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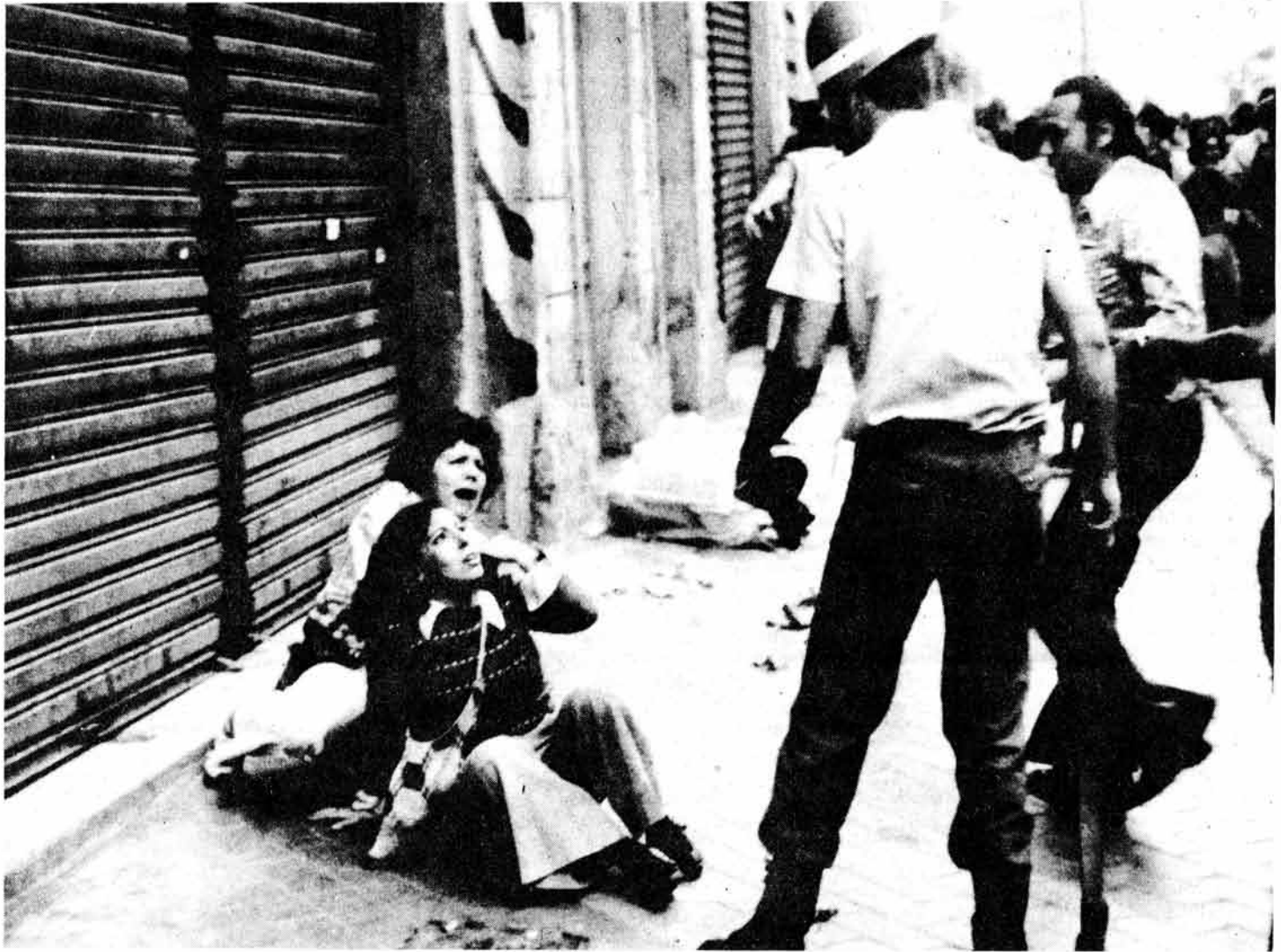
the Americas

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July 4, 1977

75¢



Folha de São Paulo

SAO PAULO, June 15: Police use leather belts to beat protesters as Geisel regime steps up brutal efforts to

halt student demonstrations at universities across the country. See news article, page 756.

Student Demonstrations Continue Throughout Brazil

Gerry Foley

New Turn in Irish Political Situation

NEWS ANALYSIS

U.S. Supreme Court Deals a Blow to Human Rights

By Fred Murphy

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled June 20 that states have the right to deprive low-income women of government funds for abortions. The 6-3 decision said that no federal laws require state governments to use funds provided under the government's Medicaid program for "nontherapeutic" abortions (those in situations where the woman's life is not endangered by pregnancy). While abortion cannot be banned outright, the court said, states may "make a value judgment favoring childbirth over abortion, and . . . implement that judgment by the allocation of public funds."

The court also ruled that public hospitals are not required to provide or even to permit such abortions to be performed.

The decisions were "a major victory for antiabortion forces, the biggest so far in the effort to limit the reach of the Supreme Court's landmark 1973 decisions striking down state laws that made it a crime to perform an abortion," Lesley Oelsner said in the June 21 *New York Times*.

This attack falls particularly hard on Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican women. It is the most recent in a series of reactionary Supreme Court rulings aimed at chipping away gains won in struggles during the 1960s and early 1970s.

- In March 1976, the court upheld state laws banning homosexual acts, even in private between adults.

- In December 1976, the court struck down a plan for school desegregation in Austin, Texas, that involved large-scale busing. The court in effect exempted school districts from responsibility for overcoming racial segregation caused by anything other than "official acts."

- Also in December 1976, the court ruled that employers are not required to provide women workers with disability benefits when they must leave work owing to pregnancy or childbirth.

- In January of this year, the court upheld laws adopted by a Chicago suburb to prohibit construction of low-cost housing, despite the fact that such laws result in preventing Blacks from moving to certain neighborhoods.

- In April, the court ruled that the beating of schoolchildren, no matter how severe, does not violate a constitutional ban on "cruel and unusual punishment."

- On May 31, the court upheld the enforcement of "strict seniority" systems by employers, "even where the employer's . . . discrimination [before passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act] resulted in whites

having greater seniority rights than Negroes."

- On June 18, the court said a state can execute a person convicted of a crime, even if there was no death penalty law in force at the time the offense was committed.

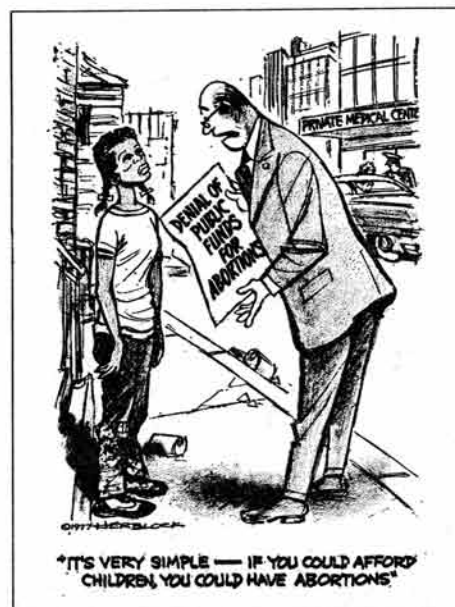
- And finally, on June 20, the court said that states have the right to deprive a child of welfare benefits if her or his father loses his job as a result of "misconduct," goes out on strike, or voluntarily quits.

This offensive against the rights of Blacks, women, and working people is not limited to Supreme Court actions, however.

On June 17, the House of Representatives adopted amendments to an appropriations bill for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. One prohibits withholding funds from school districts that refuse to use busing to achieve racial desegregation. Another bans the use of federal funds to enforce preferential hiring of women, Blacks, and members of other oppressed nationalities to make up for past discrimination.

A third amendment, the Hyde amendment, was an even more severe attack on abortion rights than the June 20 Supreme Court decision. The Hyde amendment imposes a federal ban on *all* Medicaid-funded abortions, even in situations where a woman's life might be endangered.

To answer this series of attacks, "an immediate response from women and our supporters is urgently needed," said Rhonda



Herblock/Washington Post

da Rutherford, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Philadelphia city controller. Rutherford is a member of the National Organization for Women (NOW), and has played a leading role in the effort to project a national strategy for NOW to turn back the attacks on women's rights.

"We must answer these attacks," Rutherford said. "By repudiating this new assault on the rights of Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, and working-class women, we can counter the transparent attempt by the government to divide our movement on race and economic lines. . . ."

"In 1973 the growing power of women and our determination to control our destiny forced the government to grant us the right to abortion. If we are to maintain that right today, we must again demonstrate our strength in action." □

Mounting Protest in Soweto

By Ernest Harsch

Tens of thousands of Black youths demonstrated in Soweto and the nearby "white" city of Johannesburg June 23 to demand the release of arrested Black student leaders.

The protest in Soweto, a Black city of more than one million persons, may have been the single largest demonstration held in South Africa since the current wave of mass Black unrest began on June 16, 1976. One march, in the Phefeni district, was estimated to stretch more than a half-mile long in rows of twenty persons. The protesters sang songs and carried banners and placards.

Riot police, backed by reinforcements flown in from Pretoria, attacked the

youths in at least seven areas of Soweto. Near Orlando High School, a sixteen-year-old student, Thame Bungu, was shot to death by the police. The next day the bullet-riddled body of a Black woman was also found.

Shortly before the Soweto protests began, between 400 and 500 Black youths filtered into Johannesburg and rallied outside John Vorster Square, a police headquarters and jail in the center of the city. According to a June 23 report by *New York Times* correspondent John F. Burns, "With young women kneeling in front of them, the demonstrators clenched their fists in black-power salutes, shouted slo-

gans and sang black-freedom songs."

They carried placards demanding the release of twenty leaders of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC). The student leaders, including SSRC President Sechaba Montsitsi, were arrested June 10 in an attempt to disrupt plans for protests June 16 to commemorate the more than 600 Blacks who were killed by police during the Black uprisings last year.

The Black youths sang, "We want our land back," and carried placards that read, "Vorster, release our leaders," "You shalt not kill our leaders," and "Bantu education is for the education of slavery," a reference to the racist regime's discriminatory education policy.

Police attacked the protesters with clubs and arrested more than 140 of them.

About 5,000 Blacks in Soweto again turned out June 25 for a funeral march for Philemon Tloane, a Black youth who was beaten to death by police June 15.

These continued Black protests, in face of heavy repression, confirm the growing militancy of the Black population as a whole and the determination of Blacks to fight for their basic democratic rights and for an end to the hated system of apartheid. □

Growing Chance of Nuclear Holocaust

The next decade will be an "exceedingly dangerous period" according to a report issued June 15 by a Swedish research group probing the possibilities of a general nuclear war.

"The increasing amount of resources spent on arms races in the world today, particularly on the nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union, together with the uncontrolled international trade in arms and the proliferating capability to produce nuclear weapons" has stepped up the chances of an atomic holocaust, the report said.

The study, prepared by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, also warned that improvements in the accuracy of nuclear weapons "could well lead to a situation in which adventurous political and military leaders . . . may perceive a chance of winning a strategic nuclear war."

For example, the institute said that the United States' Minuteman III missile could drop half of its multiple warheads within 200 yards of a target from a range of 8,000 miles. Warheads of the mid-1980s might be accurate within 30 yards from the same range.

Moscow and Washington's vast atomic arsenals also present a danger in themselves, the report concluded. In the past thirty years there have been at least 125 nuclear-weapon accidents. While none resulted in an explosion, it said, some have released large amounts of radiation.

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Student Demonstrations Continue Throughout Brazil

By Gerry Foley

Despite severe police intimidation, including the arrest of 800 persons at a student assembly, students demonstrated in cities across Brazil on June 15, demanding democratic rights and the release of arrested campus activists.

The current wave of mobilizations was sparked by the arrest of eight persons in São Paulo on April 28 on the charge of distributing leaflets advertising a May 1 demonstration. The first protests occurred on May 5, leading to a National Day of Action on May 19, in which demonstrations were held in sixteen cities. At a rally of about 8,000 in the University of São Paulo medical school on the latter date, a motion was adopted calling for a second National Day of Action in mid-June.

The government responded to the new student movement, which had been driven underground in 1968 by the jailing of hundreds of persons, with renewed massive repression. On June 4, in Belo Horizonte, the capital of the state of Minas Gerais, the police arrested all those students in an area where a national student assembly was to take place. A total of 800 persons were hauled in, according to Newton Rodrigues, writing in the June 8 issue of the daily *Folha de São Paulo*. He commented:

Antidemocratic moves within the country . . . have reached their height with the jailing of masses of students in Belo Horizonte. By this action, Governor Aureliano Chaves beat the record of the late Juarez Távora, who jailed an entire assembly of workers at the Light company.

Most of the students arrested in Belo Horizonte were released, after their identities were taken down by the police. Fifty-six were charged, and began to answer summons on June 14.

The government escalated its campaign of intimidation, aiming at preventing the demonstrations scheduled for June 15. The threats of the police and the obvious readiness of the authorities to use violence and make extensive arrests posed difficult tactical problems for the student movement. The press stressed those cases in which university student bodies were divided or called off actions. In a number of cases, students decided to hold indoor rallies, rather than attempt street demonstrations. In its June 15 issue, *Folha de São Paulo* reported:

The Parque Dom Pedro II was chosen as the site for the demonstrations after midnight last night in a meeting in the University of São

Paulo. This motion won by about forty votes. Some 454 students voted for holding the demonstration in the School of Medicine; 496 voted for holding it in the park. Yesterday at the USP, a clear division could be seen among the students, with many saying that they would not attend the actions.

Similar rallies that had been planned in Salvador, Belo Horizonte, and Campinas were called off. In other cities it was decided to keep the actions to ecumenical services in the churches or discussions in the schools. In Rio de Janeiro, the students planned a rally in front of the parliament. But since this rally was banned, perhaps they will hold it inside the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro.

In São Paulo, where the new student upsurge began, the police mobilized in force to stop any demonstrations.

The secretary of public security, Colonel Erasmo Dias, was quoted in *Folha de São Paulo* as saying:

This rally has been banned. It is not going to take place. To assure this, we are going to take some measures. In this, we will observe two principles. The first is that authority cannot be defied.

The second principle, Dias indicated, was that there should not be indiscriminate police attacks on passers-by. However, they were warned not to try to get a look at anything that happened. He made a specific threat against the students:

Any citizen apprehended with a leaflet or banner in hand will be arrested, as happened the other times.

However, Dias promised that the police would show a certain discrimination in making arrests:

Of course, we will check the content of any leaflet, and naturally if it is something calling on the people to be charitable, nothing will happen to the citizen in question.

On the morning of June 15, the colonel gave reporters a private demonstration of one of the measures he intended to use. The June 16 *Folha de São Paulo* reported:

Playfully, the secretary told the journalists surrounding him that he could break up any demonstration, and to show this he pushed the button on a tear-gas spray gun, causing some persons to weep.

Colonel Erasmo also staged an impressive display of repressive force:

Police women surrounded the malls, halting pedestrian traffic. On the walkways themselves, shock troops were stationed with shields and knapsacks full of tear-gas grenades. They were accompanied by police with thirty German

shepherd dogs. On the sidewalks, there were military police and police in plainclothes.

Nonetheless, the São Paulo students managed to carry out their demonstration:

A student jumped up in the middle of a group on the sidewalk . . . shouting 'Freedom, Freedom' . . . This began the main march yesterday.

The newspaper explained that the march was able to get underway because a military police colonel ordered his troops away from one area, leaving it "less heavily guarded." Moreover, "the elite troops, about thirty officers with German shepherd dogs, were facing in the other direction, from which they expected the students to come."

Various groups of students in the crowd assembled behind the one who raised the slogan of "freedom," and formed a quick-moving procession.

Once the march had started, the military police took some minutes to organize themselves, and then a group of about a hundred began to chase the students.

At the start of the chase, the military police drove the onlookers out of the road, spraying their tear gas into the air. The shops . . . closed their doors as the procession approached.

Some store clerks remained outside to applaud the students, and people threw confetti from the windows of the building. . . .

The students at the head of the line opened a banner, the only one on the march. It said: "Down With the Repression." Then they unfurled a Brazilian flag. And all of them shouted: "Freedom" . . . Seeing the police on their heels, they started shouting: "Down with the repression."

When a merchant closed his shop, about fifty students went in. But the military saw them and captured them all. Further on, four demonstrators were caught and forced to sit on the ground with their heads between their knees.

Near the corner of Senador Queirós street, the police attacked the most tightly packed group of demonstrators, who, at the height of the procession, had managed to form a line of about a thousand persons. The police took off their belts . . . and began to . . . use them as whips.

On the front page of its June 16 issue, *Folha de São Paulo* featured a photograph of two young female students lying helplessly on the ground, being whipped by beefy military policemen.

A group of about 200 students reached a busy street:

The stores here were open, and some persons began to applaud the students, who again started shouting, "It's the people's struggle," and "We want freedom." Some motorists began to sound their horns.

In Rio de Janeiro, a student march was also broken up by police, but it attracted considerable support, and obviously made an impact. *Folha de São Paulo* wrote:

The action virtually paralyzed downtown Rio. Thousands of persons returning from lunch watched the student mobilizations with interest. They were shocked and horrified when the police started advancing down the Avenida Rio Branco firing noise and smoke grenades. At least four persons were arrested, including a photographer for the magazine *Isto É*, Sérgio Sbrogia; a motorist; and some students.

The São Paulo daily noted that the students "were applauded when they shouted, 'Down with the rising cost of living.'"

The brutal police action ended with a theatrical gesture typical of the military:

The great majority of people fled in the direction of Cinelândia, pursued by the soldiers. Other groups ran into the adjoining streets, such as the Avenida Almirante Barroso, chased by armored troop carriers. . . .

Reporters approached the colonel commanding the operation. But he only lowered the visor of his helmet, saying: "All satisfactory. Good day."

Minutes later, a police helicopter flew over the square, throwing out copies of the manifesto distributed by the students. They had been stamped full of holes.

Student strikes and rallies occurred in many universities and institutions of higher learning across the country. At the University of Brasília, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was read from the platform. Then the students commented on it.

Brazil has signed this statement, which guarantees that every human being has a right to life, liberty, and personal security. . . . But the reality is that the Brazilian people do not even have access to the most minimal rights to housing, transport, health, proper nourishment, and education. . . .

Along with this, there is censorship of the communications media, the imposition of military trusteeship on the unions, arbitrary jailings, police invasions of campuses and homes, torture, starvation wages, massive unemployment, the spread of contagious diseases caused by malnutrition. And the education system does not discuss these problems. It serves only the interests of the big companies that exploit our people and leave nothing behind them but hunger and pollution.

In the Largo de São Francisco in São Paulo, one student tried to reason with Colonel Erasmo Dias.

A youth dressed in a three-piece suit with a tie came out of the law school . . . and tried to talk to the secretary of security, but without success.

After receiving a spray of tear gas directly in his face, he left the square in the company of some policemen, headed for an unknown destination.

The response of the Brazilian military authorities to the June 15 student protests was in keeping with the brutality that has characterized this regime since its inception. (Full military rule was first instituted,

for example, when parliament failed to lift the immunity of a deputy who called on the wives of officers to refuse to sleep with their husbands until they stopped torturing people.)

However, the response of the press and the people in the street to the student demonstrations indicates that there is a pervasive attitude of hatred and contempt for the regime. This feeling has spread to many layers of the population, including, apparently, shopkeepers. A number of well-known artistic figures, such as Ruth Escobar, participated in the demonstration. She was arrested in São Paulo with a group of actors and actresses.

In the June 8 *Folha de São Paulo*, even

Palestinians in Israel Vote Against Zionist Rule

The deepening radicalization of Arabs living in Israel can be discerned in the results of the May 17 Israeli election.

Statistics published in the June 14 international edition of the *Jerusalem Post* show that, of the 145,000 Arabs who went to the polls, 47 percent cast their votes for an electoral front headed by Rakah, the Israeli Communist Party. This compares to 38 percent received by the CP in the December 1973 election. The increase was sufficient to give the CP one more seat in the Israeli parliament.

The *Post* reported that the "Communists won Arab votes everywhere regardless of whether they were Moslem, Christian, Beduin or Circassian citizens and whether they lived in towns or villages." The *Post* continued:

There is no correlation between the degree of an Arab community's social and economic development and Rakach strength. . . . Until 1973 the Communists never had any foothold among the Beduin. The Government has established villages for them and provided them with services like roads, electricity, running water, schools. Instantly the Communists scored there, winning between 15 and 47 per cent of the votes. The average pro-Communist vote among the Beduin in the North is now 23 per cent.

The same trend can be observed among the purely Druse villages. The larger the community, the more votes for the Communists.

More food for thought is provided by the Christian Arab vote. . . . Christians in Israel voted extensively for Rakach, from 33 to 60 per cent.

If anything, CP participation in the front diminished its potential impact among Palestinian voters—especially youth between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two, many of whom were voting for the first time.

Among the CP's electoral allies were Arab mayors who were discredited for collaborating with the Zionist government. The front also stood for outright support for the Israeli state, masking this view with left-wing rhetoric.

before the new displays of military bullying, Newton Rodrigues wrote:

They [the rulers] seem to be postponing forever recognizing the simple fact that with 113 million inhabitants, dozens of universities, heavy industry, and many other such things, Brazil cannot go on being run as if it were a big military school.

