orientation of the LSSP and the CP even blocked the formation of a broad united front in defense of the strikers. A trade-union front in fact was constituted in many sectors, often dominated by the LSSP, with the participation of the unions of the CP and UNP. But they never tried to broaden this front to the CMU and other unions that play an essential role in the private sector and the plantations, which are grouped in the Trade Union Coordinating Committee (TUCC). The LSSP sought to draw the CMU into the struggle without making contact with it, without inviting it officially. For our part, we called for a meeting of the TUCC, of which the CMU is one of the motor forces.

Our proposal was to call for a token

general strike to respond to the government's threats. But the Maoist leader Sagnmugathan, a member of the TUCC, opposed this proposal, because, he said, the strike was political. In other words, he



BALA TAMPOE

took the same position as the government. He also believed that the strike was going to fail. The CMU finally decided to call a token general strike with those unions of the TUCC that agreed to express their solidarity with the workers in struggle. But the strike ended before this decision was implemented.

The disorientation of the movement due to the lack of effective leadership and the maneuvers of the apparatuses had already been felt, in fact. The extension of the strike to the bus drivers failed. On January 12, when the LSSP appealed to the Ceylon Federation of Labor, the major union under its control in the sector of nationalized companies, only one section in an important company went on strike: the union in the Ceylon Tobacco Company—and only for twenty-four hours at that. If the workers of this branch refused to move into action despite the directives of the LSSP and the UNP and the lip-service support of the CP, it was because they knew that the united front had not been realized and that the CMU was not in the movement.

Q. Why did the leadership of this strike fall into the hands of the LSSP, CP, and UNP? Can you go back to the point about

the structure of the union movement in Sri Lanka, especially in the public and nationalized sectors affected by the strike?

A. The centralized trade-union organization of the workers of this sector runs into particular difficulties. The workers in the nationalized sector, whatever category they belong to, do not have the legal right to organize in the same unions as the workers of the private sector. This is because of a reactionary law that was maintained by the government of the LSSP, CP, and SLFP, as it had been before by the UNP government. It also bans state employees in any particular sector, such as the railways, from uniting in the same organization. The trade-union movement has to be organized in category structures by profession, which means many unions, one for conductors, one for engineers, one for ticket-checkers, one for signalmen, for white-collar employees, and so on. In the course of this strike, thirty-three different railway unions coordinated their action.

It is thus very difficult for a trade-union current outside this sector to penetrate it. The LSSP's base here goes back thirty years, to 1947, when the first important strike of the employees of the public sector broke out. And in those days the LSSP was not what it is today. Besides, the workers of these sectors affiliate mainly to unions that are controlled by the government parties, as a guarantee. A guarantee that the RMP is far from providing. Right now, it is probable that the SLFP, LSSP, and, perhaps to a lesser extent, the CP equally share numerical influence within the public services (about 325,000 employees each). Given that there are also many small unions not officially controlled by any of these parties, it is difficult to make any precise estimate. But the rate of unionization in this sector is clearly very high.

I would say that in the public services the SLFP is the weakest (generally including workers of backward consciousness). The LSSP would be the strongest, and the CP second. But in the sector of nationalized companies the SLFP controls important organizations and is probably the strongest, while the LSSP and the CP, which seem to be about equal, come in second.

The three trade-union federations controlled by these parties thus include many members, but in a dispersed and not very efficient manner. This deep division of their own ranks prevents them from effectively coordinating a strike. The CMU, although much weaker numerically, is able to organize much greater centralized action. This is the lesson we try to draw for the working class. You need a union leadership that can really unify the workers in struggle and propose central slogans of struggle. I think that the results would have been very different if we had been leading the transport strike.

The UNP has considerable support in

the public sectors, because it was in the government for a long time. And also because many government employees are politically conservative. It thus controls a series of unions. They also exist in the nationalized sectors, but as far as I know, nowhere does the UNP represent a force in itself. In some places, though, its support to an initiative can be important for the development of a struggle.

In the private sector the TUCC is far ahead of the SLFP, LSSP, CP, and UNP in terms of action capacity, thanks to the presence of the big central plantation unions and the CMU. The main base of the CMU is in import-export, among the white-collar workers, the industrial workers, and in some nationalized companies such as the Port Cargo Corporation (dockers).

The TUCC was formed last year and became a reality of the union movement last November 16, when a meeting was held by the seven unions that compose it. Among these seven unions are the very important Ceylon Workers' Congress (main union of the plantation workers) and Ceylon Estate Staff Union (main united union of plantation employees). Also in the TUCC is the Ceylon Trade Union Federation, led by Maoists (not to be confused with the CFTU, which is pro-Moscow). This union is very weak right now, but its principal leader, Sagnmugathasan, remains a figure in the workers movement. (He was the secretary-general of the CP until 1963, when he split over the Sino-Soviet conflict).

There is thus a rather deep division between trade-union structure in the private sector and plantations on the one hand and in the public sector on the other. But my feeling is that after this strike, for the first time, a new leadership can emerge among the workers of the public and nationalized sector. The relative hegemony of the LSSP in particular is being challenged. It is the LSSP that had preponderant weight in the conduct of the strike, and the strike's failure is thus its failure. Based on thirty years experience the workers are in a position to realize that the leadership of the LSSP is bankrupt.

Q. What relation can you draw between the December-January strikes and the 1976 actions, the general strike in February and the student struggles of November?

A. In fact, it is important to keep the twenty-four-hour general strike that took place on February 20, 1976, in mind. (See *Inprecor*, No. 49, April 15, 1976.) This strike was organized against a government threat to lay off 2,000 striking workers. The initiatives of the CMU and the decision by the trade-union coordinating committee of the LSSP, SLFP, and CP (the Joint Committee of Trade Union Organisation) to call a token strike guaranteed the success of the action. This strike created a very important feeling of

confidence and solidarity within the working class—in all sectors, among them, and this is very important, the Ceylon Transport Board. It seemed as though not a single bus was rolling in the country on that day. All public transport was thus interrupted for the day, which helped a lot in spreading the general strike.

The success of this strike forms the background to the university struggles of late November 1976, which broke out after a student was shot down by the police. (See *Inprecor*, No. 64, December 9, 1976.)² This was the broadest student mobilization we have ever seen. Not only did all the universities go on strike, but the high-school students also moved, taking to the streets to demonstrate, painting slogans on the buses, and so on. The interuniversity student federation invited the major union federations to meet with it. That was also the first time an initiative like that had been taken. In the past, this student federation was essentially controlled by the CP, through the Ceylon Students Union, and the LSSP. These leaderships had always banned participation by the CMU in such discussions. But this time, after the united experience of the general strike and in face of the scope of student reaction to the murder of one of their own, they could not avert a common meeting. This took place on November 15, and I made a proposal for a token general strike and a general work stoppage (*hartal*), which is something more than a strike. It means that the students do not go to class, the shopkeepers shut down in protest, and so on. I proposed that the objective of this strike be to condemn police terror against the population. After discussion, we added condemnation of the state of emergency and the demand for its abrogation. There were thus two clear goals to the struggle. All the conditions existed for an even broader mobilization than the February 20 strike. In the meantime, in fact, the TUCC had been formed and on November 16 it held a meeting to demand the end of the state of emergency. This meeting had originally been planned for November 12, before the murder of the student. But holding it just after the police murder attracted the attention of the working class to this event.

My proposal for a general strike was considered during the November 15 meeting, and it was decided to reconsider it on November 18. On the 16th, however, without having mentioned it before, even during the November 15 meeting, the LSSP issued a separate call for a strike on the 19th. This conflicted with the organization of a real general strike. The strike of November 19 failed, which was very significant in regard to what was to happen later, in December and January. Only the LSSP and UNP unions went on

strike. The UNP had immediately affirmed its support to the strike call issued by the LSSP, understanding the interest it had in supporting an LSSP strike and averting a general strike. During this strike the LSSP was identified with the UNP. The CP newspaper denounced the strike as a conspiracy of these two parties against the government, thus contributing to creating confusion about the real intentions of the LSSP.

In my view it is this precedent that explains the failure of the call issued by the LSSP and the UNP, this time with the support of the CP, for the broadening of the strike. If a transport strike of the scope of the February 1976 strike had occurred then, I think the government would have been completely defeated and would not have survived this test. The LSSP thus paid a very heavy price for its conduct in November 1976. This is a very important point that has not been stressed enough. It must be added that we called for a general strike for November 26, 1976, and that the LSSP had to associate with it, formally at least, but it did nothing to assure its success.

Q. Can you explain the political implications of the latest events, since legislative elections are to take place soon?

A. It is clear that the opposition parties, directed by the UNP with the collaboration of the LSSP, are seeking to take advantage of this strike. During the strike they addressed the prime minister, supporting the demand for a loan of 500 rupees to be advanced to the workers. But the workers remember the measures taken by the UNP government during the strike of November 28, 1968, and the refusal to negotiate with the bank employees by N.M. Perera, LSSP leader, when he was minister of finance.

After the end of the strike, the government was still on the defensive. In fact, it had to deal with the combined effects of the strike, the attacks of the opposition parties, and the attacks of unions like the CMU and TUCC. Popular sentiment against the government had become very strong. From this standpoint, it is significant that the population had never manifested hostility to the strikers, in spite of the discomforts provoked by a prolonged interruption of public transport. It is this latent antigovernment hostility that the UNP and LSSP were counting on when they asserted their support to the struggle.

A series of repressive measures facilitated the defeat of the struggle: press censorship, the banning of meetings in the district of Colombo, dispersion of workers assemblies by the police, arrest of at least 100 workers under charges of inciting to strike in violation of the state of emergency. But because of these measures, the opposition parties were able to denounce the repressive character of the regime. The workers are not demoralized, in spite of the fact that they did not win their demands.

² See also *Intercontinental Press*, December 13, 1976, p. 1789.—IP

In Ratmalana, where the strike began, the government tried to divide the workers by making a distinction between those who had gone back to work after the first ultimatum, issued January 6, and those who went back after the second, adjusting the wage losses. But the reaction of the workers was immediate: all the workers went on strike again and forced the government to treat all the workers identically. This showed the great reserves that remain in the working class. It also underscores the responsibility of the union leadership for the failure of the strike.

It was in this context, in which the prime minister and her cabinet had been thrown onto the defensive, that the opposition decided to make a motion of censure before the National Assembly. The government is now discredited among all the social sectors which had supported it in May 1970. The JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna—People's Liberation Front) had supported the government at that time, for its own reasons. The government crushed the JVP a little later. A majority of students had also supported the government. But they have been attacked by the authorities more than once since the elections of May 1970. A student was killed, and the regime lost their sympathy. The workers of the public and nationalized sector, who have backed the LSSP and CP, have given very important support to the government, and their functionaries are very influential, including in the villages and countryside. Now the regime has also alienated them.

That is why the government is on the defensive. I would say that the main beneficiary of the disintegration of the government coalition formed in 1970 is the UNP. From this standpoint, there has been a shift to the right among the voters. I do not think that the real left, that is, the sector in which we locate ourselves and which we call the "new left," will make appreciable gains. The destruction of the JVP has temporarily interrupted any possibility of leftist development among the rural semiproletariat.

Among the students the CP, whose influence had been very strong, has discredited itself because of its participation in the government. The LSSP is discredited too, because of its call for a separate strike on November 19.

The SLFP retains some mass base, even in the working class. But this base has been severely eroded. In the eyes of the masses, the LSSP's expulsion from the government in September 1975 symbolized the end of the "left" period of the SLFP. Now, the UNP appears today as the only credible alternative to an SLFP government. In my opinion we may thus predict the election results as follows: a reduction in the number of seats of the LSSP and the CP (which holds seven seats right now), and a strong reduction in the number of SLFP seats. The Federal party (Tamil) will

probably retain the number of seats it has today, and the UNP will considerably expand its parliamentary group and may even win an absolute majority. Legislative elections will thus give rise to a new reactionary government under UNP leadership or a coalition led by a weakened SLFP having to face a very strong opposition party in the UNP.

As for the LSSP, I think it has entered a period of eclipse in the parliamentary

domain as well, and I do not think it will be able to play a decisive role in either political or trade-union life after the general elections. The same goes for the CP. The traditional left, after a decade of open betrayal or confused policies, has lost some of its possibilities for action in the mass movement. It is clearly the right that is profiting from this for the moment, but at the same time this opens a breach through which the "new left" can grow. □

Secret Testimony Released

Pentagon Debated Use of A-Bomb in Korean War

The Eisenhower administration weighed using the atomic bomb during the Korean War, according to documents recently released by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and cited in a United Press International dispatch in the March 29 *Christian Science Monitor*.

The eventual decision to forgo a repeat of the holocaust of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was based on purely "tactical" considerations, the documents reveal.

Gen. Omar Bradley, then chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told the Senate committee in secret testimony February 10, 1953, that the Pentagon had "discussed many times the use of the atomic bomb, tactically."

"Of course, you know there are no strategic targets worth mentioning in Korea," the general explained to the panel. "We have looked for a long time and studied the possible tactical uses in Korea and it is rather hard to find a target at this time that we think is sufficiently remunerative. . . ."

"However, get them out in the open," Bradley added, "and I think we would have to consider . . . very seriously the use of the A-bomb, if we found a suitable target now in Korea, and of course that might have considerable effect on operations."

As Bradley sat testifying, American and Korean troops were locked in a bloody standoff along the 38th parallel while truce talks were being conducted at Panmunjom. During the negotiations, Eisenhower is reported to have hinted that Washington was prepared to unleash the atom bomb—a threat that the new documents reveal was made in deadly earnest.

Eisenhower again laid plans to use the A-bomb less than a year after the Korean cease-fire was finally signed—this time in Vietnam.

By early 1954 the outlook for saving the besieged French garrison at Dien Bien Phu in northern Vietnam was grim. Surrounded and cut off by the Vietnamese, Paris argued that the only hope for their forces—and ultimately for French colonial

rule—lay in massive bombardment of the Viet Minh positions. They sent urgent requests to Washington for aid and Eisenhower drew up contingency plans to provide the bombing. The operation was code-named "Vulture."

