

Intercontinental Press

Africa Asia Europe Oceania the Americas

Vol. 15, No. 36

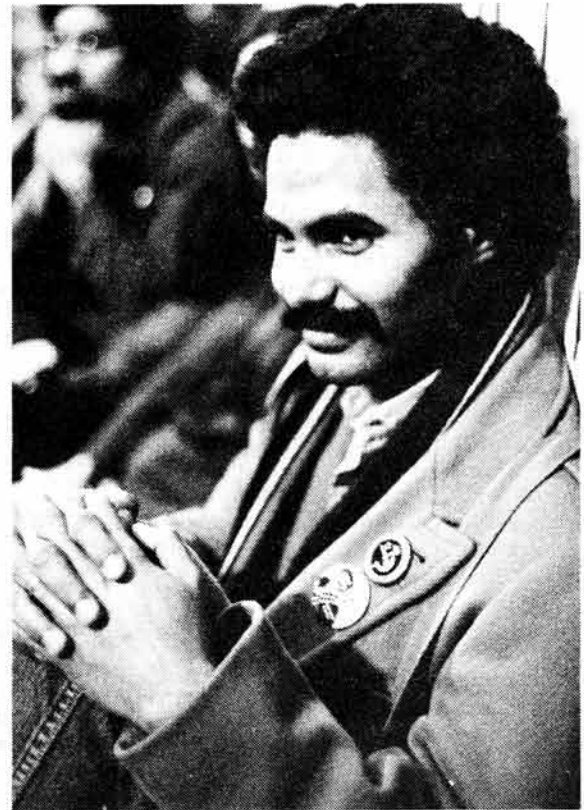
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October 3, 1977

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In Dominican Republic

Rising Protest Over Arbitrary Jailing of Civil Rights Fighter



Steve Beck/Intercontinental Press

TAVAREZ: Bail set at \$50,000. See p. 1070.

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'The Nation' Speaks for Hugo Blanco
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'Biko Has Not Died in Vain'
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Struggle Against Bakke Ruling
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Interview With an Israeli Trotskyist

First Four Months of the Begin Regime

'Biko Has Not Died in Vain'

By Ernest Harsch

In a massive display of anger and defiance, nearly 20,000 Blacks turned out in Kingwilliamstown September 25 to commemorate the death of Steve Biko and protest against the racist policies of South Africa's white minority regime.

Biko, one of the country's most influential young Black leaders, died in police custody September 12, at the age of thirty. He was a founder and first president of the militant South African Students Organisation and, at the time of his death, honorary president of the Black People's Convention.

Thousands of Black mourners marched for more than a mile from Biko's home in the segregated Black township of Ginsburg, just outside Kingwilliamstown, to a local sports field. Biko's coffin was carried on an ox wagon. The roof of the coffin was engraved with a cameo of Biko's face, above a pair of fists breaking iron shackles, the emblem of the nationalist current known as the Black Consciousness movement.

The coffin also bore the legend, "One Azania, one nation." Azania is a Black nationalist name for South Africa and the slogan expresses the widespread Black opposition to Pretoria's Bantustan policy, which is aimed at dividing the African population into a number of small, impoverished ministates subservient to white rule.

The marchers carried banners and signs commemorating Biko. When the procession arrived at the field, the crowd began to sing "Nkosi Sikelel i' Afrika" (God Bless Africa), a Black nationalist anthem.

The rally lasted for three and a half hours as Black leaders from around the country condemned the Vorster regime's apartheid policies. A number of them charged Vorster and the security police with having murdered Biko. Although the regime claimed that Biko died after a one-week hunger strike, there is evidence that he may actually have been beaten to death.

As Biko's coffin was lowered into the grave, several thousand Black mourners gave clenched-fist salutes and shouted "Power!"

Large contingents of police and troops with automatic weapons had been placed on alert, but the sheer size and militancy of the funeral, as well as the anger over Biko's death throughout the country, prevented the regime from attacking the demonstrators as it has repeatedly in the past.

