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Fred Murphy/Intercontinental Press

SEABROOK, New Hampshire, May 1: Part of rally of 1,300 protesting unsafe nuclear power plant. An

additional 2,000 persons had occupied plant's construction site the previous day. See page 527.

Thousands in U.S. Protest Nuclear Power Plant

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NEWS ANALYSIS

End the Embargo on Cuba—Now!

By Michael Baumann

Washington's embargo on American trade with Cuba, decreed under Kennedy in 1962 with the aim of strangling the Cuban revolution, is coming under increasing fire as a relic of the Cold War.

"It makes no sense," Senator George McGovern told reporters April 8 during a visit to Havana. "It hurts everybody but our competitors. We trade with Peking and Moscow. Why shouldn't we trade with the Cubans?"

McGovern of course speaks as a capitalist political representative, for whom concerns of profit and Washington's diplomatic advantage are paramount. But even from this perspective the embargo has proved to be an embarrassing failure.

Even when combined with a military invasion and eight known assassination plots against Castro, strict application of the embargo has failed to turn back the Cuban revolution. To continue it under these circumstances, while conducting wide-ranging trade with China, the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe, appears completely illogical.

More to the point, however, is the toll of human suffering the embargo has cost the Cuban people, who have waged a heroic struggle for simple economic survival in the face of the imperialist stranglehold. In their demand for an end to the embargo, they have the support of revolutionary socialists and all those throughout the world who believe in the right of every nation to determine its own destiny.

Prior to the embargo, American goods represented 70 percent of Cuban trade. Application of the measure forced Cuba to import from countries at a great distance, thereby increasing transportation costs considerably. In addition, many needed items, such as spare parts for American-made machinery, proved unobtainable at any price outside the United States.

It cannot be argued that in continuing this bullying stance toward Cuba Carter has the support of the American people. A Gallup poll conducted in March and published in the April 21 *Los Angeles Times* showed that a majority of Americans favor reestablishing diplomatic relations with Cuba, a step that would necessarily include an end to the embargo.

Significantly, the poll shows that a majority or near majority of virtually every sector of the public supports renewing ties. Here is the breakdown of the responses:

Do you think diplomatic relations with

Cuba should or should not be reestablished?

	Yes	No	Opinion
National	53%	32%	15%
College Background	69	22	9
High School	48	36	16
Grade School	40	36	24
Professional/Business	65	25	10
Clerical and Sales	51	36	13
Manual Workers	49	35	16
Republicans	48	40	12
Democrats	50	33	17
Independents	61	26	13
Under 30 Years Old	59	29	12
30-49 Years Old	52	32	16
50 and Older	48	34	18

Furthermore, 27 percent of those interviewed said they would like to visit Cuba.

In face of this sentiment, the White House has taken a number of steps toward what the State Department has termed "gradual" improvement of relations with Cuba. These include the following:

- The halting January 11 of Pentagon spy flights over Cuban air space.
- The lifting on March 18 of the ban on travel to Cuba by U.S. citizens.
- The ending on March 25 of the ban on U.S. citizens spending American currency in Cuba.
- The visit of an American basketball team in early April, the first officially sanctioned trip to Cuba by a group of American citizens since Washington broke off diplomatic relations in 1961.
- The visit to Cuba, beginning April 18, of fifty-two Minnesota businessmen, with the obvious seal of approval of the State Department. The delegation was reportedly the largest American group to visit Cuba since the break in ties. Included among its members were representatives of such major corporations as General Mills, Pillsbury, Control Data, and Honeywell.
- A State Department announcement April 21 saying that Washington is considering proposing that an American diplomat be stationed in Havana. According to a report of the proposal in the April 22 *Los Angeles Times*, "The envoy would operate a special 'interest section' in the Swiss Embassy, which now represents U.S. interests in the Cuban capital. Similarly, a Cuban diplomat might be stationed in the Czechoslovakian Embassy in Washington."
- The announcement April 28 of a

fishing agreement with the Cuban government. As Cuba is only 90 miles from the United States and both countries claim jurisdiction over fishing rights 200 miles out to sea, an accord to settle the conflicting claims was necessary. Under the terms reportedly agreed to during negotiations in Havana, a boundary has been set midway between Cuba and the United States, with Cuban fishing fleets to be allowed to fish for some species within the American sector.

Taken together, these moves are designed to show progress toward establishing normal relations with Cuba. Why then has Carter failed to take the obvious step of removing what the Cuban leadership has repeatedly pointed to as the single greatest obstacle—that is, ending the trade embargo?

The answer is not difficult. Despite his predilection for lectures on human rights, Carter intends to continue using the embargo as a club against the Cuban people in an effort to wring political concessions from their government.

First and foremost, Washington is aiming at forcing the Cuban government to give up its right to act in international affairs as a sovereign nation taking orders from no one. Of particular concern to the White House strategists is the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. Carter made this clear February 16 in a comment widely quoted in the press. He said:

I would like very much to see the Cubans remove their soldiers from Angola and let the Angolan natives make their own decisions about their government.

We've received information from indirect sources that Castro and Cuba have promised to remove those troops. And that would be a step toward full normalization of relationships with Angola.

The same thing applies ultimately to the restoration of normal relationships with Cuba.

Carter then let it be known that more than Angola was involved:

If I can be convinced that Cuba wants to remove their aggravating influence from other countries in this hemisphere, will not participate in violence in nations across the oceans, will recommit the former relationship that existed in Cuba towards human rights, then I will be willing to move toward normalizing relationships with Cuba as well.

Let us leave aside for the moment Carter's stated preference for the situation of "human rights" under the Batista dictatorship, as well as the fact that the Cuban troops are in Angola at the request of the Angolan government, which like the Cubans has the full right to act as a sovereign power.

It is clear that if Cuba were to accept these dictates its national sovereignty would amount to no more than that of the Bantustans created by South Africa. At issue is Cuba's right to continue to serve as an example and an inspiration to the freedom struggle in the colonial and

semicolonial world.

Castro has repeatedly and publicly rejected any such limitations on Cuba's sovereignty, stating in the case of Angola that the question of Cuban troops is a matter to be decided between Cuba and Angola.

Another aim in maintaining the embargo is to press for Cuban payment of reparations for American property taken over following the revolution. According to Washington's accounting, the bill comes to some \$1.8 billion, prompt payment of which is requested.

One must ask however whether Carter seriously intends to go before world public opinion and demand that the Cuban people squeeze \$1.8 billion from their hard-pressed economy to further enrich the stockholders of some of America's largest corporations. He could do so only at the price of appearing as what he really is, the chief political representative of the American ruling class.

A further aim in maintaining the embargo is to use it in bargaining for continuation of the Pentagon's military base at Guantánamo, where U.S. troops, currently numbering more than 2,400, are stationed.

Cuban leaders have blasted the hypocrisy of this demand. Speaking in Havana April 4, Cuban military chief Raúl Castro said: "If the American Government wants to negotiate with us about the withdrawal of any troops, we are going to remove their troops which, against the will of our people, are occupying illegally the Guantánamo base."

Speaking in an interview in Newfoundland April 8, on his return from a trip to Moscow, Fidel Castro made the same point, demanding that Washington remove its base at Guantánamo.

In the United States, revolutionary socialists have supported the demand of the Cubans for the removal of U.S. troops since it was first raised by the new government.

A front-page editorial in the November 5, 1962, issue of the American Trotskyist weekly the *Militant* said:

Kennedy advances the argument that "Soviet weapons" in Cuba are a threat to the U.S. By his own logic then, how much greater is the threat to Cuba of U.S. weapons at Guantanamo? That base is the first thing that should be removed and no United Nations inspection team is required to accomplish that task. The U.S. should just leave and let the Cubans have their own territory back.

All who believe Washington has no right to dictate anything to Cuba should raise their voices in demanding an immediate end to the embargo, withdrawal of U.S. troops from Cuban soil, and full diplomatic recognition of the Cuban government.

The State Department prediction that "improvement" of relations with Cuba will be "gradual" is more than a prediction. It is both a threat and a signal that the fight is far from over, that nothing is yet settled.

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Pakistan—Protesters Defy Ban on Demonstrations

By Ernest Harsch

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's effort to defuse the mass protests against his regime by negotiating with opposition leaders was dealt a setback May 1.

Former Air Marshal Asghar Khan, an imprisoned leader of the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), a coalition of nine opposition parties, declared, "In no case will we compromise our stand." He called for further antigovernment demonstrations to press the PNA's demands for Bhutto's resignation and the holding of new elections to the National Assembly.

The day before, protesters turned out in the streets of Rawalpindi in defiance of a ban on demonstrations. They clashed with police along Murree Road, the city's main street. *New York Times* correspondent James M. Markham reported in an April 30 dispatch, "Hundreds of demonstrators, most of them young, darted in and out of side streets, hurled rocks and chanted anti-Bhutto slogans. They were pursued by police who used their steel-tipped canes to club anyone unfortunate enough to come within range."

The demonstration had originally been projected by the PNA as a mass march of two million persons on both Rawalpindi and Islamabad, the capital (the two cities are near each other). However, the Bhutto regime restricted entry to the cities, reinforced units of the paramilitary Federal Security Police, banned public assemblies, and warned on national radio that protesters could be shot on sight.

Markham said April 29, "Opposition figures who have avoided arrest reported that large numbers of their followers from other cities and villages were turned back or arrested by paramilitary units stationed on access roads and bridges leading toward the capital."

The current protests against Bhutto are the most massive since he came to power in 1971. They began shortly after the March 7 elections, in which Bhutto's Pakistan People's party claimed to have won 163 seats in the 200-seat National Assembly. The PNA charged Bhutto with massive election rigging and demanded new elections, as well as Bhutto's resignation.

Although the PNA leadership is dominated by rightist elements, including former military officers and Islamic religious figures, it has been able to mobilize hundreds of thousands of protesters on the basis of its opposition to the present regime. In particular, the upsurge reflects a mass sentiment in the country against Bhutto's repressive rule, under which

many trade unionists and other dissidents have been killed and tens of thousands of persons have been imprisoned for their political beliefs.

The April 22 general strike, which was called by the Pakistan Labor Alliance and which paralyzed business in much of the country, marked the massive entry of the organized labor movement into the protests. *Los Angeles Times* reporter Sharon Rosenhouse noted in the April 21 issue, "Pakistan's labor movement is highly politicized and played a key role—along with students, who also have joined the anti-Bhutto campaign—in toppling Mohammad Ayub Khan's government in March, 1969."

Lewis M. Simons reported in an April 23 dispatch from Karachi to the *Washington Post*:

The demands for genuine democracy, for Bhutto to resign and for new national elections, have passed swiftly from Bhutto's political foes to the citizenry. . . .

It is the poor who are taking to the streets of Karachi, Lahore and Hyderabad, where military law was declared two days ago, and other cities where continuous curfews have been imposed. It is the poor who are being shot by the army and the police.

Also significant has been the participation of thousands of women in the protests. In Pakistan, which is strongly influenced by orthodox Islam, women traditionally face many social restrictions on their activities. Afifa Zulfikar Mamdod, a leader of the women's section of the PNA, was quoted in the May 1 *New York Times* as saying, "In Lahore, by hook or by crook, we'll do it [protest] again and again—with women. This man Bhutto has to go."

An important influence on the demonstrators was the recent example of Indira Gandhi's ouster in neighboring India. In response to Gandhi's repressive state of emergency, Indian voters dealt her a crushing defeat in the March 16-20 elections. One placard in Karachi read, "Learn the Lesson of Indira Gandhi."

"The Indian example," Simons reported, "a phrase heard throughout this embattled industrial and port city, has been a key in expanding what would probably have been a simple political protest into a mass movement."

Bhutto has sought to crush, or at least contain, this upsurge through heavy repression. Estimates of the number of protesters killed so far range from 250 to nearly 400. About 35,000 persons are thought to have been arrested. Martial law

has been imposed on the country's three largest cities, Karachi, Lahore, and Hyderabad, and curfews were extended to three other cities, Lyallpur, Sialkot, and Bahawalnagar.

In an effort to strengthen his position, Bhutto appointed retired Gen. Tikka Khan as minister of state for defense and national security April 27. Tikka is best known for his role as the chief Pakistani butcher during the 1971 Bangladesh independence struggle, in which more than one million Bengalis were killed. The same day, the chiefs of staff of the army, navy, and air force announced that all three military branches were "totally united to discharge their constitutional obligations in support of the present legally constituted government."

Bhutto has also tried to play on the widespread anti-American sentiment in Pakistan for his own benefit, charging that there was "a huge, a colossal, international conspiracy against this Islamic state of Pakistan." His supporters have claimed that the Central Intelligence Agency was funding the opposition forces.

Bhutto failed to point out that Washington has long been a key backer of his own regime. Since 1952, Republican and Democratic administrations have provided \$4.9 billion in aid and more than \$650 million in military grants to the various Pakistani regimes. The White House has also agreed to sell Bhutto \$150 million worth of military equipment for the current fiscal year.

At the same time, however, Washington has displayed a degree of caution during the present conflict, halting delivery of a \$68,000 tear gas shipment. Simons quoted a Western diplomat in the April 27 *Washington Post* as saying, "It looks as though Washington has decided that Bhutto is not long for this world, as prime minister, so why back a loser with a weapon, even an innocuous weapon like tear gas?"

In an April 29 dispatch from Washington, *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman reported, "Basically, United States officials hope that Mr. Bhutto and the opposition can work out a compromise that will prevent a further breakdown in Pakistan's fragile unity."

Some of the PNA leaders have expressed a willingness to compromise, such as the Pir of Pagaro, the acting president of the PNA, who suggested May 1 that the PNA's demand for Bhutto's resignation was negotiable. But the PNA leadership, as reflected in Asghar Khan's call for more protests, has come under pressure from the demonstrators themselves not to give in on the question of Bhutto's ouster.

Markham noted in a May 1 dispatch from Islamabad that there were "some fissures between the leaders of the opposition alliance and its rank and file, who favor further agitation." □

Korean Cash—A Can of Worms for Congress

By Steve Wattenmaker

Is the Carter administration covering up a scandal that could rock Congress? That has been repeatedly intimated by Washington sources following the progress of investigations focused on South Korean bribes paid to scores of members of America's top legislative body.

For more than a year the Justice Department has been looking into charges that agents of the Seoul regime handed out from \$500,000 to \$1 million a year on Capitol Hill, threw lavish parties, and provided legislators with expensive gifts and free junkets to Korea.

With the House now beginning its own investigations, Carter seems eager to avoid involvement, suggesting that Congress do its own house cleaning. William Safire in a March 3 syndicated column headed "President Carter's First Cover-Up" speculated on the president's motives:

"A thorough House probe, done by the Justice Department, would alienate many Congressmen, including most vociferously the Speaker, jeopardizing the Carter programs. A quashing of the probe, on the other hand, would generate at least forty big I.O.U.'s."

Collecting IOUs is not the administration's only objective, however. Full disclosure of Korean efforts to influence legislation would precipitate another crisis in confidence like Watergate.

Early in the investigation a government source close to the probe told the *Washington Post* that the inquiry had already produced the most sweeping allegations of congressional corruption ever investigated by the federal government. From the few details uncovered thus far, it would not be exaggerating to suggest that more than 100 members of Congress could end up in prison if the inquiry were pressed aggressively.

The picture of the influence-buying operation that has emerged so far centers on the activities of a Washington-based Korean businessman, Tongsun Park, who acted as an agent of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, or KCIA.

Investigators have placed Park at a meeting called by South Korean President Park Chung Hee at his official Blue House residence in 1970. Also attending were high KCIA officials and Col. Pak Bo Hi, a former KCIA agent and leader of Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church.

The gathering reportedly mapped a major lobbying operation designed to "create a favorable legislative climate" in Washington for the South Korean regime.

Seoul was especially interested in assur-



Dick Hodgins/New York Daily News

ing the continued flow of economic and military aid. Strong antiwar sentiment in the United States and Nixon's decision to pull 20,000 troops out of Korea in 1971 raised fears that the remaining 40,000 American troops might be withdrawn—an eventuality President Park wanted to prevent.

The Nixon administration found out about the bribery campaign almost immediately after it was conceived—evidently via a (U.S.) CIA electronic bug planted in Park's Blue House offices. Not only was Nixon uninterested in halting the operation, he gave advice to the Koreans on what members of Congress to approach.

Donald Ranard, a career diplomat who headed the State Department's Office of Korean Affairs from 1970 until he retired in 1974, has testified that he presented evidence to the Justice Department in 1972 that money being raised for the Korean-owned Radio Free Asia was being illegally diverted into the influence-peddling operation.

After several months, Attorney General John Mitchell replied that the evidence was "insufficient" to warrant prosecution.

In 1972 Ranard also received information that New Jersey Congressman Corne-

lius Gallagher had given a staff job to a Korean connected to the KCIA. Ranard informed the (U.S.) CIA. Nothing happened, but in 1973 Ranard got a phone call from a "fairly senior official" in the CIA who told him to drop his inquiry. "A lot of people around here are a little uneasy about where this thing might end," the official told him.

At least one person who might have been a little uneasy was Henry Kissinger. William Safire described Kissinger's connection in the March 10 *New York Times*:

In 1974 and early 1975, the byproduct [intelligence material] became loaded with information about million-dollar-a-year payoffs to United States Congressmen by the South Korean C.I.A., and was reviewed by the National Security Adviser, then Mr. Kissinger. . . .

By mid-1975, however, reporter Seymour Hersh of the *New York Times* had broken the story of the extensive listening in on overseas calls, and Otis Pike's House Committee on Intelligence took public testimony from the head of the ELINT [Electronic Intelligence gathering] operation on Aug. 8, 1975. The Pike committee issued subpoenas for embarrassing information; contempt and perjury were talked about, and Secretary Kissinger . . . became worried.

In the last week of October 1975 some Congressmen were warned about Administration knowledge of illegal payments handled through the Speaker of the House's office. . . . The implication of the warning was clear: If the Pike committee pushed its investigation or contempt charges further, the targets of that investigation had plenty of ammunition with which to riddle the House.

The Pike committee lost its House leadership support in a hurry. . . .

Funneling Cash

To covertly finance the multimillion-dollar bribery ring, Seoul designated Tongsun Park as its semiofficial representative in negotiating the purchase of rice imports. U.S. growers paid Park a commission of between \$.55 and \$2 a ton to arrange the sales, reputedly earning Park \$5 million a year from 1970 to 1975.

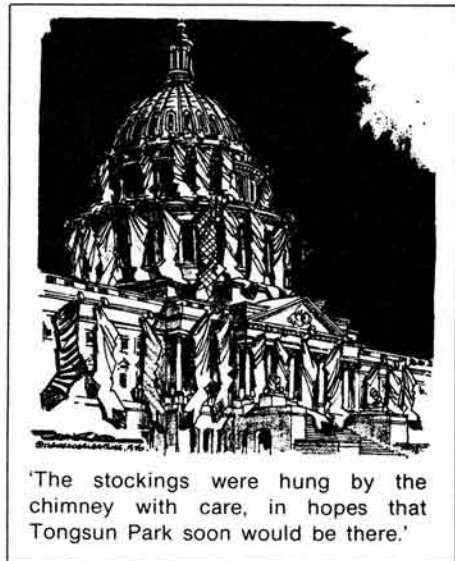
The KCIA worked other sources of money as well. Investigators are examining whether funds were diverted for the bribery operations from the Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation, whose president is Pak Bo Hi. The KCFF was organized in Washington in 1964 with the objective of "containing communism on the Asiatic continent."

According to U.S. intelligence reports, the KCIA planned to divert funds raised by the foundation to finance the early stages of the influence-buying campaign. Richard Viguerie, an extreme right-wing businessman who raised \$10 million for George Wallace's unsuccessful 1976 presidential campaign, handled the direct-mail solicitation efforts that netted the foundation \$1.5 million in fiscal year 1975 alone.

The financial demands of the bribery operation were so heavy that the KCIA evidently decided it needed its own bank in

the United States. The Diplomat National Bank opened in Washington, D.C., in 1975 with nationally syndicated columnist Jack Anderson as one of its founding directors.

The *Washington Post* revealed November 14, 1976, that Tongsun Park and Pak Bo Hi secretly controlled at least 46 percent of the bank's initial stock. Anderson has since resigned from the board. Other funds were reportedly transferred or



'The stockings were hung by the chimney with care, in hopes that Tongsun Park soon would be there.'

Conrad/Los Angeles Times

“laundered” through secret Bahamian bank accounts.

Money alone, however loudly it speaks, was not enough to guarantee the success of the influence-buying racket. The KCIA needed social connections to allow its agents to circulate freely in Washington society. Again, Tongsun Park provided the answer.

In 1966 Park had opened the exclusive members-only George Town Club, in a wealthy section of Washington. Park liberally handed out free memberships to cabinet members, ranking members of Congress, Supreme Court justices, and other high government officials.