A situation in which an increasingly isolated military regime continues to try to terrorize a thoroughly fed-up and defiant population can quickly turn explosive. Such conditions existed in Argentina in 1969, preparing the way for a chain of mass urban uprisings that forced the military to hold elections, retire from government, and grant extensive democratic rights to the masses. □

Having rejected the Zionist parties, but feeling betrayed by the policies of CP-led bloc, many Arab voters evidently chose to sit out the election. The *Jerusalem Post* calculated that the turnout among Palestinian voters—about three-quarters of those eligible—was the smallest ever.

Elizabeth Kasemann Murdered in Argentine Detention Center

Elizabeth Kasemann, a 29-year-old West German citizen, was shot to death by Argentine security forces three months after her detention by the Videla regime.

Kasemann was abducted March 9 and held in an unofficial detention center where she was tortured, according to "firm information" received by Amnesty International.

Despite inquiries, there was no indication of Kasemann's whereabouts until a June 1 army communiqué announced that "16 leftwing guerrillas had been killed in an army raid in Monte Grande," a town seventeen miles from Buenos Aires. Kasemann's was the only name given.

In a cable to Argentine President Jorge Videla June 15, Amnesty International asked the Argentine government to explain how Elizabeth Kasemann came to be shot while in the custody of Argentine security forces. The human-rights group also called on the authorities to "halt the current practice of unacknowledged detentions, torture and killings of hundreds of individuals in Argentina."

Klaus Zieschank, a West German citizen, and Alexei Jaccard-Siegler, a Swiss, were also reported to have recently "disappeared" in Buenos Aires. Both individuals were in Argentina visiting relatives and friends.

The exact number of persons kidnapped by the dictatorship in the fourteen months since the coup is unknown. Church sources suggest, however, that the figure may be as high as 17,000.

New Turn in the Irish Political Situation

By Gerry Foley

The June 16 parliamentary election in the formally independent Twenty-Six County area of Ireland provided the first general test of the mood of the Irish people since the onset of the economic crisis and the Dublin government's stepping up repression against the militant nationalist movement.

The result surprised and dismayed the capitalist press in Britain and the United States, as well as in Ireland. It revealed massive discontent and a volatile political situation. The openly proimperialist coalition government of the Labour and Fine Gael parties had expected to retain power without great difficulty. Instead it was swept from office.

The main opposition party, Fianna Fáil, the historically more nationalist and populist of the bourgeois parties, won the biggest electoral victory in the history of the Twenty-Six County regime. It captured 84 out of 148 seats in the Dáil, the lower house of the Irish parliament, gaining a commanding overall majority of 20 seats.

Fine Gael, the historically more proimperialist of the bourgeois parties, got 43 seats; its coalition ally, the right-wing proimperialist Social Democratic Labour Party got 17.

Cruise O'Brien's Feathers Plucked

The most notoriously proimperialist ministers in the coalition government, Minister for Justice Patrick Cooney and Minister for Posts and Telegraphs Conor Cruise O'Brien, both went down to resounding defeat.

Cooney reached the pinnacle of his fame as the "victor" in the confrontation between the government and the nationalist prisoners in Portlaoise jail who staged a hunger strike early in 1977 against inhuman conditions and harassment.

The repudiated minister boasted that the government made no concessions to the protesters and proclaimed that there would be no independent inquiry into conditions in the prison. The prisoners claimed that such an inquiry had been promised, as the condition for ending their hunger strike.

Cooney, a Fine Gael deputy, was supposed to be an ornament of the coalition government, since the capitalist politicians and press claimed that his enforcement of "law and order" was popular with the majority of the Irish people. In its roundup of the election results June 20, the *Irish Times* indicated that the "security chief's"

defeat was the biggest "surprise" of the election.

Cruise O'Brien, a leading light in the Labour Party, was the coalition's most sparkling intellectual decoration. He gained a reputation primarily as a fashionable academic, well regarded in liberal literary and intellectual circles in New York and London. One of the things that inspired admiration from these celebrants of "English-speaking civilization" as the model for the modern world was his "forthrightness" in rejecting what they consider the particularist crankiness of the Irish people.

That is, Cruise O'Brien rejected the traditions of the struggle of the Irish people against English expansionism and British imperialism, with which the ruling classes of all the English-speaking powers and their servants identify.

Cruise O'Brien made it his special mission to root out the tradition of the national liberation struggle in Ireland. He openly rejected the aims and ideals of the leaders of the uprisings that forced the British to accept a nominally Irish government in Dublin. He denounced the Irish language as a "weapon of the IRA." He pushed for teaching history in a "more objective," that is, less anti-imperialist, manner. He prepared the way for extending British TV to Ireland as a means of overcoming the country's cultural "isolation."

To press his war against Irish nationalist tradition, Cruise O'Brien turned more and more to censorship. He extended the ban on playing nationalist songs over radio and TV, even though these form a very large part of the ballad literature of the country. News broadcasters and commentators were prevented even from reporting the views of militant nationalists.

Cruise O'Brien was the only one of the major government ministers to openly proclaim that the Emergency Powers Law rammed through parliament in September 1976 was designed to open the way for increased censorship and intimidation of the newspapers. He declared that he was making a file of the names and addresses of persons who wrote nationalist-sounding letters to the press.

This darling of the New York and London petty-bourgeois liberals was one of the most rabid in shouting for the blood of nationalist militants. He engaged in high-flown orations to whip up the campaign to restore hanging.

A bourgeois ideologist by trade, Cruise O'Brien pressed for bringing the ideology of the Irish ruling class into conformity with its actual aims and interests. He argued that the aim of reuniting the country and achieving effective independence from Britain was unrealistic and had in fact long been abandoned. Failure to make this clear, he said, made it possible for republicans, who were in actuality "subversives," to present themselves as the consistent defenders of the traditions and aspirations of the Irish people. In particular, this "ambiguity" tended to put the "realistic" politicians in a bad light.

The British government leaders and capitalist press expressed their appreciation of Cruise O'Brien's efforts to spread the light of "realism" among a people dangerously prone to "romanticism." They bitterly lamented the humiliation of such a champion.

The London *Sunday Observer* wrote:

According to the public opinion polls, the North was not an issue of any importance. Nevertheless individual Ministers, most notably Conor Cruise O'Brien, have lost their seats because they were outspoken and honest in facing the Irish people with ambiguities in Irish attitudes. Hypocrisy, it seems, is the best policy. Ireland has wounded herself by losing Dr. O'Brien from the Dail.

The London *Sunday Times* wrote:

Particularly sad is the dismissal of Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien. He had become the most painfully honest voice in Irish politics. He repeatedly confronted the people of the South with the essential dilemma of their attitude to the North: how could they continue to glorify a violent past, and to look to an island unity unattainable in the present except by violence, without in effect backing the IRA?

The fallen hero of the British capitalist press himself responded to his defeat with the arrogance that won him the role of would-be exorcist of the historic national aspirations of the Irish people.

I interpret the election results as a licence from the electorate to proceed with my academic and literary career. I've always been an intensive writer and publicist and as a good democrat I understand the public want me to continue with that life.

Cruise O'Brien said he intended to continue his mission outside parliament. Jim Farrelly reported in the June 19 *Irish Sunday Independent*:

... Dr. Cruise O'Brien was proud that he had used his four-year reign in the Dail to spearhead the new revisionist thinking which has been "trying to explode the myth of 1916."

Cruise O'Brien said:

I have contributed to the questioning of the formerly prevailing ideological interpretation of Irish history based on the Wolfe Tone idea of a break with England and the use of force ... the tradition of the I.R.A.

He continued:

I don't regard the election defeat as a rejection of revisionism. I believe I have led the people to question the I.R.A. tradition. The problem is that Fianna Fail is committed to some sort of lip service to that doctrine.

Cruise O'Brien argued that the coalition's defeat had been simply the consequence of its being in power during a recession.

Some people would like to think that the Coalition's tough line on security was its downfall but the result is due to people's soreness about jobs and prices.

Yes, Sore About Jobs and Prices

The officially recognized rate of inflation in Ireland is 16 percent this year, down from 24 percent. The official rate of unemployment is 11 percent, and the percentage of jobless youths is acknowledged to be much higher. The coalition had hoped to take advantage of an upturn in some economic indicators to claim that it had safely steered the country through the worst of the crisis. However, there has been little or no improvement in the conditions facing Irish workers, and they apparently were not impressed by the government's forecast of a bullish business mood.

Most important, Cruise O'Brien and apparently the other coalition leaders did not take into consideration the lesson of the recession for Irish workers. The coalition parties promised in effect that greater subordination of the Irish economy to imperialism would lead to development of the country and prosperity.

Ironically, it was Fianna Fáil that inaugurated this policy, with the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement in 1957. But by its history Fine Gael was better able to carry this line to its conclusion.

The effects of the recession in Ireland drove home the lesson to the workers that surrender to imperialism is not the high road to overcoming the historic poverty of the country.

The British press was not reassured by the argument that the coalition's defeat was owing solely to immediate economic questions. The *Sunday Times* wrote:

The fact remains that there is an inherent contradiction in national attitudes to the North—a readiness to think two different things at once, to yearn for both peace and a sword: and Mr. [Jack] Lynch's party, Fianna Fail, accurately represents it. It is committed, by statements going back nearly two years, to demand of the United Kingdom Government that it should declare Britain's commitment to implement an ordered withdrawal from her involvement in the Six Counties of Northern Ireland.

It is true that the majority of the Irish population are reluctant to face an all-out confrontation with British power, which would include a clash with the Protestant settler caste in Northern Ireland. But it is also true, as the British capitalist press

recognizes, that they are not willing to accept imperialist domination as permanent and to abandon their national aspirations. That is why the situation in Ireland has remained potentially explosive.

The aim of British policy is not just to



CRUISE O'BRIEN: Released by voters for higher tasks than holding office.

get the Irish people in both parts of the island to tolerate a situation imposed by an imperialist power but to get them to accept this state of affairs as final and the best of all possible worlds. The rule of an openly antinationalist coalition in Dublin seemed to represent important progress toward that end. That is why the British capitalist press and politicians so lament the coalition's humiliation at the polls.

Encouragement for Oppressed Catholics

The Fianna Fáil victory had the immediate result, apparently, of encouraging the Catholic population in Northern Ireland to look to the Dublin government for help.

The June 20 *Irish Times* reported:

... in Co. Tyrone a group of leading Catholics announced that they were heading South to ask for Mr. Lynch's help on behalf of local men allegedly ill-treated by the RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary].

Priests, lawyers and doctors from the Dungannon-Coalisland area who will be accompanied by the Independent MP for Fermanagh-South Tyrone, Mr. Frank Maguire, said they would ask Mr. Lynch to raise the matter immediately with the British Prime Minister in his role as "second guarantor," a phrase rarely heard and barely remembered in recent years among the Northern minority.

The previous Fianna Fáil government claimed the right to serve as a "guarantor" of the interests of the Northern Catholics.

This tendency of the oppressed Northern Catholics to see the Lynch government as

a source of help has two effects. First, it represents illusions that may help Lynch defuse and divert the mass movement in the Northern ghettos. Secondly, it puts the Fianna Fáil government under pressure to prove its claims by doing something positive for the victims of imperialist repression, rather than simply cooperating with British forces, as the coalition did.

The "ambiguities" of Fianna Fáil represent a danger for the imperialists. But they can also represent a danger for the anti-imperialist forces, if they are not capable of maintaining both a clear consistent political strategy and flexible tactics.

The Provisional republicans' attempt to ignore the elections did not help to prevent illusions in Fianna Fáil. They were the only anti-imperialist force strong enough to offer an alternative throughout the state to the proimperialist parties. Their abstention helped to keep the rejection of the coalition from taking a politically clear form. It helped to keep them relatively isolated politically.

Stalinists Hurt SFWP

The former "Official Sinn Féin," now renamed Sinn Féin-The Workers Party (SFWP) did claim to offer an alternative to the left of the major parties. However, after 1974 the leadership of this group succumbed to economism and electoralist illusions, with hardened Stalinists becoming the dominant political force in the organization.

The logic of the SFWP's economist and reformist outlook has led it further and further toward opposing the militant nationalists more than the British imperialists. This tendency was most clearly expressed when the national leaders of the SFWP aligned themselves with the pro-British "peace movement" in Northern Ireland. It avoided the national question in the elections and did not offer a real political alternative to the Labour Party. In fact, its candidate in East Limerick, Fergus Reynolds, boasted that the SFWP program was the closest available to the Labour Party program of 1969.

The SFWP ran 15 candidates and got between 1,000 and 2,000 votes in most districts where these candidates stood. Irish electoral districts represent between about 40,000 voters or less for 3-seat constituencies to 75,000 for 5-seat districts. Under the proportional representation system voters can designate second choices, and these are distributed to the remaining candidates as the first-choice candidates are eliminated in successive counts. In total, the SFWP got 24,469 first preference votes. This compares with 186,000 votes for the Labour Party, about 490,000 for Fine Gael, and 814,000 for Fianna Fáil.

The SFWP's biggest votes were 4,485 for Joe Sherlock in the North East District of

Co. Cork; and 4,500 for P. Gallagher in Waterford. Sherlock is a well-known local county councillor with a traditional following. Most of his second preference votes went to Fianna Fáil candidates, indicating that his support still comes from republican voters who have not yet recognized the transformation of the former Official Sinn Féin.

In many other districts, the SFWP's second preference votes went to Labour candidates, indicating that its vote came from dissatisfied Labour supporters.

The SFWP did not come close to winning a single seat, much less the four predicted by its president, Tomás Mac Giolla. However, it gained a position as the most visible alternative to the major parties. How much the party gains in fact will depend on its ability to take advantage of this position in the fluid political situation opened up by the elections.

The continuing political degeneration of the SFWP makes it unlikely that it will profit very much from its electoral gains. Reformist wares can be peddled more effectively by the larger firms in the business. Moreover, the buildup of a volatile political situation in the South may put strains on the SFWP, whose political leading lights are "tough" Stalinists of the most dogmatic and sectarian type.

The Trotskyist Campaign

The only campaign that offered a clear political alternative to the bourgeois parties and the right-wing proimperialist Labour Party was waged in East Limerick by Joe Harrington, a member of the Movement for a Socialist Republic, the Irish section of the Fourth International.

Harrington was put up by a group around a militant trade-union newspaper called *The Bottom Dog*. In its May 27 issue, the paper explained the basis for the campaign as follows:

The National Coalition has supervised over 4 years of economic disaster and when pushed as to why the economy is in such a state their only reply is that international developments "outside of their control" and "a tiny minority of violent men" are responsible for the situation and that if they had not been in power the situation would be even worse!

So, what we can gather from this is that as long as Ireland exists in a state of partition and as long as it is affected by "international developments" very little can be done to solve "the social ills." On the other side of the same coin, Fianna Fáil's record with decades of Governmental power differs very little from that of its opponents. The reason for this is that both accept the domination of Ireland by imperialist interests, both accept the right of free enterprise to put profits and exploitation before the right to work and an adequate standard of living.

For these reasons the Bottom Dog has taken the decision to sponsor a candidate in the coming general elections. Because it believes that the only way in which partition can be ended, unemployment eradicated and the rights of women to equal citizenship accomplished is by

the independent action of those who suffer the oppression. Only those with no vested interest in the maintenance of exploitation can bring about an end to it.

The Bottom Dog will open its campaign to workers, employed and unemployed, women, working and in the home, smaller farmers fighting ranchers and speculators, and those who have suffered at the hands of 26 County or British repression, so as to assist in the building of campaigns which will hopefully continue long after the last Dail seat has been filled.

The Bottom Dog enters the election not because it sees the Dail as the instrument for introducing socialism but because it sees the focus of the election campaign as a platform to popularise the issues it has been raising. . . .

The candidate, Joe Harrington, who will contest the election as a socialist republican candidate for workers against unemployment, repression, in defence of women's rights and the anti-unionist minority in the North, represents those struggles in an unambiguous way. He has been an active socialist for many years, has been actively involved in his union, the ITGWU [Irish Transport and General Workers Union], and was responsible for unionising S.P.S. [Standard Press Steel] in Shannon, a factory which had successfully resisted any attempts by its workers to join a trade union for 15 years. Twice he has been victimised by sackings solely because of his union involvement. He is a committee member of the Southill Tenants and Residents Association. . . .

Vote Joe Harrington for Independent Workers' Action. Vote for a Socialist Republican candidate. . . .

Harrington's supporters waged an active campaign. About 15,000 election platforms were distributed, and thousands of posters were put up. Door-to-door campaigning was done in the main working-class districts. About 500 persons attended a campaign rally in the main street of Limerick City, where Bernadette Devlin McAliskey spoke. Other speakers were Jim Mac Namara of the Farmers Defence League, John MacAnulty of People's Democracy, Jim Monaghan of the Movement for a Socialist Republic, and Pat O'Connor of the *Bottom Dog*.

Harrington's campaign was given critical support by the Socialist Workers Movement, a group with close ties to the British Socialist Workers Party.

Despite the fact that there were a number of well-known independent candidates with major backing, Harrington got 122 first preference votes, as compared with 262 for the SFWP candidate. The Harrington campaign is an important example for the future, because the election results in general show that a new situation is opening in the Twenty-Six Counties.

Youth and Women's Vote

It is clear that the crushing defeat of the coalition did not represent a vote of confidence for Fianna Fáil. Polls taken before the election showed that about half the voters thought there was no difference between the two bourgeois parties. Appar-

ently, it was this skepticism about the major parties that convinced the commentators before the elections that the population was apathetic. In fact, 76 percent of those eligible to vote did so. The masses utilized the election to register their discontent.

Furthermore, the youth vote and women's vote emerged for the first time as distinct elements. In a total electorate of 2.1 million persons, 440,000 voted for the first time. In Ireland, the minimum wage for voting is eighteen. Apparently, most of the young voters cast their ballots for Fianna Fáil, which got the jump on its competitors in organizing support among the youth.

Fianna Fáil also stole a march on its rivals by appealing to women's liberation sentiment. It ran more female candidates than any other party.

The rise of a women's and youth vote reflects major long-range sociological and political changes maturing in the Twenty-Six Counties. In addition to striking at the jobs and living standards of Irish workers, the world recession has choked off the traditional outlet of emigration. The active youth of Ireland are no longer being drained off but are swelling the reservoir of discontent in the country. Catholicism, the traditional underpinning of conservatism, is eroding rapidly, in particular under the impact of the women's movement.

Moreover, the results of the elections shattered the Labour Party's commitment to an antinationalist coalition with Fine Gael. The party leaders maintained the coalition despite rising opposition from the ranks because it was the only way for them to keep their place at the public trough. But now they have lost both their credibility and their position in government.

Such an experience cannot but alert the most narrow-minded and conservative right-wing Social Democrats. Like another well-known species, they can tell when a ship is sinking and they know what to do about it—jump in time.

The sentiment of the Labour Party ranks was shown by the success of independent candidates who challenged the official standard-bearers. The notorious anti-Semitic rightist demagogue Steven Coughlan in Limerick, a long-time local boss, was defeated by a figure with a more left-wing image, who ran under the label "Democratic Labour." Another independent Labourite, Noel Browne, a veteran crusader for democratic causes, defeated the official candidate in Artane, a working-class suburb of Dublin.

The debacle of the right-wing leadership should open the way for the ranks of the Labour Party to express themselves and begin to discuss how they can make the party into the working-class political alternative most of them want. □

Israel: Menahem Begin Sworn In as Prime Minister

By Steve Wattenmaker

A narrowly based coalition government dominated by the Likud bloc took office in Israel June 21. Likud leader Menahem Begin was sworn in as Israel's sixth prime minister.

In negotiations following the May 17 elections, Begin was able to attract only the National Religious Party and Agudat Israel—two conservative ultrareligious groupings—into his coalition. The arrangement gives Begin 63 votes, a bare majority in the 120-member Knesset (parliament).

As concessions to his religious partners in government, Begin was forced to promise some significant changes in domestic policy. He agreed to make abortions more difficult to obtain and to automatically exempt any woman from compulsory military service if she or her family object on religious grounds.

The appointment of Zevulun Hammer, a National Religious Party leader, as minister of education is expected to lead to deepening religious involvement in Israel's largely secular school system.

Another change in domestic policy was signaled by the appointment of Simha Ehrlich, a leader of the "liberal wing" of the Likud, as minister of finance.

Ehrlich has already made a controversial proposal for "controlled unemployment" to reduce Israel's annual 40 percent inflation rate.

In addition, the new government has engaged University of Chicago economist Milton Friedman to serve as a consultant. Friedman is known as an advocate of drastic cutbacks in social services and other similar measures to allow the "market mechanism . . . to operate unfettered and uncontrolled."

Ehrlich's proposed policies are aimed in part at curbing Israel's powerful trade-union confederation, the Histadrut. Leaders of the Histadrut, who have always been allied with Israel's Labor Party, have said they will not accept even one-fourth of one percent rise in the jobless rate.

The trade-union body is expected to present the most formidable opposition to the Begin government's domestic program. In elections for Histadrut officers held June 21, the Labor Party turned back a challenge by Likud supporters for control of the 1.3 million-member federation.