At the last minute Eisenhower decided against coming to the aid of the French, but on June 10—a month after Dien Bien Phu had been taken by the Vietnamese—a leader of the French government made a sensational disclosure. Pierre Mendès-France told the French Assembly that a decision had been made to drop A-bombs on Vietnam "even at the risk of bringing Communist China in, and starting a general war."

"United States intervention was to have taken place on the request of France April 28," Mendès-France told the legislators. The warships carrying atomic aviation matériel were loaded and en route. President Eisenhower was to have asked Congress April 26 for authorization.

"Luckily, the project of the United States intervention was set aside by Britain and public opinion in the United States." (Quoted in the *Militant* June 21, 1954.) □

Marcos Promises Autonomy for Southern Philippines

President Ferdinand E. Marcos declared a large area of the southern Philippines autonomous March 26. The thirteen provinces affected by the declaration had been the scene of numerous clashes since 1972, when the Moro National Liberation Front and other Muslim groups began their struggle for an autonomous Muslim region. Marcos's declaration, however, made it clear that Muslims would be allowed to administer the area only in "partnership" with Christians.

Marcos's proclamation followed an agreement with Libyan head of state Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, a major backer of the Muslim insurgents. Qaddafi informed the Conference of Islamic States that his regime would try to persuade the MNLF to end its resistance to the Marcos regime.

The Foreign Economic Role in South Africa

By Ernest Harsch

[First of four parts]

South Africa is the only advanced capitalist—that is, imperialist—country on the African continent. For the ruling white minority, it is a land of leisure and wealth, where fortunes can be made and profits are abundant. The country's economic might, which has grown tremendously over the past century, is based to an extent on the region's vast mineral deposits, particularly on the extensive gold veins of the Witwatersrand. But more important is the cheap labor power of millions of Black workers, whose superexploitation has made high profit rates and rapid capitalist economic growth possible.

To ensure the continued subjugation of the country's twenty-two million Blacks—and thus the preservation of a large and underpaid labor force—the white regime has erected one of the most oppressive systems of racist rule in the world. Blacks in South Africa are denied their most fundamental human rights. An intricate network of laws and regulations control virtually all aspects of Black life, including where they may live, whom they can marry, what jobs they can have, where they may go to school. Blacks do not have the franchise and if they organize to demand their rights they are arrested, tortured, or killed. Basically, all they are allowed to do is work for the white industrialists and farmers.

While the white South African capitalists are the major beneficiaries from the sweat and toil of Black workers, they are not alone. In industry after industry, they have been joined by foreign investors in search of fabulous profits. In many companies, in fact, the senior partners are not South Africans at all, but corporate chiefs in London, New York, Paris, Frankfurt, Rome, Tokyo, and other financial centers around the world. They sit on the boards of General Motors, IBM, Mobil Oil, British Leyland, Krupp, Kawasaki. According to the government's own figures, the book value of their investments in South Africa totalled well over \$10 billion by 1976. But since statistics on foreign investments in South Africa are notoriously undervalued, the real figure could be much higher.

Contrary to the frequent pronouncements by corporate representatives that their economic involvement in South Africa has a "liberalizing" influence, foreign investments are, in fact, a central prop to the system of racial and economic oppression that characterizes South African society.

A Golden Beginning

European settlers had begun to colonize South Africa as early as the seventeenth century, but foreign capital itself did not enter the region on a large scale until after the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand area of the Transvaal in 1886. Although the gold veins of South Africa are extensive—the largest known deposits in the world—they are of a low grade and are extremely difficult to mine, requiring heavy concentrations of equipment and labor. At that time, the capital for the extraction of the Transvaal's gold could only come from abroad.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Britain had emerged as the strongest imperial power in southern Africa. Although London did not control the Transvaal politically until the end of the Boer War in 1902, it was British capital that rushed in to seize the new El Dorado. Of the total capital investment of £200 million in the gold mines between 1887 and 1932, about £120 million came from abroad, mostly from Britain. British investments in South Africa as a whole rose from £34 million in 1884 to

£351 million by 1911, a year after the Union of South Africa was officially established.¹

Much of the foreign capital pumped into South Africa's gold mines was invested through the purchase of mining shares on the London Stock Exchange. The shares sold in London were known as "Kaffirs," a racist term used by whites for Africans in South Africa.

Because of the risks of investing in individual gold mines—which might or might not pay off—and the need for big concentrations of capital, the hundreds of South African gold mines became tied to ten major mining houses (by 1933 the number had been reduced to seven). Of the seven mining houses that still control South African gold production, Consolidated Gold Fields, which was formed by Cecil Rhodes, has the closest British ties and is the only one still registered in London. The General Mining and Finance Company and the Union Corporation, both of which are now controlled by Afrikaner capitalists, were originally formed in the 1890s with the heavy participation of German banks.

The Anglo American Corporation—today South Africa's largest conglomerate—was formed as a gold mining house in 1917 by Ernest Oppenheimer. Although most of the original capital was South African, Oppenheimer also drew in British and American money as signified by the corporation's name. After a trip to the United States, Oppenheimer won the backing of J.P. Morgan, who headed one of the biggest American monopoly interests. There is now little American capital directly involved in the Anglo American Corporation, but it still maintains some ties with the Morgan group and other American interests. Kennecott Copper, a Morgan-controlled firm, lent millions of dollars to help Anglo American open its Orange Free State gold mines after the Second World War.²

Despite a world-wide depression, a second boom in the development of the South African gold mines in the 1930s, brought on by a sharp rise in profits, attracted still more foreign capital. Between 1933 and 1939, about £63 million—one-third to one-half of it foreign—was sunk into the gold mines.

Because of the unique position of gold in the international monetary system, the development of South African gold rapidly made the country a vital part of the world capitalist economy. South Africa now produces between 60 and 80 percent of the capitalist world's annual gold output. This international gold supply is based to a considerable extent on the labor of Black miners, who are one of the most exploited sectors of the Black work force in South Africa. They must work for long hours in the hot and humid underground shafts, risking death through rock falls or lung disease, for pitifully low wages.

The most long-lasting impact of these early investments in South Africa was to transform the agriculturally based, white settler colony into an independent imperialist power. The massive transfusion of foreign capital provided the base for the rise of a local white capitalist class, at first from among the English-speaking settlers and later from among the Afrikaners. Moreover, a number of the British entrepreneurs involved in the gold mining

1. Ruth First, Jonathan Steele, and Christabel Gurney, *The South African Connection: Western Investment in Apartheid*, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1973), p. 116.

2. G. Fasulo, *The Powers Behind Apartheid*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Africa Research Group, undated), p. 5.

industry settled in South Africa themselves, their ties to Britain weakening over a period of time. Initially an outpost of the British empire, South African imperialism gradually developed along its own course and established its own state. It exploited its own internal colony—the Black majority. As their economic base grew, the white capitalists also expanded their sphere of exploitation into other countries. While non-South African capital lost its dominance, it continued to function as a major partner. In any case, the aim of foreign investors remained the same: to profit from the cheap labor of the suppressed Black majority.

Modernizing Industry

As important as the role of foreign capital was in developing South Africa's mining potential, it satisfied an even more crucial need during the rapid industrial expansion of the economy after the Second World War. Without the massive inflow of dollars and pounds during this period, the white minority regime would have found it almost impossible to lessen the economy's traditional dependence on mining in favor of an expanding and diversified manufacturing sector.

With the aid of foreign capital, however, the South African economy was able to achieve a growth rate close to that of Japan. Between 1945 and 1972, the gross domestic product (GDP) jumped from \$3.7 billion to \$13.9 billion (at constant 1963 prices). While the average annual growth rate for the economy as a whole during the 1960s was about 6 percent in real terms, it was more than 7 percent a year for manufacturing. The contribution of manufacturing to the GDP rose from 15.2 percent in 1945 to 22.4 percent in 1972, surpassing that of mining.

This economic expansion was matched by the stepped-up participation of European and American financiers and industrialists. It has been estimated that between 1946 and 1955, about £700 million was invested in South Africa from abroad, two-thirds of it from Britain. A further £1 billion was invested from 1956 to 1969, bringing the new foreign investments since World War II to more than three times the total amount invested before the war.³

The South African mines were attractive to foreign investors both for their low labor costs and their natural wealth, including gold, diamonds, platinum, uranium, manganese, and dozens of other minerals. But the only real incentive foreign manufacturers had in setting up plants in South Africa as opposed to other countries was the availability of millions of Black workers at extremely low wages. That incentive was more than sufficient. In a comprehensive study of the foreign economic role in South Africa, First, Steele, and Gurney wrote:

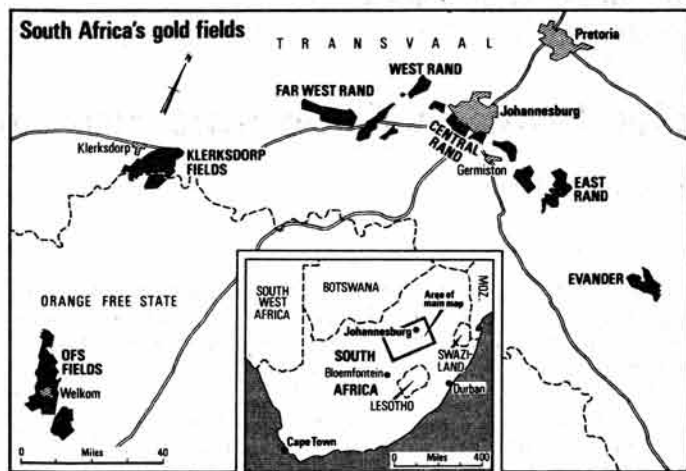
Some time between 1964 and 1965 one of the most significant milestones in the history of foreign investment in South Africa was reached. The manufacturing sector overtook mining as the main recipient of foreign capital. The goose that had laid the golden eggs of South Africa's economic development for so long was relegated to second place. Foreign businessmen and shareholders were putting more money into manufacturing. As an industrial economy South Africa had arrived.⁴

By 1976, 33.7 percent of the total private foreign investment in South Africa went into the manufacturing sector. Most of it was in the form of direct investment, with foreign companies generally setting up South African subsidiaries. Of the British direct investment in South Africa in 1965, about 70 percent went into manufacturing. According to John Suckling, the investment shift from mining to manufacturing was "particularly strong for US investment . . . , where after net withdrawals from Manufacturing in 1960/61, that sector continually received (roughly) 60% of the yearly investment flows. This position reflects the US preference for direct investment as opposed to non-direct investment."⁵

3. First, Steele, and Gurney, *The South African Connection*, p. 125.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

5. John Suckling, "The Nature and Role of Foreign Investment in South



Economist

With the expansion of South African capitalism, the percentage of total new capital formation resulting from foreign investment inflows dropped considerably since the initial period after World War II. From 1946 to 1949 it stood at a full 53 percent, reflecting the decisive role new foreign investment played in launching South Africa's industrial expansion. But the figure fell to 19 percent in the early 1950s and to about 11 percent by the early 1970s. However, since foreign companies already in South Africa are increasingly reinvesting their profits, the figures on new capital inflows undervalue the continued importance of foreign capital. For instance, 81 percent of direct British investments in 1967-1971 came from unremitted profits. Almost all of the U.S. direct investments for the years from 1961 to 1968 were from the same source.

Despite the growing strength of indigenous South African capital, foreign investors continue to play an essential, and in some industries a dominant, role. It is estimated that about 80 percent of South Africa's private industrial production is under foreign control or influence.⁶ This figure, however, excludes the production of the large government corporations, which control such key sectors as steel, railways, and power, and have a directing influence over the economy as a whole.

Partners in Exploitation

The apartheid regime goes to great lengths and considerable expense to encourage foreign investors to sink their money into South Africa. Although there are restrictions on the full repatriation of foreign capital, there are none on profits. Foreign companies pay the same tax rate as local companies. South African corporation taxes, moreover, are among the lowest in the world.

The government's official yearbook for 1975, in a chapter entitled "Guide to Foreign Investors," explained, "Investors in the RSA [Republic of South Africa] are assured of unequivocal support of the principle of private enterprise by all [white] political parties, which gives the private entrepreneur every possible opportunity to progress and prosper. The country has always had a stable government. Law and order prevail and there is political and economic stability."⁷ One of the factors behind

Africa," in *The Economic Factor*, edited by the Study Project on External Investment in South Africa and Namibia (South-West Africa), (London: Africa Publications Trust, 1975), p. 18.

6. Colin Legum, ed., "The Case for Economic, Political and Military Disengagement From South Africa," in *The Policy Debate*, edited by the Study Project on External Investment in South Africa and Namibia (South-West Africa), (London: Africa Publications Trust, 1975), p. 53.

7. *South Africa 1975: Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa*, (Pretoria: South African Department of Information, 1975), p. 544.

South Africa's "economic stability," the yearbook noted earlier, was the "promotion of peaceful labour relations," that is, the outlawing of virtually all strikes by African workers and the nonrecognition of African trade unions.

J.J. Kitchhoff, the head of the government's Industrial Development Corporation, has stressed the importance of foreign investments to the regime. "Over the years," he said, "foreign capital and enterprise have made an invaluable contribution to our development and we hope that they will continue to do so in years to come."

By drawing even more foreign capital into the country, the regime in Pretoria has sought to heighten South Africa's importance in the world capitalist economy, as well as to increase the economic stake of the European, American, and Japanese governments in the maintenance of the South African status quo. An expanding industrial sector, moreover, greatly strengthens South African capitalism itself and provides the apartheid regime with more resources to keep the Black population in total subjugation. In addition, Pretoria exercises a considerable degree of influence over these foreign investments, channeling them into the industrial projects that it considers important for the economy as a whole.