The lavish parties Park hosted at his club and his posh mansion established him as a “male Perle Mesta,” referring to the legendary *grande dame* of Washington high society.

A birthday party for current House Speaker Thomas “Tip” O’Neill hosted by Park in 1973 attracted the top congressional leadership and then Vice-President Gerald Ford. Park again helped O’Neill celebrate his birthday the following year.

Congressmen from the rice-growing areas in Louisiana and California became some of Park’s earliest bribe targets and in turn provided Park with even more connections on Capitol Hill.

Former Representative Richard Hanna, a California Democrat who was one of Park’s co-hosts at “Tip” O’Neill’s birthday

party, has admitted going into business with Park. A separate Agriculture Department investigation of illegal kickbacks on the Korean rice sales is reported to be focusing on former Democratic representatives Otto Passman and Robert Leggett.

Former Congressman Edwin Edwards, currently governor of Louisiana, has divulged that Park gave his wife a \$10,000 cash “gift” after Edwards helped Passman arrange the rice deals.

How many members of Congress accepted Korean cash? Investigators are working from a list of ninety senators and congressmen that fell into the hands of U.S. Customs inspectors when Tongsun Park was stopped in a routine check returning to Washington from Korea in 1973. (Park tried to avoid the search by complaining to officials that he was in a rush to get back to Washington in time to arrange a business deal with Vice President Ford at the O’Neill birthday party.)

Next to the congressmen’s names on the list were notations of 5 to 50 under the heading “Contributions.” When asked, Park claimed they represented hundreds of dollars. Other reports have said each figure represented thousands of dollars.

Park later denied the contributions had been doled out to the group. It was only what they asked for, he said.

Correspondent Richard Halloran reported in the February 3 *New York Times* that during the 1974 congressional campaigns it was “common knowledge” among American embassy officials in Seoul that any congressman could pick up a \$30,000 campaign contribution from the South Koreans just by asking for it. For senators, the figure was \$50,000.

Moon Disciple

Reports that Korean bribe funds were channelled through the office of former House Speaker Carl Albert to deserving members of Congress are also being explored.

Albert’s close aide from 1971 until he retired in January 1977 was Sue Park Thomson, a naturalized American citizen of Korean descent who, like Tongsun Park, had a reputation as a party-giver for congressmen. Thomson, who has admitted “going out” with Albert, is thought to have been recruited to the KCIA about the time she began working in the Speaker’s office.

Columnist Jack Anderson revealed December 9, 1975, that Albert also had a curious relationship with a disciple of Rev. Moon in 1975. The young woman, Sue Bergman, would greet the House Speaker outside his office each morning with flowers. Then she would brew ginseng tea for him and serve it in the Speaker’s ornate chambers, where she stayed for an hour or two each morning.

Albert told Anderson there was nothing illicit in their relationship. He described the Moon missionary as “just a nice girl, a very nice girl, a Jewish girl from New

York. She got all hepped up on the Lord Jesus and she just wants to share it. I think that’s a nice thing. She’s trying to convert me.”

Whatever his religious leanings, the Speaker of the House became a dependable political convert. In the summer of 1975 the House International Relations Committee, in a rare action, voted unanimously to condemn the trial in Seoul of eighteen opponents of the Park regime. At the last minute Speaker Albert took the resolution off the House calendar.

Albert and “Tip” O’Neill are not the only top Democrats mentioned in connection with the scandal. California Rep. John McFall, former majority whip and another regular at Park’s parties, admitted taking \$4,000 from Park and putting it in his “constituent service account”—an official but unregulated “slush-fund” that members of Congress are entitled to maintain. The current majority whip, Rep. John Brademas, admitted receiving \$4,650 from Park in 1972 and 1974.

An extensive number of congressmen were also wooed with free trips to Korea taken on the pretext of conducting official government business or receiving honorary degrees from South Korean universities.

Many of the junkets were arranged by the Pacific Cultural Foundation—a front organization jointly funded by the South Korean and Taiwanese governments.

Democratic Rep. Leo Ryan, a critic of the Seoul regime, was offered an expense-paid trip to South Korea to receive an honorary doctorate degree. Ryan said he was startled when he was invited to “pick the university” that would confer the degree on him.

The degree offer to Rep. Don Bonker came from a South Korean government representative who offered him a \$200 digital watch and an “attractive” Korean woman to meet him in Korea.

According to the October 24, 1976, *Washington Post*, Korean officials regularly provided visiting congressmen with prostitutes. Dignitaries were sometimes whisked directly from the Seoul airport to Walker Hill, a gambling and party resort outside the Korean capital where Tongsun Park maintained his own villa.

Because of the potential scope of the scandal the Carter administration is nervously backing away from the investigation.

Last December the KCIA’s No. 2 agent in the United States, Kim Sang Kuen, defected and in return for political asylum offered to fully cooperate with the Justice Department investigation. Kuen had acted as a paymaster in the bribery campaign and was reported to hold damning evidence.

A source familiar with the investigation told the *New York Times* correspondent Richard Halloran “this guy will blow the lid off this case. . . .”

Nonetheless, in the first days of the Carter administration, evidence began to mount that the Justice Department was moving to shelve the inquiry.

Appearing Sunday, February 13 on the CBS program "Face the Nation," Attorney General Griffin Bell said "it seems to me that you don't have to run a grand jury investigation for months or years to find out whether you've got a case or not."

Justice Department lawyers complained privately that Bell's words were calculated to undercut the cases they had been patiently building. Calling for a prompt conclusion to the investigation would encourage some witnesses not to cooperate, the prosecutors told *Washington Post* correspondent Scott Armstrong February 17. Such witnesses might anticipate that the investigation would be terminated before they could be compelled to testify.

Bell has also denied published reports that he had told President Carter to expect from four to six indictments in the case. The *New York Times* checked its own Justice Department sources and confirmed that the Attorney General had "not made a judgment about the prospect of indictments. . . ."

Another ominous sign that a whitewash was being prepared was Carter's appointment of Benjamin Civiletti to head the Justice Department's Criminal Division—the office which has direct responsibility for the congressional probe. Civiletti, a Baltimore attorney who was recommended by presidential advisor Charles Kirbo, steered business to and received business from the influential Atlanta law firm in which Bell and Kirbo were partners.

Another partner in Bell's old law office, Donald O. Clark, served as honorary consul general for South Korea in Atlanta until last December when a permanent consulate was established. Clark provided South Korean representatives with an appraisal of what Carter's position would be on South Korea.

On March 6 the *New York Times* reported that Justice Department investigators were now "pessimistic about being able to obtain indictments on bribery, conspiracy and extortion charges" and had narrowed their investigation to possible income-tax violations by former congressmen Hanna and Gallagher.

Subsequently, word has leaked that the Carter administration may simply drop the entire inquiry. Columnist Jack Anderson reported April 19 that the government's inability to compel testimony from Tongsun Park, who fled to London last December, "probably will doom the department's efforts to convict a single congressman of bribery."

The two House committees beginning their investigations have received nearly \$1 million combined funding—and will hold public hearings this summer and next fall. Rep. Donald Fraser's Subcommittee on International Organizations will look



Herblock/Washington Post

into KCIA activity in the United States, while Georgia Democrat John Flynt will lead the House ethics committee probe of congressmen who accepted bribes from South Korea.

Both committees will be walking a tightrope. Too thorough an investigation

would undoubtedly reveal corruption of sensational proportions on Capitol Hill—not just involving South Korea but the thousands of other national and business lobbies that annually stuff millions of dollars into congressional pockets.

On the other hand, as the *Washington Post* earlier warned Attorney General Bell, "the last thing this administration—and this country—needs is something that appears to be another coverup."

How the upcoming congressional hearings turn out may in the end be decided by the "Watergate factor": i.e., despite the best efforts of Congress to limit and stage-manage their investigations, inquiries sometimes assume a life of their own, spilling dangerously over tacitly agreed on boundaries. As Anthony Marro observed in the April 10, 1977, *New York Times*:

"Congressional committees have usually been more aggressive in investigating branches of Government other than legislative, and the ethics committee in particular has an eight-year history of not making waves. But the evidence to date suggests there is a good deal more to be found, and so much money and manpower is being invested in the inquiries that it might be difficult for Congressional leaders to sidetrack them even if they were inclined to." □

American Women Face Growing Discrimination

The earnings gap between women and men is widening in the United States, and women are just as segregated into traditional occupations as at the turn of the century, according to research by Louise Kapp Howe published in a new book, *Pink Collar Workers*.

Despite reported advances in the status of working women, Howe found that "the vast majority of American women" still work at jobs "where women form the bulk of the labor force; where pay is usually nil or low (in comparison to what men of the same or lower educational levels are making); where unionization is usually nil or weak; and where equal-pay-for-equal-work laws are of little or no meaning since if women are competing with anyone for those jobs they are competing with other women."

Yet there are more women in the work force than ever before—53% of women aged eighteen through sixty-four in 1974—Howe reported. They made up 39% of the work force in 1973, up from 28% in 1947.

Median earnings for women working full time were 63% of men's in 1956. By 1970 the proportion had fallen to 59%, and it dropped to 57% by 1974. Howe also found that "the rate of occupational segregation by sex is exactly as great today as it was at the turn of the century, if not a little greater."

More than half of all American working women are in occupations in which at least two-thirds of the workers are female. Among registered nurses, 97.0% are women; elementary school teachers, 85.4%; typists, 96.6%; telephone operators, 93.3%; secretaries, 99.1%; private household workers, 97.4%—and homemakers, 99.9%.

While the actual number of unionized women has risen, the proportion of women in unions has fallen. In 1974, 12.5% of women were unionized, as against 13.8% ten years ago and 17% in 1950.

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Ethiopian Junta Shuts Down Some U.S. Installations

By Ernest Harsch

The Ethiopian military junta announced April 23 that it had ordered five American offices and installations in the country to close.

Two of them, the communications station at Kagnew and the consulate-general in Asmara, were in the northern territory of Eritrea, where Eritrean forces are fighting for the region's independence from Ethiopia. The U.S. Information Service office, the Military Assistance Advisory Group, and the Navy Medical Research Unit in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital, were also closed.

By April 27, the last of the 300 Americans connected with these installations had left the country.

Also closed were the Italian and Sudanese consulates and the honorary British, French, and Belgian consulates in Asmara.

On April 25, the military junta, called the Dergue, also expelled the last three Western reporters resident in Ethiopia. They were Jeremy Toy of Reuters, Laurent Chenard of Agence France-Presse, and David Ottaway of the *Washington Post*.

A representative of the Ministry of Information and National Guidance charged that the three "have been the main source of fallacious and totally biased dispatches used for the anti-Ethiopian propaganda campaign by the enemies of this country." He claimed that the reporters had collaborated with the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), one of the main Eritrean independence groups; the Ethiopian Democratic Union, a rightist formation carrying out guerrilla actions in some provinces; and the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary party, an underground opposition group operating largely in Addis Ababa.

Washington's close relations with Addis Ababa began under the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie. Since 1952 it has provided \$350 million in economic aid and more than \$275 million in military assistance. In addition, more than \$150 million worth of American arms were sold to the Dergue since it seized power from Selassie in September 1974.

However, as a result of continued unrest throughout much of the country, some of this military assistance has recently been scaled down and American officials have raised doubts about the Dergue's stability. In fact, shortly before the Ethiopian regime announced the closures, Washington had informed the Dergue that the

Kagnew station was scheduled to be shut down by September and the staff of the Military Assistance Advisory Group was to be cut from about fifty persons to twenty.

An Ethiopian radio announcement took note of these American moves, plus President Carter's earlier halt to military grants, by stating that there was "no need to allow the advisory group to continue since the United States Government openly announced it had stopped military assistance to Ethiopia."

Although at a reduced level, American ties to the Ethiopian regime still remain. The American embassy in Addis Ababa was not closed, and seventy-six American officials—forty-seven from the State Department, twenty-two from the Agency for International Development, and seven from the Defense Department—are still stationed in the country. More than \$18 million in American economic and food assistance is still in effect for the current year. In addition, the Dergue has nearly \$100 million in arms purchases on order from Washington. (The arms deliveries were temporarily halted April 27, however.)

The diminishing of the American role in Ethiopia has been accompanied by new Soviet overtures toward the Dergue. In

February, Moscow extended its congratulations to Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, the current head of state, after he emerged the victor from a power struggle within the junta. There have also been reports that Moscow has begun to ship arms to the Ethiopian regime.

In public, Washington has professed little concern about these Soviet moves. In an April 25 dispatch from Washington, *New York Times* correspondent Graham Hovey reported that "in light of the continuing political and military disintegration in Ethiopia and changes elsewhere in the volatile region, Administration officials believe that the Soviet gains could be of short duration."

The major challenge that the Dergue faces is the Eritrean independence struggle. The ELF and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) control most of the countryside, and the EPLF has recently made some important military gains, capturing the towns of Karora and Nacfa, the capital of Sahel district.

David Ottaway reported in the April 22 *Washington Post* that the Dergue was planning a new offensive against the Eritrean forces, possibly involving elements of the newly formed People's Militia. *New York Times* reporter John Darton commented in the April 28 issue that the closing of the foreign consulates in Asmara may be linked to this new offensive.

A representative of the ELF stated in Damascus April 25 that the consulates were closed to remove potential witnesses to a "big massacre" and charged that Addis Ababa was preparing a new military campaign in the territory. □

Ugandan 'Suicide Battalion' Sent to Zaire

Signs of Reprisals Against Civilians in Shaba

With the aid of 1,500 Moroccan troops, the forces of Zaïrian dictator Mobutu Sese Seko retook the town of Mutshatsha, in Shaba Province, April 25. The town, sixty miles west of the important mining center at Kolwezi, had been captured by antigovernment Katangan units in March.

According to journalists who visited Mutshatsha the following day, the population of 20,000 had abandoned the town along with the Katangans. Most of the inhabitants in the area are Lundas, the same nationality as the Katangans, who crossed into Shaba from bases in Angola March 8.

There have been some reports of intimidation and reprisals against the Lundas by government troops, most of whom are from nationalities in other parts of the

country. Correspondent Robin Wright reported in the April 21 *Washington Post* that the Lundas

have become victims of massive and almost systematic intimidation campaign by government troops because of their tribal affiliation with Katangan rebels now attempting to take over the mineral-rich region.

There are several confirmed reports that six persons have been killed from beating or stabbing incidents and that local detention centers hold at least 100 Africans.

In the April 26 issue, Wright reported other signs of reprisals. "During the trip to Shaba," she said, "the press corps saw some of the villages near the front that were deserted. Many of the huts had been clearly raided and burned down."

At the same time, however, there have

been no reports of any significant clashes between the Katangans and either the Zairian or Moroccan forces. Wright said:

The trip to the so-called war zone added to growing indications that Mobutu's claims about the nature of the war were exaggerated. . . .

The press tour provided little evidence that there had been any major fighting, that the Katangans were equipped with modern arms, or that there had been a major Communist-backed effort to invade the economic heartland of Zaire.

To bolster his claims that Moscow and Havana are backing the Katangan forces, Mobutu has gone to the extent of fabricating "evidence." At a rally in Kinshasa April 20, Mobutu presented two captured Katangans. One of them, Yava Kapenda, said, "Forty-five Cuban combat troops accompanied my company when we entered Shaba Province."

However, medical officers in Kolwezi reported that when the two Katangans were first captured they made no mention of Cubans or any other foreign troops entering Shaba with them. All they said was that they had obtained some assistance from whites in Angola, which could refer to Angolans of Portuguese nationality.

Both Moscow and Havana have repeatedly denied any involvement in the conflict in Shaba.

Mobutu has tried to use the claims of Soviet and Cuban involvement to justify his appeals for imperialist aid. So far, Washington has provided \$15 million worth of "nonlethal" military aid, the Belgian government has sent thirty plane-loads of light weapons, and French planes and pilots participated in the airlift of Moroccan troops to Zaïre.

Paris has claimed that all French planes involved in the airlift have left Zaïre. But according to a report in the May 2 issue of *Time* magazine, some of them "have been shifted to bases in Senegal and Chad; they can return to Zaïre on short notice."

In addition, Michael Kaufman reported in the April 26 *New York Times*, "Belgian and French operatives have taken over intelligence gathering and analysis for Zaïre."

Idi Amin, the dictator of neighboring Uganda, has also come to Mobutu's assistance. Amin arrived in Zaïre April 22 and pledged his support. Uganda Radio announced April 28 that a "suicide strike battalion" had left Uganda for Zaïre.

To help bail the Mobutu regime out of its severe economic problems, the International Monetary Fund agreed April 26 to provide \$85 million in loans. □

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Government Forced to Back Down

Soweto Students Protest Rent Hikes



VORSTER: Retreats in record time.

In a successful protest against steep rent increases, thousands of Black high-school students demonstrated in Soweto April 27. The protests were called by the Soweto Students Representative Council (SRC), which initiated many of the mass Black protests that swept South Africa last year.

According to a report in the April 28 *Washington Post*, "At Morris Isaacson high school in Orlando, police estimated that 2,000 students gathered early this morning [April 27]. Many carried angry banners declaring: 'We will not pay,' and 'Away with capitalism.'"

Leaders of the SRC had planned a peaceful march to the white administrative offices in Soweto to protest the rent hike, but police riot vans stopped them. Police also dispersed a crowd that had gathered at a stadium.

The students also tried to hold a protest at the offices of the Urban Bantu Council (UBC), a largely powerless administrative body staffed by Blacks. When a small group of demonstrators tried to enter the building, police fired tear gas to disperse them. Later attempts by the students to regroup were likewise met by police attacks, in which three students were wounded by gunfire.

The police, equipped with newly acquired riot helmets and Plexiglas shields, arrested forty-nine students during the protests.

The actions were sparked by a govern-

ment announcement that rents on all homes in Soweto, which are government owned, would be raised by 40 to 80 percent by May 1. The notice of the rent hikes came at a time when Soweto's poverty-ridden population was already facing additional hardships. Unemployment among Blacks throughout the country is estimated at more than one million and is rising by about 15,000 persons a month. Earlier this year, the regime approved sharp increases in the rail fares paid by Soweto's 220,000 commuters. The price of maize flour, a staple in the diet of most Blacks in South Africa, has also risen.

Although officials of the UBC claimed that they had not approved of the rent hikes, the SRC charged the UBC with complicity in the decision and called on its members to resign. Student leaders said that the UBC was a target of the protests because it "has finally demonstrated that it is acting against the interests of black people. The UBC has consistently been used by the authorities to oppress our own people."

In face of the student protests, Pretoria agreed April 29 to defer the introduction of the rent hikes while it "studies" the issue. The police also dropped charges against those students who had been arrested.

At the same time, however, the Soweto police chief, Brig. Gen. Jan Visser, warned that future student protests would be met with less "restraint" by the police. "I can give the assurance that we will not act in the same manner that we did," he said. □

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Portugal—Gen. Ramalho Eanes Brandishes a Club

By Gerry Foley

At the third official celebration of the overthrow of the Salazarist regime, a few months less than a year after he assumed the office of president, General António Ramalho Eanes spoke openly as the strongman dominating the government formally run by the Socialist party leaders.

The reaction to the president's speech by Amaro da Costa, a leader of the bourgeois Social Democratic Center party, was "Presidential rule has just begun." Correspondent José Rebelo reported in the April 27 *Le Monde* that Amaro da Costa said this "euphorically" on the steps of the parliament building.

Ramalho Eanes utilized the official ceremonies to issue warnings to the workers parties, including the supposedly ruling Socialist party itself. Like Amaro da Costa, Proença de Carvalho, right-wing editor of *Jornal Novo*, responded "euphorically" to the president's performance. In the April 26 issue of his paper, he wrote:

Yesterday the president clearly removed any alibis the government and parliament might present by guaranteeing them order and authority based on the cohesion of the armed forces and militarized police under his supreme command. . . .

This was why the president issued some clear warnings yesterday.

One warning was to the Communist party: "You cannot claim to be democrats in the Assembly and foment agitation and disrespect for the laws outside it. . . ."

Another warning was to the government: "The country has enjoyed a period of political calm and harmony among the social forces that the most optimistic would not have ventured to predict two years ago. A careful examination of the solutions offered by the various parties has made it possible to establish a platform that provides a basis for agreement and a guarantee of a solid foundation of support for the measures of national salvation that are required."

Ramalho Eanes made it clear what the general direction of such "measures of national salvation" would be:

"The recovery of the economy and the elimination of unemployment depends largely on the dynamism of private enterprise."

De Carvalho continued:

One warning was apparently directed at [Premier] Mário Soares: "The solidarity that must unite all Portuguese for the recovery of our country requires that leaders subordinate the personal ties they formed in a common past to the demands of the future that is to be built."