The centrist Democratic Movement for Change will also be seated on the opposition benches in the Knesset. The new party, headed by Yigael Yadin, won 15 seats in the May 17 election but refused a bid to join Begin's coalition June 13.

As an enticement to Yadin, the Likud



BEGIN: Tries cooing like a dove.

temporarily left three cabinet posts vacant should the Democratic Movement reverse its decision and join the government.

In his inaugural address to the Knesset on June 21, Begin attempted to sound reasonable and moderate. He avoided repeating his well-known position that the occupied West Bank and Gaza were, in fact, "liberated" and non-negotiable in any peace negotiations.

"Our prime concern is prevention of a new war in the Middle East," Begin told the Knesset. "I call upon King Hussein, President Sadat, and President Assad to meet with me . . . in order to discuss the establishment of true peace between their countries and Israel.

"Should this plea encounter refusal," Begin cynically added, "we shall make a note of Arab intransigence."

At the same moment, however, the new government's special envoy to the United States was repeating Begin's, and his Labor Party predecessors' real position. "We say the West Bank belongs to us," Shmuel Katz flatly told a reporter for the *Christian Science Monitor* in New York.

American Zionists have also moved into high gear to pressure the Carter administration for more public support to Begin's hardline rhetoric.

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, told the Associated Press June 14, "there is a growing apprehension in the American Jewish community" about Carter's Middle East policies. "I am frightened by what appears to be an erosion of his commitment to Israel."

Until now, Carter has chosen to take his distance from the most provocative declarations of the new Israeli premier. By alluding to a vague Palestinian "homeland" and pushing for a quick resumption of talks in Geneva, Carter has sought to boost his own image as an evenhanded, neutral mediator in any future negotiations.

With pressure mounting to "go easy" on Begin, however, the White House assigned Vice-President Mondale to reassure nervous Zionists in a speech delivered June 17. The address to the World Affairs Council of Northern California in San Francisco was billed as an official explanation of Carter's views on the Mideast.

Peace is only possible, Mondale said, through "direct negotiations among the parties concerned."

Underlying this entire effort to promote the process of negotiation is our determination to maintain the military security of Israel. There must be no question in anyone's mind that the United States will do what is necessary to insure the adequacy of Israel's military posture and its capacity for self-defense. . . . Let there be no doubt about this commitment by this Administration.

We do not intend to use our military aid as pressure on Israel. If we have differences over military aid—and we may have some—it will be on military grounds or economic grounds, but not on political grounds. If we have differences over diplomatic strategy—and that could happen—we will work this out on a political level. We will not alter our commitment to Israel's military security.

Palestinians must be able to shed their refugee status through the creation of a homeland or "entity" (preferably linked to Jordan), Mondale said. However, he emphasized that "there must be a demonstrated willingness on the part of the Palestinians to live in peace alongside Israel."

Reports from Israel on reaction to the American vice-president's talk indicate that it did little to soothe the Begin government. A Foreign Ministry official told the *New York Times* that the positions that Mondale outlined "are the positions we know. We do not find any changes." □

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Palestinians Face Torture in Israeli Jails

By Steve Wattenmaker

The systematic torture of Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails is a widespread and officially sanctioned practice, according to an investigation conducted by the London *Sunday Times*.

The rigorously documented findings, published as a four-page spread in the June 19 edition, leave no doubt that Israeli security forces in the occupied territories routinely use electric shock, prolonged beatings, sexual assault, and even more draconian forms of torture on Arab detainees.

Allegations of ill-treatment, if admitted at all, have been dismissed by Israeli diplomats in the past as unfortunate excesses.

"Every case of alleged torture or mistreatment is investigated very thoroughly by the police and by the courts," Gabriel Padon, a press counsellor attached to the Israeli embassy in London, told a British radio audience in early June. "Some cases have occurred where the police was found to have used excessive zeal in interrogation. . . .

"There is," he added, "absolutely no truth in the charges of torture, burning, electric shocks and all these."

A similar testimonial was recently offered by the Carter administration. In March the Senate made public a State Department report on human rights in eighty-two nations receiving U.S. foreign aid.

Of Israel, which received two-thirds of all U.S. economic and military assistance in 1976, the report said:

"The use of extreme pressure during interrogations of security suspects has been described in certain reports and may have taken place, although reports of the use of actual torture during interrogations have not been substantiated."

The Case of Abdel-Karim

Denials by Israeli authorities and State Department apologists stand in striking contrast to the *Sunday Times* conclusion:

"Torture is organised so methodically that it cannot be dismissed as a handful of 'rogue cops' exceeding orders. It is systematic. It appears to be sanctioned at some level as deliberate policy."

The *Sunday Times* based its conclusion on a five-month inquiry carried out by a team of reporters in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. They questioned forty-four Palestinians who were victims of torture. Many of them allowed the *Sunday*

Times to use their names even though they still live under Israeli rule. In total the investigating team recorded 110,000 words of testimony, and obtained corroborating evidence wherever possible.

The case of Omar Abdel-Karim is typical, say the investigators:

Omar Abdel-Karim was arrested on October 3, 1976, as he was crossing eastward over the Allenby bridge, on his way to see his brother's wife in Amman. He was driven to the Russian Compound, known to Arabs as "Moscobiya"—the detention and interrogation centre in Jerusalem which houses Shin Beth and Latam and occasionally the border police.*

Among the interrogators who questioned him the same evening were two whom he came to know as "Edi" and "Orli." They accused him of being one of the *fedayeen*. When he denied this, they beat him on the soles of his feet. Later, for about 15 minutes, he was hung up by his wrists. Then he was sent to a cell in the main prison block at Moscobiya. His feet were swollen; he crawled there.

After seven days of beatings in Moscobiya, Abdel-Karim was transferred in a closed truck to a secret location. He believed it was the army's secret interrogation compound at Sarafand.

So far his treatment might be described as "brutality" rather than torture. But the new centre was more purposeful. Except during interrogation sessions, he was continuously hooded by a black canvas bag. Fresh interrogators took over, though Orli was also there.

Electricity was now used. Two thin, black leads were taped to Abdel-Karim with sticking plaster. These went into a black box, presumably a transformer, and from it a thick white wire was plugged into a wall socket. A button on the box switched the current on.

"It felt as though my bones were being crushed," Abdel-Karim said. "The most painful was when they attached the wires to my testicles. When the current was applied, I felt it through my whole body. After the shocks ended, I felt pain in all my joints. Every muscle ached and I felt that my nerves were exhausted."

Abdel-Karim says electricity was used at "eight or nine" sessions. But he says he continued to maintain his innocence. After 11 days he was moved again, to the prison at Hebron on the West Bank.

At Hebron, his old torturers were joined

* All of Israel's security services are implicated: the Shin Beth, Israel's equivalent of the American CIA and FBI; Military Intelligence; Latam, Israel's Department of Special Missions, which reports to the minister of police; and the border police.

by a man who called himself "Abu Ghazal."

Abu Ghazal swung him around the room by his hair and, when it came out, forced him to eat it. "It stuck all [the way] down my throat. It made me want to throw up." Then he had to drink salty water. Finally, Abu Ghazal and a second interrogator forced a bottle up Abdel-Karim's rectum. . . .

"If I had anything I would give it to you," Abdel-Karim kept telling his interrogators. They did not believe him. He was kept under a cold shower; jammed into a barrel of freezing water; and suspended from his wrists once more while the interrogator Orli squeezed his genitals. "The mind cannot imagine how that hurts. It was so bad, it made me forget all the other pain."

The last assault Abdel-Karim remembers is being shut in a small cell into which some kind of gas was squirted through the judas-hole in the door. "I couldn't stop coughing. My eyes and nose were running. The whole world started turning round me." He remembers 'a piece of glass like a finger' which was finally slid into each nostril to ease his breathing.

Due Process?

Last November, Israel's ambassador to the United Nations, Jacob Doron, asserted that his country "can proudly stand by its record of scrupulously observing the rule of law in the administered areas." Israel, he said, showed a "liberal and enlightened attitude. . . . Nobody is in prison because of their political beliefs."

Ironically, it is the extensive use of torture to extract phony confessions that allows Israel to claim it has no political prisoners.

According to the *Sunday Times*, Israel currently has only 37 political detainees. But nearly 60 percent of all prisoners in jail in Israel or the occupied areas are Arabs found guilty of "security offenses"—some 3,200 out of 5,800. Most of them were convicted solely on the basis of confessions.

Many of the confessions are forced under torture, defense lawyers are convinced. Yet almost without exception, the military courts that try security cases reject the contention. This allows diplomats like Doron to cynically ask, "What is wrong with the holding of trials and the conviction of those found guilty after due process of law?"

Ghassan Harb, a Palestinian intellectual and journalist on the West Bank, is an example of an activist that Israeli officials tried to silence by forcing him to confess to "terrorist" activities.

He was arrested in April 1974 and after fifty days in prison he was transferred to a secret interrogation center. His jailers told him he had arrived at the Palace of the End.

On Harb's account, his first meeting with his interrogator there ended abruptly. "We know you are against the authorities; tell us everything you know," the interrogator said. Harb replied he had no information. "All right," the interrogator said, "You don't want to speak." He gestured to the guards, who wore soldiers' uniforms. "Take him," he said.

In another room Harb was made to strip, given a military-type overall and photographed. Then he was brought back to his interrogator. He was to see him many times in the next 16 days. . . .

The beating began at once. "He sat on a table, I was on a bench and he began to beat me. Fifteen minutes, 20 minutes, beating with his hand across my face," Harb says. . . . Only one question was asked: "Do you want to speak?" Harb repeated that he had nothing to say.

At the end of that first session Harb, blindfolded once more [with a heavy cloth bag over his head], was led away. His handcuffs were removed, he was stripped of his overall, his hands re-fastened behind his back and, naked apart from the bag over his head, he was pushed into what he felt was a confined space. The door shut. Despite two air holes in the top of the bag, Harb feared he would suffocate, so by sliding his head against the wall he removed it. He found himself in a tiny windowless cell, the only light coming from a crack under the door.

"It was really just a cupboard," he says. He thinks it was 60 cms (2ft) square, and no more than 150 cms (5ft) high. "I am 178 cms and I couldn't stand up in it." Nor was it possible to sit down.

But the most curious feature was the floor. It was concrete, and set into it at close but irregular intervals was a set of stone spikes. "They were sharp, and they had acute edges. . . I could not normally stand on them. I could stand on them but with difficulty and pain. I would lift one leg and put the other down, and then lift that one when it got tired and put the other down, and so on."

Harb thinks he spent three or four hours in "the cupboard" on his first occasion. . . .

Predictable Reaction

Harb was interrogated in the Palace of the End for seventeen days. In addition to beatings and confinement in the spiked-floor box, he was made to crawl naked around a courtyard filled with small stones while being kicked and punched by his tormentors.

The *Sunday Times* corroborated many of the details of Harb's account through their interviews with others who had been detained. Investigators rated Harb a credible witness and concluded that the treatment he received was not exceptional.

Among the other Palestinians willing to testify publicly were:

- **Fawzi Abdel-Wahed Nijim**—Arrested July 1970. Tortured at Sarafand and set on by dogs. Arrested again in July 1973. Confessed to guerrilla activity after beatings in Gaza prison. Released in July 1975.



London Sunday Times

- **Zudhir Al-Dibi**—Interrogated in Nablus for ten days after his arrest in 1970. He was whipped and beaten on the soles of his feet, had his testicles squeezed, and was hosed with cold water. Confessed to distributing leaflets and served seven years in prison.

- **Shehadeh Shalalkeh**—Interrogated for five days at Moscobiya in 1969. Ball point pen refill was pushed into his penis. Sentenced to life imprisonment, but released in 1976 because of heart illness.

- **Jamil Abu-Chabiy**—Arrested in February 1976 and held in Moscobiya. Beaten on the head, body, and genitals. He was also forced to lie in cold water, and needed hospital treatment when released after eight days of detention.

The reaction of the Israeli government to the *Sunday Times* exposé was predictable. Tel Aviv's new ambassador to Britain, Avraham Kidron, attacked the article as a "dastardly report," according to a story in the June 21 *Jerusalem Post* international edition. An Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman called the report prejudiced, one-sided, and grossly exaggerated.

In private, however, Zionist officials surely feel the bitter sting of the *Sunday Times* revelations. The findings will be difficult for the Zionists to dismiss as "Arab propaganda."

Anticipating Tel Aviv's anger, an editorial in the same issue of the *Sunday Times* sought to placate the Begin government.

It will be said, the editors wrote, "that to publish reports of torture and ill-treatment is to strike at the very heart of Israel's existence. The opposite is true. Israel has to live in peace with Arabs. . . . Certainly the occupation has brought some material benefits to the Arabs, but the deprivation of human rights is gravely poisoning its relationships with those people it must not

only subdue now but eventually live with as neighbors."

As an imperialist power, Britain has had to take similar cosmetic measures to lessen the possibility of nationalist explosions, the editors explained to Begin:

"Six years ago we published a report on interrogation in Northern Ireland which led to the banning of those practices by the British government, and the removal of a little of the poison in Anglo-Irish relationships. The report we publish today will, we hope, cause Israel to rethink its occupation policies and remove a little of the poison between Jew and Arab."

There is no indication that the Israeli government is about to adopt the *Sunday Times*'s prescription for "winning the hearts and minds" of the oppressed Palestinians. Tel Aviv is committed to the use of systematic repression, which includes the use of torture, as the *Sunday Times* well knows from the long experience of British imperialism in the subjection of other peoples.

The *Sunday Times* no doubt published this dramatic exposé to help build circulation. Nonetheless the facts constitute a damning indictment of the Israeli government's treatment of Palestinian prisoners.

Argentina—New Rise in Anti-Semitic Incidents

A Buenos Aires synagogue was bombed for the second time in two weeks May 24, as a new wave of anti-Semitic attacks erupted in Argentina.

A number of prominent Jews have been accused of involvement in "the Graiver affair," a financial scandal revolving around the Peronist guerrilla group Montoneros.

David Graiver, a banker accused of investing Montonero ransom money, was himself a Jew. He died mysteriously in Mexico in 1976. A rightist monthly, *Cabildo*, featured an article last month on Graiver and the "Jewish-Marxist-Montonero" connection.

Former Finance Minister José Ber Gelbard, who faces arrest in the affair, is Jewish.

Jacobo Timerman, publisher of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* and an outspoken member of the Argentine Jewish community, is under arrest in the case.

Until this most recent anti-Semitic eruption the 400,000-member Argentine Jewish community has by and large tried to work behind the scenes to combat the prejudice. On May 2, however, Nehemias Resnizky, president of the Delegation of Jewish Associations in Argentina, issued a statement, later made public, in which he said, "Our enemies must realize that there are no passive and silent Jewish masses any more."

Civil Liberties Union a Target of FBI Since 1920

By Michael Baumann

In a sensational new disclosure of illegal government spying, recently released documents show that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has infiltrated, burglarized, and wiretapped the American Civil Liberties Union since 1920.

The ACLU is one of the most prominent and respected civil-liberties organizations in the United States, specializing in the defense of the rights of free speech, press, and assembly. In recent years it has also been a major force in the battle to stop reintroduction of the death penalty.

The documents show that the FBI kept extensive dossiers on leading ACLU members.

Those singled out for this scrutiny included Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, Nobel Prize winner Jane Addams, lecturer Helen Keller, novelist Upton Sinclair, attorney Clarence Darrow, and ACLU founder Roger N. Baldwin.

In addition, the documents reveal the existence of a transcript of a 1943 wiretapped telephone call by former Socialist Workers Party leader Albert Goldman.

The FBI's surveillance of the ACLU is disclosed in 3,072 pages of FBI files (out of a total of 20,000) turned over to the ACLU in June under a Freedom of Information Act suit filed by the organization.

The documents prove that the "Cointel-pro" (Counter-Intelligence Program) operations carried out to disrupt the activities of the SWP and other political, legal, and social organizations deemed "dissident" or "subversive" by Washington, began at least fifty-seven years ago. This means that they have been conducted under twelve different presidential administrations—both Democrat and Republican.

The documents also show that former FBI director J. Edgar Hoover personally supervised the surveillance and infiltration of the ACLU, down to approving a \$5 expenditure for an agent to take out a membership card in a fictitious name.

In addition, Hoover is shown to have ordered a "confidential undercover inquiry"—a polite term for burglary—involving a search of the ACLU's New York headquarters.

In a front-page report in the June 18-19 *Chicago Daily News*, reporters Rob Warden and Bob Tamarkin describe some of the material in the previously secret documents. The files provide a precious glimpse into the ultrareactionary mentality of the American political police.

The FBI dossier on Frankfurter, prepared



Mary Jo Hendrickson/Militant

ROGER BALDWIN. Speaking at memorial meeting for James P. Cannon. FBI files list him as "intellectual anarchist."

when he was a Harvard law professor, before he became a Supreme Court justice, said he was "considered a dangerous man by United States government employees."

Helen Keller, the famed blind and deaf author and lecturer, was described as a "writer on radical subjects."

Nobel laureate Jane Addams, founder of Chicago's Hull House [a pioneer social-services center], was viewed by the FBI as a "zealous and consistent supporter of radical and revolutionary movements."

Upton Sinclair, the novelist, was allegedly "working to build up a fat hidden bank account in Toronto, Canada," and an FBI agent who monitored a meeting where Sinclair appeared reported to Hoover: "Upton did not talk very long but ridiculed religion and roasted the Pope."

Through ACLU leader Clarence Darrow, the noted Chicago lawyer who defended John Scopes in the celebrated Tennessee "monkey trial," radical groups were said to be "capitalizing . . . on evolution and gaining entree . . . to certain coveted circles . . . hitherto closed to their propaganda."

Baldwin was described in the files as an "intellectual anarchist."

William Allen White, the nationally renowned 1930s author and journalist from Emporia, Kansas, was a "member of the Committee on Militarism in Education which is against military training in American schools . . . a member of the Foreign Policy Assn. which is a radical organization affiliated with the American Civil Liberties Union. . . ."

The FBI spying on the ACLU and its leading members was disclosed in an initial batch of secret files turned over to

the organization under a federal court order.

Acting on a suit filed by the Illinois district of the ACLU, District Court Judge Hubert Will ordered the FBI to surrender its complete files on the civil-liberties organization.

The first batch of files released covers the period from 1920 to 1943. The 17,000 remaining pages, covering the period from 1943 to the present, are to be released over the next four months.

The initial files show that FBI infiltration of the ACLU began under Woodrow Wilson in January 1920, when the organization was founded as an extension of the Civil Liberties Bureau. The Civil Liberties Bureau had been formed before World War I to provide legal assistance to pacifists and other dissenters against the war.

What was the character of the organization that drew such attention from Hoover's guardians of the "American Way of Life"? At the ACLU's founding, Baldwin described the new organization's aims as follows:

We stand on the general principle that all thought on matters of public concern should be freely expressed without interference. . . . The principle of freedom of speech, press and assembly, embodied in our constitutional law, must be constantly reasserted and applied to be made effective.

The ACLU rapidly became one of the country's most effective defenders of the democratic right to express dissident political views. In response, the FBI instituted its massive spying operation. Watkins and Tamarkin report:

FBI "confidential operatives" infiltrated the organization at every level, providing detailed reports on closed meetings, membership lists, financial contributions and—in some cases—copies of private correspondence between ACLU officials and other private citizens.

From the beginning, persons affiliated with the ACLU were described in the FBI files as "radicals," "Communists," "Socialists," "Russians" or "Jews." Wealthy backers were characterized as "parlor Bolsheviki" or "parlor pinks."

In 1922, the FBI prepared files on each member of the ACLU's National Committee. This included the file on Frankfurter, despite the fact that in addition to his classes at Harvard, he was teaching a course on law enforcement at the FBI National Academy in Washington.

Warden and Tamarkin cite the following as examples of the type of "intelligence" compiled in the dossiers:

A dossier on Kate Crane Gartz, a member of the ACLU national committee in 1922, said: "Wealthy stockholder in the Crane Co. and sister of Charles Crane, former American ambassador to China, she is the perpetual Christmas tree and the chief source of funds for all radicals and radical movements, including Communist, Socialist and I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World); furnishes bail and legal assistance to all radicals who are arrested and is reported to be contributing a large annuity to Upton Sinclair."

In a 1923 FBI report, Mrs. Gartz was labeled a "Pasadena parlor Bolshevik."

In a 1931 dossier on Jeanette Rankin, ACLU national committee member and the first woman elected to Congress, the FBI said: "She is considered a pacifist and in March, 1926, the President of the United States was informed by letter that she is constantly found in Communist company." The writer of the letter to President Calvin Coolidge was not identified.

A dossier prepared in 1931 on ACLU committee member Morris Hillquit, lawyer and author of several books on Socialism, contained this sentence: "Hillquit is reported to be a Russian Jew, and a very shrewd, clever man, of recognized legal ability."

The dossier on Abraham Lincoln Wirin, an ACLU attorney in Los Angeles, reveals that in its campaign against the ACLU, the FBI collaborated closely with local "police intelligence" units—the notorious "Red Squads." Wirin's initial file was prepared by the Red Squad of the Los Angeles police department. It said, in part:

... Wirin is particularly dangerous because of the fact that he possesses a brilliant mind and has a comprehensive knowledge of law. It is his delight and pride to search deep into legal lore for possible loopholes which may be utilized in the defense of revolutionists who have transgressed the law. Artful interpretation of the law, as regards "constitutional" rights, is another of Mr. Wirin's knavish subtleties. . . .