The police did take action in other cities, however, to stop even more Blacks from attending the funeral. Thousands from Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, and other areas were unable to reach Kingwilliamstown because the regime barred buses carrying Blacks from leaving those cities. In addition, roadblocks around Kingwilliamstown turned back hundreds of cars and buses.

The day before the funeral, police in Soweto, a large Black township outside Johannesburg, fired at a crowd of 1,000 Blacks who were protesting the ban on bus transportation. Others were dragged off buses and beaten. Several hundred were arrested.

The funeral in Kingwilliamstown was the high point of a wave of protests and memorial services throughout the country. Students at every major Black university staged rallies and commemorations. At one memorial service in Soweto September 21, police shot and killed a fifteen-year-old Black protester, William Mdladlamba. In other incidents, police assaulted and whipped mourners with *sjamboks*, a whip made of animal hide that is traditionally used by white overseers.

The repression, however, was unsuccessful in dampening the spirit of defiance that has been building up among young Blacks. At one rally in Soweto, several thousand protesters expressed their anger by singing

a new Black nationalist song, "Zinja Zolulawa" (The Dogs Will Be Killed). At the same rally, a Black churchman told the audience, "Steve Biko has not died in vain. For among us there will rise 100 Steve Bikos."

The mass protests over Biko's death and the growing international solidarity with the Black freedom struggle in South Africa has forced some of Pretoria's long-time allies to publicly criticize the apartheid regime's repression. A sign of this was the attendance of delegations from thirteen Western countries at the funeral. Two American officials went to the extent of placing wreaths on Biko's coffin before the funeral procession began.

This display of "sympathy" over Biko's death by Washington and other imperialist powers is little more than a hypocritical cover-up, designed to deflect attention and criticism from the aid they have given the Vorster regime and their complicity in its racist policies.

Biko himself was well aware of Washington's real policy toward Pretoria and frequently condemned it. For instance, in a statement he made in December 1976, he said that "America has often been positively guilty of working in the interest of the minority regime to the detriment of the interests of black people. America's foreign policy seems to have been guided by a selfish desire to maintain an imperialistic stranglehold on this country irrespective of how the blacks were made to suffer."

Pointing to this American complicity, a statement released in New York September 14 by the National Student Coalition Against Racism declared, "In Biko's memory, we call on all real partisans of human rights to rededicate their support for Black majority rule and demand that the U.S. end all aid and support to the murderous apartheid regime now!" □

The Political Fallout From China's Bomb

By Fred Murphy

An atomic bomb with an explosive force equal to 20,000 tons of TNT was set off in the atmosphere by the Chinese government on September 17. The explosion created a massive cloud of radioactive dust and debris that will float around the globe until it is dissipated by wind and rain.

After the blast, abnormally high levels of radiation were detected in several areas in Japan. In the United States, newspapers carried almost daily items about the location of the cloud and the chances that rainstorms might dump some of the fallout on populated areas.

The People's Republic of China has carried out twenty-two nuclear tests in the atmosphere since 1964. In announcing the most recent one, Peking declared that "its nuclear program is defensive and that it intends to break the 'nuclear monopoly' of

the superpowers" (*New York Times*, September 19).

The United States and the Soviet Union halted atmospheric testing of atomic bombs in 1963. This ban was forced by a worldwide outcry over the dangers of radioactive fallout. Studies by scientists such as Ernest J. Sternglass of the University of Pittsburgh were showing an alarming correlation between high fallout levels and infant mortality and childhood leukemia.

Sternglass recently reported the results of a study of U.S. infant mortality rates he conducted after a September 1976 above-ground nuclear test in China. In five states where no precautions were taken to prevent contamination of cows' milk with strontium 90, infant deaths during the first three months of 1977 went up an average 29% over the first three months of 1976. Sternglass estimated that as many as 100

babies could have died as a result of the fallout from Peking's nuclear test. "It's the only explanation the facts support," he told the *New York Post*, adding that the "real tragedy" was that the U.S. government "knew what was coming and failed to urge states to adopt countermeasures."