Obviously Soares is supposed to forget that all of the working-class parties had



SOARES: Seeking more \$\$\$ in Washington.

had to unite against the repression of the Salazarist regime. Now he is being called on to join forces instead with the bourgeois forces that supported the repression of both his party and the CP. When workers at the Mague plant, for example, complained to Ramalho Eanes after the release of fascists and the revival of rightist activity during a tour April 12, he told them that the best way to fight the fascists was "to do a fair day's work," that is, give the bosses who created the Salazar regime what they want. The president issued other warnings, de Carvalho noted:

Another warning was to the Assembly of the Republic: "It is urgent to regulate strikes, as well as the ways in which workers can intervene in the management of enterprises."

Then the President of the Republic issued a final warning.

If the CP and other forces of totalitarian agitation do not respect the rules of democracy, if the government does not "unhesitatingly and without delay remove the remaining doubts" by immediately creating the conditions necessary for economic recovery, then the Portuguese will have cause to remember the words solemnly spoken by Ramalho Eanes on April 25, 1977:

"The mandate that I have received from the Portuguese people requires me, in the framework of democratic solutions, to guarantee the

recovery of the country, the national identity, and to allay collective fears about the present and the future.

"I will not hesitate to take the necessary and correct measures to assure the viability of the nation as a free society in which life is worthwhile."

The "final warning" was that if the government and the assembly are incapable of doing what Ramalho Eanes demands, he may have to do it without them.

The irony was that although Soares is pushing harder and harder to meet Ramalho Eanes's demands, it is quite clear that neither he nor his party are going to get the benefits from this policy. The beneficiaries are going to be the bourgeois parties.

Le Monde correspondent Rebelo reported that the bourgeois parties had been encouraged by the president's speech to relaunch their proposal for a "government in which the president can have confidence," that is, a bourgeois-dominated "democratic coalition."

In the kind of government the bourgeois parties want, they and the president could hold the SP as a hostage, using it as a working-class cover until its credibility is worn out. The example of the Italian SP, which was cut to ribbons while it participated in the "center-left" coalition shows the Portuguese SP leaders what they can expect.

Nonetheless, Soares has clearly been doing his best to move toward an open coalition with the bourgeois parties. On March 25, non-SP "experts" were brought into the cabinet for the first time. Soares appointed Alfredo Nobre de Costa, former administrator of the national petroleum company Sacor under the Salazarist regime, as minister of industry. He appointed a liberal dissident from one of the big bourgeois parties, Carlos Mota Pinto, as minister of commerce and tourism. At the same time, former Minister of Labor Marcelo Curto was replaced by right-wing SP unionist António Maldonado Gonelha.

Soares explained the cabinet reshuffle as follows: "Now we have to curb inflation, attract new investments and create jobs, and so I have brought in a shock team."

The dirtiest job was reserved for Gonelha. He opened up a strident red-baiting campaign against the CP aimed at justifying an openly procapitalist course. He began talking about capital and labor as "social partners."

Jornal Novo, which expresses the opinion of the Confederation of Portuguese Industry, responded enthusiastically to Gonelha's statements. In its April 5 issue, it said in a front-page column:

In the last weeks in particular, Gonelha has shown that he possesses a determination and courage that has been sadly lacking in the labor field. As we predicted, the replacement of Marcelo Curto was not a meaningless act or a simple change of personnel to carry out the same policy. . . . The union offensive begun today is unprecedented on the part of the Socialist cabinet of Mário Soares.

Jornal Novo singled out what it especially liked:

In a slashing attack against the "myth of the left majority and the myth of unity," the nostrums of the CP, Gonelha placed himself in the only camp possible for a democrat, the camp of struggle against putschism . . . against the escalating destabilization campaign of the CP.

Gonelha came out more openly and categorically than SP politicians in the past against working class unity. That is what the bourgeois parties have been pushing for. What upset *Jornal Novo* in the past was that CP and SP deputies in the Constituent Assembly, where they had a majority, as they still do in parliament, voted together to pass prolabor measures.

The Portuguese bourgeoisie has a vital interest in maintaining the split in the working class that opened up in the summer of 1975. This is mainly responsible for the "political calm and harmony" that Ramalho Eanes pointed to in his speech, that is, the miraculous comeback for the bourgeoisie made possible by the disarray in the ranks of the working class.

The split in the Portuguese working class was driven deep by the CP's bureaucratic course as the labor lieutenant of the first Armed Forces Movement governments and its sectarian pressure tactics to try to maintain its bureaucratic positions once the military had abandoned it as their main instrument in the mass movement. The military and its Washington backers have concentrated on making this split unbridgeable. It is no accident that Soares's strongest attacks on the CP and the left wing of his own party have come when he has publicly sought loans from Washington.

Gonelha evidently thought he could still exploit the widespread revulsion over the tactics the CP followed under the Gonçalves governments and in the fall of 1975:

The CP follows a Leninist line in the unions, . . . for them the unions are a transmission belt. . . . When the party is not in power, it aggravates labor conflicts in order to undermine the established government. . . . When the party is in power, the transmission belt conveys the directives of the party and state down to the ranks, leaving them no room for maneuver or any rights.

When Gonelha launched his offensive

against Intersindical, he accused it of maintaining the old corporatist union structure under its leadership, a structure "totally inadequate for a country in our stage of technical development."

This charge was applauded by *Jornal Novo*, which obviously is not interested in promoting more advanced unions. But it was ready to take up an effective argument, since it knows that Gonelha's talk about better unions is just a cover for stepping up pressure on the existing ones to force them to accept cutbacks in the workers rights and living standards.

On April 13, the SP leadership resumed its campaign to split Intersindical and prepare the way for building its own union federation. It denounced the existing national labor federation as a "transmission belt" and called for the government to adopt "regulations to assure greater democracy in the unions." It opposed the participation of SP members in Intersindi-

cal, whose deputy general secretary, Kalidas Barreto, is identified with the SP left wing.

An attack by a group of CP members on an SP rally in the town of Salvaterra de Magos April 15 gave the SP leaders a pretext to "break off relations with the CP." In fact, the CP leadership admitted that its members were in the wrong and deplored the attack.

Such an incident must certainly have been the last thing the CP leaders wanted, but given the way they educated their members, especially from May to September 1975, it is probably hard for them to hold back the ranks and local organizations. Thus, the CP is still paying for the "tough" variety of opportunism that it practiced then. But the working class as a whole is paying more and more for the blindly opportunistic competition of the SP and CP for the favor of the bourgeoisie, which has had a particularly destructive effect in Portugal since August 1975. □

Urge Stand on Human Rights

Soviet Dissidents Appeal to European CPs

[The following is a report on an appeal to the conference of European Communist parties, held in East Berlin June 29-30, 1976. It appeared in issue No. 42 of the Russian-language samizdat journal *A Chronicle of Current Events*.

[The appeal, issued June 23, 1976, was signed by Yuri Orlov, the head of the Moscow-based Helsinki monitoring group, who was arrested February 10, 1977; Valentyn Turchin, the head of the Amnesty International branch in the Soviet Union, which has been the target of police repression; and dissident physicist Andrei Sakharov.

[The *Chronicle* quotes a section of the appeal and then summarizes the rest, listing three questions the authors propose the Communist party delegates take a stand on.

[The translation is by Marilyn Vogt.]

* * *

"Dear Delegates to the Conference of European Communist parties,

"We appeal to you to include in the program of the conference the question of human rights in the states headed by the Communist governments and to formulate a general and principled position on this problem.

"The need to observe the fundamental rights proclaimed by the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and partially incorporated in the pacts on rights, has become universally recognized

at the present time. The leaders of the Communist parties of the countries of Europe have time and again stated their adherence to the idea of human rights and a democratic form of government.

"We can only welcome these statements. It is clear, however, that people form their opinions and will continue to form their opinions about the theory and practice of the Communist parties on the basis of the situation in those countries where Communists have state power, and above all on the basis of the situation in the Soviet Union. Although the situation in our country has drastically improved compared with the Stalin period, it is still characterized by systematic, massive violations of the elementary civil and political rights of the individual, by undemocratic forms of rule, and by tyrannical authorities."

The authors of the letter single out two aspects of the problem: the policy of the CPSU toward public organizations and toward freedom of exchange of information, of convictions, and of conscience; and they address a number of concrete questions to the conference. Among them:

- Is the existence of independent public organizations possible in a Communist state?

- Does the conference consider repression for distributing informational and other journals, in particular *A Chronicle of Current Events*, to be justified?

- What kind of guarantees of the independence of the judicio-legal system should exist in Communist states? □

Soviet Political Dissidents Knifed by Healyites

By Gerry Foley

At a time when the Kremlin can get few Communist parties to defend its repression of free-speech fighters in the USSR, an English sect that claims to be Trotskyist has stepped forward to pick up the Soviet bureaucrats' propaganda truncheons.

In an article under the headline "Carter's Fifth Column," Michael Banda, general secretary of the English Workers Revolutionary party, denounced the Soviet dissidents as "a semi-legal Frankenstein monster whose body is in Russia but whose head remains in Washington." Apparently the WRP intends to circulate this position as widely as possible, since Banda's piece was published in the April 29 issue of the *Bulletin*, the newspaper of its U.S. affiliate.

Although the WRP had already gravely degenerated, falling to the level of trying to smear leaders of the Fourth International as accomplices of the Soviet secret police, Banda's article seems to mark a new stage in the decay of the sectarian current that formed under the leadership of Gerry Healy. It shows how far a self-professed Trotskyist organization can be carried by sectarian avoidance of any real movement that challenges it to put its avowed principles into practice.

For the first time, mass Communist parties are being forced to defend free-speech fighters in the Soviet Union and admit some of the truth about the repressive nature of Stalinism. For the first time, a Trotskyist group, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), was able to build an international campaign that forced the Soviet bureaucracy to release a Marxist fighter who opposed Stalinist rule, Leonid Plyushch. The OCI, moreover, was associated with Healy until only a few years ago. The general secretary of Healy's party has chosen precisely this time to embrace the main arguments of the bureaucrats for suppressing the dissident movement.

Demands Bureaucracy Take Tougher Stand

Banda does try to differentiate himself from the bureaucracy. He says that police measures are insufficient to deal with such "fifth columnists" as Plyushch and Bukovsky, who spent long years in different types of prisons in the Soviet Union:

The Soviet bureaucracy has no answer to this insidious disease because it fears to mobilize the working class in any major political campaign and prefers to rely on police measures.

Actually the Soviet bureaucrats have

carried out massive political campaigns against oppositionists, using the very arguments against them that are repeated in a more frenzied way by Banda. The Czech Stalinist regime has also carried on such a campaign against Charter 77, calling on the workers in factories to sign petitions condemning it.

Is Banda recommending an active mobilization against the dissidents on the model of some mass campaigns carried out by the Chinese Stalinists? Perhaps so, since he was an admirer of the "great proletarian cultural revolution." But lately the Chinese regime has been mobilizing the masses to condemn the "cultural revolutionists" as "dog's dung."

What the Stalinist bureaucracies fear above all is not mobilization as such but independent mobilization of the workers, whose first demand is the right of free speech. How else can the workers express themselves and communicate with other workers throughout the country?

There are many ideological currents in the dissident movement. But all agree on the demand for at least some degree of free speech. Whatever the theories and nostrums of the various currents and figures in the movement on other questions, this demand corresponds to the most basic need of the workers in their struggle to end the usurpation of political power by the bureaucracy.

Because in general the known dissidents are intellectuals and, with notable exceptions, do not claim to be revolutionary Marxists, Banda denies that their struggle can do anything to advance the interests of the workers:

Bankrupt of any socialist ideals and completely divorced from the working class, Bukovsky, together with Solzhenitsyn, Amalrik, Sakharov, Plyusch [sic], and other intellectuals represent a section of bureaucratic opinion which, while rejecting the political oppression of the bureaucracy, is trying desperately to replace it with a petty bourgeois "democracy" supported by US and European imperialism.

However, in every case in which Stalinist dictatorship over the workers began to break down—in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Hungary in 1956—the way for independent action by the workers was prepared by a fight for democratic rights spearheaded by intellectuals.

What Happened to 1968 Stand?

In 1968, while the Healyites' positions on the Czechoslovak events were marked by

extreme sectarianism, they at least recognized that the Stalinist occupiers would eliminate free speech in order to reconsolidate bureaucratic rule. In the August 31, 1968, issue of their paper *The Newsletter*, they wrote:

The Russian Stalinists have made it perfectly clear that they require the ending of all free expression in the Press, TV and radio. They will insist on using the outburst of undoubtedly procapitalist elements to stifle all working-class opposition to Stalinism.

Now Banda has reached the conclusion that the mere demand for basic democratic rights amounts to promoting the restoration of capitalism:

It is no accident either that this reactionary fraternity [the Trotskyists that Banda considers "revisionist" and the "Euro-Communist" CPs—G.F.] patronize the Charter 77 movement in Czechoslovakia, which also seeks to use the Helsinki Agreement to restore the restorationist policies of Dubcek and Ota Sik.

Charter 77 simply calls on the bureaucracy to grant in practice the democratic rights guaranteed by the constitution adopted by the Stalinist regime and the international conventions to which it has adhered. Evidently for Banda this is equivalent to calling for the restoration of the Dubcek government, which in turn is equivalent to advocating capitalist restorationist policies. This argument is the same as the one used by the Czechoslovak Stalinist regime and the Kremlin. Banda doesn't have the merit even of recognizing that the signers of Charter 77 represent a wide spectrum, including representatives of currents to the left of Dubcek.

Sectarians, however, never simply state their agreement with a policy followed by others. They feel morally bound to carry it further. Thus, Banda goes beyond concurring with the Kremlin's position that the dissidents are trying to undermine the détente. He portrays them as the spearhead of an already planned aggressive campaign against the Soviet Union and the other workers states.

As the world economic slump deepens and threatens US imperialism with a catastrophe far worse than 1929, the US rulers need desperately to acquire new markets, new areas for unrestricted investment of capital, new territories and client states which can be flooded with US loans and goods.

More than any previous regime in US history President Carter's is faced with an intractable problem: how to liquidate the gigantic mountain of debt accumulated in the boom which is pulling

down profit rates, cutting investment and exacerbating the huge external deficit?

Carter's only answer to this dilemma is to engage in a cutthroat war against his former allies in western Europe while preparing to destroy the economic and military potential of the USSR, eastern Europe and China, as a precondition for the restoration of capitalism in these countries.

Integral to these plans is the exploitation of every contradiction and political weakness of the bureaucracy.

Since this picture includes a "cutthroat war" by Washington against Carter's "former allies in western Europe," one wonders if Banda thinks the dissidents are a danger to Britain as well. Perhaps he will make this clear in future articles.

The conclusion of a long description of gathering war clouds is given in the following two paragraphs:

The election of Carter gave an impetus to the movement to increase military deterrence as well as to politically subvert the Stalinist regimes.

Encouraged by reactionary writers like Solzhenitsyn, Carter openly solicited the support of Soviet dissidents with his infamous letter to Soviet scientist Sakharov.

Continuing, Banda says:

Leading dissidents in exile like Amalrik, openly call on the Carter Administration to use its economic muscle against the USSR, while others like Bukovsky openly compare Brezhnev with Hitler, attack the European leaders as "appeasers" and clearly imply the need for nuclear attack on the USSR.

Banda considers it sinister that Bukovsky, who suffered horribly in Soviet prisons, should compare Brezhnev with Hitler. Apparently he has forgotten, if he still cares, that Trotsky wrote that Nazism and Stalinism were "symmetrical" to each other, that is, that they resembled each other in their external forms, such as repression.

Plyushch Singled Out

Banda's peroration against the menace of the dissidents consists of an attack on the most prominent exiled free-speech fighter who has continued to oppose anti-Communism and declare his adherence to Marxism, Leonid Plyushch.

Not surprisingly the intrepid Plyushch [sic]—darling of the revisionist Socialist Workers Party, Organization [sic] Communiste Internationaliste, Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire and Blick-Jenkins—has predictably ended up on the same platform as Senator "Scoop" Jackson, a notorious warmonger in the US Senate and Democratic Party.

In a picture caption, Plyushch is called "anti-Communist." Banda does not bother to offer any evidence for this claim. In fact, it is a slander, as can be judged from statements this victim of Stalinist imprisonment and torture has made since he came to the West.

In the very meeting Banda mentions, where Jackson spoke, Plyushch made an



Speakers' platform at October 1975 meeting of 4,000 in Paris that helped win release of Leonid Plyushch. Healyites shun such campaigns, demand Kremlin take a tougher stand.

appeal on behalf of persecuted Latin American Communists. Moreover, he maintained this position in the face of strong pressure from the right-wing Ukrainian press and community leaders in the U.S. In fact, he badly upset anti-Communist Ukrainians, as shown by a spate of articles in the Ukrainian papers. But obviously Banda did not bother to check what Plyushch actually said, since he did not even spell his name correctly.

It is true that Plyushch has expressed confused and sometimes wrong views about the international class struggle. It is true that this has led him into making errors that can be exploited by Stalinist propagandists, such as speaking on the same platform as Jackson. It may lead him further. It is impossible to predict how individuals may change under political pressure. How far the Healyites have moved from Trotskyism is an example of this.

However, the fact remains that Plyushch has dealt a hard blow already to the capitalist claims (1) that anyone who fights against the Stalinist regime has to become antisocialist and anti-Marxist; (2) that all Marxists have to be Stalinists.

Like the other dissidents, Plyushch's only political experience has been working with small, isolated groups. Since freedom of speech is the basic political issue, the fight for this tends to dominate all other questions. Thus, there could hardly be much political clarification until some possibility for discussion is won. Plyushch could hardly have a very clear view of the wider implications of his ideas, since he has been cut off not only from the Soviet workers but from the world working class by totalitarian repression.

How could Banda expect Plyushch to develop consistent revolutionary Marxist positions without access to information, an opportunity to participate in debate, and a chance to test his ideas in practice?

Free Speech—Would Granting It Lead to Counterrevolution in Soviet Union?

Banda's arguments exclude the possibility of Soviet intellectuals moving toward revolutionary Marxism. In the first place, Banda starts out from the premise that the mere demand for the right to public debate is counterrevolutionary:

None of these intellectuals speak for the Soviet workers [how does Banda know this, since the workers have no opportunity to hear what the dissidents say, much less speak for themselves?—G.F.] Their "humanism" is a cloak for a restorationist program which begins with the dissolution of the deformed dictatorship of the working class exercised through a bureaucracy and will end with the liquidation of state and collective property.

Banda's argument indicates that he identifies Brezhnev's totalitarian rule with the dictatorship of the proletariat. If not, how would the dictatorship of the proletariat be weakened, much less dissolved, by granting the right of free speech more than a half century after the abolition of the bourgeoisie and the economic bases of capitalism in the USSR?

Here again, Banda's argument seems in fact to correspond to the Stalinist defense of the dictatorship of the bureaucracy.

Banda does blame the bureaucracy for the development of the dissident movement. He says:

... Carter's efforts would have been of little significance if it were not for the reactionary

policies of the Soviet bureaucracy who, on the one hand, welcomed the fraudulent Helsinki agreement [which Banda elsewhere calls an agreement on human rights—G.F.] and on the other assisted the growth of the anti-communist “human rights” movement with its arbitrary repression of political dissidence.

In the light of his arguments, what meaning can Banda’s criticism of the bureaucracy’s “arbitrary” repression of dissidents have? It is obviously nothing but a fig leaf intended to provide minimum cover for his espousal of the Stalinists’ justifications for bureaucratic dictatorship.

What is more, Banda’s arguments reveal a Stalinist conception of Marxism and the revolutionary party. They amount to denying the need for information, debate, and experience to correctly formulate a revolutionary program and to follow it.

Lenin’s Attitude Toward Intellectuals

If a revolutionary program does not come from debate and the confrontation of ideas and experiences (in which there must be errors or there would be no need for the process), where does it come from? Apparently it can proceed only from an infallible genius leader to whom the truth is revealed once and for all.

What is more, such a revelation not only must come from a genius leader, but judging from Banda’s use of the term “intellectual” as an epithet, such geniuses have to come directly out of the working class and directly express the views of the workers. That would rule out Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky.

Banda’s attitude toward dissident intellectuals shows how distant he stands from the fundamentals of Lenin’s theory of the party. Lenin based the need for the party on the fact—among other things—that intellectuals have more of an opportunity than workers to reach general conclusions about politics and society. Obviously this applies with greater force to Soviet workers, atomized by a totalitarian state apparatus. Plyushch explained this in a discussion published in the March 3 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*:

“I earned less money than a metal-worker but I had access to more information, and had connections throughout the country.” (For the full text, see *Intercontinental Press*, April 4, p. 354.)

Every socialist movement, every movement for social change in history, has developed first among intellectuals. In its early stages, the socialist movement was affected by petty-bourgeois confusion as well as pressures hostile to the working class. Does Banda think it could have leaped over this stage if only some genius such as himself, or his mentor Healy, had been born a century and a half earlier?