By 1934, the FBI had prepared its own file on Wirin. It noted: "Attorney A.L. Wirin has been defending Communists throughout the state (California), particularly in Los Angeles for the past two years or more, being retained by the Communist International Labor Defense and the seditious mongering [sic] American Civil Liberties Union. . . ."

In addition to drawing on the spying operations and imagination of local Red Squads, the FBI also dipped into the muck of a 2,000 page redbaiting report issued in 1920 by a New York State legislative committee investigating "seditious" activities. Warden and Tamarkin report:

The commission, headed by state Sen. Clayton R. Lusk, branded pacifists and anyone who vocally supported First Amendment rights [free speech] as radicals.

In a 1941 background report on the ACLU, the FBI quoted the 21-year-old Lusk report: "The American Civil Liberties Union in the last analysis is a supporter of all subversive movements; its propaganda is detrimental to the state (New York). It attempts not only to protect crime but to encourage attacks upon our institutions in every form."

According to the report in the *Chicago*



John Gray/Militant

WIRIN: Speaking at eightieth birthday celebration for James P. Cannon. FBI file denounced Wirin's "knaveish subtleties" in defending revolutionists in court.

Daily News, the files also contain a transcript of a May 21, 1943, telephone conversation between ACLU founder Baldwin and Albert Goldman, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party "whom the ACLU was defending in First Amendment cases."

"There is nothing in the file to indicate whether the tap was on Baldwin's or Goldman's telephone," Warden and Tamarkin report, "but it was illegal under the Federal Communications Act of 1934, which flatly banned wiretapping."

Goldman was both chief defense counsel and a defendant in the 1941 "sedition" frame-up trial of twenty-eight prominent members of the SWP and Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544.

The case was the first peacetime federal prosecution of alleged sedition in American history and the first under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act. It was engineered by the Roosevelt administration as part of the preparations for World War II, and result-

ed in 1944 in twelve- to eighteen-month prison sentences for eighteen of the defendants. These included Goldman and SWP National Secretary James P. Cannon.

The newly released FBI files make clear that spying on the SWP's legal consultations was part and parcel of the weapons utilized by the government to prosecute the frame-up.

When asked by the *Chicago Daily News* to comment on the massive spying operation carried out against the ACLU, Baldwin said that it shows why no country should have a secret police, "which is what this amounts to."

"They didn't have to spy to get information," he said. "The agents collected things that were on the public record. We would have been glad to give it to them. We didn't have anything to conceal."

This point is well illustrated by the following exchange of correspondence between Baldwin and Hoover:

On October 27, 1942, Baldwin wrote to Hoover, complaining that "some of your agents seem to have some notion that the Civil Liberties Union is a subversive organization and that connection with it justifies investigation."

Hoover wrote back, in typical lying doublespeak:

"I can assure you that there are no outstanding instructions from this bureau which would either directly or indirectly lead any special agent of this bureau to assume that connection with the American Civil Liberties Union is presumptive indication of subversive activity and therefore necessitating an investigation."

In November, Baldwin wrote back, apparently unconvinced, suggesting that it might be more sensible if the ACLU simply distributed its literature to the FBI field offices.

Hoover rejected the suggestion, writing back that the FBI had no "substantive grounds" for carrying out any investigation of the ACLU.

At the time he wrote that letter, the FBI, under Hoover's supervision, had spied on the ACLU for twenty-two years and compiled more than 3,000 pages of files on its members. □

Breytenbach Accused of Plotting From Cell

Breyten Breytenbach, a well-known Afrikaans-language poet in South Africa, has been brought to trial on new charges under the draconian Terrorism Act.

Appearing in court June 20, he pleaded not guilty to charges of having sought to actively oppose the white-supremacist regime from his cell in Pretoria Central Prison. Breytenbach was sentenced to a nine-year prison term in 1975 on charges of plotting an armed insurrection against the Vorster regime.

Specifically, he is now charged with seeking to enlist Pieter G. Groenewald, a jailer, to membership in Okhela, an underground group Breytenbach is alleged to be associated with, and with having asked Groenewald to obtain a nonlethal "gas gun" for use in an escape attempt. The twenty-nine-page indictment also charged Breytenbach with arranging for Groenewald to undergo guerrilla training in the Soviet Union and to act as a courier for Okhela.

The CIA's Secret War on Cuba

By Jon Britton

Ten million Americans watched "The CIA's Secret Army" on prime-time television June 10. They learned a lot in two short hours.

This CBS news documentary on the Cuban exile army that has been recruited, trained, armed, and directed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency gave the TV audience a vivid picture of the ruthless criminality of the U.S. ruling class and its anticommunist pawns. It shed new light on the prolonged secret war carried out by successive American presidents against the Cuban revolution. And it showed the danger of such imperialist aggressions leading to a nuclear holocaust.

Information is lacking to explain why one of the big commercial networks decided to air such an exposé. (Washington's recent moves towards reestablishing diplomatic relations with Cuba may have had something to do with it.) But the fact that it was broadcast and reached a large audience is significant in itself.

The story begins with the order of President Eisenhower (a graduate of the Pentagon) to "get rid of Fidel Castro." CBS correspondent Bill Moyers talks to Richard Bissell, the CIA's chief of covert operations at the time, about how such orders were given and their meaning:

Moyers. The presidential method of granting authorization for such sensitive operations was designed to be enigmatic.

Bissell. A president typically says that he wants to get rid of somebody. And obviously he and everybody else involved would much rather get rid of someone in a rather nice way, but if the emphasis is on getting rid of him, by whatever means have to be used, this I would have taken as an authorization.

Bissell's words are revealing. Apparently such orders, transmitted in the mode of a Mafia chieftain, were rather common under the presidents he worked for.

Lest the viewer think that these are the ravings of a deluded ex-spy, Moyers quotes from a previously classified White House report on the future use of the CIA, prepared in 1954 by "a group of distinguished citizens":

Hitherto acceptable norms of human conduct do not apply. . . . We must learn to subvert, sabotage and destroy our enemies by more clever, more sophisticated and more effective methods than those used against us. . . .

Along with the attempt, beginning in August 1960, to assassinate Castro, the CIA planned first guerrilla operations against Cuba and then a full-scale inva-

sion. By the time of John F. Kennedy's inauguration in January 1961, the agency had already recruited and trained a secret exile army.

The new liberal president approved the CIA's proposal to land this "brigade" of *gusanos* (Spanish for "worms") at the Bay of Pigs. The invaders were headed by Pepe San Roman, a former officer in Batista's army. An American CIA agent, Grayston Lynch, led the brigade on to the beaches April 17, 1961. According to Moyers, Lynch fired the first shots at the Cuban defenders.

Kennedy attempted to keep the American people in the dark about the impending U.S.-sponsored invasion. However, the scope of the operation (Moyers says it was the CIA's biggest) was such that facts on the preparations began leaking into the press.

"Kennedy Presses Plans For Attack Against Cuba" was the front-page headline in the revolutionary-socialist weekly the *Militant* one week prior to the invasion. The article stated:

. . . it's perfectly clear that Kennedy is determined to do everything he thinks is possible to destroy the Cuban government by force of arms. He does so in defiance of the Neutrality Act, a law that is supposed to bar anyone—including the President—from organizing or promoting warfare against any nation with which this country is officially at peace.

The illegality of the invasion applied as well to the continued secret war against Cuba that President Kennedy ordered after the Bay of Pigs fiasco.

Kennedy, making a foreign policy speech in Seattle seven months later, comes on the screen with these hypocritical words: "We cannot, as a free nation, compete with our adversaries in tactics of terror, assassination, false promises, counterfeit mobs, and crises."

But, says Moyers, "he was also at that time approving Operation Mongoose—the code name for the next stage in the CIA's secret war on Cuba. The name was romantic . . . but the tactics were not. They included all of those things the president had just said America did not do."

Moyers goes on:

There had not been anything in the American experience quite like the war on Cuba. To begin with, it's against the law for the CIA to run operations in the U.S. But to direct its secret army, the agency created here in Miami the largest CIA station in the world.

Moyers asks Dr. Ray Cline, then deputy director of the CIA, how large the station was.

Cline. If I had to guess I would say six or seven hundred American staff officers. . . . That does not include the Cubans with whom these people were dealing.

Moyers. Most estimates put the number at about 2,000.

The CIA had full cooperation from every level of government and beyond in carrying out its vast criminal conspiracy. Here is how Moyers describes it:

The CIA employed all of its traditional methods, but there was no way to hide the operations of more than two thousand American and Cuban agents, with their gun boats, traveling down the coast.

How then did they do it?

They had a lot of help. From the Coast Guard, Customs, the FBI, the Internal Revenue Service, and much of the Miami and South Florida establishment.

Seducing the press was critical. Two senior CIA officials told us they had explicit arrangements with the press here to keep their secret operations from being reported except when it was mutually convenient.

Nineteen separate police departments had to be enlisted so they wouldn't arrest the gun-toting Cuban agents. Bankers were needed to extend credit to CIA men running phony businesses and using fake names.

And the need for cooperation stretched down the line. It was a massive conspiracy to violate the country's neutrality acts and other federal, state, and local laws, as well.

"In the circumstances of the time," says Cline, "with the kind of thinking we've been discussing at the top of the government, no one questioned the wisdom or the propriety of such activity. The question was whether you're doing enough to carry out the objectives of the U.S. government."

Moyers then quotes Robert Kennedy at a meeting of the administration's Cuban Task Force: "The overthrow of Castro has the 'top priority in the United States Government . . . all else is secondary, no time, money, effort or manpower is to be spared.'"

'Subtle Sabotage'

According to Moyers one proposal submitted to the White House called for the use of biological and chemical warfare against Cuban sugar workers. He doesn't say if the proposal was approved. But earlier in the program he had elicited this smug statement from Cline concerning similar operations:

And some rather elaborate clandestine operations were laid on which I remember involving—oh, contamination of commodities being shipped to or out of Cuba, the interference with the machinery—it's called subtle sabotage. . . . So there were a number of operations of subtle sabotage, some of them rather successful.

One of these acts of "subtle sabotage" came to light recently. The CIA provided anti-Castro terrorists with a swine fever

virus that forced the killing of 500,000 Cuban pigs (see *Intercontinental Press*, February 7, p. 91).

The CBS documentary showed that it was United States aggression against Cuba that led to the Cuban missile crisis, sometimes referred to as Kennedy's "finest hour." This was a time when the future of humanity hung in the balance and, as Moyers puts it, "like the rest of us Castro had to stand by helplessly as we waited to discover our fate."

An outcome of the frightening nuclear showdown was Kennedy's promise that the United States would not invade Cuba. However, the secret war of terror and sabotage went on and was even accelerated.

On November 22, 1963, Kennedy was killed in Dallas. The CBS documentary attempted to twist the massive evidence of CIA murder plots against Castro to show that Castro ordered the assassination of Kennedy. The only "evidence" cited is that Castro knew that Kennedy was trying to kill him.

Moyers claims that the secret war against Cuba began to "fade away" after Kennedy's death, as "Vietnam replaced Cuba as the preoccupation of the White House." However, he admits that weapons and supplies continued to be sent by boat from Florida to the counterrevolutionary underground in Cuba.

It was in this period, Moyers says, that the exile terrorists began to be used for purposes other than attempting to overthrow Castro: "Hundreds of exile agents were kept on the payroll. Many were sent throughout Latin America to counter Castro's agents. Two helped hunt down Che Guevara in the mountains of Bolivia."

According to Moyers, the CIA closed its giant station in Miami in 1967. Meanwhile, the activities of the CIA's exiles broadened further, to include terrorist attacks against socialists in the United States. One example of many was the raid in 1970 against the Socialist Workers Party in Los Angeles, in which more than a dozen armed gusanos burst into the party's campaign headquarters, ordered four campaign workers to lie down, and set the place on fire. This and other similar attacks against radical groups were not mentioned at all in the CBS documentary.

The program did, however, provide a new revelation concerning the use of exiles for illegal activities by President Nixon. Previously Bernard Barker, the ex-CIA agent who recruited gusanos for the Watergate burglary, had testified that only a handful of Cubans were involved in such operations.

But in the CBS interview, Barker says that actually 120 CIA-trained persons took part in what he called "Operation Diamond." This secret gang was set up directly by the White House.

What were they prepared to do? "Any kind of mission," Barker answers. "Re-

member that here in Miami we have every trained group that is needed in a revolution. If you want people superbly trained in explosives, we have them. If you want



CASTRO: His overthrow was the "top priority in the United States Government."

specialists in weapons, we have them. You name them, we got 'em."

When asked if Diamond carried out assassinations or kidnappings, Barker replies with CIA doublethink:

We neutralize. . . . We don't think in terms of kidnap. We don't think in criminal terms. To you, or to us a casing, what you call a casing, to me is a feasibility study. And what you call a burglary, I call it a surreptitious entry, because there's a difference in what you're saying and what I'm saying.

It was the Diamond gang, apparently, that burglarized the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist and that provoked a confrontation at an anti-Vietnam War rally.

Terrorism Today

The gusano terrorists have not stopped their war. There have been dozens of recent bombings and kidnappings. The bombing of a Cuban plane last October killed seventy-three persons, including a Cuban fencing team. A gusano admitted and defended this atrocity to Moyers:

"They were Communist officials. And any kind of Communist officials, whether it's Cuban or whether it's any other nationality . . . should be dealt with the same way."

Orlando Letelier, former Chilean ambas-

sador, was murdered last fall in Washington, D.C., where he was in exile. CBS did not mention the strong indications of gusano involvement in this assassination.

When it came to Washington's role in these latest operations, Moyers displayed naïveté. "There is no reason to believe" that the U.S. is now backing the terrorists, he concluded.

Moyers claim that today's gusano attacks are not government backed is not convincing in light of Bissell's explanation of how things are done so that the president can deny knowledge of operations:

I think it is the duty of a good intelligence officer to make sure that he doesn't do anything that the chief of state doesn't want done or doesn't approve of. And secondly, that he conducts his conversations with the chief of state in such a way that the chief of state can never be proven to have explicitly authorized certain kinds of action.

It is unlikely that the "good intelligence officers" behind today's gusano attacks have suddenly become freelance agents. What's more it is not only the terrorist acts carried out by the exile gangs in Miami that are illegal, but also the heavy weapons they possess. Except for some token gestures, the state and federal governments are not lifting a finger to disarm and jail these terrorists.

In a legal brief defending CIA secrecy—filed in response to the \$40 million suit of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against illegal spying and harassment—the U.S. government claimed that the Fourth International is "a worldwide network which supports revolutionary violence and political terrorism."

Replying to this charge in a legal memorandum, SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes said: "What [it] amounts to in psychological terms is projection, that is, the attribution to others of one's own characteristics."

The CBS documentary on "The CIA's Secret Army" proved this to the hilt. □

Magnetic Cereal Loses Its Attraction

America's multi-billion-dollar prepared food industry is finding that even "nutritious" food additives have their drawbacks.

Kellogg Company, for instance, recently reduced the iron content of its "Frosted Rice" cereal from 25 percent to 10 percent of the government's "recommended daily allowance" after consumers discovered they could move flakes of the cereal around with magnets. Now, Kellogg's says, Frosted Rice cannot be moved with magnets unless "they are very, very strong" (*Wall Street Journal*, June 21, 1977).

The Advancing Independence Struggle in Eritrea

By Ernest Harsch

Since the beginning of the year, the Eritrean liberation forces have made significant gains in their long struggle for Eritrea's independence from Ethiopian rule.

Despite the presence of 25,000 heavily armed Ethiopian troops—about half the Ethiopian army—the Eritrean freedom fighters have captured or surrounded a series of important towns and military camps, further undermining the Ethiopian junta's grip on the territory.

In January, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), one of the two main Eritrean independence organizations, captured the town of Karora near the Sudanese border. The regime in Addis Ababa admitted that it had lost twenty troops during the fighting and that others had fled across the border into the Sudan.

On March 22, Nacfa, the capital of the district of Sahel in northern Eritrea, also fell to the EPLF. It was the first district capital in Eritrea to be freed from Ethiopian control.

The victory at Nacfa was the result of a six-month siege carried out by an EPLF battalion against 700 Ethiopian troops garrisoned there. In a dispatch from Nacfa shortly after its capture, *Washington Post* correspondent Jonathan C. Randal noted that the operation reflected the Eritreans' "ability to mount a complicated siege and fight off three Ethiopian relief efforts—including two parachute drops and an armor-backed, 5,400-man road-opening action."

During the siege, Randal reported, Nacfa's 15,000 residents filtered out of the town to safety, as most of the Ethiopian troops were picked off by Eritreans, leaving only about 200 by the time of the actual takeover. According to the Eritreans, they shot down fifteen Ethiopian aircraft.

Just two weeks later, on April 6, the garrison at Afabet, the last major town in Sahel held by the Ethiopians, was overrun by the EPLF forces. More than 200 Ethiopians were reported killed and 170 captured. Among the prisoners was Col. Abara Tabori, the Ethiopian commander at Afabet. Three days later, the Ethiopians also withdrew from the military post at Elabaret.

The second major Eritrean independence group, the Eritrean Liberation Front-Revolutionary Council (ELF), announced April 22 that it had captured the town of Tessenei, as well as the Ethiopian military camp located there. Tessenei is one of the

most important towns in western Eritrea and its capture gives the ELF control of the main road across the border into the Sudan, from which it receives some of its supplies. The ELF said that it had captured 197 Ethiopian troops and killed "a very big number," including Col. Debede Tessma, the commander at Tessenei.

An ELF representative in Beirut announced May 19 that heavy fighting was under way at Barentu. More than a week later fighting was also reported at Agordat, in central Eritrea. Both towns are on the road toward Keren and Asmara, Eritrea's capital.

Anthony Shaw commented in a report in the June issue of the London monthly *New African Development* that "Ethiopian troop morale appears to have crumbled. . . ."

The growing strength of the independence groups and their mass support among the Eritrean population has been confirmed by several journalists who recently visited the Eritrean-controlled regions of the territory.

Gérard Chaliand, an expert on guerrilla struggles, described the activities of the independence groups in a series of articles in the May 7 and May 8-9 issues of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. According to him, the EPLF now controls all of Sahel and wields considerable influence in the districts of the high plateau region, where Keren and Asmara are located, as well as along the coast of the Red Sea between Massawa and Assab.

The ELF controls the greater part of the two western-most districts, Barka and Gash, and its units are present in all the other districts except Sahel. Chaliand estimated that both groups had between 10,000 and 12,000 troops each.

The smaller Eritrean Liberation Front-People's Liberation Forces (ELF-PLF), which split from the EPLF in March 1976, operates in a section of northern Barka near the Sudanese border. Its 2,000 troops were recruited largely from among Eritrean refugees living in the Sudan.

Chaliand described a column of 200 Ethiopian prisoners of war escorted by Eritrean troops. One of the prisoners, Lieut. Haile Shibeshi, told Chaliand, "The Ethiopian government does not recognize the existence of Ethiopian prisoners in the hands of the enemy. Our position is very delicate. If we are freed, I think we will be court-martialed."

Michael Duffy, who toured the EPLF-

held areas, reported in the June 2 *New York Times*:

On the ground, every turn in the riverbed produces evidence of some new People's Front installation, but everything is so buried or camouflaged that only rocks, scrub trees and open desert can be seen from the air. . . .

The Eritrean soldier is recruited—voluntarily, according to spokesmen—from the province's population of 3.5 million and given nine months' training before being sent to the front lines. He gives every appearance of being part of a well-disciplined army, one far removed from the image of the roving band of guerrillas that formed the initial fighting force more than 15 years ago.

In this army, women serve in every capacity, including in front-line battle.

The liberation movements administer the areas they control as if they were governments, setting up schools, hospitals, workshops, training centers and civil administrations. According to Chaliand, the EPLF has carried out some land reform measures, expropriating a number of large absentee landlords and assisting in the equitable distribution of land in those areas where it has been traditionally communally owned.

According to Randal, whose series of reports from Eritrea appeared in the *Washington Post* from April 30 through May 3, there is considerable political discussion at the EPLF-run schools. He quoted some of the questions that students asked him when he visited one of them:

"Why did the United States give Ethiopia heavy weapons and warplanes and bombs and bullets to kill the Eritrean people?"

"Who killed Malcolm X?"

"When will the United States elect a black President?"

Like young recruits, illiterate peasants and seemingly everyone else in the EPLF-held areas, the 220 boys and 170 girls at the model school absorb large doses of political education. They are lucky to go to schools at all, since outside the Ethiopian-held towns education has largely stopped in Eritrea.

Duffy reported that the Eritrean leaders considered that their goal of independence was within sight. Issaias Afewerki, a leader of the EPLF, told him, "After our successful achievements in the military field, especially with the complete liberation of the Sahel, we are preparing ourselves for another big offensive."

Despite the Ethiopian military junta's claims that it is "socialist," it has consistently rejected the Eritreans' right to self-determination. Head of state Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam has pledged to

maintain the country's "sacred unity" at all costs.