One of the key ways in which South African "free enterprise" is strengthened through partnership with foreign capital is the direct access South African firms gain to some of the most advanced technology and manufacturing methods in the world. Suckling estimated that about 60 percent of the increase in South Africa's gross domestic product between 1957 and 1972 could be ascribed to "technological change," two-thirds of which was the result of new technology entering the country through foreign investment.⁸

An example of how the apartheid regime has gone into partnership with foreign companies in order to harness their technological know-how is in the textile industry. The government was able to build up the industry in the two decades after World War II through tariff protection and capital aid from the government-controlled Industrial Development Corporation (IDC). The IDC managed to set up two of its mills in conjunction with British firms. In addition, the basis for South African expansion into synthetic fibres was laid in 1951 when the IDC and Courtaulds of Britain set up the South African Industrial Cellulose Corporation (Saiccor) to produce rayon pulp. Saiccor has since become a major exporter to Britain, Canada, and the United States. "From being a late starter the textiles industry has become one of South Africa's most technologically advanced sectors. With an economy that is many times smaller than the advanced industrial economies of Britain, the United States and Western Europe, South Africa has access to processes they develop."⁹

Another important reason Pretoria has for encouraging joint operations between South African and foreign firms is the opening it gives to South African capital to enter new industries where it would not otherwise be strong enough to venture on its own.

Businesses already established by foreign firms are also seen as lucrative arenas for South African participation, as evidenced by the publication of the Franzen Commission Report in 1971. Although 100 percent foreign-owned concerns were still permitted, the report recommended that South African interests be allowed to eventually acquire a 50 percent share.

The main avenues Pretoria uses to channel foreign investments into the desired industrial projects are the powerful state corporations, such as the IDC, the Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation (Isacor), the Electricity Supply Commission (Escom), and the South African Coal, Oil, and Gas Corporation (Sasol). The IDC, which was specifically set up to help diversify the South African economy, has been involved in the most varied industrial ventures. Besides its partnership with British textile firms, it

established joint operations with British Petroleum in chemicals, with the British and Commonwealth Shipping Company in shipping, with Phillips Petroleum of the United States in the manufacture of carbon black, and with British, Canadian, and Swiss companies in aluminum smelting. In addition, Isacor went into partnership with a number of British steel companies, as well as with Siemens, a leading West German firm. Escom set up a joint operation with the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft of West Germany, and Sasol is involved with French, British, West German, and American firms in various projects.

Planning for the Future

To prepare the ground for an even greater industrial boom in the near future and to extend its international economic ties, the apartheid regime has embarked on a grandiose scheme to expand the country's economic infrastructure, including the construction of new energy plants, harbors, mines, railways, export projects, communications systems, and utilities. Pretoria has estimated that in the decade up to the mid-1980s, the economy will require \$58 billion in new fixed investments alone. Many of the infrastructure development projects will be undertaken by the state corporations and will need large outside loans, as well as the direct participation of foreign companies. Among the most important of the planned projects are:

- A \$1.15 billion uranium enrichment plant at Valindaba, near Pretoria, which is due for completion in 1984. Using a new enrichment process developed by the South Africans (with West German help, it is suspected), the plant is designed to make South Africa an important seller of enriched uranium on the world market and to provide fuel for its own nuclear power plants. It will produce for export about 2,400 tons of nuclear fuel a year. This enriched uranium, moreover, will allow Pretoria to develop its own arsenal of nuclear weapons.

- A giant plant in the eastern Transvaal for the conversion of coal to oil, costing more than \$2 billion. Called Sasol II, its goal is to reduce South Africa's reliance on imported oil. Although the country has vast amounts of coal, it lacks exploitable deposits of petroleum. A similar project, even larger than Sasol II, will convert coal into heavy oils.

- An expansion scheme by Escom involving \$2.9 billion in investments between 1975 and 1985. It will include the construction of a series of coal-fired, nuclear, and hydroelectric power stations. The first of a series of nuclear power plants along the coastline will be built at Melkbosstrand in the Western Cape by a consortium of three French companies.

- A \$1.15 billion port and railway project at Richard's Bay, 130 miles north of Durban. A \$460 million railway line linking the coalfields of the eastern Transvaal to the port has already been completed. Other parts of the project include a phosphoric acid plant, an aluminum smelter, and plants producing titanium dioxide, pig iron, and zircon.

- Another \$1.15 billion port project at Saldanha Bay on the Atlantic coast. A 550-mile railway line between the port and the iron ore deposits at Sishen has already been built. The port at Saldanha Bay, when completed, will be four times the size of the ports of Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and East London combined.

- Isacor, the giant government-owned steel corporation, plans to build a \$1.5 billion semi-finished steel plant at Saldanha Bay, which will produce for export. Isacor also plans to raise the production of finished steel products at a cost of \$2.1 billion by 1978.

On its own, the apartheid regime could not finish these massive expansion projects. According to an official of the South African Reserve Bank, the economy will need a net inflow of new foreign capital of about \$1.7 billion a year. To help raise this capital, Pretoria launched an advertising campaign, publicizing the expansion projects in the United States, Britain, and other countries.

The direct involvement of foreign companies in South Africa, either through the setting up of subsidiaries or in collaboration

8. Suckling, "Nature and Role of Foreign Investment," p. 23.

9. First, Steele, and Gurney, *The South African Connection*, p. 101.

with South African corporations, is only part of the total investment picture. The big international banks and finance houses also find South Africa a lucrative area for their money. In fact, in many sectors of the economy the banks play an even more crucial role in Pretoria's development plans than do the foreign manufacturing or mining concerns.

According to a report by the Counter Information Service on international banking and South Africa:

The nature and expansion of the South African economy has provided international capital with a valuable outlet. The economies of the USA, the UK, Japan and Europe have consequently developed an interest in preserving the political and economic stability of South Africa. *The most important agents in this process have been the banks. In every capital transaction, the international banks, either singly or in consortium, have interpreted and met the needs of the South African economy, and even fought among themselves for the opportunity to treat.*¹⁰ [Emphasis in original.]

With the expansion of South Africa's industrial capacity, foreign loans have grown in importance as a source of indirect foreign capital. Between 1962 and 1971, the proportion of total foreign investment in the form of loans increased from 21.3 percent to 30.9 percent. The biggest recipients of these funds have been the state corporations, as well as the government itself. Iscor has admitted that "the Corporation is mainly dependent on overseas loans for the obtaining of its capital requirement."¹¹

Although there has been a recent increase in the number of foreign loans South African companies have been able to secure abroad, the international banks have aided Pretoria for many years. The World Bank, which is dominated by American and European capital, loaned South Africa about \$220 million between 1947 and 1962, primarily for the government's transport and power projects. By the early 1970s, the World Bank had extended eleven major loans to the South Africans. One indication of the close ties between Pretoria and Western financial interests is the fact that the governor of the South African Reserve Bank is also one of the governors of the World Bank. Among the other major foreign banks that have made substantial loans to South Africa are Barclays National Bank of Britain, First National City Bank (now Citibank), Chase Manhattan, and Morgan Guaranty Trust of the United States, Deutsche Bank of West Germany, Toronto Dominion Bank of Canada, and Société Générale of France. Literally scores of others in Europe, North America, and Japan have also extended loans to South Africa, frequently as members of various international consortia.

Besides negotiating loans directly with the foreign banks, another important method of raising money has been through the issuing of bonds abroad by the government and state corporations. According to First, Steele, and Gurney:

Most of the bond issues which South African public utilities and the Government have offered were snapped up immediately. In October 1970 Pretoria made its first attempt since 1959 to raise money on the London market. It offered bonds worth 5 million pounds. They were so over-subscribed in advance that when the market officially opened it reclosed after ten minutes, sold out. These South African government bonds are guaranteed by almost all the main Western commercial banks.¹²

Pretoria's new large-scale development projects have increased its appetite for foreign credit. And the international banks have proved more than eager to satisfy its needs. In 1975, South Africa raised \$550 million in Eurocurrency loans and \$185 million through Eurobonds, making it one of the biggest borrowers on the Euromarket.¹³ Another \$830 million was borrowed on the



South African miners, one of the most exploited sectors of the Black African work force, risk death daily for pitifully low wages.

Eurocurrency market in 1976. The South African government also received \$357 million from the International Monetary Fund in two separate transactions in 1976, as well as hundreds of millions of dollars directly from European banks (not through the Euromarket). Many of these loans were specifically aimed at the infrastructure projects being developed by the state corporations. Escom borrowed \$200 million from the Euromarket and \$100 million from private banks in 1976 alone. Iscor also arranged a Euromarket loan of \$80 million and planned to raise another \$150 million directly from foreign banks. Some of the leading international banks with close ties to South Africa, such as Citibank, Chase Manhattan, Manufacturers Hanover, Barclays, and some German banks, were involved in a \$138 million Euromarket loan for the Richard's Bay project. Altogether, it is estimated that South Africa will need to borrow more than \$1 billion a year on overseas markets for at least a ten-year period.

The foreign banks, especially British, are also strongly represented within South Africa. As of 1970, foreign-controlled commercial banks in South Africa held 73 percent of all commercial bank deposits. For foreign-controlled merchant banks the figure was 10.5 percent and for other banks 23 percent. The merchant banks, of which the British Standard Merchant Bank is the largest, are particularly helpful to the apartheid regime because they raise some of the needed capital for its industrial projects from within the country itself.¹⁴

Trade: A Vital Link

Pretoria's efforts to strengthen South African capitalism by rapidly expanding its industrial base has at the same time made the economy extremely dependent on foreign trade. It must import the increasingly sophisticated capital goods required for the growth of a modern manufacturing sector. It must also establish stable export markets, both to provide the necessary outlets for South Africa's mineral and manufactured products and to earn enough foreign exchange to pay for the technological imports.

Foreign trade is relatively more vital for South Africa than for other imperialist powers. Between 1959 and 1968, the value of South Africa's imports and exports together were equivalent to 51.6 percent of its gross domestic product for that period. Although South Africa's economy is only the twenty-third largest in the world in terms of total output, it ranks among the world's top fifteen trading countries.¹⁵

countries. Loans on the Euromarket are parcelled out to a large number of banks that are members of the pool.

14. Counter Information Service, *Business as Usual*, pp. 9, 12.

15. Duncan Innes, "The Role of Foreign Trade and Industrial Development in South Africa," in *The Economic Factor*, p. 119.

10. Counter Information Service, *Business as Usual: International Banking in South Africa*, (London: World Council of Churches, undated), p. 7.

11. Ruth Weiss, "The Role of Para-Statals in South Africa's Politico-Economic System," in *The Economic Factor*, p. 84.

12. First, Steele, and Gurney, *The South African Connection*, p. 34.

13. The Euromarket is made up of major currencies, including the American dollar, that are deposited with banks outside of their own

The largest—and increasingly important—item in South Africa's import package has been foreign technology and capital goods. Between 1958 and 1973, the proportion of capital goods to total imports rose from 31.8 percent to 44.7 percent. The most important categories of these imports, in terms of cost, were machinery and chemicals, indicating that it was the newer and more sophisticated technological products that South African industry relied upon.

One area that highlights the vital role of these imports is the computer field. Since South African industry is not yet capable of manufacturing its own sophisticated computers, the market is dominated entirely by foreign firms. The two biggest companies that sell or lease computers in South Africa are International Computers of Britain and the American giant International Business Machines (IBM). One third of IBM's business in South Africa has been directly with the government. Other companies include National Cash Register, Burroughs, Honeywell, Univac-Sperry Rand, and Control Data. C. Cotton, the managing director of Burroughs South Africa, said in March 1971, "The economy would grind to a halt without access to the computer technology of the West. No bank could function; the government couldn't collect its money and couldn't account for it; businesses couldn't operate; payrolls could not be paid. Retail and wholesale marketing and related services would be disrupted."¹⁶

The sophisticated imports Pretoria needs come almost exclusively from North America, Europe, and Japan. Four countries in particular—Britain, West Germany, the United States, and Japan—head the list, having supplied 63 percent of South Africa's total imports in the period from 1963 to 1970. The level of these imports is so high that South Africa has become an increasingly valuable outlet for its main trading partners; the European Common Market exports more to South Africa than to any other country outside of North America and Europe itself. Without the willingness of these countries to trade with South Africa, Pretoria would be unable to maintain the country's economic expansion at its projected level. In fact, the economy would collapse.

Because of the high cost of South Africa's technological imports relative to the price it receives for its exports, Pretoria experiences a chronic shortage of foreign exchange and an unfavorable balance of trade. It has tried to lessen these problems to a certain extent through the encouragement of import substitution, but its primary means of coping with the trade deficit has been to continually press for higher and higher export levels.

Pretoria has tried to diversify its export market to many different countries in recent years, but most of its exports continue to go to its traditional trading partners. Between 1963 and 1970, only eight countries—Britain, the United States, West Germany, Japan, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Belgium—received 78 percent of South Africa's total exports.

In spite of South Africa's industrialization, it still relies heavily on exports of raw materials, both mineral and agricultural. In 1969, exports of raw materials and semiprocessed goods accounted for 70.4 percent of the country's total exports. Many of the leading mining concerns are geared largely toward export production.

Since the prices of raw materials tend to fluctuate widely on the world market, Pretoria has sought to increase its exports of manufactured goods. An even more important motivation for this export drive stems from the very nature of South Africa's racist society itself. The entire system of national oppression is aimed at preventing Blacks from developing any economic base outside of the white-owned economy, thus forcing them to serve the white bosses as underpaid wage-laborers. Pretoria's land policy, under which Africans are only allowed possession of the poorest 13 percent of the land area, blocks the rise of an independent African peasantry and turns the Bantustans into little more than impoverished labor reserves. Trading and other business activities among Blacks are also restricted. Topped off by the extremely low wages paid to Black workers, this system of national

oppression greatly limits the Black population's purchasing power. The resulting constriction of the internal market has an inhibiting influence on the manufacturing sector that only an increase in exports of manufactured goods can overcome. So far, Pretoria's manufacturing export drive has had significant, though limited, results. Manufactured goods rose from 13.6 percent to 21.2 percent of total exports between 1958 and 1969, with the bulk of the increase occurring between 1966 and 1969. Two obstacles Pretoria faces in this campaign are the lower competitiveness of its goods on the international market compared to those of the United States, Europe, and Japan and the political limitations on its ability to export to the rest of Africa.