What Banda achieves with all his arguments is to build an absolutely impenetrable wall between the WRP and the actual struggle against bureaucratic rule in the Soviet Union. After all this, who

would be so bold as to suggest that the WRP should do something to aid those fighting against the bureaucracy?

The Hungarian Revolution

However, Banda still has a problem. He has to explain why the WRP now takes such an attitude of moral outrage against the dissidents when it continues to pride itself on its support for the Hungarian revolution. In fact, it claims that it supports the Hungarian revolution more than anyone else in the world. This is what is supposed to distinguish the WRP from the “revisionists” of the Fourth International.

However, didn’t the opposition to the Rakosy regime begin among intellectuals? Wasn’t the first oppositionist organization, the Petröfi Circle, named (horrors!) after a petty-bourgeois nationalist?

Although the process that led to the Hungarian revolution did not begin as a mass movement of workers, it culminated in that. Moreover, the available evidence indicates that before they were crushed by Soviet troops, the Hungarian workers councils had begun to develop a program standing for world socialist revolution. But not all the elements associated with the workers councils were entirely free from confused or wrong ideas about bourgeois democracy and the class nature of the bureaucratic workers states.

So why didn’t the WRP’s predecessor organization condemn the Hungarian revolution as Banda now does the dissidents?

The reason is all too obvious from the history of the sectarian group Banda represents. It has continuously degenerated. Now, as soon as a real movement appears that challenges the WRP leaders to prove their principles in action, they come up with arguments designed to show that any participation in it would mean contamination.

The Test of Ireland

The WRP’s attitude to the Irish civil-rights movement is a prime example. When this movement was in its early stages, they attacked it as pacifist. When it led to a massive confrontation between the oppressed Catholics and the Protestant pro-imperialist forces, they denounced it for putting barricades between the Catholic workers and their “Protestant brothers.”

However, all the past sectarian abstention and hypocrisy of the Healy group pales in comparison with Banda’s embracing the arguments the Stalinists use to justify repressing all opposition in the Soviet Union and the East European workers states.

When for the first time since the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucratic caste, an opportunity has opened to isolate the bureaucracy in the international workers movement and break the isolation of the

antibureaucratic fighters in the USSR, Banda calls the developments favoring this “counterrevolutionary”:

That the revisionists [the OCI and the Fourth International—G.F.], together with the “Euro-communists” such as Carrillo (Spain) and Marchais (France) should support this movement [the dissidents—G.F.] is a clear indication of the reactionary nature of these movements and their absolute hostility to the greatest conquest of the working class: the nationalized property and planned economy of the USSR.

Outdoes the Stalinists

In this statement, Banda outdoes the most unconditional supporters of the Kremlin, such as the U.S. Communist party, the Workers Communist party of Sweden, and the “exterior” faction of the Greek CP.

When a Stalinist like Carrillo, for example, is compelled to admit that the workers do not actually rule the USSR, Banda’s response is that this benefits the imperialists:

Carrillo recently denounced the USSR as the “dictatorship of one stratum of the country over the country as a whole”—a definition vague enough to fit Carter’s bill.

Carter did not need Carrillo’s statement to prove that the workers do not rule in the USSR. That is obvious to anyone who cares to look. The problem for Trotskyists—not for Carter—is that for decades the Stalinists have been able to convince millions of workers that they should shut their eyes to this because recognizing it would give aid and comfort to the enemy. Banda now expresses the same position. If this is true, then, haven’t Trotskyists always been traitors to socialism, as the Stalinists maintain?

Have the WRP leaders finally found a real basis for their hostility to all other groups that declare adherence to Trotskyist principles? Have they come to feel more comfortable defending Stalinism?

If so, the WRP leaders will have to explain to their long-suffering membership that the purpose of their organization has been revised. Until now, they have claimed that its reason for existence was to defend the Trotskyist program against “fake” Trotskyists who failed to stand fast against the pressure of Stalinism. How can they continue to claim this when their “general secretary” has embraced the main arguments for the dictatorial rule of Stalinism in the USSR? □

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Protest by striking Leyland auto workers.

Der Spiegel

'Trotskyists' Blamed for Airline Strike

Britain—Rise in Struggles Against Social Contract

By John Blackburn

LONDON—More than 5,000 trade unionists marched here April 20 demanding an end to the "Social Contract," with its wage freeze, savage cuts in social services, and high unemployment. Among those taking part were Scottish shipbuilders, Kent miners, Birmingham car workers, and Merseyside dockers.

The demonstration was called at a conference of 1,700 trade-union delegates in Birmingham April 3 and was supported by British Leyland shop stewards and the Communist party-backed Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trades Unions. It was not, however, supported by any important national trade-union leadership.

Despite two years of wage restraint, inflation in Britain is still running at more than 18 percent a year. The average take-home pay is £10 per week less in value than when Labour was elected in 1974. In his budget speech of March 29, Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey demanded at least one more year of pay restraint. In return he promised limited tax reductions. This would give the workers a slight increase in take-home pay without upsetting the bosses' profits, but inevitably would mean further cuts in social services.

Meanwhile, in four major disputes this year, union bureaucrats have lined up squarely with management, government, and the press as an open strikebreaking force.

In January print workers at the London *Times* went on strike, over a pay claim, against their union leadership's wishes. Unable to persuade the workers to return, the executive of the union took the unprecedented step of expelling the union

chapel. The workers were reinstated after they agreed to return to work without their demands being met.

Throughout February and March, newspapers and TV news broadcasts were dominated by the strike of 2,000 toolroom workers at British Leyland, the car manufacturer. Initially the dispute arose over pay differentials, but it quickly escalated. The right of the strikers to elect their own negotiators independently of the bureaucracy became an issue, as did the fundamental right of workers to strike. The walkout challenged the Social Contract itself.

As a result of the strike, 42,000 other Leyland workers were laid off and production was brought to a standstill. Management refused to negotiate with the "unofficial" strike committee elected by the workers.

Hugh Scanlon, president of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW), the toolroom workers union, from the outset backed management and the government and tried to force his members back to work.

When Leyland finally sacked the workers, Scanlon gave his assent, saying that the decision had "the full approval of all the unions in the engineering confederation." He also gave the go-ahead for other union members to cross the picket lines.

This tactic failed, and eventually, despite Scanlon's help, Leyland was forced to open discussions with the strikers' elected representatives. The workers agreed to return to work on March 18. Although not a complete victory, the outcome marked a significant change from the pattern of

recent struggles.

The following weekend more than 200 electricians at the massive British Steel Corporation plant in Port Talbot, Wales, went on strike, again over a pay claim. The struggle escalated on April 8 as management closed down the plant and locked out the whole work force of 8,000. As with the Leyland strike, the officials of the Electrical, Engineering and Plumbing Trades Union (EEPTU) rallied to help management against their own members.

In an interview in *Red Weekly* April 6, strike leader Wyn Bevan told of the role of Bernard Clark, the EEPTU district officer. "He made a bosses' speech and tried to wield the big stick" when addressing a meeting of the strikers. "The mood of the men is good," Bevan continued. "They will stay out indefinitely if necessary. . . . Our struggle is for the whole of the working class against the employers and against the union executives who are employer orientated."

On April 18 the *Times* reported that the leadership of the Trades Union Congress was putting its weight behind the employers and union officials in trying to get the workers to end their strike. The outcome is yet to be decided.

In early April, the week before Easter, British Airways' maintenance engineers at Heathrow Airport refused overtime, night work, and week-end work, in support of their demand for an increase in shift premiums. The Easter holiday is one of the busiest and therefore one of the most profitable periods of the year.

Officials of the engineers' union, the AUEW, immediately intervened to try to get the men to work their normal schedules. The engineers remained adamant. Management then issued sacking notices against the workers, but this backfired by escalating the dispute to an all-out strike. Engineers at Manchester Airport walked out in sympathy with their brothers in London.

Management then tried to provoke a witch-hunt. The April 17 *Observer* carried the front-page headline "Trotskyists blamed for airline strike"—the Trotskyists being members of the Socialist Workers party (formerly International Socialists). Enquiries have revealed that none of the leading stewards are in fact SWP members. However, Reg Birch, the AUEW official responsible for civil aviation, and a self-proclaimed Maoist, is reported as having agreed that it was "very likely" that Trotskyists were behind the dispute.

In spite of this red-baiting, shop stewards representing members of the Transport and General Workers Union at British Airways announced April 18 that their members would walk out if management attempted to sack or lay off the maintenance engineers. Rather than isolating the Heathrow engineers as planned, the red-baiting attacks have brought more workers rallying to their defence.

April 20, 1977

The Kurdish Struggle and the Arab Revolution

[In its April 14 issue the Australian revolutionary-socialist newsweekly *Direct Action* published an exchange of views on the autonomy struggle of the Kurdish people of Iraq, which erupted into a civil war between the Kurds and the central government in 1974-75.

[The first article is by Peter Indari, editor of the Australian Arabic-language weekly *El-Telegraph*, and has been translated by *Direct Action* from *El-Telegraph's* March 4 issue. The second article is a reply to Indari by *Direct Action* staffwriter Allen Myers.]

has a Kurdish majority is already becoming a tourist paradise, not only for Irak but also for the entire Arab Gulf area.

Well-known international newspapers of varied views have admitted that construction and economic prospects have increased tens of times since the Kurds were given autonomy. Modern industry was installed, the University of Sulaimaniya was developed, and hundreds of schools were built.

Despite all this, these elements employ their energies to stir up the Iraqi Kurds, ignoring the fact that there are millions of Kurds in Turkey and Iran who are not allowed to speak their language or to identify themselves as Kurds. And *Direct Action* mentions that Kurdish students make up 7 per cent of the students in Iraqi universities at a time when they form 25 per cent of the population.

There is no official census to show that that is the number of Kurds in Irak, and the official census acknowledged by the Kurds themselves does not approach that figure.

As for the number of Kurdish students in Iraqi universities, that may be accurate, but the ratio of Kurdish students was less than 2 per cent before the agreement of March 11, 1970, and the number is increasing every year.

It is not possible to mention in detail the existing industries in the northern region, and we will content ourselves with mentioning the huge tobacco factory in Sulaimaniya and the huge cement factory and hundreds of other great enterprises.

Justification of Dealing With Israel and the CIA

It would have been possible to turn a blind eye to some of *Direct Action's* articles, but the SWP at its fifth conference adopted a resolution on the Arab East in which it put "Kurdish self-determination" ahead of the Palestinian problem.

But what arouses suspicion and surprise is the SWP's defence of the co-operation of some Kurds with the CIA and Israel. It was revealed in their newspaper that the acceptance by Kurds of financial help from the CIA and Israel does not create a danger but is only the exploitation of contradictions between the imperialist powers.

The newspaper compares the acceptance of financial aid from the CIA and Israel with the PLO's acceptance of money from Saudi Arabia. This is a terrible mistake, because the PLO depends on Arab finance which is offered from a nationalistic point of view.

What is the Aim of Stirring Up the Kurdish Problem in Iraq?

By Peter Indari

For some time there have been suspicious movements in many parts of the world, especially in Europe, concerning the Kurdish people and especially the Kurds of Irak.

These activities have lately produced a political wave supported directly by the USA in order to create antagonisms in northern Irak with the intention of keeping Irak from the battle for a settlement which is taking place in the Middle East today.

The leader of the Kurdish tribes, Mullah Mustafa Barzani, has admitted that the CIA has stopped its support to him; and he (Barzani) added that he would have been ready to establish a new Israel in northern Irak to defend American interests and take over the petroleum in the area of Kirkuk. In addition, Barzani did not conceal his recent secret visits to the USA under the protection of the CIA.

Moreover, American sources revealed recently that Barzani wanted Carter to reconsider support to Barzani's followers, so that they would be able to renew their fight in Irak. And Barzani accused President Ford of having abandoned him.

And on February 2 of this year, the British *Daily Telegraph* published the news of Barzani's appeal to Carter. The paper quoted its reporter in Washington, Richard Biston, who is a reliable correspondent.

Such events are natural at a time when the CIA is trying to undermine all progressive organisations and movements in the world and tens of former officials of this agency have admitted these events which are now known throughout the world and are carried out shamelessly.

Change of Course by Leftist Groups

It needs to be remembered that the CIA uses different groups in order to put its conspiracies into practice. In recent years,

it has been able to use some leftist elements, or elements which are considered to be leftist, and among these are some Trotskyist groups in Europe and the USA, where there are dozens of Trotskyist movements and groupings.

And some of these groups which are considered leftist have used their publications and resources to serve the CIA and defend a feudal and reactionary leader like Barzani. And a large number of these groups have been scandalised in Europe, the USA, and elsewhere.

The Australian SWP and Its Newspaper 'Direct Action'

The contagion from these groups spread to Australia, and the newspaper of the party known as Socialist Workers Party began to publish some material infiltrated to it from Trotskyist elements in Europe and the USA.

Because this group sympathises with the Palestinian cause and supports the liberation movements of the Arab world, we decided not to mention these matters and to continue public co-operation with them against local Zionism. The pages of this newspaper [*El-Telegraph*] have more than once carried items praising the activities of this group concerning the Palestinian question, and included in its pages photographs of one of its well-known members, Sol Salby, "the Israeli Jew" who opposes Zionism.

This group has involved itself lately in a matter of which it has very little knowledge, that is, the Kurdish problem; it depends for its stand and articles on Trotskyist organisations abroad.

Instead of concentrating their efforts on the Kurds of Iran and Turkey, who suffer from racial and cultural discrimination, they have concentrated on the affairs of the Iraqi Kurds, who have had autonomy for years. The area of northern Irak which

It is impossible for the CIA to offer Barzani financial aid without insuring that he would create a new Israel for them and that he would serve their interests in the same way as any other paid agent.

The justification of these people for co-operation with the CIA and Israel would justify King Hussein's, Thieu's, and others' acceptance of American money, for they would be able to say that they accepted money from the USA and Israel for their own purposes and to exploit the "contradictions" between imperialist powers.

This Trotskyist group increased their involvement in defending Barzani, when their newspaper in its [February 24] issue published a letter against Bill Hartley

because he wrote in *Scope* concerning what he had witnessed in Irak and because of his interviews concerning northern Irak; Hartley praised the measures for autonomy of the Kurdish area, and the peace now existing here.

Despite these very serious matters put forward—deliberately or not—by this group, the way is still open for them to change their policies and stay out of a matter of which they know nothing except what is provided to them by suspicious sources which pretend falsely to be Trotskyist and Marxist and whose activities concentrate around the limitation of production, growing of beards, sexual freedom, and revolt against socially accepted customs and values.

think that that right stops at the border between countries ruled by open reactionaries and those ruled by demagogic "progressives."

It is true that the *Direct Action* article to which Peter Indari refers dealt only with Iraki Kurds. This should not surprise anyone, since the article was a description of an SWP resolution on the Arab revolution. The oppression of national minorities in Turkey, Iran and the Soviet Union should be opposed but is not particularly relevant to a discussion of the Arab revolution.

But there is an additional reason why the SWP at present should devote more attention to Iraki Kurds than to those living in Turkey and Iran. It is precisely in Irak that the struggle for the national rights of the Kurds has reached its sharpest expression in recent years, in the 1974-75 civil war. As such, it has been the focus of world attention and provides revolutionaries with the best opportunity to explain why the right of self-determination should be supported. Moreover, had the struggle of Iraki Kurds been successful, it is highly likely that their example would have inspired Turkish and Iranian Kurds to launch a similar struggle against their oppression.

Why Socialists Support Kurdish Self-determination

By Allen Myers

Peter Indari's criticism of the Socialist Workers Party for its defence of the Kurds' right to self-determination rests on four main arguments. These are:

1. The SWP is ill-informed about the real situation, basing itself on reports from "suspicious sources" overseas, at least some of whom "pretend falsely to be Trotskyist and Marxist."

2. The SWP concentrates its attention on Iraki Kurds, who have little or nothing to complain about, and ignores the real oppression of Kurds in Turkey and Iran.

3. The Iraki Government has granted the Kurds extensive autonomy, is developing industry in Kurdish areas, increasing educational opportunities, and generally trying to overcome the effects of the oppression that Kurds suffered under previous regimes.

4. The Kurdish movement in general and Barzani in particular are backed by reactionaries because of their expectations that the Kurds will create a "new Israel" directed against the Arabs.

Let us consider these arguments. The first two may be dealt with fairly briefly, but the last two require more extensive discussion.

'Foreign Influences'

First of all, is it true that the SWP depends upon foreign sources for its information about the situation of Kurds in Irak? Unquestionably, yes. Our sources include Trotskyist organisations—although none of them are "suspicious," whatever that means—the international press, Kurdish organisations, human rights organisations, and in some cases the Iraki Government, as we shall see below. Does this mean that the SWP ought not to take a position on Kurdish self-determination?

Undoubtedly, it would be desirable if

every member of the SWP could visit Irak and investigate for himself or herself the conditions of the Kurdish people. Since that is not practicable, however, SWP members will have to rely on the sort of sources mentioned above—as will most supporters of the Palestinian movement in Australia, the vast majority of whom have never been to Irak.

Interestingly enough, Peter Indari does not impose the same conditions for supporting the Palestinian and Arab revolutions as he does for supporting the Kurds. As he notes, the SWP has a record of consistent support for the Palestinians and for the liberation struggles in the Arab world. He might have added that there is no other organisation on the Australian left that even approaches this record.

But if we were to adopt Indari's standards in a consistent fashion, we would have to renounce this record as a position based on information from foreign—and possibly "suspicious"—sources. To my knowledge, only one member of the SWP has any extensive first-hand experience in the Middle East. That person is Sol Salby. The SWP's information about Palestine comes from precisely the same kind of sources as its information about the Kurds. Perhaps Indari can explain why it is correct to rely on information from these sources in one case and wrong to do so in another.

Kurds in Other Countries

Does the SWP ignore the oppression of Kurds in Turkey and Iran? Not at all. We give complete support to their right to self-determination. The same applies to the Kurds of Syria and the Soviet Union too, although Indari doesn't mention them. We believe that any oppressed nationality should have the right of self-determination. But unlike Indari, we don't

Do Iraki Kurds Have Autonomy?

Peter Indari appears to acknowledge that Iraki Kurds suffered from discrimination in the past. But, he hastens to add, all that has changed since March 11, 1970—the date of an autonomy agreement between the central Government and the Kurdish leader Mustafa Barzani.

It should be admitted from the outset that the 1970 peace agreement contains much that is admirable. It provides, for example, for Kurdish language rights as follows:

"The Kurdish language shall be, alongside with the Arabic language, the official language in areas populated by a Kurdish majority. The Kurdish language shall be the language of instruction in these areas. Arabic language shall be taught in all schools, where the Kurdish language is the language of instruction while the Kurdish language shall be taught in schools throughout Irak as a second language. . . ." (From the translation provided by the Iraki Ministry of Culture and Information.)

The agreement also promised that officials in Kurdish areas would be Kurds or at least "well-versed in the Kurdish language," guaranteed Kurds the right to set up their own "student, youth, women and teachers organisations," and promised such cultural measures as improvement of schools and the broadcasting of more radio and television programs "concerning Kurdish national issues."

But the most important point in the agreement specified that areas in which Kurds were a majority would be united in a

single administrative unit in which the Kurdish people could exercise "the sum of its national rights as a guarantee to its enjoyment of self-rule."

This agreement, which was to be completely implemented within four years, is in many respects a model for the protection of the rights of a national minority. But several things need to be noted about it.

The first is that this agreement was not some sort of gift from the Iraqi regime. The Ba'ath Government that signed it had come to power in 1968. For two years, the Government attempted to suppress Kurdish autonomy demands by force of arms. The agreement was signed in order to end a state of civil war. It was therefore quite natural for the Kurds to regard the agreement not as an act of generosity on the part of the Ba'ath rulers but as a concession won in battle which the Government might retract if it was able to do so.

This was, in fact, what happened. The Ba'ath Government refused to abide by the agreement. Peter Indari himself accidentally admits this in regard to one important provision when he disputes the statement that Kurds make up 25 per cent of Iraq's population: "There is no official census to show the number of Kurds in Iraq. . . ." One of the points in the 1970 agreement specified that an official census would be held in order to determine which areas of the country were majority Kurdish and therefore to be included in the autonomous Kurdish province. Barzani later claimed that a secret provision of the treaty called for the census to be carried out within one year. Even if this claim is disputed, the treaty clearly states that all of its provisions are to be implemented within four years. Seven years after the agreement, the Government has still made no move to carry out the census.