(Dairy cattle were moved inside and fed stored grain during the period when the debris was falling to the ground in New York State; the infant mortality rate there rose only 0.6%. It fell by 30% in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, where more extensive precautions were taken.)

The main responsibility for pollution from radioactive fallout has to be placed on the Pentagon warmakers who first built and used nuclear weapons, and who continue to stockpile enough bombs to destroy humanity many times over. The imperialists make no secret of the fact that their arsenal of terror is aimed squarely at China, the Soviet Union, and the other workers states.

It should also be said that the fallout from the Chinese tests has been minuscule compared to the huge quantities of debris poured into the atmosphere by both American and Soviet tests in the 1950s and in 1961-62.

Nonetheless, the political damage done to the defense of the Chinese revolution when capitalist newspapers can run headlines such as "A-Cloud and Dead Infants" (*New York Post*, July 25) far outweighs the marginal diplomatic or military gains made through continuing to explode nuclear bombs above ground.

In 1961, when the Soviet Union broke a de facto moratorium and unilaterally resumed atmospheric tests, the editors of the U.S. socialist weekly the *Militant* said:

The masses of the world don't want to be subjected to any more fallout no matter what its source. They don't want the formative bones of their children to be contaminated with cancer-inducing strontium 90. They don't want new damage done to the gene structure they pass on to future generations. Their objections are unanswerable. No government has the right to undertake macabre experiments that inflict irreparable injury to the peoples of other lands. It was a criminal action for Moscow to resume testing, still more so since it helped Washington to resume testing.

Socialists who have condemned and opposed every attempt by the imperialist powers to start up the testing of nuclear weapons cannot justify its resumption by the Soviet Union. [*Militant*, September 4-11, 1961.]

Peking accompanied its first nuclear blast in 1964 with a statement calling on "all the countries of the world . . . to undertake discussions on the complete banning and total destruction of nuclear arms. . . . A campaign by the international workers movement around such a call remains necessary today. Unfortunately, the Chinese Stalinists have found it preferable to keep creating radioactive clouds, rather than take the steps necessary to put a campaign like that in motion.

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Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Published in New York each Monday except the first in January and the third and fourth in August.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

Editor: Joseph Hansen.

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Technical Staff: Paul Deveze, Ellen Fischer, Larry Ingram, Arthur Lobman, James M. Morgan. Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material stands on the program of the Fourth International.

Paris Office: Pierre Frank, 10 Impasse Guéménée, 75004, Paris, France.

To Subscribe: For one year send \$24 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail.

For airmail subscriptions in Europe: Write to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL. In Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 151, Glebe 2037. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 1663, Wellington.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Intercontinental Press is published by the 408 Printing and Publishing Corporation, 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Offices at 408 West Street, New York, N.Y.

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Colombia—Aftermath of the General Strike

By Eduardo Medrano

The September 14 citizens' national general strike¹ has had multiple repercussions in several areas.

First of all, let us look at what has happened with some strikes that began prior to the nationwide upsurge. The INDUPALMA [Industria Agraria La Palma—La Palma Agricultural Industry, Inc., an agricultural complex employing more than 1,800 workers] strike ended in a total victory for the workers. The director of the plant, who had been kidnapped by the M-19 guerrilla group, was freed a few days later.

In cement, strikes are continuing in the Nare, Argos, Caldas, and Colcarbueros plants. The bosses' tough stance, and harassment by the military, have made a satisfactory outcome impossible for the workers there.

The same thing is happening with the Shellmar strike in Medellín, which has been going on now for seventy-two days.

The teachers' strike against the Educational Statute is continuing since the minister of education has refused to draft a new bill on the subject together with the delegates from FECODE.² Other issues are payment of back wages, and readjustment of current meager salaries.