Given the shortcomings of Pretoria's export position, the main way it has been able to cope with its lack of foreign exchange has been through the massive inflow of foreign currency in the form of loans and direct investments. Over the long term, foreign investments will also help Pretoria bolster its production of manufactured goods for export, as well as produce many of the sophisticated capital goods it now needs to import from abroad.

Looking Northward

Because of its advanced industrial base and the fact that it is an imperialist power itself, South Africa serves as an ideal springboard for foreign companies seeking to penetrate northward into the rest of the African continent. Increasingly, American, European, and Japanese firms are using profits made in South Africa to invest in Namibia, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, and other countries. As with foreign operations within the country, many of the ventures by Western companies beyond South Africa's borders have been carried out arm in arm with the South African imperialists, to the profit of both.

One example of the close interaction between South African and other capital in the imperialist drive to exploit the rest of the continent is the formation of the Economic Development Bank for Equatorial and Southern Africa (EDESA). It was established in the early 1970s by Anton Rupert, a leading South African industrialist, the owner of the Rothmans tobacco empire, and a member of the Broederbond, a secret Afrikaner society to which many leaders of the ruling National Party belong. The principal aim of EDESA is to raise American, European, and Japanese capital to finance Pretoria's economic expansion into other African countries. In 1973, Karl Schiller, a former West German finance minister, was appointed president of EDESA. The bank is registered in Luxembourg, headquartered in Zurich, with its African headquarters in Swaziland. Its roster of shareholders is impressive, including, besides Rupert's interests, South Africa's Anglo American Corporation; Barclays Bank of Britain; the Ford Motor Company, General Motors, IBM, and Universal Leaf Tobacco of the United States; the Marubeni Corporation of Japan; the Impala Foundation and Union Bank of Switzerland; Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank, Robert Bosch, Daimler-Benz, and Hauni Werke of West Germany; Canada's Bank of Montréal; and others.¹⁷

South African and other foreign companies have particularly close ties in Namibia, which has been ruled by South Africa as a direct colony since the end of World War I. In a study of foreign investments in Namibia, Roger Murray has estimated that of the total known capital investment in the country of R92.5 million (US \$118 million at the 1974 exchange rate), about 53 percent was from non-South African firms.¹⁸ The American stake as of 1971 was about \$45 million.

Rio Tinto Zinc of Britain has a 30.8 percent share of the world's

17. Ruth Weiss, "South Africa and Its 'Hinterland': The Role of Africa in SA's Economic and Political Strategy," in *The Economic Factor*, p. 107.

18. Roger Murray, "The Namibian Economy: An Analysis of the Role of Foreign Investment and the Policies of the South African Administration," in *The Role of Foreign Firms in Namibia*, edited by the Study Project on External Investment in South Africa and Namibia (South-West Africa), (London: Africa Publications Trust, 1974), p. 33.

16. Reed Kramer and Tami Hultman, *IBM in South Africa*, (New York: Corporate Information Center of the National Council of Churches, 1972), p. 3.

largest opencut uranium mine at Rössing, near Swakopmund. Other shareholders are the Compagnie Française des Petroles of France and the South African General Mining and Finance Corporation/Federale Mynbou, as well as the IDC. Falconbridge Nickel of Canada has gone into partnership with the IDC to exploit copper and silver deposits at Oamites. More than half of the giant Tsumeb copper mine is owned by American Metal Climax and Newmount Mining Corporation of the United States; another important partner is the South African Union Corporation. Among other foreign companies in South Africa that have extended their operations into Namibia are the United States' Phelps Dodge, US Steel, Standard Oil, and Texaco; Britain's Leyland Motors, Davy Ashmore, and British Steel; and Volkswagen of West Germany. Barclays, the largest foreign bank in South Africa, also has twenty-two branches in Namibia.

The picture is similar in much of the rest of southern Africa. In Botswana, American Metal Climax has gone into partnership with South Africa's Roan Selection Trust to develop a copper and nickel mining operation. Britain's Commonwealth Development Corporation and Guest Keen and Nettlefolds have established an iron-ore mine in Swaziland in cooperation with the Anglo American Corporation. Bethlehem Steel's South African subsidiary is prospecting for diamonds in Lesotho with Rio Tinto Zinc. Bank of America and several European banks helped finance the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique by a consortium led by the Anglo American Corporation.

Despite the adoption of United Nations sanctions against economic relations with the Rhodesian regime, many foreign companies continued their involvement and trade links with that country, often under the cover of South African firms or through their South African-based subsidiaries. According to confidential Mobil Oil documents smuggled out of Zimbabwe and publicly released by the United Church of Christ on June 21, 1976, Mobil channeled oil supplies to the Rhodesian regime since the mid-1960s through a series of real and bogus South African firms. Texaco has a subsidiary there that is directly operated by the government. Deere and Company, an American-owned manufacturer of agricultural equipment based in South Africa, maintained its exports to Zimbabwe after the imposition of sanctions. Barclays Bank also continued to function there and Rio Tinto Zinc, which already operated four gold mines, opened a new nickel mine after sanctions were imposed. Canada's Massey-Ferguson, which controls three companies in South Africa, also owns one in Zimbabwe and one in Malawi. The West German automobile

company BMW assembles cars in Zimbabwe, and Japan secretly bought Rhodesian chrome through South Africa.

Taking advantage of the cheap labor costs in South Africa, a growing number of foreign firms have set up manufacturing concerns there in order to produce for export to other countries. Britain uses South Africa as a central distribution point for much of its inter-African trade. Most Japanese electronics and electrical appliance firms have assembly plants in South Africa, some of which are aimed mainly at the markets in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, and Mozambique. According to the June 1975 *South African Scope*, published by the South African Information Service in the United States, "American firms are increasingly using South Africa as an export base. They develop their South African operations as export springboards into the rest of Africa, the Middle East and South America and take full advantage of South Africa's attractive export incentives."

An indication of how favorably the South Africans view joint investment and trade projects with other imperialist powers was given in 1974 by Jan Marais, a leading South African banker and president of Pretoria's propaganda body, the South Africa Foundation. "If South Africa and the United States co-operate in the development of South Africa and Southern African territories," he said, "an area of quite formidable strength could be formed in this part of the world which would be a great factor in maintaining the free capitalist system of the entire West."¹⁹

[Next: The U.S. Corporate Stake in South Africa]

19. Thomas Karis, "The Disengagement Strategy," in *The Policy Debate*, p. 231.

Argentine Stalinists Seek 'Dialogue' With Junta

Following a series of discussions with Argentine political figures on the first anniversary of the military coup, Communist party representative Fernando Nadra told the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*:

"Conditions in the country have ripened for a political liberalization but, naturally, it is not yet a question of talking about elections, as some sections have said. Rather it is time to begin a dialogue between the people and the proliberalization sectors of the government, to begin working together to find forms through which the citizens can participate." (Quoted in *La Opinión*, March 24.)

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The Vietnam Moratorium

By Fred Halstead

[First of two parts]

Less than a week after the July 4-6, 1969, Cleveland conferences a peculiar confrontation occurred between the Nixon administration and the antiwar movement in Seattle. In June Nixon had announced that as part of the plan to "Vietnamize" the war, 25,000 American troops would soon be withdrawn. (At the time there were some 535,000 uniformed U.S. military personnel in Vietnam.) Seattle was chosen as the city to host a parade of the first of the withdrawn GIs to reach the United States by ship.

On July 10 some 800 soldiers from Vietnam were marched through the streets of Seattle to the public library, where they were to stand at parade rest and listen to speeches by General William C. Westmoreland and Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor. As they neared the library they were greeted by chants of "Welcome home, Bring them all home!" from a crowd of antiwar

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

demonstrators carrying signs that said: "It's a Trick, Dick. Bring Them All Home!" and "Welcome Home GIs. Join the Antiwar Movement."

The authorities had gone to some lengths to assure a "patriotic" rally. A girls' school had been let out and the students equipped with American flags to wave. There were about as many "patriots" as antiwar demonstrators, and the scene was emotionally charged. Wendy Reissner and Gwynn Vorhaus, who were there, reported:

"Many of the 'patriots' really wanted to believe that the war was over, and were very upset by the demonstration which brought home the reality of the situation. An incident typified this mood. A young girl with an American flag stepped up to block a sign saying, 'We Want Them All Home.' She said, 'How can you do this!' The demonstrator explained that the war was not over, and she was demonstrating because the token pullout was being used to fool people; that it would take 20 years to bring them home if 25,000 were withdrawn annually, and that three normal days worth of replacements could make up for 25,000 withdrawn. The girl with the flag began to cry and stepped aside."¹

What had been planned as a public relations coup for the administration's Vietnam policy fell flat. Even the *New York Times* was constrained to report that when the antiwar demonstrators shouted about bringing all the GIs home, "to some people

1. *Militant*, July 25, 1969.

in the crowd, the chant appeared to express their private feelings."²

* * *

On July 13 a flotilla of six rowboats, three rubber rafts, and a canoe, filled with youths calling themselves the Free the Army (FTA) forces, set out from a public beach on one shore of American Lake outside Tacoma, Washington. They rowed to the other side for a landing at the enlisted men's beach on the Fort Lewis military reservation. They had previously issued a statement to the press declaring their intention to "liberate the 40,000 men held prisoner at Ft. Lewis." The statement added, "if it becomes necessary to destroy Fort Lewis in order to save it, we shall not shrink from that task."³

The landing force, most of them women, alighted on the beach and started passing out leaflets inviting the soldiers to a meeting of the GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace. FTA "General" Stephanie Coontz, twenty-four, stood in her rowboat a safe distance offshore, her shirt bedecked with medals, shouting orders and telling newsmen she could see light at the end of the tunnel. As military police moved down the beach toward the invaders, one demonstrator came up to them and unfurled a banner which read, "You are surrounded. Lay down your guns."⁴ When the MPs refused, an FTA frogman who had swum ashore floating a round table with him asked to be taken in with the others, so that negotiations could be held around his table.

The invaders were hauled to the provost marshal's office and given letters warning them not to come on base again. From her rowboat "General" Coontz, already the possessor of several such letters, declared the invasion a success. According to the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, "A reporter asked how the operation could be considered a success when all the invaders were captured. 'Well,' she shot back, 'we certainly were as successful today as the United States has been in Vietnam.'"⁵

* * *

The New Mobilization Committee and the SMC built rapidly after the Cleveland conferences. So did the Vietnam Moratorium, and by July 30 Dave Hawk was able to report to a New Mobe steering committee meeting that the Moratorium had active workers on 225 campuses and contacts on 75 others. That was just the beginning. The Vietnam Moratorium had set up its national office in Washington, D.C., in a suite on the eighth floor of 1029 Vermont Avenue, N.W. After the Cleveland conference, the New

2. *New York Times*, July 11, 1969.

3. *G.I. Press Service*, July 24, 1969. A set of this publication of the Student Mobilization Committee is on file at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

4. *Counterpoint*, August 7, 1969. (Copy in the author's files.)

5. *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, July 14, 1969.

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WEATHER: Mostly sunny, breezy, warm.

'SIR, MY MEN REFUSE TO GO!' *Weary Viet Gls Defy Order*

Front page of the August 26, 1969, New York "Daily News," the largest circulation newspaper in the United States.

Mobe's Washington Action Committee moved into the ninth floor of the same building. This soon became the national office of the New Mobe. The SMC followed suit, moving its national headquarters to the same building in the capital.

Relations between the three organizations were not without some tension, but willy-nilly they were all cooperating on the October 15 Moratorium and, as far as the general public was concerned, there was little distinction between them. This was a source of concern to the wing of the Democratic Party that was backing the Moratorium. But in spite of initial wariness, the youth on the Moratorium staff and those building it across the country by and large willingly accepted the cooperation they got from the other two groups.

The steering committee of the New Mobe was greatly expanded in late July as interest in the fall antiwar offensive widened. At Stewart Meacham's initiative, Ron Young of the Fellowship of Reconciliation was added as a co-project director of the Washington action, and Young moved to Washington to take charge of the New Mobe staff.

Negotiations with SDS over the Chicago action—now set for October 11—broke down as Weatherman SDS insisted on complete control. Just what they had in mind was made clear by a widely distributed leaflet drawn up by Detroit SDS. It declared: "We're going back to Chicago, tougher and more together than ever. . . . And the time is right for fighting in the streets! . . . SDS is recruiting an army right now, man, a *people's* army, under black leadership, that's gonna fight against the pigs and *win*!!!"

(The reference to "Black leadership" was pure fantasy since no Black organization would support the action, and SDS had no Blacks in its leadership.)

At the New Mobe steering committee August 17-18 a motion was passed "That we not actively build the SDS action on October 11 but that we publicize it by including it in listings of fall actions and informing our constituencies about it." Jerry Gordon opposed even the listing, but the majority voted for it on the ground that we should leave the door open for a possible change in developments. As it turned out, the New Mobe had nothing further to do with the SDS Chicago action.

Meanwhile, a wave of demonstrations and other antiwar activities took place during the summer as local coalitions were expanded and new ones developed. High officials of the Nixon administration began to be greeted with the same sort of antiwar demonstrations that had plagued President Johnson.

On August 17, 1969, the first of the actions directly endorsed by the Cleveland conference was held as 8,000 demonstrators from around California, including a few dozen antiwar marines from nearby Camp Pendleton, converged on the so-called Summer White House at Nixon's home in San Clemente. The area was not

6. *Militant*, September 19, 1969, emphasis in original. The full text of the SDS leaflet is carried.