(On the question of the size of the Kurdish population, it is not true, as Indari states, that the Kurds accept the last previous census, conducted in 1957, as accurate, although the central Government has claimed that Barzani agreed, in post-1970 negotiations, to have the 1957 figures used as the basis for establishing the Kurdish province. Whether or not Barzani was forced into such a concession, it should be obvious that a 1957 census—and one conducted under the monarchy, to boot—cannot give accurate figures on the Kurdish population in 1974 or 1977. *BAHOZ*, a Kurdish magazine published in Sweden, in 1972 estimated the Kurdish population of Iraq at 2,500,000. The 1967 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* gave a figure of 1,550,000, the lowest estimate from any competent source. Since the 1970 population of Iraq was about 9.5 million, Kurds therefore comprise between 16 and 25 per cent of the population.)

Four years to the day after the 1970 agreement was signed, on March 11, 1974,

the Ba'ath Government unilaterally decreed a "Law for Autonomy in the Area of Kurdistan." Not only did this law define the Kurdish areas on the basis of the inaccurate and outdated 1957 census, but it



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also made a complete mockery of the idea of autonomy. The law specified a Legislative Council, and above it an Executive Council, as the governing bodies for the "autonomous" area. The Executive Council was to be formed as follows: The Iraqi President is to select the chairman; the chairman then selects the other members.

As for the Legislative Council, it was to be "elected"—but the law does not specify by whom. In the event, the Legislative Council appears to have been chosen by the same people who "elected" the Ba'ath Party to rule Iraq—that is, the Ba'ath Party itself. The council assembled for the first time on October 5, 1974, in Arbil, with 68 Kurds present as members. The manner of their selection has never been made public. Spectators at the historic "autonomous" gathering consisted of 4000 government troops. The council returned to Baghdad the next day.

The powers of these hand-picked bodies are non-existent. Article 19 of the law provides:

"A) Supervision over the legality of the decisions of the autonomous bodies shall be exercised by the Cassation Court of Iraq through a special committee. . . .

"E) The decisions of the autonomous bodies which the supervisory committee rules as non-legal, shall be considered as wholly or partly abrogated from the date of their issue and all legal consequences resulting therefrom shall be null and void."

Furthermore, in the unlikely event that it should prove necessary, the law pro-

vides that both Executive and Legislative Council may be dissolved at the whim of the Iraqi President. (All details of the law are taken from a translation put out by the Iraqi embassy in London.)

This "autonomy" law was presented to the Kurds as an ultimatum: Accept it in two weeks or else. When the Kurds declined, Baghdad launched a military attack, its troops having been moved into position during the preceding months and the army having been put on alert 15 days before the "autonomy" law was promulgated. Thus began the 1974-75 civil war.

From Peter Indari's viewpoint, these events must be something of a mystery. What could have possessed the Kurds to make them reject the new law and go to war against the Ba'ath rulers, who had just spent four years demonstrating their benevolence towards the Kurds? After all, "well-known international newspapers of varied views" have testified, not merely that economic prospects were improving in Iraqi Kurdistan, but that they had "increased tens of times" since 1970. Could it be that the Kurds had neglected to read those newspapers and so did not realise what bounty had descended on them? Perhaps Peter Indari will provide a list of the newspapers to which he refers so that the Iraqi Kurds can read them and learn the truth about their situation.

It is also unfortunate that *El-Telegraph* did not have space to mention the "hundreds" of new industries in Kurdish areas. We at *Direct Action* of course understand from our own experience the difficulty which a paper with no major outside support has in finding room to print everything it would like to print. Nevertheless, we think that this information is of sufficient importance that we will offer to print the entire list of these industries in *Direct Action* if Peter Indari will supply us with their names. The only condition we impose is that he supply at the same time the number of Kurds employed in these industries, because the Kurdistan Democratic Party believes that the few new industries in Iraqi Kurdistan have followed a policy of hiring Arab workers in preference to Kurds. Indari will thus have the opportunity to correct their mistaken notions, which they doubtlessly picked up from suspicious foreign sources. (And while he is at it, perhaps Indari could explain why refineries which process oil from Kurdistan have been built outside Kurdish areas and why iron and steel plants have been built in Basra which depend upon raw materials from Kurdistan.)

In short, we are not at all convinced by Indari's vague and unsupported generalities. The fact that tens of thousands of Kurds took up arms against the Ba'ath Government and hundreds of thousands more chose to flee to Iran—hardly a haven by anyone's account—is sufficient indication that in the Kurds' perception, they

suffer oppression at the hands of the Iraqi Government. That perception weighs more heavily with us than the unsupported assertions of someone who chooses to justify the actions of the oppressors. And we might note, in passing, that it doesn't help to clarify the discussion to claim that Iraqi Kurdistan has become a "tourist paradise." No one has accused the Ba'athists of discriminating against *tourists*.

The Right of Self-determination

The central point in our disagreement with Peter Indari, however, is not a dispute over how many factories have been built in Kurdistan or the number of Kurds who are able to obtain an education. Even if everything that Indari claims Baghdad has done for the Kurds were true ten times over, that would not detract at all from the Kurds' right of self-determination. It is the Kurds in Iraq who have suffered oppression at the hands of the Arab majority. It is the *Kurds' right alone* to decide how that oppression should be ended. No Arab government has the right to dictate that decision to them—not even a government with more honest intentions than the Ba'athist rulers in Baghdad.

The SWP's view on this question is based on Lenin's writings—and practice—concerning the right of oppressed nationalities to self-determination. I do not know if Indari regards Lenin as a "suspicious" source, but certainly he will not call him a "pretended Marxist."

Neither in Lenin's view nor in ours is the right to self-determination conditional upon the oppressed nationality being led by progressives nor upon the majority nation being led by reactionaries. One of the clearest illustrations of Lenin's attitude is the fact that he allowed Finland, which was ruled by Mensheviks, to *secede* from the Soviet Union. In a polemic against Bukharin, who argued for the forcible retention of Finland within the Soviet Union on the grounds that this would represent self-determination for the Finnish working class, Lenin wrote:

"We cannot deny [the right of self-determination] to a single one of the peoples living within the boundaries of the former Russian Empire. . . . What, then, can we do in relation to such peoples as the Kirghiz, the Uzbeks, the Tajiks, the Turkmen, who to this day are under the influence of their mullahs? . . . Can we approach these peoples and tell them that we shall overthrow their exploiters? We cannot do this, because they are entirely subordinated to their mullahs. In such cases we have to wait until the given nation develops, until the differentiation of the proletariat from the bourgeois elements, which is inevitable, has taken place.

". . . To reject the self-determination of nations and insert the self-determination

of the working people would be absolutely wrong, because this manner of settling the question does not reckon with the difficulties, with the zigzag course taken by differentiation within nations.

". . . Every nation must obtain the right to self-determination, and that will make the self-determination of the working people easier. . . . If we were to declare that we do not recognise any Finnish nation, but only the working people, that would be sheer nonsense. We cannot refuse to recognise what actually exists; it will itself compel us to recognise it. The demarcation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is proceeding in different countries in their own specific ways. Here we must act with utmost caution."

The Iraqi Government and Peter Indari do not deny the existence of the Kurdish nation. All that they deny is that nation's right to self-determination. Their attitude is: Baghdad is happy with its "solution" to Kurdish oppression; how dare the Kurds demand something different?

Is the Kurdish Struggle Reactionary?

Unlike Peter Indari, Lenin clearly distinguished between the struggle of oppressed nations for self-determination and the leaderships of those struggles. For Lenin, the awakening of oppressed nations to national consciousness was progressive, even when that consciousness was temporarily subject to the misleadership of Mensheviks or mullahs.

Precisely because it is a *national* struggle, the movement of *any* oppressed nation for self-determination is likely to include sharply contradictory elements, each pulling in the direction that represents its own interests. Feudalists and peasants, capitalists and proletarians, can co-operate in the struggle and even co-exist within a common organisation.

Marxists naturally stress that this seeming identity of interests between hostile classes is an illusion and that the propertied classes cannot be relied upon to carry the struggle through to its conclusion because of their fear that the masses, once roused to action, will not content themselves with solving the national question but will proceed to social questions as well. (Indeed, they *cannot* really solve the former unless they also solve the latter.) But even when such a struggle is misled or betrayed by reactionary forces, the struggle itself retains its progressive character. The Arab struggle against Israel in 1948, for example, was led by reactionary monarchs and religious leaders; that is one of the chief reasons it was defeated. What would Indari say of someone who in 1948 took a neutral position or supported Israel because the Arabs were led by reactionaries?

Indari's criticisms of Barzani are in many respects the same criticisms that the SWP would make. When Barzani offered oil concessions in exchange for American

weapons, he gave an unmistakable indication of the *class forces he* stands for. But Indari's views are not likely to gain much hearing from Kurds, since they come from someone who is defending the Government that oppresses them.

The SWP does not "defend Barzani." The SWP defends the right of the Kurds to self-determination *even if* they are led by Barzani. Peter Indari defends the Ba'ath Party and Arab chauvinism towards the Kurds.

Indari's emphasis on the material aid provided to the Kurds by the CIA and the shah of Iran is intended to persuade readers that the Kurdish struggle is inherently reactionary. After all, such indisputable reactionaries would hardly lend their support to a progressive cause, would they?

Before we look at precisely what Washington and Tehran were attempting to do, let's consider another historical example which puts Indari's assumption in doubt. During World War I, the British agent T.E. Lawrence was sent to the Middle East to encourage Arab rebellion against the Ottoman Empire, and the subsequent uprisings were liberally supplied with British arms. It is obvious that British imperialism was not motivated by an altruistic devotion to the cause of Arab independence, but by the desire to establish its own hegemony over the area. Moreover, the British were largely successful, although they had to share the booty with French imperialism. Does this mean that revolutionaries of that period should have opposed the Arab independence struggle?

Role of Washington and Tehran

In 1972, at the request of the shah, Washington began supplying arms to the Iraqi Kurds. This military aid continued until March 1975, when it was cut off for reasons which will be mentioned below.

Indari argues that it is "impossible" for the CIA to have aided Barzani "without insuring that he would create a new Israel for them and that he would serve their interests in the same way as any other paid agent."

Which of its interests was Washington trying to serve by supplying the Kurds? Washington had no reason to wish to see the Iraqi Kurds win a military victory, although it was happy to keep the situation in Iraq unsettled. David Frankel explained the complex motives at work in the November 17, 1975, *Intercontinental Press*:

"When a government chooses to supply arms to one side in a war, it is a natural assumption that it is interested in seeing the side it is supplying win. However, that is not always the case.

"Iran and Turkey are Washington's only allies bordering the Soviet Union's southern boundary. Both of them have considerably larger Kurdish minorities than does

Iraq, and both of them have suppressed Kurdish nationalist movements in the past. An independent Kurdistan, or even the success of the Kurds in winning autonomy within the Iraqi state, would threaten the equilibrium of both the Iranian and Turkish regimes. . . .

"Washington . . . had no desire to upset the status quo among its own allies. Its aim was simply to maintain the Kurdish rebellion as an ongoing internal problem for the Iraqi regime, while not giving the Kurds enough aid to attain their objectives."

The available information (*New York Times*, November 2, 1975) indicates that military aid to the Kurds was not a policy initiative by Washington, but was undertaken at the request of a valued ally, the shah. The shah of course had no more reason than Washington to want to see a Kurdish victory. He was interested only in using the Kurdish revolt to put pressure on Baghdad for concessions.

The shah explained this quite frankly and cynically in an interview with the Egyptian journalist Mohammed Heykal, which was published in the Tehran daily *Kayhan* on September 17, 1975:

"I would like to make it clear that we did not invent the Kurdish revolution but merely faced it as an existing reality. . . . The Kurdish revolution offered itself as an opportunity for us to take advantage of.

"Do we want to create a Kurdish problem? Of course not. You must realise that *we ourselves have a large Kurdish minority.*

"For years the ruling regimes in Iraq maintained a hostile attitude toward Iran. Didn't we have the right to use any opportunity that arose?" (Emphasis added.)

The shah was not merely speaking for public consumption, as the report of a US Congressional inquiry into the CIA was later to make clear. This report quoted the following CIA memo, dated March 22, 1974, on the Kurdish struggle:

"We would think that [our ally] would not look with favor on the establishment of a formalized autonomous government. [Our ally] like ourselves, has seen the benefit in a stalemate situation . . . in which [our ally's enemy] is intrinsically weakened by [the ethnic group's] refusal to relinquish its semi-autonomy. Neither [our ally] nor ourselves wish to see the matter resolved one way or the other."

There is an even more convincing proof of the shah's intentions. On March 6, 1975, during the summit conference of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries in Algiers, it was announced that the Iraqi and Iranian governments had signed a treaty settling all outstanding disputes—including the matter of Iranian aid to the Kurds. The scene as the announcement was made was clearly a very emotional one, to judge from the

report that appeared in the *Baghdad Observer*:

"The Algerian President at the public concluding session of the OPEC Summit Conference announced last night the comprehensive agreement between Iraq and Iran on settling all the existing problems between the two countries. Following the announcement of President Boumediene to this news, the conference hall roared with claps which lasted several minutes expressing the welcome over this agreement.

"Later Sayid Saddam Hussein [the Iraqi Vice-President and reportedly the real power in the regime] and the Shah of Iran met each other at the middle of the hall where they shook hands and embraced each other."

The next day, Iran withdrew its artillery pieces, anti-aircraft guns and supplies of ammunition. Simultaneously, the Iraqi army launched an assault led by tanks. On March 18, Barzani ordered the Pesh Merga—the Kurdish guerillas—to stop fighting.

Again, Washington cooperated fully with its Iranian ally—and with his Iraqi ally. The *Christian Science Monitor*, a paper which is known for its close connections with the US State Department, reported information from "an unimpeachable source" in its November 3, 1975, issue. This was that Barzani had been secretly brought to the US by the CIA, which arranged a medical checkup for him. While in the US, Barzani learned "that the Iranian Government has decided to send back to Iraq by December 10 most of about 80,000 of the Kurdish refugees still in Iran. Many of those who are being sent back are going unwillingly, he said."

In order to prevent Barzani from protesting, the CIA ensured that he "was kept in total isolation." Barzani also "asked to stay [in the US] longer but was told he must return to Iran. He asked if he could go instead to Switzerland or Sweden but was told he must go first to Iran."

The role of imperialism and its allies has thus been a good deal more complex than Indari's article would lead one to expect. In attempting to portray the 1974-75 civil war as a conflict between Kurds and international reaction on the one hand and a "progressive" Ba'athist Government on the other, he ignores the role of Washington and Tehran after March 6, 1975, as well as the Turkish dictatorship's cooperation with Baghdad in closing the border early in the war.

Kurdish and Arab Nationalism

The Socialist Workers Party supports unconditionally Arab nationalism when that nationalism is directed against imperialism. The resolution "The Socialist Revolution in the Arab East," adopted at the SWP's Fifth National Conference in January, makes the point:

"It is impossible to understand the forces

at work in the Arab East without recognising that the present political structure of the region is the creation of European imperialists, who carved the Arab nation into separate states during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The maintenance of these artificially created states in the face of the evident desire of the masses for Arab unity is a form of oppression of all Arab nationalities, in addition to the other oppressions they may suffer as the result of economic exploitation by Western capitalism or the depredations of Zionism."

And it continues:

"For the Arab masses, the ties of common language, history and culture that bind them together are a living reality. Time and time again they have expressed their support for unification. . . .

"Revolutionary Marxists encourage and support this type of nationalism, which is a form of struggle by the oppressed against their oppressors. The nationalism of the oppressed is not, as is sometimes maintained by sectarians, 'bourgeois' nationalism. In this epoch of decaying capitalism, it is impossible for the national bourgeoisie to lead a national liberation struggle to a successful conclusion. A nation ceases to be oppressed only when it gains full control over its natural resources and economy by breaking free of the stranglehold of the capitalist world market. Only a socialist revolution can wrest control of the economy away from the imperialists."

In short, we regard the Arab nationalist struggle against imperialism—and in particular against its beachhead, Israel—as thoroughly progressive, an inseparable and indispensable part of the world socialist revolution.

But Arab nationalism loses this progressive character and becomes thoroughly reactionary when it is directed, not against the oppressors of the Arab people, but against another oppressed nationality.

Peter Indari obviously cannot argue that the Kurdish nation oppresses the Arab peoples. He therefore claims that it is the intention of the Kurds, in alliance with imperialism, to create a "new Israel" in the Middle East. That is, if the Kurds win their right of self-determination, they will oppress, or attempt to oppress, Arabs *in the future.*

We have already seen above that imperialism has no intention of allowing the Kurdish struggle to be victorious. But Indari's argument should be answered on a more fundamental level, because its logic undermines the legitimacy of the Palestinian and Arab national struggles.

It is a thoroughly reactionary argument to justify the denial of the rights of an oppressed minority with the claim that the minority might in the future turn the tables on the majority. By that logic, one would have to oppose the struggle of

Blacks in the United States, for example, because Blacks, at some point in the future, might oppress whites. Or one would have to favor the continuation of British imperialism's foothold in Ireland because, in a united Ireland, the Protestant minority might, some day, suffer discrimination.

The Zionists themselves use exactly the same argument in regard to the Palestinians. An exclusivist Israel is necessary, they say, to prevent Jews, in the future, from being oppressed by the Arab majority of the region. In putting forward this argument, moreover, the Zionists have an advantage which is lacked by reactionary whites in the US or British imperialism. *They can point to the denial of Kurdish national rights by the Iraqi Government as evidence that a democratic secular Palestine would mean the oppression of Jews.*

The Ba'athist regime's *chauvinist* policy towards the Kurds thus does not serve the Arab national struggle, but *undermines* it.

The chauvinism of the regime is opposed to the real interests of the Arab national struggle. This can be seen even more clearly in the Ba'athist Government's betrayal of Arab interests in the March 1975 agreement with the shah. This betrayal was contained in the first two points of the communique:

"Definite demarcation of their land frontiers on the basis of the Constantinople Protocol of 1913 and minutes of the Frontier Demarcation Commission of 1914.

"Demarcation of river frontier according to Thalweg line." (*Baghdad Observer*, March 7, 1975)

The second point refers to Baghdad's agreement that the Iraqi-Iranian border along the Shatt-el-Arab waterway would conform completely to the *shah's* version of where the line should be drawn.

More importantly, the first point signifies handing over to the shah's tender mercies the substantial Arab population of Iran. Traditionally, and quite rightly, the Arab governments have refused to recognize the imperialist drawing of boundaries which included the Arabs of Arabistan (called Khuzistan by the Iranian Government) in Iran. But in order to obtain a free hand to suppress the Kurds, the Ba'athist Government betrayed the national rights of the Iranian Arab minority.

Unity Against Imperialism

The SWP does not put Kurdish self-determination "ahead of" the Palestinian revolution. (The resolution of our Fifth National Conference devoted 1½ of its 19½ pages to this question.) We see the Kurdish and Arab struggles not as competing but as complementary.

From Peter Indari's remarks about people "stirring up" the Kurdish struggle, readers unfamiliar with the reality might conclude that this struggle was of recent origin. Just the contrary is the case.

A Kurdish rebellion in Sulaimaniya in



1919 was crushed by the British, who were determined to include the Kurds in the Iraqi puppet-state they were creating in order to ensure their control over the oil of the Kirkuk region. Kurdish areas cast most of the dissenting votes in the referendum that established the monarchy.

In 1923, Sheikh Mahmud, who had led the 1919 rebellion, rose again. Although defeated, he forced the monarchy to allow Kurdish to be taught in local schools.

In 1932, another rebellion in Sulaimaniya attempted to win a separate administration and a Kurdish assembly within Iraq. In the same year, the central Government attempted to extend its control for the first time over Barzan in the far north. This touched off a rebellion, led by Mustafa Barzani. British air bombardments drove the rebels over the border into Turkey.

Another rebellion of the Barzanis began in 1943 and was not defeated until 1945, again with the aid of British planes. (The British Government denies aiding Baghdad in this instance.)

Some of the Kurds involved in the 1943-45 uprising, including Barzani, fled across the border into Iran. There, in the upsurge of the mass movement that was taking place, the Kurdish Republic of Mahadabad was established. Barzani became commander of the military forces of the republic, which was crushed in 1946 by a combined British-Iranian-Iraqi military force. Barzani then led his followers on a "long march" northwards to the Soviet Union, where he remained in exile until 1958.

In 1958, the Kurds of Iraq were an active part of the mass movement that overthrew the Hashemite monarchy. The new regime headed by General Kassem promulgated a new constitution which said that "Arabs and Kurds are partners in this homeland" and implied a Kurdish right to autonomy. But the Kassem dictatorship was no more serious than about granting real Kurdish autonomy than the Ba'ath Party was in 1970. In September 1961, Kassem launched a full-scale attack on the Kurds, beginning the war that was to last until 1970.

This brief outline should be sufficient to demonstrate that the Kurdish struggle is not an invention of the CIA. On the contrary, Kurdish nationalism derives

from the national oppression of the Kurds by imperialism and its agents—from the same source, in fact, as Arab nationalism.