In face of the new Eritrean advances, there are indications that the junta is preparing another major military offensive. Tens of thousands of Ethiopian peasants are reportedly being trained at military camps north of Addis Ababa for a mass march into the territory. A similar effort last year, involving an estimated 125,000 poorly armed and trained peasants, fell apart after the first few skirmishes.

Since 1952, the Ethiopian regime, under both Emperor Haile Selassie and the current military junta, has received aid in its war against the Eritreans from Washington. The American imperialists armed and trained the Ethiopian armed forces, providing \$275 million in military assistance. Since the junta overthrew Selassie in September 1974, Washington has also sold Addis Ababa more than \$150 million worth of American arms.

This close relationship was reduced considerably in April when Washington cut down its aid to the junta. In addition, Addis Ababa closed down a number of American offices and installations in the country.

Since then, Mengistu has visited Moscow, where he was accorded a red-carpet welcome. There have been reports that Soviet arms shipments have started to arrive in Ethiopia.

Washington Post correspondent David B. Ottaway reported in the June 9 issue that, according to Eritrean sources in Khartoum, Moscow approached all three Eritrean independence groups—the ELF, EPLF, and ELF-PLF—with a proposal for a negotiated settlement. According to Osman Saleh Sabbe, the central leader of the ELF-PLF, Moscow proposed a federation with Ethiopia that would give "recognition of a distinctive Eritrean status."

Ottaway reported, "The Soviet proposal was rejected, he [Sabbe] said. Other Eritrean sources here confirmed that all three factions decided independently to refuse outright any solution short of total independence for the former Italian colony and were committed to fighting until the Ethiopian government agrees to this."

The Eritreans' previous experience with "federation" schemes was undoubtedly a factor in their rejection of the Soviet proposal.

After the Italian defeat in Eritrea and Ethiopia in 1941, Eritrea was administered by the British occupation forces, while Addis Ababa and the various imperialist powers maneuvered to gain control of Eritrea. In December 1950, an American scheme for the federation of Eritrea and Ethiopia was adopted, providing for Eritrea's full autonomy with its own constitution and parliament.

However, with American backing, Emperor Selassie ignored the formal provisions of federation, crushed the growing



Christian Science Monitor

Eritrean workers movement, banned all parties opposed to merger with Ethiopia, and then in 1962 forcibly annexed Eritrea as Ethiopia's fourteenth province. Amharic, the language of the dominant Amhara nationality in Selassie's empire, was imposed as the sole official language of Eritrea (most Eritreans speak Tigre, Tigrinya, and Arabic).

It was in response to this assault on Eritrean rights that the Eritrean independence struggle was born. The ELF was formed in 1961. Over the next decade it carried out a series of small-scale guerrilla actions that grew in scope as more and more Eritreans rallied to the independence movement.

One obstacle that hampered the Eritrean freedom fighters for many years was a factional conflict that resulted in armed clashes between various Eritrean groupings. An internal conflict within the ELF resulted in a wave of killings from 1967 to 1969. In 1970 a group led by Issaias Afewerki split away to form the EPLF. From February 1972 to August 1974, a factional war raged between the ELF and EPLF, greatly debilitating the independence struggle as a whole.

In response to the new opportunities after Selassie's overthrow by the military junta in 1974, the ELF and EPLF made several attempts to unify. Although those efforts broke down, the Ethiopian junta's renewed offensive against the independence movement forced the two groups to establish a degree of cooperation on the battlefield against their common enemy.

The EPLF has been frequently described in the Western press as "Marxist," but its leaders reject this characterization. The program adopted at the EPLF's first congress in January 1977 calls for extensive nationalizations, but it also states that the EPLF would "Allow nationals who were not opposed to the independence of Eritrea to participate in national construction through the ownership of small factories and workshops compatible with national development and the system of administration."*

Randal commented:

Both the ELF and EPLF favor a "National Democratic Front," both subscribe to similar leftist platforms calling for the sweeping nationalizations that are common liberation-movement fare.

Both appear dominated by Marxists but officially tolerant of non-Marxists and aware that the country's situation—backward, feudal, largely rural and illiterate—rules out any overnight revolution.

Despite disclaimers by all concerned, the basic differences appear rooted in personalities and rivalry cloaked in claims and counterclaims as to relative size, significance and ideological purity.

The situation was further complicated in March 1976 when Osman Saleh Sabbe, the head of the EPLF's Foreign Mission, split and established the ELF-PLF as a separate organization. The EPLF now refers to the ELF-PLF as a "clique of rightists and opportunist elements."

Although the ELF-PLF only has a limited base within Eritrea, both of the other two groups acknowledge that Sabbe has greater financial resources because of his contacts with various Arab regimes. According to Chaliand, the ELF-PLF gets most of its aid from the regimes in Libya and Saudi Arabia. The ELF also gets some aid from Arab states, principally from those in Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait.

In another attempt to overcome the factional rivalry, the ELF and EPLF signed an agreement May 31 calling for a reunification of all the groups and pledging to work together against the expected Ethiopian offensive. Under the new accords, the ELF is supposed to absorb the ELF-PLF. Both the ELF and EPLF agreed to establish a joint National Democratic Front until independence is achieved.

As the Eritrean independence movement continues to gain strength, it is likely that the American imperialists will attempt to derail the struggle and prevent the development of a real revolutionary challenge to their significant interests in the region. Since several of the Arab regimes aiding some of the Eritrean groups are heavily backed by Washington, their involvement may reflect hidden American efforts to influence the course of the Eritrean struggle.

If that is the aim, Washington may face some difficulties. According to Randal, "the Eritreans are suspicious of the Saudis and their Sudanese surrogates, seeing them as acting for Washington."

And because of the previous American backing to the Ethiopian regime, Duffy reported, "the Eritrean rebels consider the United States a symbol of imperialism, even though they say they have no tie to Marxism. The recent change in attitude in Addis Ababa, toward Moscow and away from Washington, has apparently had no effect on the rebels' outlook." □

*"Eritrean People's Liberation Front National Democratic Program." Unofficial translation from Tigrinya, distributed by Eritreans for Liberation in North America, p. 3.

The American Left Looks at Nuclear Power

Left-wing periodicals and organizations in the United States have begun to take note of the growing movement against nuclear power. This interest has been sparked in large part by the April 30-May 1 construction-site occupation and mass rally against the building of an atomic plant in Seabrook, New Hampshire. These protests resulted in the arrest of 1,414 demonstrators by New Hampshire state police (see *Intercontinental Press*, May 9, p. 527; May 16, p. 558; and May 23, p. 590).

Several radical newspapers limited themselves to news reports on Seabrook, in the course of which they expressed opinions on the new movement. The Workers World party, a semi-Maoist sect headed by Sam Marcy, criticized the leadership of the actions in the May 6 *Workers World* for using "non-violent tactics, refusing to allow militant chanting or any vocal expression of anger."

The *Daily World*, which reflects the views of the Communist party, did not take note of the actions or the arrests until a week after they occurred. A May 7 editorial defending the democratic rights of the protesters noted:

The common denominator of the views of the 1,414 persons, mostly youth, arrested Sunday is the fear of nuclear development in the hands of big business.

A subsequent *Daily World* news article stressed that "a growing number of participants have put forward the anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist outlook."

The *Bulletin*, newspaper of the American wing of the Healyite sect, wrote May 6:

What is being tested out against the middle class protesters at Seabrook is the means of repression that will be used against the upsurge in the labor movement.

Warming up to this theme, the May 10 *Bulletin* said:

This entire police operation, carefully orchestrated by the courts and police agencies, is being directed by the Carter government as a preparation for gestapo tactics to be launched against the working class.

Other groups on the American left have spoken on nuclear power and the movement against it. The June issue of *Revolution*, "Organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA" (the largest American Maoist organization), said, "The main thrust of the demonstration was correct and deserves support." But the RCP went on to note some "limitations in the political lines inside the anti-nuclear movement":

It will not do to point the finger at nuclear power itself. While the technological answers of

how to produce nuclear energy safely are not fully known today, they are not unknowable. In fact nuclear power is a potentially very useful form of energy for the development of society and it is the capitalist system itself which is mainly holding back the development of nuclear and other possibly better and safer forms of energy production. . . .

Under socialism, with the working class in power, research can and will be done to solve these problems because profit will be subordinated to the overall needs of the development of society, which, of course, includes the safety of the people.

The *Guardian*, which reflects the views of unaffiliated Maoists who are critical of Chinese foreign policy, argued in much the same way in a May 4 editorial:

. . . there is nothing "wrong" with nuclear power as such. In fact, its development provides yet another demonstration of how capitalism has outlived its usefulness, since it is capitalism's drive for profits and inherent irrationality that is at the root of the present problem — and not the desirability of nuclear energy itself.

The *Guardian* editors criticized the Clamshell Alliance, which organized the Seabrook occupation:

The alliance is . . . hazy about how to reach the goal of safe, inexpensive energy for the people. It does not place the fight over nuclear power in the context of the larger struggle against monopoly capitalism and the political system supporting it. Rather it attacks the technology itself, not realizing that its goals are unattainable under the present economic system.

Nevertheless, the *Guardian* editors felt that "left and progressive forces must not ignore what is one of the fastest growing mass movements in the country."

The editorial sparked a debate in the

letters column of the *Guardian* that has continued for several weeks. One reader said May 18, "I find your recent stand on nuclear power . . . intolerable."

Another wrote from a New Hampshire armory, "Even if nukes were built in a socialist system and every precaution was made for health and safety, there would still be problems with radioactive waste and terrorism."

The editors replied:

Every technological break-through in social development has been accompanied by dangers previously unknown. The task now before humanity is not the abandonment of nuclear energy but its control.

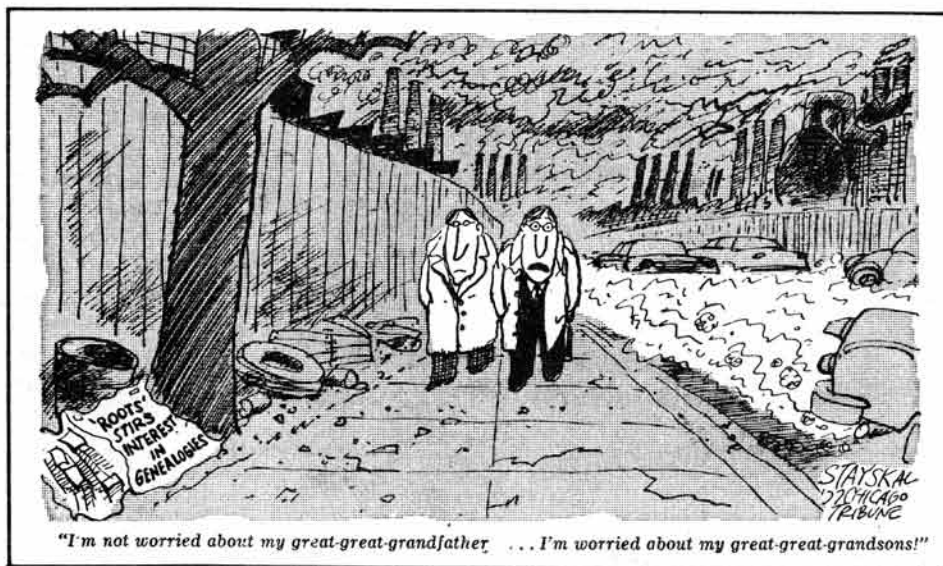
Then on June 8 two more letters were reprinted in the *Guardian*. The first said:

I hope the *Guardian* reconsiders its overall position on nuclear power. People's control of hazardous plants won't make them any less hazardous. And radioactive nuclear plant wastes produced under socialism are no less dangerous than those produced by capitalists.

Another reader said the editors' position was "a good example of left dogmatism." He continued:

. . . I fail to see how socialist countries can deal with the unanswered problem of nuclear waste disposal any better—at this point in history—than can capitalist ones. Perhaps some time in the future, but for now anyone—bourgeoisie or proletariat—still will have to deal with the horrible corrosive and poisonous byproducts which can neither be disposed of nor stored in a safe manner. . . . If your editorial is an example of the kind of analysis Marxists will bring to the antinuclear movement, I am afraid we will only reveal our inability to make "a concrete analysis of concrete conditions."

The Spartacist League (a sect that claims to be Trotskyist) established a position several months before the Seabrook demonstrations. While noting the "very real problems of safety connected with nuclear reactors," Jeff Maxwell wrote in the February 25 issue of *Workers Vanguard*:



As Marxists we generally strongly support the introduction of new technology, including the development, construction and operation of nuclear fission reactors. Certainly proponents of a socialist society based on material abundance have a vastly different viewpoint on this subject than ecological crackpots who in effect seek a return to pre-industrial society.

In West Germany, the Spartacist League sees an "anti-nuclear movement of priests and peasants, ex-student ecofreaks and disgruntled dairy farmers" that is "only a diversion from the task of constructing a revolutionary party in West Germany."

Thus it was not surprising that *Workers Vanguard* called the Clamshell Alliance a "conglomeration of hippies and atavistic muddleheads."

The newspaper did, however, correctly offer support to the protesters' defense against police repression.

The Spartacist League's youth organ, *Young Spartacus*, summed up this group's position on pollution of the environment in its June issue:

Our concern with such [technological] dangers is not predicated upon the "organic" maintenance of some metaphysical "eco-system" in some mythic pristine form, but rather on creating the material basis for the socialist society.

What this "material basis" is to be if the ecosystem is not preserved was not made clear.

The editors of the Social Democratic paper *In These Times* saw "the germ of an emergent American socialism" in the "new phase of struggle portended at Seabrook." They also had this to say about the antinuclear movement:

It has cut across older liberal-conservative-radical, Democratic-Republican, voter-nonvoter lines, with the fundamental principle that the people have the right to control their local economy in a democratic way.

Arnold Weissberg wrote in the May 6 issue of the revolutionary-socialist weekly the *Militant*:

Nuclear power was once touted as the magic solution to our energy needs. But right now it isn't safe. And it won't be safe while it's controlled by the giant corporations.

Only a government genuinely concerned about human lives, not with protecting corporate profits, can be trusted to determine when, how, and if nuclear power can be made safe—a government made up of working people, and responsible to them alone.

In a report from Seabrook, he wrote in the May 13 issue:

The New Hampshire protests were especially significant in light of President Carter's proposal—part of his energy package—to build seventy more light-water nuclear plants like the one planned for Seabrook. . . .

The size of the two demonstrations is a significant dissent from Carter's plans. . . .

"The demonstrations," Weissberg concluded, "were an important step forward in mobilizing the growing sentiment against nuclear power." □

Despite Growing Protest

Australia—Green Light for Uranium Mining

Australia has no nuclear power plants; nor are there plans to construct any, at least at present. But the country also has some of the largest deposits of uranium in the world—a lucrative export potential that mining and financial interests, backed by Malcolm Fraser's conservative coalition government, are anxious to exploit.

But these development efforts have faced strong opposition from environmentalists and from much of the labor movement, including the leadership of the Labor party.

In 1972 the Labor government then in power imposed an embargo on exports from the country's one small mine. In early 1975 the Labor government appointed a commission, headed by Justice Russel Walter Fox, to conduct an inquiry into the uranium industry.

After the Fraser government took this commission's first report last October as a green light to resume exports of uranium, a moratorium campaign was organized. Mass demonstrations to demand a five-year halt to the mining, milling, and processing of uranium drew 20,000 persons on April 1. These actions were supported by many Labor party organizations, and by activists in the Aboriginal movement.

The final report of the Fox commission was released on May 25. Mary Rabbone discussed its conclusions in the June 2 issue of the Australian socialist weekly *Direct Action*:

Like the first Fox report released last October it contains many stipulations which, if adopted by the Fraser Government, will make it harder for the bosses to proceed with uranium mining development, but no outright recommendation against mining. This obviously finally clears the way for the Federal Government to formulate and implement a uranium development policy. . . .

Since coming to power Fraser has continually tried to speed up the inquiry so that mining would not be delayed. The Government's determination to establish a large-scale uranium industry as soon as possible has again been shown by its reaction to the second report.

On the day before the report was made public Fraser announced an 11-point "safeguards" code for export of Australian uranium. This is an obvious attempt to reach an Australian-United States uranium consensus.

An Australian decision in favor of uranium mining is crucial in determining the fate of US President Carter's new nuclear policy (see *Direct Action*, May 19).* This month Fraser will be

*The article referred to, "Carter's Nuclear Policy: What Are the Real Stakes?" by Allen Myers, also appeared in the June 10 issue of the *Militant*, page 19.

meeting Carter in Washington in a meeting centred on this very question.

In its report the commission recommended that mining of uranium proceed only if the "best environmental protection technology available anywhere in the world" is employed. It also urged adoption of measures to protect the interests of Aborigines who inhabit the areas where uranium deposits are located.

Nevertheless, Rabbone says, "There is no guarantee that the safeguards that the report says should be enforced will be brought into effect. Although they are strict and will cost mining companies a lot of money they did not think they would be forced to spend, they will not deter the companies."

The lead editorial in the same issue of *Direct Action* explains that "once mining has begun it will become increasingly easy for the companies to have the restrictions removed, or simply to evade them."

Besides, the editors note, "even if the recommended restrictions were observed, the mining of uranium would not be 'safe.' The uranium will be used in reactors around the world—reactors which produce constantly increasing quantities of deadly poisons for which there is no means of disposal.

"Uranium is a deadly threat to human life," they conclude. "The Fox report should be rejected. No to uranium mining!"

Stalinists Say 'Yes' to Uranium Mining

The Socialist Party of Australia (SPA), the pro-Moscow Stalinist party, has been distributing a leaflet entitled, "The March of the Peaceful Atom" at meetings of opponents of uranium mining.

The tract quotes Dr. Andranik Petrosyants, Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Atomic Energy:

"We live in the midst of constant dangers, but have learnt how to guard against them. Controlled peaceful utilisation of atomic energy within scientifically established limits involves no danger from radiation. . . ."

The SPA adds: "On the subject of reactor safety, Dr. Petrosyants believes it is impossible to completely exclude the possibility of such emergency situations. But over the long years of the service of many hundreds of research, power and industrial atomic generators such breakdowns have not been registered in a single country."

Robert Langston: 'Educator, Comrade and Friend'

By Susan Wald

Robert Langston, a member of the Socialist Workers Party for eleven years, died of a heart attack in Paris on June 10. He was forty-four years old.

Members and sympathizers of the SWP attended a memorial meeting June 26 at the Community Church in New York City to pay tribute to Langston and his many contributions to building the revolutionary-socialist movement. About 175 people were present. The meeting was chaired by Linda Jenness, a former presidential candidate of the SWP.

The first speaker, James Morgan, a member of the Upper West Side, New York branch of the SWP, and a longtime personal friend of Langston, recounted how Langston had recruited him to socialism in the early 1960s and eventually to the SWP.

"Bob never pushed himself forward as an organizational leader, but he did want to play a leading role in the education of cadres and anyone interested in Trotskyist ideas," Morgan said. "He was always ready to answer anyone's question, no matter how basic."

Dick Roberts, a staff writer for the *Militant* and a member of the SWP National Committee, spoke of Langston's role in the Alexander Defense Committee, a group that was formed in 1965 to build support and raise funds for an imprisoned Black South African freedom fighter. Langston collaborated in this work with another member of the SWP, Berta Green, who later became his wife.

Roberts also described Langston's role as a staff writer for the *Militant* from 1968 to 1970. He said that Langston had "an encyclopedic mind," and that he was a conscientious and rigorous thinker. Because of this, he often had difficulty committing his ideas to paper, which accounts for the fact that so little of his extensive grasp of Marxist economic theory was reflected in his written output.

Alan Wald, an assistant professor of English at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, and the author of the forthcoming book *The Radical Years of James T. Farrell*, also spoke of Langston's intellectual qualities.

He said that Langston was the type of person who possessed a "natural erudition," but "didn't parade his knowledge."

"Bob's life could most accurately be described . . . as one long search for knowledge and truth," Wald said.

John Barzman, a member of the SWP National Committee, said that Langston



Howard Petrick/Militant

ROBERT LANGSTON

"embodied the qualities of a genuine revolutionary intellectual who has given himself to the revolution. No aspect of party activity was foreign to him."

He added, "whenever I came to a national demonstration Bob was there. Most recently he was marching with the party at the Boston demonstration [in May 1975] in defense of busing."

Joanna Misnik, a participant in the production of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly publication of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, spoke warmly of Langston and his talents.

She described Langston's role in helping the ideas of revolutionary Marxism to take root in other parts of the world. He "understood the need for the Fourth International," she said, and recalled his travels to Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon to gain a better understanding of the problems of the Arab revolution.

Messages to the meeting from leaders of the Fourth International testified to Langston's lively interest in building a world party of socialist revolution.

Ernest Mandel, an internationally known Marxist economist, and a leader of the Fourth International, wrote that Langston "could have made an outstanding contribution to the development of Marxist economic theory" had his untimely death not intervened. Mandel added, "Let us

honor his memory by defending with the utmost energy the unity and integrity of our world movement."

Pierre Frank, a leader of the Revolutionary Communist League of France and a member of the United Secretariat, called Langston's death "a great loss."

Messages were also received from Tariq Ali on behalf of the Political Committee of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International; Karolyn and Tom Kerry of the SWP; the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Marxist Group, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Québec; the Marxist Education Collective in New York City, and others.