7. New Mobilization steering committee minutes, August 17-18, 1969. (Copy in author's files.)

noted for radical sentiment, yet in spite of much talk beforehand, a right-wing counterdemonstration drew only half a dozen pickets. The antiwar affair was organized by the Los Angeles Peace Action Council and the SMC and was carefully marshaled and entirely peaceful.

Another kind of demonstration that was widespread in those days was known as "reading of the war dead." These antiwar memorials were often staged by church organizations and consisted of groups of people standing in a public place taking turns reading the list of American GIs killed in Vietnam. At the end of August, 1969, there were some 38,000 such deaths and the names were read into the *Congressional Record* as the Pentagon released them.

In spite of the negotiations and announced withdrawals, the GI death rate was an average of 244.8 per week in the first six months of Nixon's term, some 30 percent higher than during the last six months under President Johnson.⁸ And the Vietnamese casualties rose far higher under the massive U.S. bombing.

The object of the "reading of the war dead" demonstrations was to bring home the fact that the war was not "winding down" and that the statistics represented individual human beings.

* * *

"SIR, MY MEN REFUSE TO GO!"—Weary Viet GIs Defy Order." That was the headline in the *New York Daily News* of August 26, 1969. There followed an Associated Press dispatch by Peter Arnett and Horst Faas which was featured in papers across the country about the temporary refusal to continue fighting by Company A of the Third Battalion, 21st Infantry, in Vietnam. There were no reported victimizations of the GIs, and the company commander was relieved of his command. Oddly enough, one argument used to downgrade the significance of this incident was that it was not really unusual and that the company commander was green and didn't know how to cover it up without making waves.

James Reston commented in the August 27 *New York Times* that Nixon "has been worried about the revolt of the voters against the war, and even about a revolt of the generals if he humiliates them by pulling out too fast. But now he also has to consider the possibility of a revolt of the men if he risks their lives in a war he has decided to bring to a close."

Reston here assumed that Nixon really was trying to get out "gracefully" when in truth he was still trying to win the war. But the *New York Times* vice-president did put his finger on a major contradiction in the Nixon public relations effort. The more the government tried to defuse the antiwar movement by talking about the war being almost over, the less tolerable facing death in Vietnam was for the GIs

* * *

As the universities and high schools opened in the fall it became apparent that the sweep of support for both the October 15 Moratorium and the November 15 activities was unprecedented and actually far beyond what the national offices of the antiwar groups could keep track of. Some of the initial campus organizing meetings for the Moratorium drew over 1,000 participants. The first campus SMC meetings of the fall semester drew three and four times as many as before, and many new campuses were involved.

An example of the mood is what happened at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor where a teach-in was held Friday night, September 19. The next day some of the participants leafleted football fans as they entered the stadium for the Michigan-Vanderbilt game. As the game ended, more than 15,000 people joined in an antiwar march from the stadium to a rally at the center of campus to launch the local fall offensive against the war. Dave Dellinger and ex-Private Andrew Pulley were among the speakers.

8. *Armed Forces Journal*, August 2, 1969.

The teach-in itself had filled the auditorium to well over its 4,500 capacity, and the president of the University of Michigan, Robben Fleming, was one of the speakers. He called U.S. involvement in Vietnam a "colossal mistake" and advocated a staged withdrawal of troops—all but 100,000 by the end of 1970. Rennie Davis spoke next and counterposed the New Mobe's position of immediate withdrawal. A group of SDSers attempted to physically disrupt the meeting, denouncing those who would allow Dr. Fleming to speak. They were repulsed.

This incident was indicative of the stance taken by Weatherman-SDS, RYM II-SDS, and PL-SDS toward the opportunities for broadening the antiwar movement that presented themselves at this time. All three denounced the Moratorium, for example, as nothing more than an attempt by Establishment liberals to co-opt the student movement.

There is no doubt that a section of the Democratic Party and some Republican doves hoped to use the Moratorium to co-opt the antiwar movement in preparation for the 1970 congressional elections. But in so doing they were—however hesitantly—throwing their authority behind an antiwar action. This provided openings of an entirely new dimension. The Moratorium was not an election for public office but a date for antiwar activities across the country. Their character would be determined by the participants in each locality.

The New Mobe and the SMC, instead of turning their backs on this development, threw themselves into building these actions. They did not oppose the appearance of prominent Establishment figures as sponsors and speakers. They took advantage of the opportunity to speak to larger audiences with their own more radical positions, welcoming the element of debate involved, and drawing more people into preparations for the November activities.

And the truth is that while the major splinters of SDS were sinking ever deeper into sectarian and obscurantist methods—setting up Stalin as an example to follow, excluding and slandering rivals within the movement, trying to settle ideological arguments by physical force—the liberal youth organizing the Moratorium by and large went along with the principle of nonexclusion. In building the October 15 activities and selecting speakers, the more moderate elements did not go along with attempts by some of the older Democratic Party politicians to exclude the radical antiwar forces. In part this was due to the presence of the SMC, which was constantly hammering away at immediate withdrawal and nonexclusion and getting a good response from students generally.

Remarkably enough there was very little competitive hostility on a local level between the Vietnam Moratorium Committee and the SMC. One reason was that the Moratorium was not really an organization in its own right. Nor was it a coalition of constituent groups. It was a self-appointed initiating group of liberal youth with connections to a section of the Democratic Party and some dove Republicans. It also had a wide following among student government figures. But it had no democratic structure and was not responsible to a rank and file. Indeed it had no rank and file; its national decisions were made behind closed doors among a small group of people in contact with the politicians. These were informally discussed and sometimes influenced by the national staff, a somewhat larger number. On a local level its structures were ad hoc, informal groupings around figures who were in contact with the national office and with local politicians.

The SMC, on the other hand, had a formal, representative structure on both the local and national levels, responsible to conferences of the rank and file. And it actively sought to build and extend this foundation.

In the greater Boston area, for example, a regional SMC conference was held October 2 in connection with the October 15 preparations. Six hundred activists attended. At that time, there were twelve SMC college chapters on Boston-area campuses, nine more in formation, and several high school chapters. The Greater Boston SMC membership was estimated then at 2,000, and a budget of \$10,000 was approved for the immediate period ahead,

all of it raised locally. It was reported that an October 15 SMC button had sold out the original Boston run of 2,000 in three days.

Once organized, an SMC chapter held weekly meetings where decisions were made by majority vote. The chapter had an open steering committee composed of working committee chairpersons and those members willing to devote a large amount of time. A citywide steering committee was made up of representatives from the chapters. Occasionally, when major decisions were involved, it would convene a regional meeting like that in Boston October 2.

The SMC national office also published the *Student Mobilizer*

and the *GI Press Service*, which was set up to make it convenient for local GI papers to lift whole articles, cartoons, and so on. It was edited by ex-Private Allen Myers, founder of the *Ultimate Weapon* at Fort Dix, New Jersey, who had finished his hitch in the army in June.

The result of all this work was that in the course of building the October 15 events the Moratorium as an organization remained little more than a national office, while the SMC as an organization expanded manifold.

[To be continued]

Student Protests Crushed by Balaguer

Troops Occupy University in Santo Domingo

By Alberto Rodriguez

[The following article is taken from the April 4 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a fortnightly newsmagazine published in New York. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The severe economic crisis affecting the repressive Dominican regime installed by American imperialism has led to an increase in attacks against the few concessions won by the Dominican people through years of struggle.

In particular, President Joaquín Balaguer has announced that funds for the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo (UASD) will be cut, directly affecting its 33,000 students.

In view of this, the students have held demonstrations protesting the government cutbacks.

"The students demonstrated to demand more funds for the State University," the Santo Domingo daily *La Noticia* reported February 8. The police entered the university, attacking the student demonstrators with "bullets and tear-gas grenades," the report continued, leaving "two students with gunshot wounds and at least thirty-five injured by grenade fragments and suffering symptoms of asphyxiation from the tear gas."

"In face of such an open attack, all sectors of the university population walked out and demonstrated in front of Balaguer's residence. A report in the February 23 issue of the New York daily *El Diario* described the protest:

The authorities of the State University, the largest in the country, held a silent protest in front of the presidential palace yesterday to demand more funds. Meanwhile, the Dominican Student Federation called a twenty-four-hour general strike.

Members of the University Council, headed by the rector, Guarcocuya Batista del Villar, went to



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JOAQUIN BALAGUER

the entrance of the governmental palace, requesting a meeting with President Joaquín Balaguer so as to discuss matters related to what they called the "disastrous economic situation of the UASD. . . ."

Balaguer's response was to name a "blue-ribbon" commission to "analyze" the problem. The commission was made up of the secretary of education, Balaguer's economic adviser, and the president of the country's oil refinery.

As might be expected, the celebrated commission was still conducting its "analysis" when the students launched the general strike to protest the regime's inaction on its requests.

Balaguer soon replied. Armed with tear-gas grenades and clubs, the army entered the university grounds March 11 to crush the student protest. The March 17 issue of *El Diario* reported:

Motorized forces from the army and police occupied university buildings Friday [March 11] to put an end to an outbreak of student agitation that culminated this week in violent confrontations with the forces of public order, resulting in more than fifteen wounded and more than 100 arrested.

In response to this violent attack on the democratic rights of all Dominicans, and on the autonomy of the university in particular, broad sectors of public opinion demanded that the repressive forces withdraw immediately from the university.

In a statement quoted in the March 17 *El Diario*, four Catholic bishops urged the government "to end the occupation of the university as quickly as possible and to return it to those legally in charge of it, whose peaceful course of action in requesting a larger budgetary allotment, led by the rector, we continue to support."

El Diario added that the opposition Dominican Revolutionary (PRD) and Social Christian (PRSC) parties "have urged the government to revoke the measure."

Only two parties supported the actions of the Dominican regime—the Dominican Liberation party (PLD) headed by former President Juan Bosch, and the Dominican Communist party.

In this regard, *El Diario* noted: ". . . the Dominican Communist party (PCD) tacitly approved the action in a statement condemning the internal situation in the university and noting that the cause of the occupation could be traced to the crisis there.

"Former President Juan Bosch . . . also criticized the wave of student protests and disorders, stating that this was the reason for the military action." □

Selections From the Left

پیاد دانشجو

"*Payam Daneshjoo*" (*Student's Message*). A Persian-language magazine published six times a year in New York.

The March-April issue features an article on International Women's Day, March 8.

"Half the population of the world, which for centuries has been doomed to an inferior life, is now challenging all those institutions and social relations that have prevented it from enjoying equality," Parvin Najafi writes.

"In Iran, demands for women's equality represent a fundamental challenge to the shah's monarchy. . . . Women in Iran, like the rest of the population, are prevented from taking part in any political activity. Iranian jails are full of women political prisoners, and last year the first Iranian woman was ordered executed by the shah's firing squad.

"But the oppression against women does not end here. The pressure from centuries of backwardness is borne mostly on the shoulders of women. Not a day passes without the Iranian press publishing something about women being injured or murdered by their husbands, or about other crimes against women. When the millions of the oppressed women of Iran rise against these subhuman conditions, the Pahlavi monarchy based on these rotten relations belonging to the stone age will be shaken to its foundations."

labor Challenge

Twice monthly newspaper published in Toronto, Canada.

"It seems that the police forces in Canada do not like to see revolutionary Marxists from Québec tour across Canada to explain what is going on in Québec. . . ." Jean-Paul Pelletier, a leader of the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire, told an audience of 200 students at the University of Toronto.

In the March 28 issue, Jim Upton describes the successful seven-city tour of Pelletier and Suzanne Chabot, a leader of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. Their meetings on "Québec After the Parti Québécois Victory" were so successful, in fact, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police tried to sabotage the effort:

"The harassment began when RMCP officers stopped Pelletier as he was boarding his plane in Winnipeg en route to Toronto. They demanded his ID and then told him they were mistaken and were looking for someone else.

"However, when Pelletier landed in Toronto, two RMCP officers told him he was 'under arrest' and took him to the

RMCP office at the airport. . . .

"After interrogating Pelletier and searching his belongings, the RMCP finally admitted mistaken identity—for the second time in the same day—and released him.

"In a press release issued by the organizations sponsoring the tour, Pelletier described the incident as 'one of calculated harassment and intimidation.' . . .

"The actions of the RMCP were unable to mar the success of the tour, which began in Saskatoon February 27 at the Prairie Socialist Conference sponsored by the RMG, the LSA/LSO, and the YS [Young Socialists], and ended March 14 in Hamilton. Chabot and Pelletier spoke to 1,200 people in the seven cities they visited and many more heard their views through the media coverage the tour received. . . .

"Chabot and Pelletier were interviewed by French-language CBC radio stations and spoke on English-language radio in Vancouver, Edmonton, Regina, and Winnipeg. They were also interviewed on television in Vancouver."

ПРАВДА

"*Truth*," organ of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Published daily in Moscow.

In the March 18 issue, a TASS dispatch comments on the "march against organized violence" held in Bologna, Italy, March 16. The march was called by the Communist party mayor as an answer to student protests (see *Intercontinental Press*, March 28, p. 318).

The local Christian Democratic party officially participated in the CP march, thus publicly confirming the alliance between the CP and the biggest capitalist party that developed during the student demonstrations. Both Christian Democrats and Communists agreed on the need to bring in armored units to "restore order."

TASS correspondent N. Prozhogin writes: "The attention of all Italy was focused yesterday [March 16] on Bologna, the largest city of the 'red belt' of Emilia-Romagna. Last week, armed groups of provocateurs, exploiting the just discontent of the student youth over the collapse of the country's educational system, organized disorders. In order to put an end to these outbreaks, it was necessary to call onto the streets, not only the police and riot forces, but troops. It was not by chance that the provocateurs chose Bologna—a city that has been governed continuously by left forces since the fall of fascism.

"The provocateurs wanted to compromise the local government bodies headed by Communists, whose work has made Bologna into an exemplary city and shown how

much the Communists can do in the interests of the workers, even in the difficult conditions of bourgeois society."

POLITYKA

"*Politics*." Published weekly in Warsaw, Poland.