"Divide and rule" is a time-tested imperialist tactic. It is one of the chief reasons (along with rivalries between the imperialist powers) that the Arab nation was divided into a multitude of states. But those were not the only deliberate divisions created. *The inclusion of non-Arab minorities within the Arab states* also gave imperialism an opportunity to keep the oppressed fighting among themselves rather than against their oppressor.

Although the rulers in Baghdad have a vested interest in trying to maintain control over the oil in the Kurdish regions, the real interests of the Arab people are not served by the oppression of the Kurds. On the contrary, the Ba'athists' effort to suppress the Kurds diverts energies and resources away from the struggle against Israel and its imperialist masters. And it is Baghdad's war against the Kurds that forces them to seek aid from wherever it can be obtained, including the imperialists. In this way, too, Baghdad's oppression of the Kurds is a betrayal of the Arab national struggle.

The Kurds can and should be a valuable ally of the Arab people, because both peoples oppose the same enemy. The winning of Kurdish national rights in Iraq would be an example that would spur the Kurds of Turkey and Iran into action against their oppression. Such a movement would undermine the stability of these imperialist bastions, and, in the case of Iran, could begin the destruction of that prison-house of nations.

In short, the Kurdish struggle has the potential to turn the divisions created by imperialism against the imperialists themselves. The Arab people have nothing to lose and everything to gain from such a development.

A united struggle of Arabs and Kurds is possible. But it cannot come about on any other basis than complete support for the Kurdish right to self-determination. The Government that oppresses the Kurds of Iraq is an Arab Government, and so long as Arab revolutionaries are not the most consistent champions of Kurdish rights, this fact will enable imperialism to prevent unity in action by the two nations.

If the justice of the Kurds' cause is not enough to make Peter Indari stop defending their oppression, then perhaps the interests of the Arab Revolution will cause him to reconsider his position. □

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Italy—Crisis of System and Workers Strategy to Meet It

An Interview With Livio Maitan

[Second of four parts]

Q. I would like to go back in order to raise a question that many comrades are asking. After the huge wave of struggles over the past ten years, at a time when the crisis of the system has become generalized, how can we explain the fact that, far from losing their hegemony, the reformists have even gained some new ground?

A. This problem had already been posed in 1968-69. Among the nuclei and currents that later gave rise to the far-left formations, there was almost unanimous agreement that the PCI was condemned to an irreversible process of attrition, and that it had in fact already missed the boat. Although our assessment was a great deal more sober, we too underestimated the bureaucratic leaderships' capacity for recovery, as well as the possibility for a new broadening of the PCI's influence. We had too mechanical and short-term a view of the consequences that would result from the contradiction the PCI was caught in, a contradiction flowing from its desire to carry out a reformist strategy at a time when the system was in crisis and a revolutionary or prerevolutionary situation was beginning to take shape.

Q. There has been much discussion of the special features of the PCI, in the context of discussions about what is special about the Italian situation. What do you think of this?

A. The specific features of the PCI's history, its leading group and the training of its cadre help to explain its strength, which has no equal in the Communist movements in the advanced capitalist countries. You would have to go back even further and remember that, before and during the first world war, the Italian working class had a very strong Socialist party that did not identify with the positions of traditional Social Democracy. With reference to a more recent period, however, we can point to several factors that have characterized the Italian CP, and these have been analyzed several times by Italian revolutionary Marxists. Among these are the PCI's lesser degree of Stalinization compared with the PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist party], for example; the type of bureaucratic centralism *sui generis* that "Togliattism" represents (for example, the attempts to tone down the more repugnant features of Stalinism, using Gramsci as a counterweight to Zhdanov, acceptance of some opposing views within the leadership at certain times, and so on); the strength of "national" roots, as well as theoretical and political flexibility. The farsightedness—from his point of view—with which Togliatti approached the "de-Stalinization" turn, way ahead of the PCF as well as of the PCE [Partido Comunista de España—Spanish Communist party], enabled the PCI to adapt better to the "national" needs, and at the same time to cut the ground out from under the Socialists. In 1956, Nenni had hoped to take advantage of the crisis of Stalinism to drive the PCI into a corner, and thus reverse the relationship of forces in the workers movement in his party's favor. (The rapprochement with Saragat was also seen as a step toward this goal.) But this plan fell through, while in France, Mitterrand's effort to relaunch the SFIO [Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière—French Section of the Workers' International, the Social Democratic party] met with undeniable success. I think that the PCF's delay in carrying out the "Italian turn," its lack of dexterity, the different character of its veteran cadres, as well as the demagogic hollowness of some of its leaders, were important reasons for the different evolution of

the organized workers movement in France as compared with Italy.

I repeat, all the special features that I mentioned played a role. But that was not the essential thing.

Once again, we must go back to the dialectic of partial victories in order to explain the phenomena that have bewildered and demoralized a fair number of far-left activists.

The balance sheet of the 1968-76 period can be drawn from two different starting points.

If we take as our starting point the potential which existed at the time, the possibilities opened up by an unprecedented crisis, then it has to be admitted that these possibilities were not exploited to the fullest, and that the question of power was not even posed as being on the agenda. This is the viewpoint not only of revolutionary Marxists, but also of a very large portion of the far left and the more advanced layers of the social vanguard.

But, on the other hand, we could ask whether the working class, while not overturning the system, has, as a result of the struggles in recent years, gained anything concrete, won any victories. This is the standpoint from which the masses look at the question, particularly those who have become politicized over the last decade.

Q. What is the verdict, from this standpoint?

A. Since 1969, the working class has succeeded in overcoming some of the previous inequalities, by eliminating geographic wage differentials and by bargaining for equal raises for all. It has won substantial wage increases and improved the mechanism of the sliding scale. It has won a reduction of working hours for all workers—in other words, it has forced a certain redistribution of income in its favor.² Through its struggles, it has established a new situation in the factories, breaking down the tyranny of the bosses. The workers have won some real measure of control over speedup, working conditions, hiring policies, and so on, and exercised a kind of veto power over economically as well as politically motivated firings. They have been able to obtain legal sanctions for some of the rights they won by having them incorporated into the labor laws.

Along with this, the mobilizations of the working class, the radicalized petty bourgeoisie, the student movement, and the women's movement have achieved democratic gains such as the right of divorce and a revision, now in progress, of the old anti-abortion law. These mobilizations have largely swept aside the authoritarian and anti-democratic restrictions imposed on us by the D.C. regime in 1948, and have made Italy, in practice, one of the most advanced bourgeois democracies. In the schools and

2. Wage increases in the major industries were won both by means of national contracts, and by supplementary contracts on the plant level. According to Ministry of Labor statistics published in January 1977, the minimum hourly wage rose as follows in the 1970-75 period (not counting 1969, a year when significant increases were won, for example, by metalworkers): agriculture, from 100 to 221; manufacturing, from 100 to 231; transportation, from 100 to 202. Under the impact of inflation, which was felt chiefly at the end of this period, consumer prices went from 100 to 170. With respect to the sliding scale, the last agreement concluded involved the establishment of a unified threshold, with an advantage for the lesser-paying categories. As regards the workweek, it is forty hours for all the major categories, and even a bit shorter for certain sectors.

universities, the ingrained reactionary customs and traditions have been largely swept aside; the authoritarian forms of organization have broken down. Profound changes have occurred in the outlook, behavior, and values of a great many people. The political and trade-union organizations of the workers movement have been greatly strengthened.

It is all these gains that are at the root of the relations that now exist between the masses and the reformist organizations. In the eyes of the broad masses, the PCI and the trade-union organizations do not appear as the gravediggers of a revolution that was within reach, but as the tools which have enabled them to win some significant partial victories.

Q. Doesn't a balance sheet like this raise doubts about our previous assessment that objective conditions have narrowed the objective room for a reformist policy?

A. The question of how much room is available for a reformist policy cannot be posed in absolute terms in an "objectivist" way. In the concrete case of Italy, as well as in other places and at other times, the partial victories represented much more a by-product of mass struggles that had an anticapitalist dynamic and revolutionary potential, than the achievement of a general reformist strategy. As a matter of fact, between '68 and '76, the working class won more significant gains and "concessions" than in any other period of modern Italian history. Even during the Giolitti period in the first decade of this century, which historians consider to be the high point of the reform era, the reform movement's achievements were more modest and its life was shorter.

Finally, we should consider that, just like the dialectic interaction of economic crisis and working-class struggles, the dialectic between concessions and working-class struggles cannot be reduced to a rigid, one-dimensional schema. Depending on the concrete circumstances, a crisis may result in either a stalemate or an upsurge of struggles. Concessions can sometimes help stabilize the situation and pave the way for a "democratic counterrevolution." In other circumstances, on the other hand, they can further destabilize the system, increase the self-confidence of the masses, and inspire a new round of mobilizations with more advanced goals. The second variant is what occurred in Italy.

Q. Do you think that the PCI will be able to maintain its hold over the working class in the next period also, without facing severe problems?

A. First of all, one clarification. In recognizing that the PCI remains dominant in the working class, we do not overlook the fact that for almost twenty years, a shift has been taking place in the relationship between the bureaucratic leadership and the ranks, between the party as such and the social vanguard, and between the party and the masses. In the aftermath of the defeat of fascism, the PCI was seen by the great majority of its ranks, as well as its supporters, as the party that, whatever its tactical oscillations, was preparing the way for the revolution. It was seen as part of an ideologically and politically unified world Communist movement. This is why the masses had total confidence in it.

Today, the situation is radically different. The broad masses, and sections of the social vanguard, see the PCI as the only political instrument available to them, and support it for lack of a credible alternative. Among the PCI's supporters, only a minority think the party has a viable strategy for the transition to socialism that it will be capable of carrying out. Under these circumstances, the party's political moves sometimes encounter strong resistance, even more or less open opposition. There have been some incidences of this over the last few months in response to the PCI's decision to give the go-ahead to Andreotti and his austerity policy. Many leading cadres and rank-and-file members of the PCI took part in walkouts, actions organized outside the union structure, and so on. There have also been cases where PCI members defended their party's line in plant assemblies, and later

told our comrades: "Don't put us on the spot in these assemblies. We agree with you; inside the party we said the same thing."

Q. What do you think will happen in the coming stage?

A. For us it is axiomatic that concrete gains can only come out of a crisis in the relationship between the PCI's leading group and the ranks and between the PCI and the masses insofar as a credible alternative emerges. So far, such an alternative has appeared only here and there, during partial struggles on the factory level, or within the "peripheral" mass movements.

In terms of the next period, the PCI's chances of keeping its influence relatively intact depend largely on its ability to help defend the gains won by the working class and perhaps achieve other partial goals. This will be difficult, very difficult, especially if the PCI and the union leaderships stick to their present political orientation and tactics. But there is another consideration which should not be forgotten. The PCI uses the following argument to justify its current policies: If there is no austerity policy, if there is a drawn-out governmental crisis, inflation will leap out of control, and there will be a violent social and political crisis which could mean the end of democracy. Now, revolutionists by no means overlook the fact that, in the given circumstances, if the government and the bosses do not succeed in putting their line across, if the working class scores some victories over the austerity policy, the economic situation could further deteriorate, and this would inevitably have political consequences. But this is no reason to exhort the working class to remain passive—just the opposite. It is one more reason why we must explain that partial victories are not enough, that they should only be considered the basis for a new working-class offensive, which can lead to more important tests of strength, and, in the final analysis, pose once again the need for an alternative political leadership, pose the question of power.

The reformists reject this perspective. They do not want to put themselves forward as an alternative to the bourgeois parties for leading the country. They can only conceive of the "transition to socialism" in terms of the broadening and gradual transformation of bourgeois democracy. From this point of view, their present positions have a logic, the logic of the lesser evil, which is not new, but which, as experience has shown, is in some way convincing. The problem, I repeat, is to build a credible revolutionary alternative. However, in the absence of such an alternative, Berlinguer's argument has some weight.

Q. Is it possible for the present situation to lead to a realization of the "historic compromise," with the PCI participating in the government?

A. If the Andreotti government, or another government with the same policies, succeeds in carrying out the maneuver I have outlined, and which is under way, namely, slashing the masses' standard of living and wearing out the credibility of the PCI, and especially the unions, then the bourgeoisie might decide that the historic compromise, as a solution of last resort, is no longer necessary. In any case, if the PCI entered the government at a time when the mass movement was worn out or in retreat, the historic compromise would have a different dynamic than in a period of a new upsurge of struggles: it would then pave the way for the "democratic counterrevolution."

The Transition to Socialism: Gramsci, the PCI, and Its Social-Democratization

Q. The PCI has developed an overall strategy that has exercised a force of attraction for the international Communist movement. According to the PCI's leaders, this strategy has been proven correct in practice, since the party has grown and plays a central role on the Italian political scene. What we know today as "Eurocommunism" would not exist without the theoretical and political efforts made by the Togliatti and post-Togliatti leading

group. What do you think are the key points, as well as the contradictions, of such a strategy?

A. We can easily make an analogy between the ideas of the PCI and those of traditional Social Democracy about the transition to socialism. What is involved is a gradualist approach, which is often reflected not only in the ideas themselves, but also in the terms used to express them, which are similar to those used by reformists of the old school. But it is not enough to limit ourselves to such an observation.

The "classical" general formulas of Social Democracy predate World War I. Thus, they were based on an historical experience that was limited in time (a few decades) as well as in space (a few West European countries), and on an incomplete knowledge of the writings of Marx and Engels, which, moreover, had been partially falsified. In formulating its theories, the PCI has been obliged to take note, in its own way, of the great experiences that the working class has gone through on a world scale for the last sixty years, the experiences of successful revolutions in Europe and elsewhere, and of all the episodes in the degeneration of the workers states and the Third International. It has been able to draw a balance sheet (again, in its own way) of the new period of prolonged capitalist economic boom and of the new, powerful upsurge of working-class struggles in Italy and Europe. It can pride itself on a certain historical continuity. On the other hand, any attempt to gloss over the Stalinization of the PCI, as shown, for example, by its acceptance of the "third period" aberrations, would come under the heading of apologetics. Still, some of the PCI's current theories can, with a modicum of legitimacy, be traced to Togliatti's early Bukharinism. At any rate, there is, in fact, a line of continuity between the theories of the popular-front period and the historic compromise.

Along with this, the PCI's current theories reflect its position as a party exercising a strong political dominance over the working class and other exploited social layers in a country where the workers have fought great political battles over the past eighty years and have reached a highly advanced stage. Nor should we forget that, in the postwar period, Marxism has had a tremendous and growing influence on the education of thousands, perhaps tens of thousands of intellectuals, who have aligned themselves with the workers movement. I am convinced that when the history of the workers movement in this century is written, the last twenty years in Italy will go down as a period of a great flowering of Marxist or Marxist-oriented thought. It is true that there have been no original contributions like Perry Anderson's *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* and *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, or Ernest Mandel's *Late Capitalism*. However, even leaving aside Gramsci's masterly contribution to Marxism, substantial and profound work has been done in a whole series of fields, and a large number of intellectuals and activists have absorbed materialist conceptions and methods of analysis. A cultural climate has developed that is a reflection of the struggles that have shaken the whole society, and in some ways it has even served to spur these struggles on. The PCI could not but play a role in this, despite the fact that it has acted as a brake on the most critical and iconoclastic work, and despite its attempt to skirt certain issues. One very clear illustration of this is the publication of a weekly like *Rinascita*, which is almost the only one of its kind, combining political analysis and high-level theoretical and cultural discussion. The fact that a magazine of this type is read by 100,000 people every week points up clearly the PCI's ability to exercise an ideological dominance as well as the high political level of the Italian workers movement.

Q. How could you sum up the PCI's main theoretical and strategic conceptions?

A. They fit into a unified framework held together by an increasingly rigorous internal logic. This is not always apparent from Berlinguer's official writings or public statements, which introduce tactical mediations in order not to offer any openings

for criticism, either in Italy or elsewhere. . . . Advance patrols, while a bit unorthodox, often indicate the thrust of the PCI's positions, the party's *Weltanschauung*, so to speak, more clearly.

Look at it in the historical context. The PCI, which was fairly quick to draw the lessons of the Twentieth Congress [of the CPSU], could not stay within the bounds of the cautious criticism and the vague formulas that were put forward in 1956. It was forced to meet the problem of Stalinism head-on. It was not the party as such, but one of its most prominent intellectuals and activists, who did this work in the field of history. Giuseppe Boffa wrote a book on the history of the USSR which harshly condemns the Stalin period, and makes every attempt to project an alternative course. Boffa's thesis is that this "alternative course" was outlined by Bukharin. Thus, Bukharin's moderate gradualism—as expressed by "Enrich yourselves"—and his opposition to forced collectivization would link up with the PCI's own gradualist and pluralist conception of a transition to socialism without major explosions.

Let's look at it from another angle. What is the socioeconomic conception behind this idea of a prelude to the transition to socialism, a preparatory stage that might begin in Italy in the near or relatively near future? Claudio Napoleoni, a PCI deputy who is not a member of the party but who carries a lot of authority, outlined the idea of "guided capitalism" (that isn't the term he used, but it conveys the substance of what he said).

"This crisis," the deputy writes, "has not yet produced the conditions for an immediate transition to a superior form of social organization, which, of course, remains the fundamental goal of the workers movement. . . . In this situation, the problem of economic recovery (which must be solved, in order to prevent a worsening of the political as well as economic situation) can only be approached in the perspective of a period of transition, in which capitalist efficiency and market mechanisms will have to coexist with important elements of political guidance of the economic process." In Italy, the precondition for this process consists in the fact that "the changes introduced into the labor market . . . especially as a result of union struggles . . . have proved irreversible. However, since the labor market, as Marx taught, is not just any market but in fact is the foundation of all other markets, changes in the labor market represent changes in the functioning of the system."

Even more explicitly, Napoleoni says that we are already "in a situation of an objective duality in the social order" and that "the problem is one of how to turn this duality to the benefit of the workers, when, for the time being, we cannot and need not overcome it. . . . The bosses are in no position to reject the political platforms that the people's forces can present to them. It is quite true that Marxism did not foresee such a situation; but this, in my opinion, is the situation which must be faced" (*Rinascita*, no. 45). Napolitano, one of Berlinguer's closest collaborators, explicitly endorsed Napoleoni's theory, while at the same time taking his distance from Napoleoni's terminology, which obviously would be of little use in mass work.

I will not dwell on the political-institutional aspects of the PCI's theories, which are more familiar. Basing themselves on the democratic gains actually won by the working class in the immediate postwar period and over the last ten years, a series of political leaders and intellectuals, from Ingrao to Cerroni, have projected the theory of a specific type of "advanced democracy" for which the 1947 constitution is supposed to provide the framework. This system would be marked by a symbiosis of parliamentary structures and organs of direct democracy (such as workers councils), of nationally centralized and local structures, of structures for discussing and deciding the broad questions, and structures representing the social and economic forces in their own right (such as a revitalized CEEL—National Economic and Labor Council). There you have a picture of a "pluralistic" society, where not only different parties but also mutually antagonistic social classes would coexist. In this context the gradual transition to socialism would take place through a gradual infusion of "elements of socialism." Here, there is a striking analogy with the

terminology used by traditional reformism. Such a conception—which, projected to the international level, leads to the idea of Europe-wide unity and democratizing the Common Market—is coming more and more explicitly into conflict with Leninism.

Q. But simply reaffirming the Leninist strategy does not remove the problem. After all, even Gramsci, who never accepted reformist or gradualist theories, pointed out that West European society was very different from the Russian, and that a different strategy for the struggle for power had to be envisioned here.

A. There is a famous passage in Gramsci's writings that has been exploited by the followers of Togliatti, and since the publication of the *Quaderni del Carcere* it has been considered basic by some militant intellectuals who do not subscribe to

reformist strategies. Perry Anderson, for one, has cited it in his studies. In a recent essay, he came back in particular to the need to give a new theoretical dimension to the question of what form the transition to socialism will take in the West European countries. He says that, so far, Marxism has not even produced a theory of the nature and structure of bourgeois democracy. The theories of Lenin adopted by the Third International are supposed to have only a limited value because of the fact that tsarist Russia was a feudal state, even though the capitalist mode of production was predominant in Russian society. Clearly, on the basis of such views, fundamental Leninist conceptions could be put in question. There are more than a few people who think that Gramsci offered some valid suggestions for doing this.

[To be continued]

A Nationalist Breakthrough

Polish Heroes Reincarnated in Tibet

In its April 16 issue, *Polityka*, the Polish government's prestige weekly, carried a report on Tibet by Wojciech Gielzynski. The article compared the Tibetan resistance to the rule of the People's Republic of China with the struggle for Polish independence from tsarist Russia.

Running across the bottom of five pages, the article gave the history of Tibetan opposition to Chinese rule and a study of the various currents in the opposition, as well as of the Tibetan exile community in India.

On the surface, the article was an attack on the Peking regime, its allies and its apologists. The author, for example, argued that it was likely that the cause of the Sino-Indian war was Chinese search-and-destroy missions against Tibetan nationalist refugees and that thus China was the aggressor.