The Bogotá daily *El Tiempo* reported in its September 20 and 22 issues that FECODE had held demonstrations on September 19 and 21, in Santa Marta, Bucaramanga, and Armenia.

A strike of interns and residents in university and regional hospitals across the country began on September 21, since the government has refused to respond to the demands put forward by this union for more than six months.

However, Barrancabermeja is perhaps still the area where the situation is most explosive right now. It is known as the "red city" because of the militancy and bravery of its residents. There another local citizens' three-day general strike is being planned, which will have an impact on the entire central Magdalena area. The strike has been called to "protest the severity of the public safety measures that exist on account of the ECOPETROL³

strike," *El Espectador* reported on September 22.

The arbitrary actions of this city's military mayor have provoked so much public dissatisfaction that all political forces in the area, both liberal and conservative, have demanded the removal of this marinet.

The ECOPETROL strikers, who remain on strike in view of the government's refusal to reinstate those who were fired, have called for support to this new local citizens' general strike. The company, meanwhile, is calling for a return to work. A USO⁴ representative said that the strike will continue until all those who were fired are reinstated, since the USO cannot allow "a precedent to be set whereby workers may be fired by a capricious judgment that the authorities make of their conduct." Simultaneously, a few bombs attributed to the FARC⁵ blew up some segments of the Barrancabermeja-Puerto Salgar pipeline.

All of these events following the general strike of September 14 made it necessary for the leaders of the four trade-union federations to declare a "general state of alert" on September 19 in solidarity with the workers in struggle.

The mass media instantly spread the rumor that another general strike of transport workers and another citizens' general strike was being planned. In reply to this, Tulio Cuevas, the central leader of the Unión de Trabajadores de Colombia (UTC—Union of Colombian Workers), stated in *El Tiempo* on September 19:

It is the government ministers who are fomenting another general strike. It is the government, in its arrogance and eagerness to conceal the real truth about September 14, that is brandishing its club against the leaders of the trade-union federations and those political forces that are courageously daring to draw the attention of the government, to get it to seek solutions to the grave social problems and not utilize repressive decrees like 2004, which provides for detention of trade-union leaders for up to 180 days.

Clearly the repression the regime unleashed September 14-15 has failed to make any dent in the combativity of the workers and poor masses. The very fact that the leaders of the strike are talking in such terms today and the government has

not been able to put them in jail indicates that the regime now has to feel its way forward.

The impressive show of power given by the workers and the youth on the memorable day of the strike has forced the rulers to tread carefully. They know that the citizens' general strike marked a new stage in the rise of the struggles of the oppressed masses, and that it is not going to be easy to break this momentum.

Such apprehension is precisely what is widening the rifts in the bourgeoisie. Dissension is beginning to appear in the capitalist press and to dominate the content and tone of the speeches given by the bourgeois candidates in the election campaign.

Such important bourgeois newspapers as *El Tiempo* and *El Espectador*, for example, have expressed diametrically opposing opinions on how to respond to the events of September 14-15. *El Tiempo* adopted a blustering tone, demanding retribution, especially against the workers and left parties. *El Espectador*, on the other hand, stressed the need for "restoring dialogue." In an editorial in its September 15 issue, it issued a discreet warning to the government itself:

Now that everyone has saved face and there has been a test of strength, prestige, resources, ideas, and so forth, it is time for everyone to go back to the conference table with a common determination to get out of this blind alley, to recognize their own errors as well as the valid points of the other side. Extremist ranting and raving does not offer any solutions to Colombia's problems. Our country does not find itself in the best of all possible worlds. It is ravaged by inflation. Social maladjustments are growing. And the state apparatus is not exactly ideally suited to meeting the needs of the citizens properly and with dispatch.