The March 19 issue includes two short notes about the conference in Madrid on March 1-2 of the general secretaries of the French, Spanish, and Italian Communist parties. These are included in a regular column called "On the Left" that features short items, mostly from the press of the other East European workers states.

The first note quotes Spanish CP General Secretary Santiago Carrillo as saying: "No 'Euro-Communist center' was founded here in Madrid. We are not trying to tell others what road to take. We only noted with satisfaction that the three big European Communist parties, whose prestige is recognized today, found themselves completely in agreement on our concept of democratic socialism."

The second note quotes the Czechoslovak Communist party organ *Rudé Pravo* as follows:

"All those who hoped for a so-called Europeanization of Communism were disappointed. Before this meeting, bourgeois propagandists made all sorts of suppositions and prognoses in an attempt to exert an influence on the meeting in Madrid, which the press described as the 'inauguration of the Europeanization of Communism.' Those who expected Madrid to open up a period of increased criticism of Moscow were disillusioned."

The editors of *Polityka*, as well as of *Rudé Pravo*, obviously want to make it clear that the big West European CPs' gestures of independence are not going to go as far as waging a consistent fight against bureaucratic repression, which is what the antibureaucratic opposition hopes for. But at the same time, such reporting shows that the bureaucratic press feels obliged to say something about the criticisms raised by the "Euro-Communist" parties about the violations of human rights in East Europe and the USSR.

Magyar Nemzet

"*Hungarian Nation*," paper of the Patriotic People's Front. Published daily in Budapest, Hungary.

The March 13 issue features an article with the headline: "Yugoslav Opposition to the Western Campaign" (about the violation of human rights in East Europe). The purpose of this piece is clearly to show that the Tito regime stands with the

Kremlin and the other bureaucratic regimes against criticisms of Stalinist repression. The article says:

"Dr. Alekszandar Grlicskov, a departmental secretary in the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, gave a speech at an activists conference in which he dealt with the results of the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation, as well as the coming Belgrade conference [which is to review compliance with the accords reached in Helsinki].

"The ideological factors should not become obstacles to the détente. Recently, however, and particularly as the Belgrade conference approaches, in the press of some Western countries a campaign has been started up about human rights being in question in socialist countries."

"Grlicskov continued: 'The hardened foes of Communism, who see no good in the détente, are trying, by anti-Communist activity and cold-warrior attacks, to undermine the Helsinki agreement. They want to create distrust and discord.'"

The statements by Grlicskov that were quoted paralleled the themes of the Kremlin's propaganda against all criticism of the violation of human rights in the East European workers states. They were formulated in a more diplomatic way, however. For example, Grlicskov was quoted as saying no party to the agreements had the right "to try to teach someone else what to do and thus shift responsibility for the existing problems onto another."

However, the "campaign" referred to was not the statements of Carter and other capitalist politicians on the question of human rights but articles appearing in the Western press, most of which simply report the violation of human rights and criticisms of these by the Western CPs and the antibureaucratic fighters themselves. Grlicskov, like the Kremlin, thinks that such protests should not be publicized.

libération

A socialist monthly published in Montréal. Presents the views of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action.

The April issue reports on the attitude of the Québec Maoists to the shifts in China since Mao's death:

"Two of the Maoist groups in Québec have declared full support for the victorious faction of the Chinese Communist party and opposition to the 'gang of four.'"

"In an editorial in the January 6 issue of *En Lutte* entitled: 'Yes, Socialism Is Doing Fine in China,' the editors repeat without any criticism all the statements of the new Peking leadership about the four being "carriers of bourgeois ideology who slipped into the Chinese Communist party."

"The March 3 issue of *La Forge*, the paper of the Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) of Canada, includes a full-page

unsigned article reporting that the Central Committee 'hails' the action of the Chinese CP in crushing the 'plot cooked up by the antiparty clique' of the 'gang of four.'

"Once again, the main accusation raised against these former leaders of the CCP, who were longstanding lieutenants of Mao, is that they were 'a clique of bourgeois conspirators who infiltrated the Central Committee of the CCP' and that 'they would have done everything in their power to restore capitalism in China.' . . .

"Another Maoist group, the Communist party of Canada (Marxist Leninist), while not openly criticizing the Chinese regime, has expressed its disagreement with the campaign against the 'gang of four.'"

"In the December 6 issue of the *Quotidien du Canada Populaire*, it responded to an article published in the November 14 issue of the Chinese paper *Renmin Ribao*:

"We have several disagreements with the article. For example the comrade characterizes the four ousted comrades as a "plague." . . . Our opinion is that the four first accusations are empty raving, devoid of any content."

was tun

"What Is To Be Done," weekly paper of the International Marxist Group. Published in Frankfurt, West Germany.

The March 24 issue comments on the recent congress of the Young Socialists (Jusos), the youth affiliate of the Social Democratic party. Despite an anti-Communist campaign whipped up by the Socialist party leaders, the congress elected to the Executive representatives of a current close to the Communist party.

"If Benneter was elected [to the leadership] at the Juso congress, [Egon] Bahr [administrative head of the SP] let it be known in *Bild* [an anti-Communist gutter paper], then the National Secretariat of the Young Socialists might be shut down. Benneter was elected to the new Juso Executive, and the Secretariat has not been shut down, nor is it likely to be. No matter how left the Juso national leadership may be, the SP needs it today more than at any time in the last five years.

"At the previous Juso congress in Dortmund the center group around Heide Wiczorek-Zeul . . . under the pressure of the coming parliamentary elections managed to hold the various wings together. Already at that time, a turn was taking shape. Two 'Stamocaps' [adherents of the CP theory of "State Monopoly Capitalism"], T. Müller and U. Benneter, were elected to the national leadership.

"At that time, *Was Tun* wrote: 'The differences in the Young Socialists cannot be covered up. They represent a real conflict between the socialist aspirations of thousands of Young Socialists and the pro-market-economy and procapitalist policy of the adult party.'"

Another article explained that at the moment it was not likely that the SP would drive out leftward moving currents. "In times of high unemployment and the breakdown of the Schmidt [SP-liberal] regime, with the outcry over his attempt to cut old-age pensions, the illegal bugging scandals, and the SP defeat in the Hesse municipal elections, the party badly needs left cover.

"The big question is whether the Juso left wing will fight actively and consistently for its positions and not let itself be used in this way. . . ."

Internationalen

"The International," central organ of the Communist Workers League (Swedish section of the Fourth International). Published weekly in Stockholm.

At the beginning of March, the faction of the Swedish Communist party that favored total subordination to the Kremlin line walked out to form a new organization. The question thus arises: Will the majority, which has made some criticisms of Stalinist repression, carry its gestures of independence further? Or will it retreat to try to forestall support from Moscow for the rival group?

In the March 25 issue, Mats Utbult notes that the Helsingborg branch of the Swedish Communist party has submitted a resolution to the party district convention in Skaane calling for the party paper *Ny Dag* to print "more positive material from the Socialist countries." Utbult asked CP member of parliament Jörn Svensson to comment on this resolution and related questions. Svensson replied:

"Democracy in the socialist countries has continually advanced. The unions decide about working conditions and the organization of work. In the present situation, a positive presentation of the socialist countries in our press would be a good argument for discussions in the work places."

Utbult asks:

"After the split, only seventeen out of seventy members in the branch here walked out. . . . Are there still differences in the party about the regimes in East Europe?"

Svensson replied: "No, there is no doubt that democracy has advanced in those countries. The workers have more to say about questions on the job and in the economy than here. The oppositionists have a different kind of opportunity than before to put forward their points of view."

Utbult asked why the Communist party leadership opposed the February 26 united-front demonstration in Lund calling for democratic rights in East Europe and the USSR. Svensson replied:

"The demonstration could give a bad impression because it included Trotskyists. They have a basically negative attitude."

AROUND THE WORLD



Carter Silent as Gen. Brown Speaks His Mind

Gen. George Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told a group of Defense and State Department officials last May that the government should read the mail of private citizens.

Speaking at the National War College, the Pentagon chief told his audience, "If any citizen of this country is so concerned about his mail being read or is concerned about his presence at a meeting being noted, I'd say we ought to read his mail and we ought to know what the hell he has done." (Quoted in the March 29 *New York Times*.)

In the same talk the general likened Congress to "the man who is kibitzing a chess game and occasionally reaches in and moves a piece and thereby screws it all up."

During his campaign last year, Jimmy Carter criticized former President Ford for not taking action stronger than a reprimand after General Brown made headlines complaining about excessive "Jewish influence" in forming national policies. Vice-President Mondale asked at the time whether the Pentagon head was fit to serve even as "a sewer commissioner."

As president, however, Carter views the general's remarks in a more tolerant light. White House press secretary Jody Powell said the president has no plans to reprimand Brown. In fact, Powell added, the commander-in-chief had come to understand and sympathize with public figures, like General Brown, who said things they later regretted.

100,000 British Students Say 'No' to Tuition Hikes

Upwards of 100,000 students have joined protests against tuition increases and education cutbacks proposed by Britain's Labour government.

Students occupied more than thirty-five campuses for several weeks in March, and thousands pressed their demands in massive street demonstrations. The largest action occurred March 9, drawing 40,000 students and trade unionists to rallies in London, Glasgow, Leeds, and Exmouth.

The National Union of Students is calling on the government to abolish financial eligibility tests for student grants and to roll back fee hikes that hit foreign and part-time students particularly hard. Fees for overseas students have increased from £250 (\$425) in 1967 to £650 this year

for undergraduates and £850 for graduates. The NUS is demanding a guarantee that no student be forced to leave school because of any fee increases.

Shirley Williams, Labour's secretary of state for education and science, has replied that education must accept its share of cutbacks under the government's austerity program.

Coup Attempt in Thailand

A group of five officers and 300 troops attempted to overthrow Thailand's ruling military junta March 26. The leader of the coup attempt was reported to have been Gen. Chalard Hiranyasiri. He was ousted as deputy commander in chief of the army in October 1976, shortly after the present junta seized power following a bloody massacre of students at Thammasat University.

After more than twelve hours, the rebel troops, who had seized the government radio station, surrendered to loyalist forces. The only casualty was Gen. Arun Thavathasin, who was reportedly killed after refusing to join the coup. The junta announced that the coup leaders would stand trial before a military court and began to arrest a number of civilian officials, military officers, businessmen, and journalists alleged to have had a role in the coup attempt.

Israeli Dock Strike Forces New Negotiations

Dock workers in the ports of Haifa, Elath, and Ashdod called off a week-long strike March 28 after the Rabin government agreed to reopen negotiations on a new wage agreement.

The strikers walked off the job March 21 at the height of Israel's citrus export season. A government order forced them back to work three days later, but upon returning to work they continued the job action by loading only one-third the normal amount of cargo. Millions of crates of oranges sat rotting in warehouses.

The workers were demanding a substantially higher wage increase than the 2.5 percent allowed under their current contract. A victory for the dock workers would further undermine the Rabin government's wage policies, already under attack from other sections of Israel's labor movement.

The dock workers' action had been opposed by Israel's General Federation of

Labor until the strikers agreed to lower their wage demands to fit into the framework of the federation's target of 4-to-5 percent increase for production workers. At that point the Israeli cabinet agreed to enter negotiations, ending the walkout.

Wife of Anatoly Shcharansky Appeals to United Nations

The wife of imprisoned Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky appealed to United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim to intercede with Soviet authorities on behalf of her husband.

Avital Shcharansky, who was allowed to emigrate to Israel in 1973 although similar permission for her husband was denied, met with UN Under Secretary General William B. Buffum March 22 in New York.

Early in March the Soviet daily *Izvestia* charged Anatoly Shcharansky and four other dissidents with engaging in espionage for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. On March 15, police arrested Shcharansky, who is a founding member of the Helsinki monitoring group in Moscow.

Bad Year for Incumbents—Worldwide

Incumbent politicians and parties were either turned out of office or weakened in most countries that held contested elections within the last year.

In the United States, Sweden, and India, ruling parties were defeated. In France, voters favored opposition Union of the Left candidates in a majority of the municipal elections. Québec voters rebuffed Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau's Liberal party, replacing it with the Parti Québécois.

The governing British Labour party was stung by severe losses in elections to fill Parliamentary vacancies, while the ruling parties in West Germany, Japan, and Bermuda clung to power but suffered a loss of support.

In Mexico and Pakistan the incumbent parties were returned to office, but Mexico's Institutional Revolutionary party ran virtually unopposed, and the opposition in Pakistan charged massive vote fraud.

Dr. Walter Burnham, a professor of political science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, offered several possible explanations for the trend against incumbents, which he said is "probably unprecedented in the recent history of the

West." He cited growing hostility on the part of voters "to what bureaucracies are doing to them," "the declining relevance of the traditional patriotic symbols of the nation state," and the general economic downturn (quoted in the March 28 *New York Times*).

Brazil Dictator Tells Congress 'Go Home' After Unfavorable Vote

President Ernesto Geisel, Brazil's military dictator, dissolved Congress for an undetermined period April 1, after opponents blocked the passage of a government bill on judicial reform.

The Brazilian Democratic Movement, the parliamentary opposition, mustered enough votes to prevent the two-thirds majority needed for passage. They had objected to the measure because it failed to restore the right of habeas corpus for political prisoners or guarantee the independence of judges from government pressure.

Geisel told the nation in a speech that the suspension of Congress would be brief and that he intended to pass the controversial bill by decree. Asserting that the minority opposition party had "transformed itself into a dictatorship in Congress," Geisel told a gathering of military officers:

"I say we live in a democracy. We live in liberty. And I repeat what I have said many times before—that there is no liberty only for those who want to use it to destroy our nation."

New Polish Rights Group Founded

A new human rights organization announced its formation at a press conference in Warsaw March 27. The eighteen initial members of the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights of Man said they hoped to work in cooperation with Polish authorities, not in confrontation with them. Their stated aim is to seek changes in Polish laws to bring the country into compliance with United Nations covenants on human rights ratified by the Polish government.