The resistance of the people of a small nation to a great power, even one that brought the benefits of "socialism," was presented in a favorable light. Gielzynski argued that although Washington had tried to exploit the Tibetan rebellion as a means of pressuring China, the nationalist fighters based themselves directly on the people and thus became a more immediate threat to the conservative interests in Tibet than the Chinese Communist party officials themselves.

In the minds of Polish readers, such a picture could hardly help but suggest the situation of Poland vis-à-vis the Kremlin. This is especially true since after the June workers revolts in Poland, the possibility of Soviet military intervention is very much on the minds of all sections of the population. Such a parallel with Poland was evidently on Gielzynski's mind—consciously or unconsciously. He almost made it explicit.

His holiness Tenzing Gyatso, fourteenth Dalai

Lama, as the living god-king combines the nobility of Czartoryski [the Polish statesman credited with leading the fight to stave off the first partition of Poland], the charisma of Mickiewicz [Polish national poet and hero of the fight for independence from Russia; the performance of one of his plays inspired the Polish student revolt of 1968], and the mysticism of Towianski [who prophesied that partitioned Poland would rise again as the savior of the nations]. . . .

There are also left dissidents such as the Grudziarz and Human group, who, on the model of the Palestinian extremists, resort to blind terror to stir the conscience of the world.

In India alone, there are more such [nationalists] than in the great Polish political emigration of the nineteenth century. They also discuss [as the Poles did] whether internal breakdown or the rapaciousness of their neighbors was responsible for their national catastrophe.

The most combative of them, the Kampo, only a few years ago were fighting desperately with sabers against Chinese motorized columns [like the Polish cavalry against Hitler's tanks]. Some of them have not laid down their arms to this day.

While arguing that the Kampo were given military training by the CIA, Gielzynski, in comparing their course with that of the Polish nationalists, obviously does not paint them in an unsympathetic light. He writes that the Dalai Lama and the top feudalists did not start the 1959 uprising against Chinese rule, but were swept up by the rebellion of the Kampo tribe.

Lhasa continued [under Chinese rule] to live in an eerie calm. The representatives of the most theocratic feudalism that has ever existed on this planet maintained friendly social relations with outstanding activists of the Communist party of China. Ladies from great families went on trips to exclusive clubs in India. Whiskey was drunk and cha-cha music played in Lhasa, although only in the homes of the highest lay officials, and a few emancipated youth even played tennis.

At the same time, the Kampo fought on firmly without any hope of even moral support from the Dalai Lama. They decided to force the living god to come over to their side. The opportunity arose in early March, 1959. The Chinese invited the Dalai Lama to a theater performance in their quarter of the city.

The Dalai Lama accepted the invitation, but could not take advantage of it. A crowd of tens of thousands gathered in front of his summer palace. It was dominated by the Kampo, who blocked all the gates. This was open rebellion both against the ancient absolute rule of the Dalai Lamas and against Chinese domination. The demonstrators chose a seventy-member Liberation Committee and a provisional government, the Mimang, which disarmed the escort of the living god and replaced it with a chosen unit of Kampo. Annoyed, the Dalai Lama called the Chinese by telephone, withdrawing his acceptance of their invitation, but at the same time he sent his ministers to the Chinese camp with requests for protection from the crowd.

The Polish journalist acknowledged the progressive changes brought about by the Chinese. But his irony suggested that he thought such changes were no substitute for national independence:

"The older generation of Tibetans may not fully appreciate the good works of the Chinese . . . but their children and probably already their grandchildren and great-grandchildren are learning to hail in unison the name of Mao for liberating the Tibet Autonomous Region from the Tibetans." □

U.S. May Vacate Panama By Year 2000

The United States has taken an "intransigent" stand in negotiating a new Canal Zone treaty, Panama's chief negotiator, Rómulo Escobar Betancourt, told United Press International April 28. However, Escobar said the main stumbling block had been overcome with United States agreement to withdraw all its troops from the canal by the year 2000.

Selections From the Left

FORWARD

Revolutionary socialist newspaper. Published monthly in Kingston, Jamaica, by the Revolutionary Marxist League.

The March issue devotes several pages to describing protests against police violence in Jamaica:

"It is reported that since the declaration of the State of Emergency on June 19th, 1976, the security forces have killed 89 persons and wounded 33. The police allege that they shot 18 of this total number in self-defence when they were attacked with 'weapons.' . . . In fact, the true number of persons killed by police and soldiers during this period is probably twice the figure given above.

"Over the last two months citizens from Harbour View and Hannah Town have protested the wave of senseless police-murders. For their protests the Harbour View citizens got a brutal beating from the police. They now face possible fines or jail terms for alleged breaches of the State of Emergency regulations."

In a separate article a resident of Harbour View describes the police riot:

"On Tuesday February 15th, the citizens of Harbour View gathered in peaceful protest against police injustice. . . . The police had instructions to disperse the crowd, but between 6:30 and 7:00 p.m. they went on a rampage in Harbour View.

"Citizens were beaten without question—from the very young to the very old. Men and women alike were handed the same treatment. In one case a woman was beaten until she urinated on herself. Even at this stage the beating continued. In other cases a fourteen-year-old boy received a badly broken arm and an elderly woman was seen receiving a brutal beating from a police constable. The reports show that among the twelve people detained by the police were a woman aged seventy years and a boy aged thirteen."

rood

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

The April 22 issue includes a balance sheet by François Vercammen of the Revolutionary Workers League's campaign for the legislative elections held April 17.

"The Revolutionary Workers League ran candidates in nineteen districts (nine in Flanders, nine in the Walloon country, and one in Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde). The balance sheet of our participation is clear—we waged an extensive campaign and got a not inconsiderable vote. . . .

"The Revolutionary Workers League was the only organization to organize meetings throughout the country involving debate. . . . Amada [a Maoist organization] did not organize a single public rally. Some of our meetings (300 in Antwerp, 500 in Ghent, and 500 in Brussels) attracted more of an audience than the Communist party was ever able to. . . .

"In Flanders, we were able to take part in debates among the various parties.

"The Revolutionary Workers League organized about 250 public activities (rallies, neighborhood meetings, rallies in city squares and at factory gates). Car caravans and soundtrucks crisscrossed the country, acquainting many communities with our ideas for the first time.

"Despite the very short duration of the campaign, our propaganda material got a wide response in the vanguard and among activists in the most diverse milieus. . . . Most of all, our program in five pamphlets (on working-class unity, the women's struggle, defending the environment, and on the Belgian Labor Confederation congress and the thirty-six-hour week) became the subject of political discussion. Our weekly papers *Rood* and *La Gauche* got a broader distribution.

"During the campaign, for the first time, dozens of activists outside the party worked with the Revolutionary Workers League. In a number of places, the organization established itself for the first time and in various areas gained a notable geographic extension.

"In the entire country the Revolutionary Workers League got about 15,000 votes. These were very conscious votes. In order to vote for us, a person had to know our organization . . . had to understand our political point of view and agree with it, had to choose us out of four workers parties, and had to reject all the arguments about 'making your vote count.'"

The two other parties running in the election that claimed to be to the left of the Social Democrats—the CP and the Maoists—both lost votes. The CP representation in parliament was cut in half. The party lost a third of its votes in Brussels. In Antwerp, the Amada vote fell from 2.8% to 1.4%.

HNH

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

In theory, the Yugoslav economy is controlled by "self-managing" associations of producers. The reality stands in glaring contradiction to this. Thus, as a safety valve, a certain amount of discussion of the "problems" of self-management

is permitted in the press, which even after the purges that began in the early 1970s is still allowed greater leeway than in other Stalinized countries.

For example, the April 10 issue has an article entitled "The Dangers of Technocracy." However, it is clear that the danger about which the author, Dr. Radoslav Ratkovic, is really concerned is that the workers may take the Tito regime's demagoguery about self-management too seriously:

"The main danger to self-management is a tendency to interpret it and implement it in such a way as to make it an absurdity. It is obvious that this is the method the anti-self-management forces have adopted in the present circumstances. Obviously, in our country, you cannot openly oppose self-management. But you can work against it by pretending to support it and calling for implementing it in the most consistent and most radical way.

"In reality, this means making self-management into constant meetings, into a form of managing the affairs of society in which everyone everywhere is supposed to decide about everything. This kind of self-management is not a type of labor relations but of nonlabor relations; it is not a means of democratically and effectively deciding on the affairs of society but of disrupting, of destroying society."

lippu

"Banner," monthly organ of the Finnish Social Democratic Youth League.

Several articles in the March issue reflect the pressure the international economic crisis is putting on the Social Democratic party and union leaderships in Finland. This country is economically weaker than the other Scandinavian countries and has more radical traditions. For example, in an article entitled "Stronger Opposition Policy Expected From Social Democratic Party," Hannu Vesa writes:

"In the industrialized capitalist countries, we are seeing the deepest downturn since the Second World War. In the years 1967-76, the average economic growth annually in Finland was 4.4%, while in 1975, it was only 0.1%, and in 1976 about 1%. In the fall of 1976, the rate for this year was still being projected at about 4.5%. In January, they began estimating that it would be about 1% less.

"This means that unemployment will remain at a high level. At the beginning of this year, unemployment topped 6%, and in absolute figures went over 150,000 [the total population of Finland is about 4.7 million]. . . .

"The tragic thing in these new condi-

tions is that the so-called usual or bourgeois economic instruments seem to be exhausted. Inflation has become a part of the economic structure, along with unemployment. So, in these new conditions, an employment policy has to take a relatively new form. Such a policy can no longer be carried out by social reforms within the usual margins, which have become extremely narrow. . . .

"The margins for reforms have to be widened 'by stepping on the toes of the capitalists.' "

Internationalen

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

The world capitalist economic crisis has begun to hit Sweden, as shown by the recent devaluation of the Krona. Under these conditions, the bosses are on the offensive against the living standards of the workers. In its April 15 issue, *Internationalen* discusses how to organize a counterattack:

"A large-scale strike against the employers? There has been speculation about this for two weeks now, since the negotiations between the Employers Association and the National Union Federation [which represents the overwhelming majority of Swedish workers] ended in an impasse again. . . .

"Now or never, we have to reject the Employers Association's reactionary demands."

"Gunnar Nilsson [the union head] has to put his foot down!"

"That's what is often heard when workers or clerks are interviewed in person or on the telephone.

"No, there is no lack of discontent and irritation, nor any lack of the will to fight. . . .

"What has been lacking is organization of this discontent and this readiness to fight. . . .

"How imminent is the threat of a general strike or national lockout?"

"The possibility has to be considered. It cannot be excluded that the employers will provoke an open conflict by leaving no path of retreat for the union bureaucrats, who then would have no choice but to continue escalating. That would mean that the union movement would end up in a general confrontation without preparation and while it is on the defensive.

"In such conditions, a general conflict would be disastrous for the union movement. . . .

"A general strike could also take on another character. It could be built into a mobilizing offensive, well-planned action to halt the employers' attacks and bring down the bourgeois government.

"A centrally organized large-scale strike by the country's industrial workers is a

completely realistic perspective in a situation when the workers are threatened with the biggest cut in their standard of living since the Second World War!

"But what about the employers' full inventories? They say that they can stand a general strike or lockout no matter how long it lasts.

"That is an exaggeration! The situation differs considerably from branch to branch of industry. . . .

"But the decisive factor is how the strike is organized. . . .

"Preparations have to start by opening up the negotiations for discussion, with the demand that the campaign to back up the union's position in contract talks be discussed. . . .

"This means demanding that union meetings be called, that general assemblies be called for blue- and white-collar workers, demanding information, and demanding that the union press be opened up to the membership much more than at present.

"A broad and open discussion, as well as active mobilization of the membership, is the necessary first step for any kind of counterattack."

SOCIALIST PRESS ★

Fortnightly paper of the Workers Socialist League. Published in London.

Under the headline "Libya: Where does Healy stand?" an item in the March 30 issue denounces the notoriously repressive regime of Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi.

"Twelve people face death sentences in Libya for belonging to illegal political parties, according to a report from Amnesty International in London last week.

"The twelve were among 40 prisoners tried *in camera* earlier this year, accused of being members of 'Marxist' and 'Trotskyist' organisations and of the Islamic Liberation Party.

"The 'People's Court' specially set up in January of this year passed sentences of up to fifteen years on them. Libyan 'left-wing' dictator Gaddafi has now overruled his own courts and increased 12 of the jail sentences to death penalties.

"All of the accused have been held in prison since April 1973 when Gaddafi launched his 'popular revolution.' Acquitted by the ordinary courts, they were released in December 1974, but immediately rearrested by Gaddafi's police.

"Since 1970 all parties except Gaddafi's 'Arab Socialist Union' have been banned.

"In 1975, in response to growing opposition, membership [in] illegal political organisations was made punishable by death.

"In January 1976 about a dozen students were killed by police during demonstrations at Benghazi University against government-rigged elections.

"Hundreds of students were reported injured and arrested in similar clashes at Tripoli in April 1976.

"At about the same time three Army officers were reported to have died under torture in prison.

"In England the 'Trotskyist' Workers Revolutionary Party led by G. Healy has carried repeated uncritical articles in its daily newspaper *Newsline* glorifying the Gaddafi regime.

"We now challenge the WRP to state clearly their position on these barbaric attacks on the workers' movement by this anticommunist dictatorship."

Militant

The Marxist paper for labour and youth. Published weekly in London.

Writing in the April 1 issue, a Kurdish student describes the massive deportations of Kurds carried out by the Baathist regime in Iraq. The collapse of the Kurdish armed struggle after Iran withdrew support in March 1975 gave Baghdad "a free hand to carry out the systematic deportation and extermination of the Kurdish nation, . . ." the student writes.

"Military attacks were launched against the isolated Kurdish army, Pesh Merga; many Kurdish nationalists were summarily executed. Finally the Iraqi government began mass deportations totalling 300,000 people. . . .

"Last year the Iraqi-Ba'ath party emphasised in its secret, internal pamphlet on the 'Kurdish problem,' the necessity to 'eliminate the Kurdish problem, not only for this generation, but also for future generations.'

"Now what does this mean in practical terms for the Kurdish people?"

"Gross political repression: the assassination, imprisonment and torture of their leaders and militants; the compulsory seizure of the Kurds' land with its subsequent distribution among the Arab population; the enforced moving of the Kurds into areas where they cannot possibly survive the harsh conditions. Over a thousand children died this summer in the desert areas of southern Iraq.

"The changing of town names, with the names of schools, shops, streets, newspapers and so on from Kurdish into Arabic; the changing of the teaching systems in many of the schools from Kurdish into Arabic.

"The general outlawing of the Kurdish language and of all the traditional and cultural activities of the Kurds (even a group of musicians from the town of Sulaimanyah—the only Kurdish orchestra—has been banned)."

To further submerge the Kurdish minority, the student reports, the Iraqi regime has even resorted to organizing compulsory marriages of Kurdish women to Arab husbands.

AROUND THE WORLD



Soviet Dissidents Appeal to French Auto Workers

Eighty-six Soviet dissidents appealed to auto workers at France's Renault plants April 13, asking that they press inquiries about the "fate of members of the Soviet Committee to Supervise Compliance With the Helsinki Accords who were arrested recently in the USSR."

According to a report in the April 15 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, the appeal was by representatives of the main opposition currents, including Andrei Sakharov, Pyotr Grigorenko, Valery Turchin, and Vladimir Slepak.

Second Israeli Leader Probed in Currency Violation Scandal

Former Foreign Minister Abba Eban faces prosecution for foreign currency violations, Israeli treasury officials told United Press International April 28. The investigation of Eban's finances follows a similar inquiry that recently forced Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to step aside as Labor party candidate in Israel's May 17 elections.

Eban, who is the Labor party's third-ranking candidate in the elections, has admitted maintaining bank accounts in New York and London, normally a violation of Israel's currency regulations. However, he claims the accounts were legal



ABBA EBAN: Faces questions about \$100,000 stashed in his accounts in foreign banks.

under the conditions of a special permit he was issued ten years ago. Searches for the permit have been unsuccessful and Eban may face prosecution if it is not found. The New York and London accounts are reported to hold a total of \$100,000, a sum far in excess of the \$16,000 Eban claims he was authorized to deposit abroad.

Amnesty International Names Unionists Jailed in 21 Countries

A list of 283 trade unionists who are imprisoned or have disappeared in a score of countries throughout the world was released April 24 by Amnesty International. Several prominent members of Argentina's Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) were included.

Imprisoned PST member José Páez was described as "one of the most respected trade union leaders in Cordoba," and Silvio Dragunsky was cited as a PST leader in Bahía Blanca detained without charges since 1974. Two other PST activists jailed by the Videla regime, Juan López Osornio and Jorge Rodríguez, were also listed.

Countries listed as holding the largest numbers of trade unionists were: Peru, Chile, Uruguay, South Africa, Rhodesia, Argentina, Indonesia, Nicaragua, Bolivia, and Brazil. Other countries held smaller or indeterminate numbers of prisoners.

The human rights organization emphasized that only those cases known as of March 15, 1977, were included. It added that many more unionists were being held who have not yet come to Amnesty International's attention.

SWP Election-law Suit Wins Backing of 'Nation'

In its April 30 issue, the New York weekly the *Nation* took a stand in support of the Socialist Workers party's efforts to have the 1971 Federal Election Campaign Act declared unconstitutional as applied to parties that face government harassment.

"In the post-Watergate climate, to argue against tough laws on disclosure of political campaign contributions might seem like an attack on the American Way itself. Yet an argument—and a good one—against such laws is being made. . .," the editors wrote.

The Socialist Workers party contends that "disclosure of the names and addresses of contributors to the party would

subject them to the hostile intentions of assorted gumshoes and provocateurs, right-wing fanatics and unfriendly employers, and is therefore a violation of their rights of privacy, association and free speech.

"Thus far the FEC [Federal Election Commission] has refused to grant an exemption—a position hard to explain, since the Supreme Court ruled in 1976 . . . that small parties that could demonstrate the probability of harassment should be exempt. . . .

"No doubt the FEC's stonewalling is caused partly by its reluctance to admit that the FBI cannot be trusted to keep its hands clean. But more unsettling motives can be imputed to the government: the desire to know who the party's supporters are, and the wish to make life as thorny as possible for radicals. On both the state and federal levels, the law discriminates against groups such as the SWP, setting them apart from the two major parties by making it hard for them to get on the ballot, receive subsidies, etc. But as regards campaign disclosure the FEC chastely insists that all parties are alike. . . .

"It is time for a change in both aspects of that policy. Small parties should be treated with scrupulous equality when it comes to vote-gathering possibilities; and for reasons a child could understand, they should be viewed as special cases when it comes to privacy."

Gromyko Visits India

At the end of a three-day visit to India by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, a joint communiqué was issued April 27 reaffirming Moscow's ties to New Delhi.

Moscow had for years supported the previous regime of Indira Gandhi and praised her declaration of a state of emergency in June 1975. But after Gandhi's defeat in the March elections, the new prime minister, Morarji Desai, who has in the past expressed admiration for Washington, hinted at a possible foreign policy shift away from Moscow. "If the Indo-Soviet friendship treaty involves any want of friendship with others," he said, "then it will have to change."

However, the communiqué issued after Gromyko's visit declared, "The determination of both states was stressed to continue

to follow the course toward the further strengthening of equal and mutually beneficial cooperation in the spirit of the Indo-Soviet treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation of August 1971."

In addition, Moscow pledged to give the Desai regime a twenty-year loan of \$200 million.

Second-Class Citizenship

The British Home Office has proposed two classifications of citizenship as a measure to limit immigration from former British colonies.

The first category, "British citizenship," would be conferred on persons born, registered, or naturalized in Britain and would guarantee unqualified right of entry. Those born in a British "dependency" would be categorized "British Overseas" citizens and subjected to restricted entry requirements.

'Business International' Gives Malcolm Fraser High Marks

The government of Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser "is succeeding in its drive to reduce real wages," in the opinion of the New York weekly newsletter *Business International*.

The April 8 edition gives Fraser high marks for the recent decision of his wage-control board to limit weekly pay increases to US\$6.21. This represents only 60 percent of the latest quarterly rise in the cost of living.

To enforce decisions made by the wage panel, Fraser is planning to set up an Industrial Relations Bureau. "This agency could threaten both sides with heavy fines for disobeying commission rulings," the newsletter reports, "but its thrust is clearly against labor strikes and boycotts, particularly those that are politically motivated. . . . [The draft law] would effectively outlaw such union activities as boycotts on handling shipments to South Africa and Indonesia (because of its invasion of East Timor) and the attempts to prevent the mining of Australian uranium."

While the government's antiunion course runs the danger of provoking workers to retaliate through strikes and protests, "labor is not in a good position to resist, since unemployment is so high," *Business International* concludes. "Thus, the government's campaign is well timed. . . . For the rest of 1977, at least, the unions are likely to keep the peace, having little other alternative."