This approach seems to reflect the opinion of the private sector. At least such representatives of private enterprise as ANDI, Camacol, FENALCO, and ACOPI⁶ have made similar statements. Figures who cannot be accused of being "Communists," such as the conservative Aurelio Caicedo Ayerbe, have criticized the government's actions in an outspoken way. In its September 5 issue the conservative magazine *Guión* wrote:

There are no supporters of the government left. Since March the country has been allowed to drift rudderless. The soaring cost of living defies all attempts to measure it. San Carlos [the government palace] is peopled by specters. Throughout the country, people are hungry, in the very shadow of the coffee bonanza. The

1. See *Intercontinental Press*, September 26, 1977, p. 1036.

2. Federación Colombiana de Educadores—Colombian Teachers Federation.

3. Empresa Colombiana de Petróleos—Colombian Petroleum Enterprise.

4. Unión Sindical Obrera—General Workers Union.

5. Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia—Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia.

6. Asociación Nacional de Industriales—National Association of Manufacturers. Cámara Colombiana de la Construcción—Colombian Council on Construction. Federación Nacional de Comerciantes—National Federation of Businessmen. Asociación Colombiana de Pequeños Industriales—Colombian Association of Small Manufacturers.

highways are falling into ruin, and the state is going to have to answer to the courts for accidents, which will be the result of veritable traps set by human negligence. The universities have gone to hell. The hospitals have gone to hell. In three years' time, the buying power of wages has been slashed by 60 percent. And all this contrasts with people getting rich overnight, with the booming coffee smuggling and marijuana export trade, with exclusive islands of wealth where double bookkeeping flourishes and a rising class is consolidating itself.

Such judgments have become fashionable in almost all political and intellectual circles, including those ostensibly closest to the government. In an editorial in its September 19 issue, *El Espectador* went so far as to say that it is becoming more and more obvious that there is a "vacuum" in the place in politics that should supposedly be filled by the Liberal Party.

Thinking Liberals of various backgrounds and orientations have pointed out recently—as was only to be expected—that the party did not come out of the bloody clashes last week with its image intact, either as one of the main government parties or as a party seeking power.

For their part, former presidents Carlos Lleras Restrepo and Misael Pastrana said that they did not consider it possible to place any confidence in Minister of the Interior Rafael Pardo Buelvas as a guarantor of impartiality in the electoral process, accusing him of abusing his office. This fight started up when the minister of the interior declared that only Julio César Turbay Ayala and Alvaro Gómez Hurtado, leaders respectively of the wings of the Liberal and Conservative parties that unconditionally support the government, had given proper support to President Alfonso López Michelsen in connection with the national citizens strike.

To be sure, Lleras and Pastrana opposed the strike, but Lleras said that the government had made errors in negotiating with the union federations. But the strike was not touched off by the government's hard line alone, and Lleras directed his criticism at the entire political style of López. A lot of stories are going around in Bogotá about the president's cavalier attitude in dealing with the problems of government. For example, quoted in the September 20 issue of *El Espectador*, Tulio Cuevas related an incident that almost amounted to a sadistic joke. He said:

For some months now we have been calling on President López to do something about the problems of the workers. We have been calling on him to carry out his program of economic collaboration. And he has answered us with disdain. He has told us to go to hell time after time. No, there won't be any wage increases; no, there won't be any agreements with the OIT;⁷ no, every one of the points presented by the union federations is rejected. The last time we leaders

of the UTC and CTC⁸ visited him [before the strike], he stomped off fuming, claiming that he had a pain in his leg, and left us with some ministers who took up where he left off telling us to go to hell.

The outlook remains bleak for many bourgeois sectors. It is enough to see what the Liberal Senator Francisco Yesid Triana said September 19 before the Seventh Senate Commission: "First of all it is necessary to calm down the president of the republic." Otherwise, "fueling the confrontation between the government and the workers with inflammatory statements such as those made by a number of ministers and even military officers can put the country in danger of a civil war."

The allusion to the officer corps was not accidental. Not satisfied with the score of deaths and the hundreds of wounded officially admitted in Bogotá, the military demanded sanctions against the strike organizers on September 18.