The keynote talk was given by George Novack, a noted Marxist philosopher, author, and longtime leader of the SWP. Speaking for the SWP Political Committee, he drew a portrait of Langston as an "educator, comrade, and dependable friend."

As an intellectual with "a searching critical intelligence" and an impressive "range of knowledge in the fields of contemporary thought," educated at Harvard and the University of Heidelberg, Langston could have devoted his life to achieving personal recognition through an academic career, Novack said. Instead, he was won over to the cause of the proletarian revolution. "He wanted a rational, humane, egalitarian society and applied himself to the best of his ability to promote that goal through the Socialist Workers Party and the world party of socialist revolution."

Novack also spoke of his long-standing personal friendship with Langston, and expressed his gratitude for Langston's generosity, which had made it possible to publish many of his own contributions to Marxist theory.

Novack described how Langston became drawn to Marxism through his studies in philosophy in Germany in the late 1950s.

"In the academic atmosphere there a serious student might move either toward the existentialist metaphysics of Martin Heidegger or to Marxism by way of assimilating Hegel's dialectics in a materialist manner. Bob took the second course. . . ."

"Upon returning to Oklahoma City he entered the Socialist Party at a time when Cuba provided the touchstone of the attitude of every radical toward American imperialism and the socialist revolution. With the reflex of a true internationalist, Bob was repelled by the counterrevolutionary stand of the SP on this issue as well as by its low ideological level. This sent him in search of a political organization that was genuinely Marxist and so he came to the door of the SWP."

In ending his tribute Novack said: "As a convinced materialist and atheist, Bob would not have wanted his comrades and friends to indulge in fictitious consolations

for his premature end, which has come as so much of a jolt to us all. He would, however, have the right to ask that our movement steadfastly pursue the path he took with us toward human liberation as it has been charted by the founders and

teachers of our world movement from Marx to Trotsky.

"That course would match his hopes. And that, Bob, we pledge to do."

The meeting closed with the singing of the *Internationale*. □

CPI Backs Crackdown on Unionists

Striking Mine Workers Gunned Down in India

Indian police fired into a demonstration by striking mine workers in the state of Madhya Pradesh June 3, killing ten persons and wounding at least fifteen others. Two of those who died were children. The following day a ban on all public rallies was imposed in the vicinity of the Dilli-Rajahara iron mines.

The striking miners and their supporters, numbering about 3,000, had gathered to protest the arrest of Shanker Guha Niyogi. Niyogi is a trade-union leader who has been charged with being a "Naxalite," a term frequently applied to alleged members or sympathizers of the Maoist Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist).

A report by N.K. Singh in the June 11 issue of the *Bombay Economic and Political Weekly* described the events leading up to Niyogi's arrest and the massacre of the striking workers.

According to Singh, the Dilli-Rajahara mines are owned by the nearby Bhilai steel plant. Some sections of the mines are run by private contractors, in violation of a government directive issued in 1971. But since almost all of the contractors were members of the Congress Party, which ruled India until March of this year, they were able to use their political influence to prevent implementation of the directive.

The wages paid by the contractors were much lower than those paid to mine workers employed directly by the Bhilai steel plant. In addition, the contractors employed a private army of thugs to keep the workers in line.

The recognized union, the Samyukta Khadan Mazdoor Sangh, collaborated with the contractors and the steel plant management in helping to maintain the contract labor system. The union is affiliated to the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), which is dominated politically by the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI).

According to Singh, Niyogi, himself a mine worker in the area, began to organize the workers against this system and established a new union called the Chhatisgarh Shramik Sangh.

"Although the union was not recognised

by the management," Singh reported, "Niyogi led many successful agitations and forced the contractors to accept a number of long-pending demands of the workers. Workers began to desert the recognised but inactive AITUC union and join Niyogi's non-recognised but active union."

In 1970 the authorities charged Niyogi with being a "Naxalite," arrested him, and sent him to prison along with thousands of other alleged "Naxalites." He was not released until February 1977, after Prime Minister Indira Gandhi announced that

she would hold elections.

"There was very strong discontentment among the workers," Singh said, "and as soon as Niyogi reappeared on the scene a majority of the workers shifted their allegiance to the Chhatisgarh Shramik Sangh, which gave a call for strike in support of its demand for abolition of the contract labour system, payment of bonus, and allied issues."

The first strike by the workers lasted two weeks. Homi Daji, the general secretary of the Madhya Pradesh AITUC, claimed, "Most of their demands were unrealistic, which could not be met."

On June 1, the Chhatisgarh Shramik Sangh launched another strike. The following day the president of the recognized AITUC union, who was also a leader of the CPI, addressed a news conference in Raipur where he charged that "Naxalites" had carried out "a reign of terror" in the area. He called on the authorities to intervene in the "explosive situation."

The district authorities promptly arrested Niyogi and at least five of his associates for making "inflammatory speeches and inciting the workers." The mine workers responded to the arrests with their demonstration, leading to the massacre.

Singh reported that at the time of writing, the mine workers strike was still continuing. □

Another Stunning Defeat for Gandhi

In legislative assembly elections in ten of India's twenty-two states June 15, the voters reaffirmed their massive opposition to Indira Gandhi's Congress Party, which was defeated in the national parliamentary elections in March after ruling India for thirty years. About 60 percent of India's population lives in the ten states where elections were held.

The Janata Party, which now rules the country on the federal level, consolidated the gains it made in the March elections to the Lok Sabha (lower house of Parliament). It won control of eight of the ten state assemblies, those in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, Himachel Pradesh, Bihar, and Rajasthan.

In the southern state of Tamil Nadu, the elections were won by the All-India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (All-India Dravidian Advancement Association [Anna]), a Dravidian nationalist party.

In West Bengal, the Communist Party of India (Marxist), a Stalinist party aligned with neither Moscow nor Peking, won an absolute majority, taking 178 seats in the 294-seat assembly. The five-party electoral coalition led by the CPI(M) won 229 seats altogether. Both the Janata Party and the Congress Party trailed far behind.

Shortly after taking office as the new chief minister in West Bengal, CPI(M) leader Jyoti Basu announced an amnesty for all political prisoners. Most of the political prisoners still in jail are Naxalites, a term applied to alleged members or supporters of the Maoist Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). Satya Narain Singh, a leader of one of the factions of the Naxalite movement, said that his group would offer "critical support" to the CPI(M) coalition regime.

In addition, Naxalites ran in the elections for the first time, winning one of the three seats they contested.

Mohan Ram, a historian of the Indian Communist movement, commented in a report in the June 17 *Christian Science Monitor* that the CPI(M) now appeared to be the strongest Communist party in India, since the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI) was badly defeated as a result of its close alliance with the Congress Party.

Ram also observed, "According to analysts, the verdict of the state elections is more against the Congress than for the Janata Party, noting that wherever there was a credible third force, the people voted for it." □

Concerning Defense of the Soviet Union

[In our April 18 issue (pp. 410-11), we published an article by Joseph Hansen entitled "Back to Secrecy in Disarmament Talks," which was reprinted by the *Militant*, a socialist weekly published in New York.

[One of the *Militant's* readers, Morris Starsky, sent a letter to the editor, calling attention to what was to him a confusing passage. He explained his reasons for coming to this conclusion and asked for Hansen's comments.

[Because the subject may be of interest to our readers, we are reprinting Starsky's letter together with Hansen's reply. The documents are taken from the June 24 issue of the *Militant*.]

* * *

In an otherwise clear and well-argued article by Joseph Hansen (see "Washington & Moscow return to secrecy in disarmament talks," *Militant*, April 29, 1977), there is a very confusing passage. At least I am confused by it.

The passage says, "Seated on their stockpiles of nuclear arms, either of which is capable of destroying all human beings many times over, Carter and Brezhnev are haggling over items that do not affect their

overall death-dealing capacities. . . . Clearly it would be a fatal policy to rely on either Washington or Moscow to halt the arms race and dismantle their nuclear stockpiles."

Is writer Hansen's position with respect to nuclear disarmament "a plague on both your houses"? Let me make my question clear by stating several opinions I hold and asking writer Hansen to comment on them.

A workers state, even a degenerated or a deformed workers state, has the abstract right to defend itself militarily from imperialist attack.

The Soviet Union has indeed the *concrete need* to arm itself fully within the limits of its resources in defense of its existence.

The United States has not and cannot abandon its long-range goal of restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Although the motives of the Stalinist rulers of the Soviet Union are counterrevolutionary through and through, and their use of the Soviet Union's military might is premised on the policy of "peaceful coexistence" (class collaboration), the *blame* for both the arms race and the failure of any meaningful disarmament talks must fall squarely on the shoulders of U.S. imperialism.

Morris Starsky
Cleveland, Ohio

Comments by Joseph Hansen

The question goes deeper than agreeing that the *blame* for the arms race and the failure of meaningful disarmament talks falls on U.S. imperialism. The capitalist system is expansionist and aggressive because of its insatiable thirst for profits, whereas no such compulsion operates in a planned economy. However, the question remains—in assigning *blame* should the Kremlin go scot-free?

Let us recall that Stalin showed in practice how little the bureaucratic caste can be relied upon in organizing the defense of the Soviet Union. Stalin in fact paved the way for Hitler.

Let us pursue this line of thought further. The world Trotskyist movement has never wavered in its defense of the Soviet Union (and the other workers states) against imperialist attack. It has sought to make that defense as effective as possible. On that premise it has never defended the parasitism or the special privileges seized by the bureaucracy. What

the Trotskyists have defended is the proletarian basis of the workers state (expropriation of private property in the means of production, monopoly of foreign trade, economic planning). This has meant *opposing the bureaucracy*, which explains why the Trotskyists are so feared and so savagely persecuted by the Kremlin.

The defense of the workers states occurs on two levels, *political* and *military*. Of these the political is the more important by far.

However, let us consider the military defense first, since this is the predominant level in the current SALT talks and in the bourgeois estimates of the meaning of these talks.

On the issue of nuclear bombs, what constitutes an adequate number? It appears to me that a stockpile large enough to obliterate humanity *once* marks a natural quantitative limit so far as use values are concerned.

This natural limit on military needs

might be designated Armageddon One.

In the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons, a process that is being advanced at a truly American pace, Armageddon One offers possibilities as the point that rational beings might select for converting quality into quantity; that is, reducing the number of bombs in consonance with their rise in destructiveness. Under this sliding scale, the total death-dealing capability of each side would remain constant. Neither state could go above Armageddon One without violating the contract.

The logical end of the nuclear arms race would thus be possession by each side of a single device capable of achieving Armageddon One no matter where it was exploded.

But the fact is that each side possesses a stockpile much larger than needed to wipe out all human beings once. Both have stockpiles sufficient to obliterate humanity many times over. The figure may be hundreds of times over to believe some estimates.

Yet in a madness that has no equal in human history the nuclear arms race continues. "Military defense" has obviously become meaningless in terms of saving a country from the most terrible catastrophe imaginable—its extinction.

To me it appears quite clear that the Kremlin, by participating in this mindless race, is dealing terrible blows against the defense of the Soviet Union. For no matter how huge the Kremlin's stockpile might be or how accurate its delivery systems, the Soviet Union cannot escape the fate of the rest of humanity once the bombs begin to be exchanged.

Now let us turn to the political defense of the workers states. This means above all mobilizing popular support.

Among the poverty-stricken masses of the world, the Soviet Union is still favored against the imperialist powers. This precious asset stems from the fact that the Soviet Union originated in a revolution that overthrew capitalist property forms, enabling backward Russia to advance to the status of the second strongest world power in a matter of decades. The victory over the German imperialist invasion in the Second World War enhanced this favorable image in the eyes of the masses.

The best possible defense of the Soviet Union (and of the other workers states) is to further establish the superiority of planned economy over the anarchy of capitalism, and to demonstrate its inherent capacity to expand democracy in a way never experienced under capitalism, making possible a great new flowering of science, literature, art.

But the bureaucracy, by blocking optimum economic planning, by diverting huge sums in the form of special privileges, by defending its positions with monstrous repressive measures, stands squarely in the way of converting the

Soviet Union into a shining example with enormous political appeal to the oppressed masses everywhere.

The injury to the defense of the Soviet Union is enormous. The Kremlin forgoes—in fact rejects—active support of the masses. It seeks to restrain or divert them from carrying out a socialist revolution in their own countries that could bring about a definitive victory: the replacement of capitalism by socialism on a world scale.

The Kremlin favors class-collaborationist deals with the main imperialist powers in which it plays the role of leading—or trying to lead—anticapitalist forces to their doom.

The Kremlin's practice of class collaboration thus emerges as deadly sabotage of the defense of the Soviet Union.

If we now place within this political context the Kremlin's policy of haggling with Carter over relatively insignificant details in the nuclear arms race, it is clear that Brezhnev must be blamed for failing to seize the initiative on disarmament, an issue of great importance in exposing Carter's imperialist objectives. Brezhnev is to be blamed all the more because he permitted the new White House demagogue to appear as the proponent of reducing nuclear stockpiles although he is completely committed to stepping up the nuclear arms race.

Brezhnev even permitted Carter to leave the impression that Moscow—not Washington—believes that an astronomical nuclear stockpile is a military imperative.

Had Brezhnev challenged Carter to join him in reducing nuclear stockpiles to a maximum capability of destroying humanity only *once*, it appears to me that Carter would have had some difficulty in replying. Naturally, it would have been preferable if Brezhnev had proposed in addition a schedule leading at short intervals to a one-half capability, one-fourth, one-eighth, and so on. Why shouldn't rapid decay rates be imposed on stockpiles of nuclear arms?

But Brezhnev will not do that. Nor Carter. "Clearly it would be a fatal policy to rely on either Washington or Moscow to halt the arms race and dismantle their nuclear stockpiles."

Cannon Published in Italian

An Italian translation of *The First Ten Years of American Communism* by James P. Cannon, founder of the Socialist Workers Party, has appeared. The book was advertised, among other places, in a prominent place in the Sunday, June 19, issue of *Corriere della Sera*, Italy's leading newspaper.

The Italian title is *I Primi Dieci Anni del PC Americano*. The price is 3,500 lire (US\$3.96). The publisher is Jaca Books.

French Farmers Battle A-Plant

Protests Free Five Antinuclear Activists

Cheers and applause broke out in the packed courtroom on June 15, when a Rennes Appeals Court ordered the release of five farmers sentenced on June 10 to eight months in prison with six months' suspended sentence.

The five were accused of having taken part in a demonstration in the nearby village of Couëron on June 2 against the proposed construction of a nuclear power plant at Le Pellerin, a small town fifteen kilometers from Nantes on France's Atlantic coast.

During the demonstration, a group of about thirty-five persons entered the mayor's office in Couëron, removed a copy of a public-interest study that had been designed to pave the way for construction of the plant, and took it to the marketplace, where it was burned.

The arrests aroused a storm of protest. Fifteen hundred demonstrators picketed the courtroom in Nantes where the sentences were handed down. Four days later, on June 14, 2,000 persons took part in a demonstration in Nantes called by three trade-union federations and several agricultural workers' organizations.

The demonstrations, as well as protests from French scientists, forced the courts to back down. All charges were dropped against one of the defendants, while the sentences of the others were completely suspended.

The convictions were handed down under the "antiwreckers" law, a piece of witch-hunt legislation passed in 1970 that makes all persons participating in a demonstration criminally responsible for any property damage that may occur.

The defendants, four men and one woman aged twenty-nine to forty-five, were well-known activists who had been involved in struggles of agricultural workers against the expropriation of sharecroppers. Arrested and indicted on June 3, they were held in prison for one week before being brought to trial.

The defendants made no statements at the trial except to say that they were "in solidarity with the antinuclear struggle."

The Le Pellerin nuclear power station has been hotly contested since it was first proposed by Electricité de France (EDF), the state-owned power utility. The municipal administrations of the twelve towns within a twenty-kilometer radius of the proposed site have expressed their opposition by refusing to accept the public interest study. In some cases the documents had to be forcibly filed in the mayors' offices by the police. In one town, residents barricaded the entrance to the

mayor's office so that the police were forced to set up a "mayoral annex" in a police van parked outside.

Opposition stems mainly from the fact that the site chosen for the plant is in a heavily populated area, with 450,000 persons living within a twenty-kilometer radius.

In addition, opponents charge that the public interest study covers up the real dangers to the population represented by the plant.

On the day of the trial, the Association of Scientists for Information on Nuclear Energy, which has called the proposed Le Pellerin site "one of the worst in the world," issued an appeal condemning the convictions.

The statement, signed by more than 200 scientists and published in the June 15 *Le Monde*, said:

"Not content to ignore the law on preservation of the environment, and to allow EDF to begin construction at the sites without having obtained authorization for the facility, the authorities have shown their contempt for the public . . . and are resorting to an escalation of repression. . . ."

"These five persons have been convicted as an example. Outraged, we demand their release." □

Ethiopian Students in Moscow Protest Massacres by Mengistu

More than forty Ethiopian students studying in the Soviet Union demonstrated outside Moscow's Patrice Lumumba University June 13 to protest the mass killings of dissidents in Ethiopia by the military junta headed by Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam.

The students said that most of them were supporters of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party, an underground group that has been the main target of government repression in the Addis Ababa area.

They charged that Mengistu was planning to extend this crackdown to Ethiopian dissidents studying abroad. The protesters said that the Soviet authorities, who have given their political backing to the Mengistu regime, have been asked by Addis Ababa to hand over the most militant Ethiopian students studying in the Soviet Union.

The demonstrators said that the day before, a twenty-year-old woman student had been given an air ticket and visa and was told by the authorities to return to Ethiopia.

LSO Stand on Québec Language Bill

[The following statement by the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (Socialist Workers League) was submitted to the Parliamentary Commission on Bill No. 1. It was published in the June issue of *Libération*, a Montréal monthly newspaper that presents the view of the LSO. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action (LSO/LSA) is a binational organization fighting for an independent socialist Québec. We support the struggle for the language rights of the French-speaking people, both in Québec and in English Canada.

We are in agreement with the principle expressed in the white paper on Québec's French-language policy: "The Québec we want to build will be essentially French. The fact that the majority of Québec's population is French will at last be clearly visible: on the job, in the media, in the landscape. . . . There will no longer be any question, then, of a bilingual Québec."

We are, therefore, deeply committed to the struggle for a French Québec. However, we do not believe that the Québécois can achieve this goal through Bill No. 1.

The white paper rejects the notion that English speakers have "established rights" in Québec, and rightly so, because these "rights" are privileges that have been won and maintained with the help of the confederation.

The English-speaking minority benefits from maintaining the oppression of the French-speaking majority. Even English-speaking workers have privileges relative to French-speaking workers. English speakers have access to better jobs, better schools, better hospitals, and so on. The network of English-speaking hospitals, schools, radio and television stations, and so on, is part of the "established rights" of the English speakers.

Getting rid of these "established rights" does not mean getting rid of or driving out the English speakers, as some of them fear. It is simply a question of abolishing their privileges.

But the white paper does not propose to abolish these privileges; it supports the maintenance of all these institutions, at the expense of French speakers.

The latest census, taken in 1971, showed that 3,000 persons had become French speaking in Québec over the last ten years, while 99,000 persons had become English speakers.

These figures eloquently describe the situation. The rights of French speakers have been trampled on. Special measures are necessary to turn this around. The French language and Québécois culture are clearly under attack. This is in no sense true of English.

The white paper lumps all "minority groups" together. However, being a member of a minority does not necessarily mean being oppressed.

French speakers, whether in the minority in English Canada, or the majority in Québec, suffer national oppression.

The Inuits, Indians, and Blacks are victimized by the racism of this society. And certain ethnic groups, such as the Italians and Greeks, suffer discrimination.

But English speakers in Québec are treated best of all, even though they are a minority. The Québécois are simply demanding that their language be given the same status as that enjoyed by the language of the majority in most other countries.

The maintenance of the English public school system, as proposed by Bill No. 1, is unacceptable.

The white paper points out: "As the language of business, and often a job requirement, as the language of social advancement, English holds an understandable attraction for immigrants." If given the choice, nearly all English speakers, a good number of immigrants, and a sizable minority of French speakers who are eligible to attend English schools, as proposed by Bill No. 1, will continue to do so.

This proposal maintains the division between English speakers on one hand, and recent immigrants and French speakers on the other. Such a law would discriminate against French speakers, who are the only ones who would be denied access to "advancement" on the job.

As long as English public schools exist, the employers will have an excuse for giving preference to those who have been educated through English.

As the only equitable solution to this dilemma, the LSO calls for establishing a single public school system, secular and French, for everyone. Various trade-union bodies, such as the Québec Teachers Federation and the Confederation of National Trade Unions, have also adopted positions along these lines.

Representatives of the Italian community and other ethnic groups have declared their willingness to accept this type of

school system.

Of course, a transition period will be necessary. The government must make every effort to make it easier for English speakers to learn French, by instituting French courses for those now enrolled in the English school system, as well as for all adults who wish to take advantage of them.

English could be taught as an elective second language. Under these circumstances, many persons would probably decide to learn English, which is an important language elsewhere in North America. Others, perhaps, would prefer to learn Spanish, the language of the majority of the population in the Americas. But they would study these other languages voluntarily, and not because they were forced to learn them.