\$1 Billion Windfall for Gas Producers

Natural gas companies in the United States will net about \$1 billion a year in added revenues under President Carter's energy program, an administration official announced April 26.

Leslie Goldman, who is drafting Carter's



Herblock/Washington Post

natural gas legislation, said the increase would result from raising federal price ceilings on both intrastate and interstate gas sales. The president's plan would allow natural gas prices to rise about 20 percent above their current level.

U.S. Reviewing Visa Restrictions

Citing State Department sources, Reuters news service reported April 28 that Washington was reviewing its policy of barring Communist trade-union officials from the country.

The Carter administration recently denied visas to three Soviet trade-union officials who had been invited to attend a convention of the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union in Seattle.

Labour Party Loses 'Safe' Seat to Tories in British By-Election

Britain's governing Labour party was upset by the Conservatives in a special election held April 28 in a mining district in Nottingham. The results of the election to fill a vacancy in Parliament showed a swing of 21 percent from Labour to Conservative since the last general election in 1974.

The district, Ashfield, was considered one of the safest Labour seats in the country. The constituency had sent a Labour party representative to the House of Commons in every election since 1918.

A second by-election held in the east coast fishing port of Grimsby was won by Labour candidate Austin Mitchell, al-

though Labour's margin of victory over the Conservative candidate was narrowed 7.1 percent compared to the 1974 results.

50% Oppose Carter ID Plan

A Carter administration plan to issue identification cards to all workers in an effort to screen out "illegal aliens" is opposed by the majority of the American people, according to a Gallup poll published April 24. The survey showed 50 percent against such a proposal and 45 percent in favor.

On the other hand, the poll found that a law the administration may propose making it a crime to hire an undocumented worker is currently supported by a 6-to-1 margin.

Science Academy Pledges To Support Eight Colleagues Imprisoned Abroad

The American National Academy of Sciences voted April 27 to provide active support for eight scientists in three countries whom it describes as "victims of grave official harassment for political reasons."

Two of the eight are Soviet scientists: Dr. Sergei Kovalev, a biologist sentenced to a long term in a labor camp for dissident activities, and Dr. Yuri Orlov, a member of Moscow's Helsinki monitoring group arrested earlier this year.

Another five are Argentine physicists who have "disappeared" at various times in the last year. The Academy also pledged to work for the release of Uruguayan mathematician Dr. José Luis Massera, who has been imprisoned since 1975 for "subversive association."

Kim Il Sung Impressed By Carter

North Korean President Kim Il Sung says that the United States has demonstrated a new "favorable attitude" toward North Korea, according to a report in the Tokyo daily *Yomiuri*.

Kim cited Washington's decision to lift the U.S. travel ban to North Korea and Carter's announced intention of withdrawing American ground troops from South Korea as hopeful signs. He said, however, that North Korea was adopting a wait-and-see attitude toward the Carter administration.

Quote of the Week

Featured as the lead item in the March 30 issue of *People's Korea* is President Kim Il Sung's message to dictator Bhutto, congratulating him on his "sweeping victory" in the Pakistani elections. The message reads in part:

"The victory won by the Pakistan People's Party in the election is an expression of the deep respect and trust of the Pakistani people for Your Excellency Prime Minister. . . ."

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



The North Sea's New Island of Oil

A well on Phillips Petroleum's "Bravo" oil platform in the Ekofisk oilfield in the North Sea suffered a "blowout" April 22. After four unsuccessful attempts, the "gusher" was capped on April 30. By this time the runaway well had poured over 7.5 million gallons of crude oil into the water. This equals the amount dumped by the *Argo Merchant* in the North Atlantic last December.

Fear that such a disaster might occur was expressed only some two weeks before by Texas oil-spill expert Paul "Red" Adair, speaking on a BBC broadcast. Two of his associates, and eventually Adair himself, were flown in to the Ekofisk field to oversee capping operations.

The blowout created an island of oil covering at least 2,100 square miles, or more than twice the size of Luxembourg. The most immediate danger from this was to fish larvae and eggs in the sea. The Ekofisk field is in the center of rich spawning grounds for mackerel, herring, and other fish. Mackerel spawn in late April and May. Besides the oil itself, chemicals used to disperse the slick also kill the larvae of mackerel and other fish species. So the consequences for the North Sea fishing industry could be disastrous.

More long-term effects may be felt on the offshore oil industry and on the Norwegian Labor party government headed by Odvar Nordli. Having a parliamentary minority and relying on the votes of the Socialist party to stay in power, the Labor government has come under attack for

inadequate regulation of North Sea oil development. It faces a general election this fall.

As for the oil industry, Norwegian Environment Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland said the spill "will undoubtedly greatly strengthen the environmentalists. After this, the whole problem of offshore oil production will have to be restudied."

The cause of the blowout, known to Phillips officials at the outset, was finally revealed April 28: the device called the "blowout preventer" had been installed on the well upside down.

Meanwhile the London *Daily Telegraph* offered some food for thought April 26: "That some such mishap was likely all agree. Yet the fact that it has not happened till now is surely a remarkable tribute to the skill and prudence of those who have found and extracted oil from unprecedentedly difficult and dangerous areas. . . . It is at least possible that if every precaution were taken against every conceivable risk, however remote, it simply would not be worth getting this expensive oil out at all. . . ."

Carter's Coal Plans— More Environmental Damage

We reported last week (p. 488) on how Jimmy Carter plans to further the development of unsafe nuclear power in the United States. Another of his energy proposals which has received considerably more attention is an increase in the use of coal. Carter called for

... conversion from scarce fuels to coal wherever possible. . . .

Its production and use do create environmental difficulties, but I believe that we can cope with them through strict strip-mining and clean-air standards. . . .

We need to find better ways to mine it safely and burn it cleanly, and to use it to produce other clean energy sources, like liquified and gasified coal.

Carter called for expanding the use of coal by 65 percent, or 400 million tons a year, by 1985. Like the proliferation of nuclear plants, this could have far-reaching and damaging consequences for the environment.

• Coal is the "dirtiest" of all fossil fuels when burned without any special equip-

ment for removing pollutants from the smoke.

Some types of coal contain high amounts of sulfur, which is converted into sulfur dioxide when burned. This interferes with protective mechanisms in the human lung, thus increasing the adverse effects of other air pollutants. Coal smoke also contains fine ash particles, carcinogenic hydrocarbon compounds, and mercury and other toxic metals.

Carter's program does promise "more effective, economical methods to meet air pollution control standards, including flue gas desulfurization systems ('scrubbers')." But it remains to be seen just how stringent these will be, and to what extent they will be watered down in Congress. Electric utility companies are already claiming that the cost of installing "scrubbers" will be prohibitive. "We can meet Federal air standards without scrubbers," said a spokesman for Consolidated Edison in New York City. He continued:

Besides, there's a space problem . . . in disposing of the great amounts of sludge resulting from the scrubbing process.

In five years time we'd have enough sludge to fill up the entire space of Yankee Stadium.

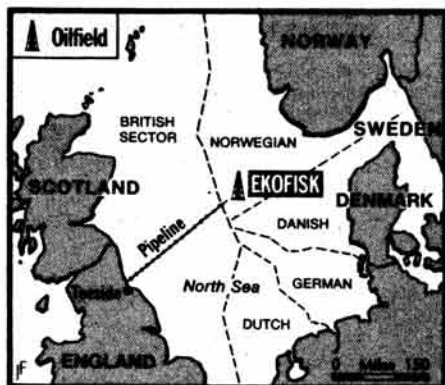
And Ben A. Franklin reports in the April 22 *New York Times*:

Most utility executives believe the costly scrubbers will not work—that the state of the art is crude and needs time and research money . . . to develop.

• But even if coal is burned "cleanly" on a large scale, this will only exacerbate another, bigger problem: carbon dioxide pollution. The more efficiently coal is burned, the more the waste gasses are converted completely to carbon dioxide, or CO₂. This colorless, odorless gas acts in the atmosphere like glass in a greenhouse, trapping and reflecting rising heat back to earth. Increased CO₂ levels from coal combustion may thus result in long-term climatic changes.

According to J. Murray Mitchell Jr., a climatologist with the Environmental Data Service:

... the effects of carbon dioxide would endure for thousands of years after we abandoned our fossil-fuel economy. . . . A thousand years of unusually warm climate would be likely



Christian Science Monitor

to result in a substantial extent of melting of the Greenland and Antarctic ice caps, raising sea levels around the world enough to submerge many of our coastal centers and much productive farm land. [Quoted in the April 22 *Christian Science Monitor*.]

The International Council of Scientific Unions has also warned that rising amounts of CO₂ dissolved in the oceans will make the water more acidic, possibly threatening marine life.

• Coal production plans and "gasification" projects are already disrupting the environment and living conditions in the western states of Montana, Wyoming, and North and South Dakota. Coal output in this region, mostly through strip mining, is expected to nearly double by 1985.

The Crow and Cheyenne Indian tribes are currently involved in a struggle to preserve their reservation lands in southeastern Montana against strip-mining plans by the Department of the Interior and thirty-five power companies. And in Dunn and Mercer Counties in North Dakota, farmers and conservationists are fighting plans to build two coal-gasification plants.

• Coal gasification is a highly complex technology that converts the carbon of coal into gaseous hydrocarbon fuel, consuming large amounts of water in the process. Some of the hydrocarbons thus produced are known to be potent carcinogens. Of 342 workers at a pilot gasification plant in West Virginia in the 1950s, 58 developed symptoms of skin cancer. Besides carcinogens, coal gasification also produces wastes of mercury, lead, cadmium, arsenic, and boron—all highly toxic materials.

Six coal gasification plants are currently projected at a cost of \$1 billion each in a concentrated area of the Navajo Indian Reservation in New Mexico. According to the National Indian Youth Council, which is organizing opposition to these plants, they will "destroy 58,000 acres of grazing land and consume 479 billion gallons of precious and scarce water."

The initial reaction to Carter's plans among traditional environmental groups in the United States has nevertheless been favorable. A Sierra Club spokesman said, "the energy message sounded like we wrote it ourselves." Jeffrey Knight of Friends of the Earth called it "far-reaching" and "revolutionary," and Dennis Bass of Environmental Action said his group was "very pleased." It is to be hoped that these opinions will change as the potential ecological casualties of Carter's "moral equivalent of war" become clear.

Vermont Blocks Atomic Dumping

The Vermont state legislature adopted a measure April 25 that may effectively halt attempts by the U.S. government to locate storage areas for radioactive nuclear wastes in the state.

The new law requires legislative approval of any atomic waste facility. This could only be granted if such a storage area would "promote the general welfare," and "not have an undue adverse effect on health, safety, historic sites, air and water purity and the natural environment . . . [or] unduly interfere with the orderly development of the region" (*New York Times*, April 26).

The Energy Research and Development Administration has been exploring the possibility of using abandoned granite and marble mines in Vermont as national atomic waste dumps. Growing concern about this among the state's residents, along with the poor safety record of the Vermont Yankee nuclear power plant, led to the law's adoption. (See "Vermont Says 'No' to Nuclear Power," *Intercontinental Press*, March 28, p. 339.)

Sense of Taste, Smell Lost; Poisoned Workers Sue Employer

Five workers at the Hooker Chemical Corporation in New Orleans are suing the company for \$1.5 million each. They are among the more than 100 employees who have lost some or all of their sense of taste and smell from breathing chlorine and

other toxic gases at the Hooker plant. Workers have also complained of disabling fatigue, loss of memory, and inability to function sexually.

One hundred and forty cases have already been settled out of court for slightly less than \$400,000.

20,000 Join Protest Against Tokyo Airport

More than 20,000 persons from all over Japan rallied April 17 at Narita, the site of the new Tokyo International Airport. *New Asia News* reports that this was the largest action yet held in the eleven-year struggle by the farmers of the Sanrizuka area. The farmers are protesting the land seizures and environmental damage the government has forced through with the airport's construction. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 25, p. 460.)

Representatives from numerous other peasant and community struggles against government and big business "development plans" took part in the rally. A speaker from the Chiba chapter of the Engine Drivers' Union expressed solidarity with the Sanrizuka farmers. The union had called a strike March 28 to protest rail transportation of jet fuel to the airport.

Thousands in U.S. Protest Atomic Power Plant

By Fred Murphy

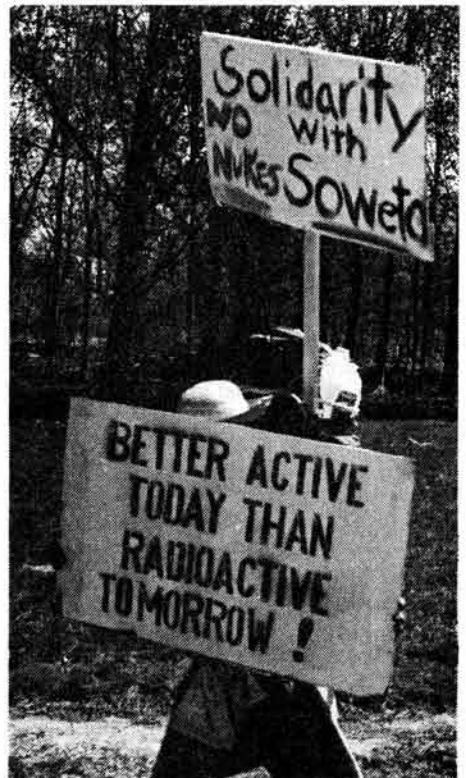
SEABROOK, New Hampshire—Chanting "No nukes!" and singing anti-nuclear lyrics to tunes popularized by the labor and anti-Vietnam War movements, 2,000 persons marched onto the construction site of a nuclear power plant in this small New England fishing and resort town April 30.

The following day, an additional 1,300 persons rallied at Hampton Beach State Park to protest the plant's construction and to show solidarity with the first group, which was occupying the reactor site.

Taken together, these were the largest actions yet held in the United States against the dangers of nuclear power development.

The occupation was organized by the Clamshell Alliance, a coalition of thirty environmental groups in the New England area. For several months Clamshell activists trained volunteers in nonviolent tactics in preparation for their announced goal of occupying the Seabrook site "until construction has ceased and the project is totally and irrevocably cancelled." The occupation was modeled on a similar action by the West German antinuclear movement at the Wyhl reactor site in 1975 (see *Intercontinental Press*, April 21, 1975, p. 531).

Faced with a totally peaceful mass action by nuclear opponents who enjoyed



Fred Murphy/Intercontinental Press
Participant in Seabrook protest.

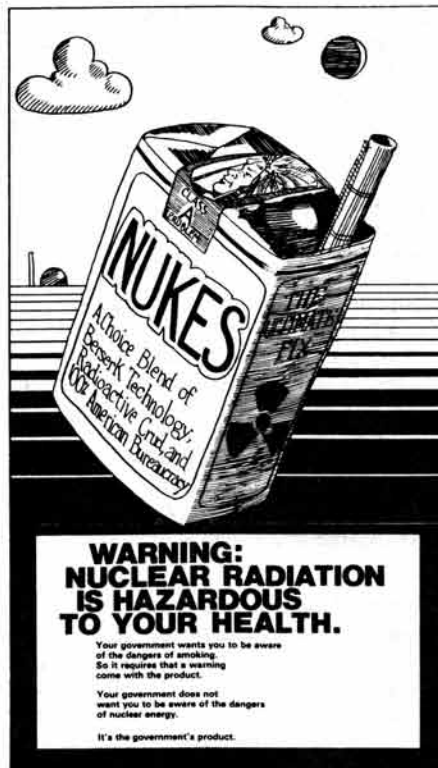
the sympathy of many area residents, the state police and national guard troops mobilized for the weekend by New Hampshire's extreme-right-wing Governor, Meldrim Thomson, maintained a low profile. The protesters moved unhindered onto a parking lot in the middle of the construction area, set up tents, and organized a campsite. Only after the occupation had continued successfully for twenty-four hours did arrests begin. The protesters surrendered peacefully to state police and were taken on school buses to the Portsmouth Armory, some fifteen miles away. They were charged with trespassing on the private property of the Public Service Company of New Hampshire.

The Seabrook nuclear plant is a central focus for the movement against nuclear power that has grown rapidly in the United States in the past year. The broad participation in the weekend's protests reflected this. Banners and placards were visible from Texas, South Carolina, New Mexico, and Kentucky. Campuses and communities from throughout the northeastern states of New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Maine were represented, in addition to the many New Hampshire residents who participated.

A Clamshell Alliance spokeswoman said solidarity rallies were being held in at least ten other locations across the country, including Zion, Illinois; Browns Ferry, Alabama; San Luis Obispo, California; Fulton, Missouri; and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Most of these are sites of nuclear installations. Telegrams of support were received from Australia, Canada, and West Germany.

The Seabrook nuclear plant in its present form was first proposed by the Public Service Company in February 1972 (a smaller reactor was planned for a brief period in 1969). Initial opposition came from conservationists concerned about the plant's destructive effects on the Seabrook salt marshes—rich breeding grounds for many species of marine life. In August 1973 the Society for Protection of New Hampshire Forests and the Audubon Society challenged the state government's approval of the site in court. Since then the plant has been opposed at all stages of the state and federal regulatory process. Legal challenges have come from the Seacoast Anti-Pollution League (SAPL), the New England Coalition on Nuclear Power, and a number of Seabrook residents, in addition to the two groups mentioned above.

These opponents have cited the adverse health effects of low-level radiation given off by nuclear plants; the questionable need for the electricity to be supplied (PSC's capacity would increase to four times its average hourly sales for 1975 and 1976); and the skyrocketing costs involved (originally \$973 million and now projected at \$2.6 billion). These will ultimately be absorbed by PSC's customers; the company has already requested a hike in



Leaflet by Environmental Action of Colorado, distributed at Seabrook protest.

electrical rates of 17 percent and construction has barely begun.

In addition, the Seabrook site is directly over one of the most active earthquake faults in the northeastern United States. As Bob Backus, SAPL attorney, told the rally on May 1, "It's the worst proposal ever made—the worst utility, the worst site, the worst time."

The rally was organized by the Concerned Citizens of Seabrook and SAPL. The featured speaker was Dr. Helen Caldecott, a pediatrician and a leader of the Australian movement against uranium mining. She was interrupted often by applause as she told the crowd that "this doesn't just involve Seabrook, it involves the whole world. . . . Your president Jimmy Carter doesn't have a moral leg to stand on unless this country stops nuclear power now. . . ."

Caldecott outlined carefully the medical effects of radioactive pollution, saying that "nuclear power means thalidomide forever." She said it is "absurd to spend millions of dollars seeking a cure for leukemia, cystic fibrosis, and cancer and then invest billions in an industry that propagates those diseases—that is insanity!"

Other speakers at the rally were Neil Linsky of the Clamshell Alliance, Carol Foote Silver of the Concerned Citizens of Seabrook, and a number of local elected officials. A statement by Hattie McCutcheon, Socialist Workers party candidate

for Boston School Committee, was distributed to the crowd. It said in part: "The Socialist Workers Party stands opposed to the proposed nuclear reactor at Seabrook. It is an experiment in the generation of nuclear power with the potential to harm thousands of people if it fails. . . ."

"Only the American people, working people, . . . should have the right to decide whether or not nuclear reactors should be built and what are totally satisfactory safety precautions."

Organizers of the weekend's protests faced a vicious redbaiting campaign by Governor Thomson and right-wing publisher William Loeb of the *Manchester (New Hampshire) Union Leader*. Loeb wrote April 29 in a front-page editorial:

The mob that will march against the Seabrook Nuclear Power Plant tomorrow pretends that this will be a peaceful protest by environmentally concerned citizens disturbed over what they think are possible dangers from nuclear power plants. . . .

Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth. Actually, as in almost every radical movement, the men and women out in front will be what the father of modern-day communism, Lenin, called "useful idiots." They are the well-meaning, idealistic people who are easily led around by the nose and made to do what the Communists in the background want them to do.

Earlier in the week Thomson cited ominous warnings by his "intelligence sources" that the demonstration would be "a cover for terrorist activity." But the peaceful and disciplined character of both the occupation and the rally gave the lie to this absurd charge, and the large turnout showed that its purpose—to discourage attendance—had been defeated.

The protesters this weekend were overwhelmingly young (late teens and early twenties) and predominantly college students. For a great many it was no doubt their first experience in political action. The spirit of optimism and determination that prevailed made it clear that Jimmy Carter will meet substantial resistance if he presses ahead with his announced goal of doubling the number of operating U.S. nuclear power plants by 1985. As Harvey Wasserman of the Clamshell Alliance put it at a news conference April 30, "If Jimmy Carter wants to do [with nuclear power] what Lyndon Johnson did with Vietnam, then it's just going to be the same thing all over again. . . . This antinuclear movement is going to be with us as long as there are nuclear power plants." □

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