Such a pugnacious attitude on the part of the gorillas and the executive is not what the bosses need most at present. What they want is rapid recovery from the losses suffered during the general strike, and nothing is better than labor peace for maximizing profits. Spokesmen such as Emilio Urrea, president of FENALCO, are now asking that the labor structure be totally revamped.

The present arrangement "satisfies neither the workers nor the employers" and is "putting the social peace of the nation in danger," he said at a September 21 meeting of the Consejo Nacional de Salarios (CNS—National Salary Board). In a ridiculous show of self-sufficiency the CNS has been meeting since September 12 without a single delegate from the workers federations.

The CNS met twice on September 20, the second time with delegates of the workers present, who added more demands to those raised earlier. They are now demanding the release of leaders and workers arrested September 14 and 15. "We find it impermissible that workers should be detained for protesting while smugglers and gangsters go free," Cuevas said to the CNS.

The leaders of the four union federations have also demanded that the CNS accept the presence of delegates from the USO and FECODE, before negotiating on wage increases. Gustavo Díaz Raga, president of the CTC, has also demanded an investigation into the deaths that occurred during the strike. The Senate has called on the ministers of state, defense, and labor to testify on September 29 to explain the deaths of twenty-three persons on a list compiled by that body.

The foreign press has been speculating about future developments in Colombia. In

its September 18-19 edition, the French daily *Le Monde* noted the paradoxical fact that the social and political dislocations brought about by the strike occurred in a country where the economic situation was quite good.

The Argentine daily *La Nación* said September 19 in reference to the strike that López Michelsen "governs amid circumstances that come close to what could be called a crisis."

The American press has covered up the success of the strike.

The scandal was brought before the United Nations when a Mexican trade-union official told Kurt Waldheim that during the period of the general strike the military forces "were committing genocide."

No information is available on the verdict of the delegation sent by Amnesty International to observe the general strike. That group took films of the events.

The balance sheet of the general strike will have to be drawn by the workers parties and the trade-union leaderships. But one lesson should be singled out right now: Trade-union unity is both necessary and possible. Without it the struggle would not have been as successful as it was.

Building the unified federation the workers have so long desired is not only a good idea but has become a burning necessity. It would facilitate establishing a labor party based on the trade unions; and it would constitute a step toward working-class political independence.

A big effort must be made by the revolutionary groups that were momentarily able to unite in action alongside their class. They must construct a mass revolutionary party.

Achieving these three things will be the best tribute to the women and men who fell on September 14-15. □

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Dominican Teacher to Be Tried for 'Subversion'

Protest Rises Against Arbitrary Arrest of Tavárez

By Judy White

September 27 is the date set for the trial of Claudio Tavárez in Santo Domingo. Tavárez, a Dominican teacher prominent in activities to defend democratic rights, is accused of violating three Dominican anti-communist statutes by "introducing a far-reaching plan of agitation, mobilizing the masses of the communist parties, and encouraging the youth to commit disorderly acts directed against public and private property."

Tavárez was arrested in the Santo Domingo airport September 9. The materials used by the police as the pretext for the arrest and indictment were copies in his possession of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language fortnightly magazine published in New York. Tavárez is currently free on a bail of 50,000 pesos (US\$50,000). Bail had originally been set at 200,000 pesos.

Protest in Santo Domingo against this violation of democratic rights has been building with unusual speed. The September 18 issue of the Dominican daily *¡Despertar!* described the arrest and charges as "one more blow against the precarious freedoms enjoyed by the Dominican people."

The unsigned article continued:

It has been pointed out that the use of the term "subversive" to describe any sort of literature is nothing more than a way to prevent the people from getting ideas that differ from those held by the current administration.

The step is considered to be a violation of the Constitution, since this document establishes the right to freedom of expression and to spread ideas.

The measure is also in violation of human rights because freedom of thought is guaranteed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Editorials in the September 21 and 22 issues of the most important Dominican daily, *El Caribe*, condemned Police Chief Niet Rafael Nivar Seijas's action in bringing charges against Tavárez and urged him to withdraw the indictment.