French—the Language of Work

On the basis of 1971 census statistics, a study recently conducted by Professor François Villaincourt of the University of Montréal shows that French speakers still suffer linguistic oppression.

According to this study, French speakers are at the bottom of the wage scale. This represents an erosion of their position relative to 1961.

Even those French speakers who are *bilingual* earned 19% less than *unilingual* English speakers in 1971. English speakers made up 14 percent of the population, but held 31 percent of the administrative positions.

But the steps proposed by Bill No. 1, aimed at making French the language of work, are very vague and ineffective.

Bill No. 1 proposes setting up tripartite committees (made up of government, employers, and workers) to settle the problems of applying the law. The LSO thinks that workers should supervise application of the law, and that they should have the right to strike when faced with linguistic discrimination.

The draft law proposes farcical fines, up to \$5,000, for companies that disobey the law. We think that it would be better to nationalize the corporations that refuse to carry out the changeover to French. No exceptions should be made for corporation headquarters, as proposed by the bill.

The banks and corporations that take their capital out of Québec should also be nationalized. If Power Corporation, the Royal Bank, Sun Life, Pratt & Whitney, CIL, Bell Canada, and so on, refuse to accept workers who speak French on the job, nationalize them! Let's put a stop to the blackmail tactics of these companies and their "economic terrorism"!

These are a few examples of the steps proposed by the LSO. But the struggle against linguistic oppression cannot be separated from the struggle for national and social liberation. As long as Québec is ruled by Canadian and American imperialism, the Québécois will be oppressed and

their rights will be trampled under foot.

In the last analysis, the Parti Québécois government acts in the interests of the capitalists. The workers are the only class capable of successfully waging the struggle for real independence and socialism.

This is why the LSO is participating in

the campaign to get the unions to launch a labor party, a party capable of leading the struggle for independence and for a workers' government.

In addition to taking immediate steps toward forming such a party, the unions should take the lead in the struggle for

national and language rights. They should organize public meetings and street demonstrations to answer the chauvinist campaign aimed at denying the Québécois their right to self-determination.

Such actions will contribute most to achieving the goal of a French Québec. □

Trotskyist Militant Among Victims

Chiapas Police Kidnap and Torture Medical Strikers

[The following article is scheduled to be published in the June 26-July 10 issue of *Clave*, a fortnightly newspaper published in Mexico City. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

On June 8, three physicians were kidnapped in Tuxtla Gutiérrez, in the state of Chiapas. They are Rolando Ruiz Cepeda, of the Regional Hospital of Tuxtla; José Fernando Miranda, of the Hospital of San Cristóbal de las Casas; and Jaime Page, a resident of Huixtlán.

These three militants are leaders of the movement of interns and residents in the social service (unpaid work, obligatory for all medical-school graduates) in Chiapas. They are also members of the National Representative Council of the National Union of Interns and Medical School Graduates in Social Service (UNMISSE).

Rolando Ruiz is also a member of the Liga Socialista [a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Mexico].

The three were kidnapped as they were leaving a cafeteria. Several armed men forced them to get into an automobile. In reply to the comrades' questions, the kidnapers identified themselves as members of the Judicial Police, whose identity badges they were wearing.

The comrades were blindfolded and driven around in circles. Then they were brought to a police hideout, where the police proceeded to beat and torture Rolando Ruiz. They made him get back in the car, and drove him to Cañón del Sumidero, where they threatened to push him off. The police kept their fingers on the triggers of their guns the whole time, to make him think they were about to kill him.

After severely beating Rolando, they made all three get back in the car for an eight-hour trip. They were finally turned loose in Tierra Blanca, in Veracruz, on June 10.

What was behind this kidnapping?

The doctors' movement in Chiapas reached its high point on June 4, when the interns and doctors in the social service went out on strike. Their main demand was for better medical services and facilities in Chiapas, since supplies and facilities necessary for the care of patients were virtually nonexistent.

Since better health care is obviously felt by those needing medical attention, the movement received broad support from trade-union and peasant organizations in the area. In addition, graduates of the teachers college and the state Faculty of Medicine expressed their solidarity with the struggle.

Every day, approximately 20,000 leaflets were printed and distributed in Tuxtla. Information about the strike was also distributed in San Cristóbal, Comitán, and other areas.

On the day of the kidnapping, a rally held in Tuxtla was attended by hundreds of persons.

The kidnapping of Ruiz, Miranda, and Page was obviously intended to decapitate the struggle and crush it by means of terror. The police partly succeeded in this because the movement lost its cohesiveness. The strike was called off, having won the demand for a student library and a few other minor concessions relating to better patient care.

In this sense, the kidnapping was a lesson in how the government "takes care of" movements that challenge its policies.

However, the kidnapping had another purpose as well. During the interrogation and tortures to which Rolando Ruiz Cepeda was subjected, he was asked mostly about other members of the Liga Socialista in Chiapas, and about activities of the LS.

It should be explained that the LS is the only political organization that exists in Chiapas, and that it has begun to win some influence through its work in the student movement.

The police thought they had a chance to kill two birds with one stone. While crushing the doctors' movement, they

could intimidate members of the LS, and discourage anyone else from trying to form a political organization.

The police were unable to bring any charges against the three kidnapping victims or the members of the LS. This is why they did not arrest them and bring them into court, but instead kidnapped them surreptitiously and beat them in hidden dungeons.

These methods, modeled after the Brazilian "death squads," will become more and more common if we do not expose them. Each time they will claim more victims. They have already begun to carry out political assassinations, like that of Alfonso Peralta. Now they are trying to employ the tactic of kidnappings and beatings.

Responsibility for the current climate of political violence rests solely with the government. It was the government that first used violence against those who were struggling for the rights and liberties of the Mexican people. It is the government that has orchestrated the repression against the electrical workers, blackmail of the telephone workers, the suspension of rights in Oaxaca, and the invasion of the university campuses. And it is the government that must be held responsible for the actions of the Judicial Police.

This time the criminals can easily be identified, because the president of the republic or the attorney general can readily ascertain which elements of the Chiapas Judicial Police were responsible for the kidnapping and tortures.

The fact that those guilty have not yet been apprehended and punished reveals the government's complicity in this crime. The president of the republic or the attorney general must reveal the names of the Judicial Police officers who kidnapped the three leaders and tortured Rolando Ruiz.

This is an absolute necessity if the much-vaunted "political reform" is to be carried out. Or does the government perhaps intend to legalize political parties so that their members can be tracked down and killed? □

Chronicle of Current Events

Reviewed by Marilyn Vogt



At the Kirov factory in Leningrad in 1976, 400 workers held a three-day slowdown to protest the factory administration's mistreatment of prisoners who worked there.¹ This is one of the reports contained in issue number 42 of *A Chronicle of Current Events*.

The *Chronicle*, an underground journal that reports protests of Soviet dissidents, publicizes instances of repression, and publishes writings prohibited by the Stalinist censors, does not as a rule contain reports on job actions by workers. This is due to the difficulty of communicating under a totalitarian regime and also to a certain isolation of intellectuals from workers.

Other reports in this issue include the following:

Hospitalized for Songs. Peter Starchik, former political prisoner in a psychiatric

Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytiy—A Chronicle of Current Events (Russian-language samizdat journal from the USSR), no. 42, October 8, 1976. Available in booklet form with index from Khronika Press, 505 Eighth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10018.

hospital, was rehospitalized in September 1976 for organizing "evenings of songs" in his apartment. Ruled "socially dangerous" because he "composed anti-Soviet songs" and "organized gatherings of suspicious persons," he is still "hospitalized," although more than 100 Moscow friends and acquaintances signed a petition for his release.

The Case of Pavel Bashkirov. Bashkirov was arrested June 23, 1976, en route to Siberia to visit imprisoned civil-rights defender Andrei Tverdokhlebov. Bashkirov was carrying tapes, photographs, and uncensored literature with him when he was arrested, which got him a term of one and a half years in a labor camp on

1. The Kirov factory was formerly called the Putilov factory, according to the *Chronicle*. The Putilov factory was a giant plant with 40,000 workers, the center of militant activity in 1905 and throughout 1917. Its workers went over to the Bolsheviks at the time of the revolution.

charges of anti-Soviet slander.

Arrests, Searches, Interrogations. The slogan "Down with the Party Bourgeoisie," "Free Andrei Tverdokhlebov," "Free the Political Prisoners," and others appeared in large letters on trolley cars and on buildings in Leningrad in early and late 1976. The police made spot checks of cars and pedestrians, examining suspicious packages in a search for the offending paint.

In August, as the search intensified, Leningrad was overrun for several days with Interior Ministry troops, police, KGB patrols, and militarized guards.

A month later, the dastardly crime was pinned on four young Leningrad dissident artists, who were charged with "defacing cultural monuments" and "defacing public property." According to the March 21, 1977, issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, two of the artists received sentences of six and seven years.

The apartment of dissident Marxist Vladimir Borisov in Leningrad and that of his wife Irina Kaplun in Moscow were searched September 13, 1976. A large amount of uncensored literature was confiscated. In addition, the police confiscated Borisov's homemade printing equipment.

On September 21, Borisov called a news conference and defended his right to make and keep printing equipment to facilitate the free exchange of information. He was supported at the news conference by several other dissidents.

Persecution of Ilya Levin. After this Leningrad philologist's application for emigration to Israel was denied in January 1976, he suffered intensified petty harassment. He was followed by the secret police, stopped on the street and searched, and taken in for questioning, during which his eyeglasses and shoelaces were confiscated.

The Arrest of Gennady Trifonov. In 1967, when Trifonov was in the army, the authorities informed him that charges of homosexuality would be raised against him unless he agreed to become a secret police informer. Under such pressure, he consented.

In 1973, when his appeal to be allowed to cease this role was denied, he attempted suicide, after which he lost his job and was released from informer duties.

Subsequently, he was again pressured to resume informer activities. Methods of persuasion employed included beatings and confinement in psychiatric hospitals. He refused.

In the latter part of 1976, he was arrested on charges of "depraved conduct" under the law prohibiting sodomy.

Other cases of repression were reported from the Ukrainian, Latvian, Russian, and Kazakh republics. In Kazakhstan, two Volga Germans were arrested after 160 Volga Germans in that republic applied to emigrate to West Germany. (See *Intercontinental Press*, March 28, 1977, p. 336.)

In the Prisons and Camps. The obstacles the authorities erected to prevent the relatives of Crimean Tatar Mustafa Dzhe-milev from visiting him in a labor camp are described. (See *Intercontinental Press*, June 13, 1977, p. 670.)

In addition, there are numerous accounts of appeals and hunger strikes by political prisoners and of the suffering caused by the poor prison diet, unsanitary conditions, inadequate medical care, and punitive measures the authorities of the Mordovian and Perm prison camps and Vladimir prison take against inmates who protest.

Releases. Twenty-nine political prisoners were released in roughly the first nine months of 1976, all having completed their sentences. Among them were five of the Ukrainian jurists. They had been sentenced to fifteen-year terms after their arrest in 1961 for attempting to organize a group that would work for a referendum for an independent socialist Ukraine.²

In the Psychiatric Hospitals. Five cases of persons forcibly confined for political reasons are referred to. Ukrainian dissident Mykola Plakhotnyuk, confined in 1971, was reported very ill in the Dnepropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital, the same place where Leonid Plyushch was confined.

Persecution of Religious Believers. Based on reports in issue number 35 of the samizdat journal *Bulletin of the Council of Relatives of Evangelical Christian-Baptist Prisoners in the USSR*, the *Chronicle* cites

2. See *Ferment in the Ukraine*, Ed. by Michael Browne (New York: Crisis Press, 1973). Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

numerous cases of fines, searches, and arrests.

For example, in the Azerbaijan Republic, seventy-six-year-old Evangelical Elder Petr Serebrennikov was arrested and sentenced to a five-year term in a strict-regime labor camp for "encroaching on . . . rights . . . by practicing religious ceremonies."

Persecution of Crimean Tatars. Tatars who try to return to their homeland in Crimea from places of exile are savagely persecuted. According to samizdat accounts, the authorities launched an offensive against some newly arrived Tatars in Crimea in May and June 1976, during which their homes were destroyed by bulldozers and their families thrown in trucks and hauled out of Crimea. Others were arrested for being "parasites" because they were not granted work permits and therefore could not get jobs. According to the *Chronicle*, this persecution continued into the latter part of 1976.

Three more families were forcibly deported. Members of one family—Resmie Yunusova, Memet Seitveliev, and their paralyzed child—were still living in a tent next to the remains of their home, twice demolished by police bulldozers.

Crackdown in Georgia. In June and July 1976, a number of persons were questioned because they had had contact with Zviad Gamsakhurdia, a dissident Georgian writer. (Until his arrest in April 1977, Gamsakhurdia exposed oppression and corruption in Georgia in his samizdat journal, the *Golden Fleece*. He was also active in defending persecuted dissidents through the Georgian Initiative Group and Helsinki accords monitoring group.)

In July 1976, in Tbilisi, capital of the Georgian Republic, the security police interrogated scientific worker G. Gogochuri. In his dissertation Gogochuri had spoken out against the new rule that dissertations in Georgian scientific institutes must be defended in the Russian language. The interrogators called this an expression of nationalism and warned that such statements could have "dangerous consequences" for him.

Short Communiqués. Numerous other instances of persecution occurred in the Ukrainian, Russian, Moldavian, Lithuanian, and Latvian republics.

In early 1976, in the Latvian Republic, leaflets began to appear in the native language calling upon Latvians to struggle for democratic rights. Signed by the Democratic Union of Latvian Youth, the leaflets were made from letters cut from the newspaper and pasted together on a sheet of paper.

Later a leaflet in Russian and Latvian, signed by the same group, was issued, calling upon Russians to leave Latvia. This was followed by a typed leaflet "of economic content," according to the *Chronicle*. Next came another typed leaflet

calling for freedom for Soviet political prisoners.

Finally, a hand-lettered leaflet calling for "Freedom for Latvia" provided just the investigatory key the Stalinist bureaucrats thought they needed: "In the schools special writing exercises were conducted in which the students had to write in their

usual script and printed hand."

Not only did this technique fail to nab the elusive propagandists, but in mid-1976 in Riga, the capital of the Latvian Republic, the call for "Freedom for Soviet political prisoners" appeared in huge black letters on the wall next to the central prison. □

'We Have Set Up a Dictatorship'

Wide Purge of MPLA Reported in Angola



NETO: Widens list of conspirators to include "extremists" in Portugal.

Since the May 27 coup attempt in Angola, the ruling Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) has arrested hundreds of persons and conducted purges at various levels of the MPLA apparatus. The extent of this crackdown is an indication of the depth of the crisis within the MPLA that led to the coup attempt.

New York Times correspondent Michael T. Kaufman reported in a June 19 dispatch from Nairobi, Kenya, that according to radio broadcasts monitored by the Foreign Broadcast Monitor Service, a U.S. government agency, Nito Alves and José van Dunem, two leading dissidents within the MPLA, had escaped from prison during the abortive coup. Alves and van Dunem were both members of the MPLA Central Committee who had been expelled from that body a few days before the fighting erupted in Luanda.

Angolan President Agostinho Neto has declared over the radio that they must be captured and "made to pay" for their alleged involvement in the coup.

Kaufman also reported that according to the broadcasts, an armored brigade of the MPLA army had joined the rebellion.

Predicting a wide purge, Neto stated, "Obviously we are going to find in various services in various state bodies, people who contributed to this agitation. We will find them in the army, in the state information agency. We are going to find them in all organizations. All of them will pay."

Among those officials arrested so far have been Commander Pedro Jacob Caetano and the commissioner of Malange Province. According to a report in the June 20 issue of the London weekly *West Africa*, the MPLA Political Bureau has suspended the Executive Commissions in the provinces of Luanda, Malange, and Benguela. It said that the action was taken because of the "passive and sometimes co-operative attitude which some members of the Executive Commissions took towards the splittists' activities." The presidents of seven ward committees in Luanda have also been dismissed from office.

Neto has charged that the dissidents in the MPLA were supported by "extremists" in Portugal, who he said wanted to change the regime into "a leftist, perhaps Maoist regime." Several Portuguese have been arrested in Angola, including Col. João Varela Gomes and former Portuguese Labor Minister José Costa Martins, both of whom fled to Angola after an abortive putsch attempt in Portugal in November 1975. Also under arrest is Virgílio Frutuoso, the former editor of *Diário de Luanda*.

President Neto issued a warning to all dissidents, stating, "We are the MPLA and we have set up a dictatorship under which we live." Although he claimed that the Angolan dictatorship was not a "bourgeois dictatorship," he asserted, "It is the MPLA which lays down the path to be followed."

Neto added, "In Angola, organizations that do not function in accordance with our orientation will be dissolved." □

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



Alaskan Oil Flows . . . And So Do Profits

Oil began flowing through the trans-Alaska pipeline system as scheduled on June 20. The only spill reported so far was the loss of one quart owing to a loose flange at Pump Station No. 1.

But a great deal of damage has already been done by the \$9.2 billion project, and possibilities exist for much more. There is uncertainty about the oil's final destination, and a dispute has developed over the rates the oil companies want to charge for shipping their own oil through the pipeline.

Construction of the pipeline has caused "far more damage than expected to the fragile Arctic environment," Richard James reports in the June 20 *Wall Street Journal*.

The results range from water pollution caused by improperly run sewage-treatment plants and massive oil spills at construction sites to erosion of tundra, blocked fish streams and damage to fish spawning beds. Some caribou and moose migration patterns also may have been upset. And some experts worry that the line's oil-leak detection system may not be very reliable, foreshadowing further possible environmental damage.

Some of these problems, while serious, were temporary effects of the construction process that will no longer be felt now that the pipeline is completed. Others, however, will be permanent.

The Alyeska Pipeline Service Company,

the consortium of eight big oil corporations that built the pipeline, was required by law to install 550 big-game crossings along the pipe. These were to be ten-foot-high underpasses at "known animal crossings," according to James. But government officials acknowledge that 40 percent of the crossings built in 1975 were as much as two feet too low, as were 21 percent of those built in 1976. In correcting some of the 157 faulty crossings, Alyeska has excavated beneath the pipe, causing massive soil erosion.

Even crossings that meet the specifications probably will not keep migration routes from being blocked, however. In his 1973 book *Cry Crisis: The Alaska Oil Rush*, Kenneth Brower reports a 1971-72 study in which researchers "built a simulated pipeline complete with ramps and underpasses. . . . Of 5,559 caribou that encountered the simulated pipeline, 4,275 refused to cross."

Brower also doubts the existence of "known animal crossings":

Caribou seldom follow the same migration route for two years in succession. The slow-growing lichens and mosses that feed them take several years to regenerate after each passage of the herd. Each year brings a new route, and no one. . . . has been able to predict where the caribou will show up next.

Newsweek magazine reported June 13 on how a "sophisticated system involving ultrasonic devices, pressure gauges and constant visual inspection will guard against leaks. . . ."

But a 1974 engineering report cited by James said that a key part of the system is so complex "there is a small probability of proper operation." And last year an Alaska state inspector noted in a memorandum that "the system doesn't indicate the position of the leak" in the 800-mile-long pipeline.

In at least twelve instances, the state of Alaska has filed charges of violations of environmental laws against Alyeska, and the company has paid nearly \$100,000 in fines. Frank Fisher, Alyeska's manager of environmental protection, dismisses most of these as inadvertent or "misunderstandings"—"technically, we were in violation, but morally I don't think

we were. We felt we weren't violating anything."

Even if Alyeska manages to get the oil through the pipeline without spilling it all over the tundra, there is still the matter of what to do with it.

In 1972, Nixon's Interior Secretary Rogers Morton justified approving the pipeline by saying that "Alaskan North Slope oil will be a timely contribution to the needs of the West Coast—a region that does not have the diversity and flexibility of supply available to the Midwest."

But today, writes J.P. Smith in the June 20 *Washington Post*, "the Midwest is now short of crude oil, while the West Coast is faced with a glut. . . ." In fact, once the oil starts flowing at the pipeline's full capacity, there will be a surplus of 600,000 barrels a day over the maximum amount that West Coast refineries can handle.

The oil companies would like to ship the excess to Japan, since this could mean additional profits of \$500 million a year. Such an arrangement would require approval by President Carter and Congress, which is unlikely. "How can he [Carter] approve exporting oil to Japan from a pipeline built for national security reasons and still convince the American people that there is an energy crisis?" Smith quotes a "top administration energy official" as asking.

But getting the oil to the Midwest won't be easy. Most tankers are too big to bring the oil through the Panama Canal, and no unloading facilities exist in the East for supertankers that could take the oil around Cape Horn.

There is one pipeline set up to carry petroleum east from Long Beach, California, to Midland, Texas. But stepping up its use would greatly increase air pollution in the Los Angeles area—already one of the most polluted parts of the country. The California Air Resources Board says unloading operations at Long Beach would mean a sharp increase in hydrocarbon and sulfur dioxide pollution. This would be equivalent to adding emissions from several million automobiles in Los Angeles, according to a June 10 *New York Times* editorial.

The market price of the oil once it



"Our geologist assures us that we won't run out of oil before the consumers run out of money!"

reaches its destination is to be maintained at \$14.50 a barrel, the same price as imported oil. The wellhead price and shipping rates are to be adjusted so as to total this amount.

The Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) is conducting hearings to determine what rates the oil companies will be allowed to charge themselves for moving the oil through their own pipeline. This is not a mere bookkeeping problem, since royalties of 12.5 percent will be collected by the state of Alaska on the wellhead price. The lower the shipping rates, the higher the royalties.

The Alaskan state government is charging the oil companies with "impermissible double accounting" and "cost overruns."

The native Inuit and Indian peoples are also involved. The Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, which represents some of the native peoples, has asked the ICC to suspend the oil companies' shipping rates, charging that they "would have the effect of postponing and thus reducing the value of the \$500 million that Congress has determined to be owed the natives."

But "no matter how the . . . disputes turn out," says Steven Rattner in the June 20 *New York Times*, "the oil is expected to produce substantial profits for the companies. . . . Current estimates by Wall Street analysts range from \$2 to \$3 a barrel, \$1 billion to \$1.5 billion a year."

Protests, Lawsuits Hit Carter's Approval of Seabrook A-Plant

"In light of what is now happening around the country, it is not unlikely that this White House decision to approve the Seabrook cooling system will bring on a period of domestic turmoil over the nuclear issue similar in scope and depth to what surrounded the Vietnam War."

That was the reaction of twenty antinuclear organizations across the United States to the June 17 announcement that the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) had approved the cooling system of the nuclear power plant now under construction at Seabrook, New Hampshire. (See box for complete text of statement and list of signers.)

Most work on the plant had been halted after a November 1976 ruling by regional EPA administrator John McGlennon that the cooling system was not adequate to "protect the fragile marine environment" and "assure the protection and propagation of . . . shellfish, fish and wildlife."

The June 17 decision by Douglas Costle, Carter's appointee as head of the EPA, had been held up for a week—"because of a review by President Carter," according to one news report (Associated Press, June 12). Costle overruled McGlennon, saying the cooling system "does meet the test set forth in the law."

The ruling clears the way for restoration of the plant's construction permit by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. The

Antinuclear Groups Score Carter as 'Lyndon Johnson of the 1970s'

The following statement was issued June 18 by twenty U.S. environmental, antinuclear, and other organizations:

"Jimmy Carter has turned his back on the environmentalist and antinuclear citizens who supported his election.

"In light of what is now happening around the country, it is not unlikely that this White House decision to approve the Seabrook cooling system will bring on a period of domestic turmoil over the nuclear issue similar in scope and depth to what surrounded the Vietnam War.

"That the Carter Administration would allow this construction to go ahead is a Declaration of War against the natural environment and those who are dedicated to protecting it.

"Jimmy Carter may be signalling with this decision that he will make himself the Lyndon Johnson of the 1970s.

"He has turned the EPA into a bad joke. It should be renamed the Profits Protection Agency. He has destroyed his credibility with those who supported him in the name of the natural environment. He has proved less sensitive to

environmental needs than John McGlennon and Russell Train [former EPA administrator who has since spoken out against nuclear power], both Republican appointees."

The following signed the statement: Great Plains Alliance (Missouri, Kansas, Iowa), Clamshell Alliance (New England), Abalone Alliance (California), Oyster Shell Alliance (Mississippi Delta region), Detroit Safe Energy Coalition, Long Island Safe Energy Coalition, Eastern Federation of Nuclear Opponents (Carolinas, Maryland, Delaware, New York, New Jersey), Another Mother for Peace, Women Strike for Peace, Ad Hoc Nuclear Opponents (New York City), Lorna Salzman (Friends of the Earth, New York), Wisconsin Coalition for Energy Alternatives, Safe Haven (Sheboygan, Wisc.), League Against Nuclear Dangers (Wisconsin), Free Environment (Iowa), Missourians for Safe Energy, Peoples Energy Project (Kansas City, Mo.), Citizens Against Nuclear Threats (New Mexico), People Generating Energy (California), People Against Nuclear Power (California), and People's Business Commission (Washington, D.C.).

Public Service Company of New Hampshire (PSC) will then be free to construct a cooling system for the reactors that will require the constant and massive flow of sea water through giant tunnels extending several thousand feet into the ocean. Water will be pumped through at a rate of 1.2 billion gallons daily, returning to the sea 39 degrees Fahrenheit (22° C) hotter than the surrounding coastal waters.

Such thermal pollution will alter marine ecology on the rich fishing banks off the New Hampshire coast. The warmer water will force some fish species to leave the area and will attract others. Massive fish kills due to cold shock will result when the reactors are shut down for maintenance or refueling. In addition, wholesale destruction of clam, lobster, and fish larvae will occur when the small organisms are caught on the intake tunnel's screen.

The Seabrook plant has become a nationwide focus of opposition to nuclear power as a result of the series of direct action protests organized there by the Clamshell Alliance and other groups. More than 1,400 persons were arrested after a peaceful occupation of the construction site on April. With the EPA decision, a new stage has been reached in this fight.

Lawsuits challenging the EPA ruling are planned by the Audubon Society of New Hampshire and the Seacoast Antipol-

lution League. The New England Coalition on Nuclear Pollution is asking a federal court to order a government study of how the Public Service Company "would dispose of the spent nuclear fuel, of the 'financial condition' of the company, and whether New Hampshire actually needs facilities for more electric power." (*Wall Street Journal*, June 20.)

The Clamshell Alliance said in a June 18 statement:

. . . the Carter Administration underestimates the strength of millions of people in this country and around the world who do not want atomic power plants built and who are willing to act on their conviction. . . .

We remind the President and the PSC that eight towns surrounding the town of Seabrook have voted against this plant and Seabrook has voted against it twice. We object strongly to the ramming of unwanted construction down our throats in violation of the democratic process.

The fight against the Seabrook plant and other nukes is not over. We will continue to do whatever is necessary within the non-violent framework to guarantee this plant will not be built.

Local Clamshell Alliance organizations are now discussing plans for another protest at the plant site. Nationally coordinated local protests will take place on August 6-9, the anniversary of the Hiroshima-Nagasaki bombings.

Selections From the Left

An Phoblacht

"The Republic," weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the Provisional republican movement. Published in Dublin.

The June 8 issue carries an article that was also printed in the May 23 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. It is a study of the Québec government's language law by Dick Fidler that originally appeared in the April 25 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto, Canada.

In introducing the article, the editors of *An Phoblacht* say:

The Republican Movement, on many occasions, has affirmed that one of its objectives is to restore the Irish language where it has been exterminated and to strengthen it where it is still alive.

In Brigade areas, Oglaiigh na hEireann [the Irish Republican Army] have proved their dedication by supporting groups and organisations working for the restoration [of the Irish language] through, for example, language classes, fleanna ceoil [traditional music festivals] and the like.

Thanks to full Army support, men and women with little or no knowledge of the language have emerged from jail with a fluent command of Irish, an appreciation of its poetry and the beautiful music that often goes with it. . . .

To help the Republican Movement in general to understand what is involved in the cultural revolution we propose publishing articles from time to time about cultural revolutions, at home and abroad.

This week, the spotlight is on the French-speaking Canadian province of Quebec, where the language, though still strong, is under siege from the English of the rest of Canada, as well as from the U.S.A. . . .

Gaeilgeoiri [Irish speakers] may care to compare the determination of the Quebecois with the indetermination of Fianna Fail [the historically more nationalistic of the Irish bourgeois parties], which introduced a "páipear ban" [white paper] about 10 years ago and did little or nothing to implement it because of the neo-colonialist English connection and multi-national opposition.

In Ireland, the language war remains an integral part of the class war and the resolution of the national question in the interests of the Irish people.

Socialist Worker

Newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party. Published weekly in London.

"The police: Which side of the picket line?" asks an article in the May 28 issue. The occasion is a Police Federation conference, "the most important . . . since 1919":

For this conference is already witnessing the

most extraordinary outburst of rank and file police agitation over pay and conditions since the massive wave of police strikes following the First World War.

There was a massive vote for the right to strike and another to reform the Police Federation so that it starts behaving like a trade union.

As one delegate put it: "We are workers like anyone else only we have to do society's dirty work."

The article observes that the "employers and the government are in a cleft stick over police pay." Yet the author, too, seems to be in a quandary over whether the British "bobby" is or is not part of the working class.

The millionaires . . . know only too well how essential the police are if they are to hang onto their stupendous wealth.

But they also know that millions of trade unionists will see any attempt to allow the police to break the wages norm as a green light for all of us.

The result is to stimulate among at least a minority of policemen the kind of aggressive sentiments normally only heard from industrial militants. . . .

There are many racist police, indeed National Front [an extreme right-wing group] supporters, who are prepared to be militant on the wages issue. But this makes it all the more important for revolutionary socialists to find ways of relating to this extremely important development.

That is why Socialist Worker supports the right of the police to strike. [Emphasis in original.]

A somewhat stickier problem is whether the Police Federation should affiliate with Britain's official labor body, the Trades Union Congress. The author cites a historical precedent that he or she evidently thinks might provide the solution.

"Earlier this century the trade union and socialist movement made the condition of police affiliation to the TUC an agreement not to harass and break picket lines."

While only "a tiny beginning," the article concludes, the fact that cops are upset over wages "does show a crack in a police force otherwise united in its intense racism and hatred of organised workers."

INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES

"Workers News," open forum for the class struggle. Published weekly in Paris.

The June 15-22 issue includes a review of a study of repression in Yugoslavia published recently by the Paris-based *Comité international contre la répression*. It says:

An important part of this study is devoted to the various political trials against oppositionists since 1974. There have been about 6,000 such trials and about 8,000 persons have been sentenced as a result, some of them to long prison terms. The documents published give a detailed picture. The trials are listed by category,

those against "Cominformists" [supporters of the Kremlin against Tito], Croatian nationalists, representatives of the Albanian minority, against Chetniks (Serbian monarchists), and against all those accused of "slandering the social system." It can be seen that in turn the blows have fallen on workers, peasants, intellectuals, and youth.

A brief description of the conditions in Yugoslav prisons is provided. It points out the hunger, beatings, humiliation, the lack of heat and medical care, intellectual deprivation, and the shameful exploitation of the labor of the prisoners. In all, the picture is one of a system that tramples on the most elementary rights of the prisoners, while claiming to reeducate them in the name of socialism.

A letter smuggled out of the psychiatric ward of the Belgrade central prison is particularly interesting. The young "boarder" who wrote it gives shocking details about the brutal treatment meted out, often with fatal results, to the 250 persons interned there. They are beaten, put in irons, and given massive doses of "tranquilizers." . . .

The final section, entitled "Human Rights in the Federated Socialist People's Republic," gives several pages of concrete examples of violations of human and democratic rights based on official statements. . . .

This well-documented, precise, and damning dossier should serve as the basis for a campaign in defense of democratic rights in Yugoslavia.

Copies of the report may be obtained by sending five francs (about US\$1) to J.-J. Marie, Appt 2A2, 111, rue de Reuilly, Paris, France, 75012.

SOSIALISTINEN POLITIIKKA

"Socialist Politics," theoretical magazine of the Social Democratic Youth League and the Social Democratic Student League. Published five times a year in Helsinki, Finland.

The second issue for 1977 includes a three-and-a-half page review of the pamphlet "The Kind of Socialism We Are Fighting For," by Bo Bergman, a leading member of the Swedish section of the Fourth International. This pamphlet has been issued in Finnish by the Vallankoumoukselliset Kommunistit (Revolutionary Communists).

The review, in general, is quite favorable. The reviewer, Aulis Kallio, notes in particular Bergman's attempt to explain how socialism will change the lives of human beings:

In an especially interesting way, Bergman discusses the possibilities offered by socialism in the areas of bringing up children and new forms of social life. He also takes up the question of revolutionary policy in culture and art. On these matters, he can offer a left alternative to the notions of the "socialist family," a quasifascist, authoritarian, and hierarchical institution, which debases women . . . and to the hymns of "socialist realism."

Kallio found Bergman's view of the possibilities for a future socialist society to be convincing:

Bergman's pamphlet is marked by a definite realism. No utopian picture is presented even in the treatment of a communist society without classes and without the state given in the last chapters of the booklet.

The better part of the review is devoted to summarizing Bergman's explanation of the Trotskyist concept of the "workers state"—that is, a country in which capitalism has been abolished but socialism has not yet been attained. Kallio notes, for example:

The terms workers state and dictatorship of the proletariat do not in themselves say anything about whether the state is really in the hands of the workers or not. They are used to characterize states that in the broad historical sense stand in opposition to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, to capitalist states. Just as bourgeois rule (that is, the class dominance or dictatorship of the bourgeoisie) can take various forms—bourgeois democracy, military dictatorship, fascist dictatorship—without any change in the nature of the state as a capitalist, bourgeois, class state, in the same way, the dictatorship of the proletariat can take the form of a state based on soviets and workers democracy, or of a party bureaucracy and police dictatorship.

Kallio ends his review, saying:

Personally I can agree, at least in the main lines—with Bergman's concept. . . .

It can of course be asked whether the problems of "actually existing socialism" [as the Stalinists call the USSR and the East European states] are not precisely those that are now being rather extensively discussed in the Social Democratic Youth League. Perhaps precisely this discussion justifies giving so much stress to the Trotskyist "workers state" analysis. The discussion in the Social Democratic Youth League has often led—if it has led anywhere at all—into a blind alley. The state-capitalist and Ticktinite theorizing are examples of such blind alleys.

(By the way, I can't help but feel that for some of our intellectuals the question is just to criticize the Soviet Union at any price, just for the fun of criticizing it, rather than how we can make the revolution and build real socialism that will overcome the bad features that exist, or how we can support the opposition movements in the bureaucratic workers states.)

Socialist Action

Published twice monthly in Wellington, New Zealand.

In the June 10 issue, Kay McVey reports on New Zealand's third United Women's Convention. This year's gathering was the largest yet, attracting 2,700 women to Christchurch on the weekend of June 4.

A sense of militancy, enthusiasm, and urgency pervaded the conference, McVey writes. Several weeks earlier the Royal Commission on Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion had issued a study that amounted to a major assault on the right

of New Zealand women to control their own reproductive lives.

Helen Marieskind, a feminist from the United States who has been active in the field of women's health, gave a keynote address. In it she had some harsh words for the Royal Commission:

The Report of the Royal Commission . . . must be seen as an anti-woman document. It does not respect a woman's right to privacy, nor does it acknowledge a woman's right to determine her maternity: that is, to control her reproductive potential. . . .

In particular the report would have women go through a lengthy panel system which is likely to result in those who successfully manoeuvre this maze being ultimately too far along in gestation to be legally aborted.

When she announced: "Abortion is a woman's issue—it is fundamental to her ability to equally participate in the society. New Zealand women must have the right to choose," her remarks were greeted with sustained applause, McVey reports.

On Sunday evening, June 5, a special session was called to plan action against the Royal Commission's findings.

A resolution condemning the Royal Commission study was passed by the United Women's Convention by a vote of 1,087 to 120.

THE MILITANT

A socialist weekly published in the interests of the working people. Printed in New York City, New York.

The July 1 issue has a five-page center-spread on the elections in Spain, written by correspondents Caroline Lund and José G. Pérez. Lund reported on the election campaign of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International).

The response of the LCR to the announcement of the elections to a new Cortes (parliament) was to call for a united political response by the organizations of the working class. It proposed a four-point minimum platform as the basis for united-front slates of candidates from all organizations that could agree on them.

These points were: "a) For total amnesty [for political prisoners and blacklisted workers] and for democratic rights and liberties without limitations. b) For the right to self-determination of the oppressed nationalities, which means full, unconditional sovereignty for these nationalities over everything concerning their relation to the central state power. c) Against all forms of "social pact" [that is, an agreement between the workers organizations, the bosses, and the government to accept austerity measures against the working class]. For free, united-front negotiations for the demands of the working class and popular layers. d) For free elections to a constituent assembly that should proclaim a republic."

Later, the LCR added to this platform the call for a workers government and opposition to any political bloc with capitalist forces.

The Communist Party . . . and the social-democratic party . . . were not interested in such a program. Nor were the Maoist and centrist

groups such as the ORT, PTE or MC. . . .

All these forces hold to a "stage theory," according to which the main task today in Spain is the consolidation of "democracy." This is not the stage, they say, for the workers to press forward in their own name and for their own social demands. The most these organizations would aim at is a "popular front." . . . They oppose raising the demand for the right of the workers parties, as representatives of the working-class majority, to govern alone.

Only two relatively small groups were willing to go along with the program proposed by the LCR. These were the OIC (Organización de Izquierda Comunista—Left Communist Organization) and the AC (Acción Comunista—Communist Action).

The OIC, the larger of the two, is based on a theory that the only effective form of organization of the working class is in councils (soviets). Instead of welcoming and aiding the massive organization of workers into trade unions that is happening in Spain today, the OIC counterposes the abstract need for workers councils.

In addition, the OIC tends to dismiss democratic demands as not revolutionary enough.

The AC, which is significantly smaller, functions primarily as a discussion group, not attempting to build a revolutionary party that aims to lead actual struggles here and now. They are more concerned with "theory" and the formation of various alliances with other groups of what they call the "revolutionary Marxist camp."

From the beginning of the FUT campaign [the electoral bloc of the LCR, AC, and OIC], the AC emphasized continually that its participation in the elections did not mean it was "electoralist." Finally, on the eve of the elections, the AC pulled out of the FUT campaign completely, saying that its initial support to the FUT was never meant to imply that it planned to actually call for a vote for the FUT slates.

One other small group—a faction of the POUM (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista—Workers Party of Marxist Unification)—joined the FUT campaign in the city of Barcelona. The POUM is a tiny vestige of the party led by Andrés Nin and Joaquín Maurín. It was part of the Popular Front of 1936.

Despite the drawbacks of association with the wrong positions of the OIC, AC, and the POUM, the FUT campaign was fundamentally a campaign of class independence led by the LCR.

In Madrid and in the Basque country the LCR was overwhelmingly dominant in the campaign. Its candidates spoke out against the class-collaborationist schemes of the Communist and Socialist parties. They tried to reach out to the rank and file of these parties. They used the platform of their campaign to urge support to strikes and other struggles, including the women's liberation movement. They identified themselves with the drive of the working class to strengthen itself by forming trade unions and electing factory committees. . . .

In Barcelona, where the OIC, AC, and POUM are stronger than elsewhere, the FUT campaign was politically weaker. At the FUT rally of 4,000 in Barcelona June 8, where the OIC, AC and POUM had a majority of the speakers, there was much abstract revolutionary rhetoric but no mention of the need for a workers and peasants government, no mention of the problems of constructing trade unions, and much waving of the yellow, red, and purple flag of the Second Republic of the 1930s that led the antifascist struggle to defeat by disarming and crippling the workers movement and its militias.

AROUND THE WORLD



Qaddafi Hails Carter

Libyan leader Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi has high praise for President Carter, according to a statement released by the country's official press agency June 12.

"President Carter seems to be a good man, a religious man," Qaddafi said. "He can reduce the tension between his people and the people of the world."

Peruvian Students Protest Austerity

Students demonstrated in at least five Peruvian cities in protest against government austerity measures, according to a June 22 Reuters dispatch.

Hundreds of students were arrested for denouncing the measures, which included a 50 percent rise in gasoline prices and a 30 percent hike in transit fares. Food prices also rose.

In Sicuani, 450 miles southeast of Lima, 3,000 students protested at the offices of the Agriculture Ministry and at the mayor's residence before being dispersed with tear gas. Demonstrators in Arequipa, Peru's second largest city, blocked off streets and erected barricades.

Demonstrations were also reported in

the southern cities of Ayacucho and Uru-bamba, as well as in Trujillo on the northern coast.

Lanusse Freed in Argentina

Former Argentine dictator Lieut. Gen. Alejandro Lanusse was ordered released from jail June 13 by a federal appeals court in Argentina.

Lanusse and other members of the military junta that ruled Argentina from 1971 to 1973 were arrested in May on charges of engaging in corruption while they were in office.

Usman Baloch Jailed in Pakistan

Usman Baloch, a veteran trade-union activist in Pakistan, has been arrested by the Bhutto regime.

Baloch is a leader of the Mutahidda Mazdoor Federation (MMF—United Workers Federation), a union led by leftists that is based in the industrial city of Karachi. He had been arrested several times previously under emergency regulations during the past eight years.

Baloch ran as a candidate in the March 10 elections to the provincial assemblies. He campaigned on a platform that included demands for the withdrawal of Pakistani troops from Baluchistan, the restoration of all democratic rights, the institution of a sliding scale of wages, and the right of recall of all elected representatives.

On May Day, Baloch and other unionists organized a workers demonstration in Karachi in defiance of the martial law regulations. Immediately after the rally Baloch and several other MMF leaders were arrested. They were tried before a martial law court and sentenced to six months hard labor.

Majority Favors End to Cuban Embargo

Fifty-three percent of New York area residents polled in May by the New York *Daily News* said they thought Washington should lift its economic blockade of Cuba. Fifty percent of those queried supported lifting travel restrictions to Cuba and other "Communist" countries.



Fred Murphy/Intercontinental Press

NEW YORK CITY, June 26: 40,000 march in defense of homosexual rights. A similar march in San Francisco also drew 40,000. Actions were held as well in Miami,

Los Angeles, Chicago, Atlanta, and other cities. In Barcelona, Spain, 4,000 supporters of homosexual rights were dispersed by a police attack.