Spokesmen for the group said they will have broader and more long-term goals than the Workers Defense Committee, the organization set up to defend Polish workers who were victimized after last June's protests over increased prices.

Committee Formed in Mexico to Fight For Release of Political Prisoners

A Committee of Former Political Prisoners and Relatives has been formed in Mexico to campaign for the release of 244 political prisoners.

At a recent news conference, a group of defense attorneys admitted their list of 244 was "regrettably incomplete." An accounting of prisoners in the countryside is especially difficult to obtain, they said.

"Peasant leaders are just locked away

for trying to defend the community against abuse by authorities or people with influence," one of the lawyers explained.

At the same time, a group of lawyers has published a list of 257 persons who have "disappeared" in Mexico's Guerrero state during army "antiguerrilla" operations. The missing persons, according to the lawyers, are either held incommunicado by the military or police or have died in detention.

While the Mexican government routinely denies holding political prisoners, the stepped-up efforts by relatives and defense attorneys to publicize the plight of detainees has already produced results. In March the attorney general promised to drop charges against seventy-six prisoners, forty-six of whom have been held without trial since 1971.

Soares Adds 'Shock Team' to Portuguese Cabinet

Prime Minister Mário Soares shuffled his government March 25, portraying the move as an attempt to revive Portugal's sagging economy. The Socialist party chief announced that managerial and other "experts" would take over five posts in his twenty-member cabinet, as well as replace officials in eight lesser slots.

"Our principal challenge is to get the economy moving again now that we have restored the authority of the state and political liberties. Now we have to curb inflation, attract new investments, and create jobs, and so I have brought in a shock team," Soares told reporters.

A former oil company executive, Alfredo Robre da Costa, was appointed minister of industry. Carlos Mota Pinto, a professor at Coimbra University and a specialist in commercial law, was named minister of commerce and tourism. The labor ministry is to be headed by a Socialist party trade-union official, António Maldonado Gonhe-la. Soares also announced changes in the Agriculture and Information ministries.

Opponents of Park Regime Protest Harsh Sentences Against Dissidents

Oppositionists issued a new challenge to South Korean dictator Park Chung Hee March 22, just hours after the country's Supreme Court upheld stiff sentences of up to five years given to eighteen critics of the regime.

Six religious and political leaders made public a "Charter for Democracy and National Salvation," which appeals for relaxation of Park's authoritarian rule and calls for an independent judiciary, freedom of press and education, and repeal of the constitution imposed by Park in 1972. Such statements are illegal under a 1975 emergency decree that bans all criticism of the government.

Among the eighteen whose sentences were upheld were former South Korean



KOREAN DICTATOR PARK

President Yun Po Sun, and Kim Dae Jung, who ran against Park for president in 1971. The group was convicted under the emergency decree for issuing in March 1976 a document similar to the new "Charter for Democracy."

Sixty supporters of the dissidents marched to the Supreme Court hearing, singing "We Shall Overcome" in Korean. Plainclothes police broke up an attempt to make a return march.

Beethoven Rehabilitated

Three years ago a visit by the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra to China touched off a tirade against Western music in the Chinese press. Classical compositions, especially by Beethoven and Schubert, along with some modern works, were denounced as degenerate and reactionary. A subsequent tour by the Vancouver Symphony was canceled after the orchestra refused to submit to prior censorship of their program.

Tastes seem to have changed, however. A Canadian brass quintet currently visiting China and playing everything from Bach and Beethoven to pieces by contemporary Canadian and American composers has won unqualified critical acclaim from the Peking press. The Chinese Communist party paper *Jenmin Jih Pao* praised the group's concerts saying, "its skill, fidelity in interpretation and lively, bright performances leave audiences with a deep impression."

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

7,000 Turn Out for Italy's First A-Plant Protest

Seven thousand residents of the area around Montalto di Castro, Italy, rallied at the end of March to protest government plans to construct two atomic reactors there. According to a report in the March 30 *New York Times*, this was the first action against nuclear power ever held in Italy.

The projected 1,000-megawatt reactors are the first of twelve to be built in a ten-year, \$24 billion effort. Italy currently has three experimental nuclear plants in operation.

Montalto di Castro is located in the Maremma, a rich farming area on Italy's west coast about 120 miles north of Rome. The coastal waters are among the best fishing grounds in the Mediterranean.

The protests originated earlier this year in a series of public meetings held to discuss the proposed atomic plants. Both sides presented arguments. Opposition grew quickly as doubts developed concerning the disposal of nuclear wastes and the plants' effects on fishing and farming. Arturo Osio of the World Wildlife Foundation in Italy explained: "Those who started this fight were concerned for the environment, for the birds, the fish, the animals. . . . Those who are continuing it feel threatened personally." According to the *New York Times* report, the overwhelming majority of the area's residents are now opposed to construction of the plants.

Fishermen are concerned about the plants' discharge of hot water into the sea: "The Government has guaranteed that it will cordon off a wide radius around the mouth of the tubes discharging the hot water and they won't let the fishing boats enter the zone. But we haven't yet taught the fish to stay outside that radius," said Franca Paita, a member of the town committee fighting the plant.

Many farmers in the Maremma acquired their land in the 1950s, when big landholdings were expropriated and the government made drained marshland available in small plots. Now the government is offering to buy it back at premium prices. But, said farmer spokesman Pietro Blasi, "It's taken a generation to create what we have now. We've sweated for this land and don't intend to give it up at any price."

Salvatore Cadoni, a newly arrived shepherd, has another reason for wanting to

stop the nuclear plants: "I came here when they built a plastics firm in Sardinia and my sheep began to die from the pollution. I don't feel like moving again."

15,000 Nuclear Protesters March in West Germany

Fifteen thousand persons demonstrated in Grohnde, West Germany, on March 19 to protest the construction of a nuclear power plant there. Grohnde is near Hanover in the state of Lower Saxony. Besides the reactor itself, the government is also considering Lower Saxony as a site for the permanent storage of atomic waste from plants all over West Germany.

The protesters faced a massive show of police force: Three thousand cops armed with water cannon and tear-gas grenades surrounded the construction site, accompanied by helicopters. A police roadblock several miles away stopped traffic, forcing demonstrators to walk to the action.

When a section of the crowd ignored police barricades and attempted to occupy the site, a confrontation ensued. Eighty demonstrators and 237 cops were injured, according to a report in the March 30 *New York Times*.

The government and the bourgeois press seized on this incident to launch a violence-baiting campaign against the anti-nuclear-power movement. The brunt of these attacks fell on the Kommunistischer Bund Westdeutschlands (KBW—Communist League of West Germany), an ultraleft Maoist group that participated in the confrontation. The minister-president of Lower Saxony, Ernst Albrecht, accused the KBW of "criminal conspiracy" and called on the federal government to ban the group.

The movement has faced redbaiting in the past, including accusations by government spy agencies of secret funding by the East German regime. Such attacks have not prevented it from becoming an important political force in the country.

In 1973, Bonn decided to construct nuclear plants generating 45,000 megawatts by 1985. As the environmental dangers associated with atomic plants became widely known and protests devel-

oped, these plans were scaled back. The government now projects twenty-nine reactors producing 30,000 megawatts. Only thirteen of these are in operation. Construction on the other sixteen has been held up indefinitely, some by court injunctions won through lawsuits by citizens groups, as in the case of the Wyhl reactor (see *Intercontinental Press*, March 28, p. 339). The rest have been blocked by a recently imposed government requirement that disposal facilities for spent fuel and wastes be built before any more plants are put into operation. The development of such facilities has also been stymied by antinuclear sentiment. Albrecht himself opposes the plan to store the wastes in Lower Saxony and has suggested shipping them to the United States instead.

The movement against nuclear power has clearly taken on mass proportions in West Germany. *Der Spiegel* magazine estimates that as many as two million persons have been active in groups protesting atomic development. The BBU*—one of the main groups organizing the protests—began in 1972 with some thirty persons protesting air pollution from a proposed oil refinery. Today, Hans-Helmuth Wüstenhagen, a leader of the group, says it has a following of 320,000.

Second Thoughts

The Virginia Electric and Power Company (Vepco) announced March 18 that it was canceling development of two 900-megawatt nuclear power plants already under construction at Surry, Virginia. The company cited reduced projections of consumer need and "growing concern over the many uncertainties that face the nuclear industry," according to the March 19 *Washington Post*.

Vepco is quite familiar with these "uncertainties": Its two plants already in operation at Surry have been plagued by frequent shutdowns due to mechanical difficulties, including leaks in steam generator tubing. The utility has been fined more than \$30,000 on three separate

* Bundesverband der Bürgerinitiativen Umweltschutz (Federal League of Citizens Initiative Groups to Defend the Environment).



occasions by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. These penalties were for safety violations, construction defects, and false statements about the geological stability of the North Anna, Virginia, area where four more plants are under construction. Vepco has also faced strong challenges in the courts and in public hearings from the North Anna Environmental Coalition and other groups opposed to nuclear power development in Virginia.

James Dunstan of the Virginia State Corporation Commission said of the company's problems: "Vepco has been one of the leaders of the country in nuclear power and if it admits there are problems stopping them from nuclear expansion then it probably means a reassessment is going on all over the country."

The decision to stop building the two Surry plants means the loss of a \$146 million investment for Vepco. The stockholders won't have to absorb this, however. Vepco intends to pass the entire loss on to its customers in the form of rate increases over a ten-year period.

Group Formed to Oppose Hudson Valley A-Plants

The Mid-Hudson Nuclear Opponents issued a "Declaration of Nuclear Resistance" in early March. The new organization called for opposition to plans by the Consolidated Edison company to put a total of ten atomic power plants within a fifty-mile radius of the city of Poughkeepsie, New York.

Dr. Peter Brown, the Group's chairman, said: "The net result, if all these projects go through, would give the Mid-Hudson Valley one of the largest concentrations of nuclear power anywhere in the world, with devastating ecological and national security implications for years to come."

'Perfect Marriage' on the Rocks

In 1967, Dow Chemical Company and Consumers Power Company announced a joint project in Midland, Michigan. The utility would build a 1,360-megawatt nuclear power plant, and Dow's Midland works would consume 40 percent of the output. It was to be the first commercial atom plant tailored to the specific needs of an industrial customer—"the perfect marriage of industrial need and nuclear technology," as the *Wall Street Journal* put it.

But things haven't worked out that way. Opposition from environmental groups and changes in government regulations held up construction permits for the plant until 1972. A series of financial difficulties caused further delays and soured relations between the two corporations. Then last July, a local citizens group opposed to nuclear power won a ruling by the U.S. Court of Appeals ordering the Nuclear

Regulatory Commission to review certain environmental and economic issues. The NRC is currently holding hearings to determine whether construction should be delayed once again.

The plant is now eight years behind schedule. Projected costs have risen from \$350 million to \$1.67 billion. Dow has threatened several times to pull out of the project altogether, and says that it is considering a breach-of-contract suit against Consumers Power for more than \$100 million.

Protests Halt Construction of New Hampshire Nuclear Plant

Work on a twin-generator, 2,300-megawatt nuclear plant at Seabrook, New Hampshire, has been halted as protests by citizens and environmental groups have forced government regulatory agencies to withdraw previously approved construction permits.

Seabrook is a small fishing and resort town on the Atlantic coast forty-five miles north of Boston. It has been the scene of the largest protest actions in the United States against atomic power. Two rallies were held there last August at which state police arrested more than 100 protesters, and in October some 2,000 persons rallied to oppose the atomic plant. Seabrook citizens voted 768 to 632 at a "town meeting" against construction of the facility. Several other towns near the site have voted to forbid transportation of nuclear materials.

The movement is being organized by several groups: the Seacoast Anti-Pollution League, the New England Coalition on Nuclear Pollution, and the Clamshell Alliance.

Fishermen in particular have objected to the plant, citing its potentially disastrous effects on marine life. Present plans call for the daily circulation through the plant's cooling system of 1.2 billion gallons of sea water. This water would be returned to the ocean thirty-nine degrees Fahrenheit (22 degrees Celsius) hotter than the coastal waters.

The protests led the regional director of the Environmental Protection Agency, John McGlennon, to reverse a previous EPA decision approving the plant. His opinion concurred with the fishermen's objections. Noting that the EPA had been granting exceptions to laws requiring closed cooling systems "with impunity," McGlennon said:

The line got drawn at Seabrook . . . virtually all life begins in coastal areas. Thousands of organisms live in an interdependent ecosystem. If you eliminate the plankton you affect the lobsters, clams and finfish. We have a legal, social and moral responsibility to protect the earth's ecosystem for future generations.

The editors of the *Wall Street Journal*, who have been campaigning for the

Seabrook plant, derisively objected to McGlennon's decision as "something to do with clam larvae," but they recognized the protesters' victory:

As for the radical fringe of the environmentalist movement, they couldn't be happier. They have learned a few things about economics and now know that all they have to do to kill off nuclear power generation entirely is to bring about enough regulatory delay to make costs prohibitive.

The project is now three years behind schedule. The delays have resulted in a big financial loss to the Public Service Company, which owns fifty percent of the project. The PSC has already sunk \$600 million into Seabrook, and is now losing money at the rate of \$15 million per month. Two other utility concerns are trying to sell their investments in the plant, and the PSC is having difficulty getting short-term loans to cover its losses.

Carter's new appointee as EPA head, Douglas Costle, is now reviewing the regional EPA decision. The pressure from the antinuclear movement in Seabrook is still on. Another demonstration is set for



Eric Roth/Dollars & Sense
Demonstrators marching toward Seabrook site in August 1976.

April 30, and the Clamshell Alliance has announced plans for a peaceful occupation of the construction site on that day.

"Two years ago you couldn't get five people in the same room to discuss nuclear energy," said Guy Chichester, an organizer of the April 30 protest. "Now you can't keep up with the movement."

Iowa Escapes Catastrophe

"There were enough contaminants to kill or cripple most of the population of Iowa," Pete Hamlin of the Iowa Department of Environmental Quality reported March 20.