The Asociación Dominicana de Diarios (Dominican Press Association), alerted to the arrest of Tavárez by a September 10 telegram from the editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*, has taken up the case. In addition to moving immediately on the magazine's request that the association help win Tavárez's release, the organization has made its offices available to *Perspectiva Mundial* supporters and civil libertarians in the city to organize a defense effort.

Protest telegrams were sent to Dominican authorities from organizations and individuals that Tavárez had worked with

in the United States—the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), the Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs (PRACA), the New York-based Dominican human-rights group Derechos Humanos, and others.

In view of the rising protest against the violation of democratic rights, Nivar Seijas contacted the official distributors of *Perspectiva Mundial* on the island, Enrique de León and José Díaz, and offered to return the two packages of the magazine

the police had seized from Tavárez.

However, despite the favorable publicity the case has received, Tavárez and other Dominican citizens who read and distribute *Perspectiva Mundial* are still seriously threatened. As of September 24, the charges against Tavárez had not been dropped and the police promise to extend the matter into a witch-hunt.

The September 13 issue of the Dominican daily *Ultima Hora* reported that the indictment stated that "up to now, it is not known what far-left organization in the country he was bringing this literature to."

Actually, Tavárez was taking *Perspectiva Mundial* for distribution on newsstands.

Ultima Hora said that the police investigator for the case had also stressed that the police department "is continuing its investigations to determine if other persons are involved in such actions." □

The Case of Arifa Muhammed Jabdallah Halil Ibrahim

An Eighteen-Month Sentence for Giving Food

[The following international appeal on behalf of Palestinian political prisoner Arifa Muhammed Jabdallah Halil Ibrahim is being circulated by Dr. Israel Shakh, a leading defender of human rights in Israel.

[Letters of protest in the case may be sent to Prime Minister Menahem Begin, Knesset, Jerusalem, Israel. Copies of such protests should be sent to Dr. Israel Shakh, 2 Bartenura Street, Jerusalem, Israel.]

* * *

Arifa Muhammed Jabdallah Halil Ibrahim from Beit-Fagar, near Hebron, is fifty-five years old.

She was arrested March 30 on suspicion of having given food to fugitives. Her son was arrested with her and released after twenty-six days. Attorney Lea Tzemel spoke with Arifa on April 14 at the military court in Ramallah, where she was brought in order to lengthen her detainment.

Arifa said that she had been apprehended and taken from her home at night. The soldiers who carried out the arrest cursed and insulted her and told her that if she didn't confess, her son would be killed. An interrogator nicknamed Johnny put his hands around her neck as if to strangle her.

She was interrogated for two nights and a day. Finally on April 1, fearing further abuse, she signed a confession, in Hebrew,

which stated that on three occasions, she brought bread, sardines, and eggs to a wanted man. She was brought to trial before one judge July 10.

Convinced that due to her prolonged detainment she would be quickly released, and to avoid complex legal procedure, Arifa pleaded guilty as charged.

She was sentenced to eighteen months in prison.

In the course of the trial, attorney Tzemel argued that trying someone for giving food to a hungry man is a disgrace and such an article should be erased from the law books.

Judge Orr said in his verdict:

The attorney for the defense claims that such a case deserves a minimal sentence. The misdemeanor in question consists of giving food and drink to a man in need. Such acts are considered moral and human by most religions and races. . . . I am not prepared to accept such claims by the defense, when the men in need are terrorists. They hide in deserted areas and set traps for innocent people. The terrorists are like poisonous snakes attacking their victims from an ambush. About such enemies it has been said elsewhere: If anyone comes to kill you, kill him first. . . .