Hamlin was referring to a shipping error that almost resulted in polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) being spread as oil on the state's network of gravel roads. Hamlin said the error was discovered in time to avert an "ecological disaster."

PCBs have been found to cause deformities in fetuses, changes in liver function, nervous disorders, and cancer in animals. In 1968, 1,000 persons in Japan were poisoned by cooking oil contaminated with PCBs. Eight years later those victims continued to experience fever, headaches, coughs, digestive disorders, numbness in their limbs, menstrual disturbances, and a persistent skin disease called "chloracne." They also showed a marked increase in liver cancer.

PCBs in the Hudson, Too

The General Electric Corporation has used polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) for years in its plants at Port Edward and Hudson Falls, New York. The wastes, of course, have been dumped into the Hudson River. Last September, GE agreed under government pressure to end its use of the dangerous pollutant by July 1 and to contribute \$4 million toward cleanup operations.

On February 25, the Environmental Protection Agency's PCB advisory committee announced the results of analysis of river-bottom mud samples. They found that dredging and chemical treatment will be required the "full length of the Hudson River," and that a ban previously imposed on most commercial fishing must be continued.

General Electric has announced that some new materials known as "Dielektrol I and II" will be in use in its plants by June 30 to replace the PCBs. News reports said the principal element in the new compounds is dioctyl phthalate, but GE refused to disclose the other ingredients because they are "applying for patent rights."

Prestigious Polluters

General Motors is recalling 135,000 Cadillacs.

The Environmental Protection Agency ordered GM to take action after tests showed that defective carburetor design in



Herb Luback/Washington Post

a number of 1975 models of the luxury automobile resulted in three times the carbon monoxide emission allowed by the agency.

General Motors voluntarily agreed to recall the cars for carburetor modifications. Since the EPA had originally approved the design, no additional penalties will be imposed.

Gas Cloud in Mexico Poisons Hundreds

A cloud of toxic fumes coming from a broken sewer pipe poisoned hundreds of persons in an industrial area of Cuernavaca, Mexico, on March 6. Although more than 600 suffered from vomiting and other ill effects, ambulances were available to transport only some 200 to hospitals.

Army and police units evacuated many families from their homes as the gas spread throughout the city.

The source of the poison was not immediately determined, although the Sintex laboratories in the center of the industrial area were under suspicion. An employee said that a power interruption at the plant had caused chemical tank control systems to fail.

Nuclear Polluters Indicted

The former director of the Center for Nuclear Studies in Grenoble, France, and the head of the center's safety division have been charged with responsibility for "nuclear pollution," according to a report in the March 17 *Rouge*.

The indictments, issued by an examining magistrate, are the outcome of an investigation begun in September 1974, when it was learned that there had been an accident in July of that year involving a nuclear reactor at the Laue-Langevin Institute.

According to a report by pollution experts in December 1975, the accident caused "significant" nuclear pollution of the ground water of the department of Isère.

Success Story

Strict enforcement of pollution controls and an improved sewage treatment system have apparently been effective in cleaning up the portion of the Thames River that flows through London.

A report by Peter J. Shaw in the March 17 *Christian Science Monitor* says that the condition of the river has greatly improved since the 1950s, when the water was black and almost devoid of oxygen. Most fish and bird life had vanished, except for a few eels able to survive by breathing air directly from the surface.

Pollution dating back to the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century, and inadequate treatment of sewage had created this situation. During the years following World War II, the Thames was little better than an open sewer due to bombing damage of treatment plants.

In 1959, antipollution controls were initiated. The quality and volume of any discharge other than uncontaminated surface water were strictly regulated. Three years ago new sewage treatment plants with advanced filtration and aeration equipment went into operation. The final effluent from these plants is virtually pure water.

Today the river already has twice the oxygen content predicted for 1980. Ninety-one species of fresh water and marine fish have been identified. This past winter, bird experts logged a population of up to 10,000 wildfowl and 12,000 wading birds. In 1974 salmon—a fish notoriously sensitive to pollution—were found for the first time in 100 years in the lower reaches of the inner Thames.

Fishermen Blockade Le Havre

Fifty fishing boats from seven villages in Normandy began a blockade of Le Havre's outer harbor March 28, blocking all traffic in and out of one of France's busiest ports.

"This dramatic action was carried out to protest the worsening pollution of the Seine estuary and the government's renewed authorizations permitting industrial dumping," *Le Monde* reported March 29. "The fishermen are demanding a halt to the dumping, particularly of phosphogypsum; sanctions against the polluters; and assessment of damages."

"Action must be taken now or never," a representative of the fishermen said. "Tomorrow it will be too late. The ecological balance will have been tipped too far."

Funds have been collected in preparation for a lengthy struggle. Five ferry boats and twenty cargo ships were initially prevented from sailing out of the port. Thirty more ships were waiting to enter.

For Legalization of All Workers Parties in Spain!

[The following statement by Jordi Jau-mandreu of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria¹ appeared in the March 12-18 issue of the Spanish weekly magazine *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*. The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

An attempt is being made to build a strong "democratic" state, one with a few limited, tightly circumscribed freedoms and a state apparatus that, in essence, preserves certain institutions of the dictatorship—especially its tattered repressive organs. The aim is to impose on the workers the *social pact* the capitalists consider necessary to revive the economy. All the decisive sectors of the capitalist class, although with different variations and nuances, are lined up behind this plan.

The plan has also gained credibility through the confidence the dominant workers organizations have expressed in it. Some of these organizations find themselves in the bizarre situation of offering conditional support to the same government that has kept them illegal.

In the short run, the plan to move toward the establishment of a strong state requires an electoral victory by the democratic sectors of the bourgeoisie. To achieve this it is necessary to divide and disorient the workers by means of a "prudent" dose of legality for the workers parties. Such an electoral victory, whose preparation we are now witnessing, will take place through a process of confronting and dividing the workers. The government's decision to treat the PCE² and other working-class organizations as if they were illegal is a basic element of that strategy.

That is why the fundamental fight today for the workers and mass movement has to be to establish immediate legality for all the workers and mass parties and organizations, as well as for the revolutionary nationalist organizations of the various nationalities in Spain. This is not only because without that legalization not even the facade of a democratic regime can exist. It is also, above all, because the legalization of all organizations—bar none—is the best way to prevent the

government and the bourgeoisie from succeeding in these divisive maneuvers.

In this regard, the working-class forces that have been granted legal status—especially the PSOE³—(whose legalization we hail and consider an important advance for the workers movement) must be alert so as not to fall into the divisionist trap the government has set. They must be the first to demand that legal status be extended to all workers parties. The best way to fight for freedom for others is to take up that struggle *starting right now*, without awaiting the results of the elections.

Today it is necessary and possible to launch a united campaign to force the granting of legal status for all workers and mass organizations. There is strong sentiment among the Spanish masses for that demand. What is involved is mobilizing on the basis of that sentiment to win a victory for everyone, because legalization is not going to be the product of gratuitous concessions. That is why we feel that the current inactivity of the PCE, which is anxious to present an image of "order" and "stability," is an incorrect response to the situation. Exactly one month after their "demonstration of responsibility" on the occasion of the funeral of their comrades who were killed on Atocha Street,⁴ the government still has not seen its way clear to legalize the PCE.

3. Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers party, the main Social Democratic formation).

Such a united campaign would be the best response to the government's attempts to sow division in the workers and mass movement. In face of the small dose of legality and the disorientation this can produce, a united campaign for legalization would *in practice* help more than anything else in the forging of class unity.

Such a united campaign would also be closely tied to a correct position on the elections themselves. The best way to prevent the elections from becoming a means of "democratically" legitimizing the strong state is to present a common front of the workers and mass movement. Our proposal on this is to establish a *united slate of workers candidates* on the basis of a program that provides answers to the political problems of the day.

Such a program would champion the following demands: total amnesty and full democratic freedoms; the right of the nationalities to self-determination; opposition to the social pact; free elections to a constituent assembly that would proclaim the republic.

The common front, in which each party would have total liberty to publicize its own political views, would be the best way to counteract the bourgeoisie's divisive maneuvers while meeting the demands so often shown to be those of all the workers of Spain. □

4. See *Intercontinental Press*, February 14, p. 124.

Israeli Trotskyists State Position on PLO

[The following are excerpts from the political resolution adopted at the Fourth Congress of the Revolutionary Communist League, the Israeli section of the Fourth International. The congress was held in September 1976, and the excerpts, concerning the RCL's position on the Palestinian liberation movement, were published in the November issue of *Matzpen-Marxist*, the monthly publication of the RCL.]

* * *

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is the umbrella organization of all the different currents in the Palestinian resistance. It embodies the Palestinian national-liberation movement. As such, the PLO deserves the unconditional support of every revolutionary organization in

the world. However, the PLO is not a communist organization, and none of its member organizations has thoroughly abandoned the petty-bourgeois nationalism that characterized—and characterizes—their programs and their leaderships. In this regard, the necessity to build up the revolutionary-communist leadership of the Arab-Palestinian national-liberation movement still remains an immediate task.

In effect, the PLO is controlled by Fateh in a bureaucratic-centralist fashion. It lacks any democratic pattern, and oppressive measures are taken against opponent members. Our unconditional support does not imply a Catholic marriage. It stems from the PLO being a front of the forces struggling for the liberation of Palestine

1. Revolutionary Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain.

2. Partido Comunista de España (Spanish Communist party).

from Zionism, and we see our place in it. However, if this definition should no longer be applicable, and/or our autonomy is threatened, we shall consider our position anew. . . .

The revolutionary Marxists' relations with the organizations and institutions of the national-liberation movement were clearly defined by the Second and Fourth Congresses of the Communist International and by Trotsky, in relation to the Chinese revolution:

- Unconditional support for the organizations of the national-liberation movement in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

- The position regarding the leaderships is determined by their class character: no support for the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaderships at the head of the national movement nor any support for their nationalistic program or their bourgeois strategy.

- The organization of the proletariat around a revolutionary-communist party and the struggle for the political hegemony of the proletariat and its independent organizations in the national-liberation movement.

- Participation in an anti-imperialist front together with the various currents (tendencies) of the national-liberation movement, maintaining the absolute political and organizational independence of the working class.

- Revolutionary Marxists do not desert either the struggle or the movement for national liberation. Furthermore, they constitute the only force that can actually attain the aims of national liberation in full by achieving hegemony in the movement and leading it to the revolutionary-socialist solution to the national problem.

This principled approach is the one that guides the revolutionary communists in the struggle for the liberation of Palestine and determines our relations with the PLO and its institutions.

The PLO is the framework that unifies the organizations struggling against Zionist rule. As such, the revolutionary Marxists support the PLO unconditionally and its struggle against the Zionist regime. Moreover, we, revolutionary Marxists operating under the Zionist regime itself, consider ourselves an integral part of the PLO.

In spite of the fact that the [PLO] National Council's composition is bureaucratically determined and it includes "notables" that are not part of the struggling forces but fulfill the task of presenting the PLO's "sense of responsibility," the council nonetheless comprises all the currents in the resistance movement and we should strive to act within its framework, preserving our political and organizational independence with the aim of strengthening the revolutionary-proletarian faction in the movement. The petty-bourgeois character of the actual PLO leadership—organized in the PLO's

Executive Committee—denies us the possibility of a political agreement with it for the moment.

In the framework of the Palestinian liberation movement and the National Council we will act as a *well-defined political current*, presenting a political program which is the revolutionary-proletarian alternative for Palestinians and Jews as well, and in the wider context of the whole Arab region an alternative to the actual PLO leadership.

In the discussion presently dividing the PLO over the role of the resistance in the imperialist "settlement," we will stand side

by side with those organizations that refuse to surrender to the pressure exerted by imperialism and by the Arab bourgeoisies. At the same time, we will continue to struggle against the nationalistic and bourgeois positions that still rule these organizations. We will strengthen our ties with those currents that may partially abandon their radical nationalistic ideology and practice, aiming at recruiting them to the revolutionary Marxist program for the Arab socialist revolution, and getting them involved in the construction of the revolutionary-communist leadership for the Palestinian liberation movement. □

Protest Death Caused by Denial of Abortion

5,000 Women Demonstrate at Milan Clinic

[The following article appeared in the March 31 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

A thirty-six-year-old woman, eighteen weeks pregnant, died Sunday afternoon [March 27] at the Mangiagalli clinic in Milan. The woman was a diabetic. She had been advised to seek a therapeutic abortion by her physician, who considered her health to be seriously endangered by her pregnancy. She had requested permission for an abortion from the clinic's chief resident before her twelfth week of pregnancy, but this request was denied. On Sunday she died in a hospital bed.

Radio Popolare, an independent radio station in Milan run by the FIM, the metalworkers union, which had been notified of the death by a patient at the clinic, broadcast the news late Sunday evening. By Monday morning, high-school women's groups formed picket groups outside their schools, and decided to hold a demonstration at the clinic.

More than five thousand women gathered outside the clinic, which was blocked off by several ranks of state police ready to charge. The Socialist party and Communist party cells at the clinic immediately demanded the right to organize a general assembly of the staff, in which a delegation from the women's groups could take part. The clinic administration was forced to accede to this demand, and the meeting was turned into a virtual indictment of the medical profession, which has been organizing to carry out a boycott against abortion.

The team of doctors that had agreed to perform abortions for the women of Seveso [a town in Italy contaminated by an

explosion at a dioxin plant] had been removed from the clinic. Of the forty gynecologists serving the clinic, only three had stated their willingness to perform therapeutic abortions. Only a few days before, the administration had sent around a petition in the various departments to collect signatures against abortion.

At a time when the Christian Democracy is dragging out discussion in the Senate on a law that would legalize abortion, trying to cut the heart out of it, this tragic episode has confirmed that the Italian medical profession is planning to carry out a general boycott. It has also demonstrated that the fight for the right to abortion will be won only if women and the entire workers movement mobilize in action. □

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