This appears to be a grave precedent. Attorney Tzemel has entered a request with the district commander for reducing the sentence. There is little hope that the request will be granted without a loud public protest. □

Pinochet's 'Reforms' Draw Washington's Praise

By Fred Murphy

"President Pinochet came out of the meeting with President Carter saying that they agreed entirely on human rights," the *New York Times* reported September 10.

General Augusto Pinochet of Chile was one of a number of Latin American military dictators welcomed to the White House on September 7 for the signing of the Panama Canal treaties. He met with Carter for an hour, reportedly agreeing, "in principle," that United Nations observers would be allowed to enter Chile to investigate charges of torture and violations of human rights.

When Pinochet returned to Santiago, the *New York Times* reported September 10, the military turned out masses of schoolchildren to greet his limousine as it sped through the streets. "The visit to the United States . . . has enhanced his political prestige," the *Times* said.

Pinochet has made promises before like the one he was reported to have given Carter. In late June, following a hunger strike and sit-in at the Santiago offices of the United Nations by relatives of missing political prisoners, Pinochet told UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim that the regime would provide information concerning the whereabouts of the protesters' relatives.

After two months, no such information had been forthcoming, attorneys for the Relatives of Missing Detainees said September 4. None of the missing persons had been found or released, and no criminal charges had been brought against agents of the regime's secret police, despite court findings that some of the missing persons had been in the custody of the Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA—National Intelligence Bureau).

Sees Change in Washington

Pinochet followed up his triumphal return from Washington with an hour-and-forty-five-minute speech at ceremonies marking the fourth anniversary of the 1973 coup that overthrew the elected government of Salvador Allende. In his address to military officers and handpicked delegations from labor, youth, and women's organizations, Pinochet noted "a slow but progressive improvement in the attitude of the United States Government toward the evolution of Chilean reality." But, he vowed, "Chile will not change its sovereign course to please any country, and much less under pressure."



PINOCHET: Sees eye-to-eye with Carter on need to observe human rights.

Chilean reality, Pinochet-style, will continue to be based on the state of siege imposed after the 1973 coup, until "we judge that the symptoms of normalization permit us to reduce or lift these measures." Under the state of siege, the right of habeas corpus and all political rights were suspended, and political parties and trade unions have been dissolved.

Pinochet had announced in July a timetable for gradually returning Chile to civilian rule, beginning with a military-appointed legislature and concluding—in 1985—with the election of a president. In his September 11 speech the general emphasized that these moves would be made only "when the profound causes that required the armed intervention have been overcome."

The "authoritarian democracy" of the future would have four branches, he explained: In addition to legislative, executive, and judicial powers, there would be a "security power" through which the armed forces would "represent the permanent interests of the nation."

The junta has drawn praise for its "democratization" plans from Washington and from the major bourgeois press in the United States. More applause was forthcoming after Pinochet's August 12 announcement that the DINA was to be dissolved, having "completed the delicate functions of national security for which it was created."

The *New York Times* editors said this move showed that "President Carter's

human rights campaign . . . appears to be getting some results in Chile. . . ."

The editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* called the dissolution of the DINA "one more sign that Chile is moving in the direction of greater normality and away from the rigid government stance that sanctioned an agency which has been accused of using murder, torture, and imprisonment against the regime's political opponents."

Several news reports from Santiago speculated that the DINA might have been developing into an independent power center and that the top military authorities dissolved it as a means of bringing the intelligence apparatus back under their direct control.

Just a Paint Job

In any event, the reports of its demise have been greatly exaggerated.

Writing in the September 7 *New York Times*, exiled Chilean attorney Eugenio Velasco quoted the junta's original decree that established the DINA. Article One of Decree Law 521, issued in June 1974 said that the DINA would be:

. . . [a] military organization of a professional technical nature, directly dependent upon the Government junta, and whose mission will be that of gathering all information at the national level coming from the different fields of activity, with the purpose of producing the intelligence which is required for the formulation of policies, planning, and for the adoption of measures that seek to protect the national security and the development of the country.

Velasco then quoted Article One of Decree Law 1,876, issued August 13, 1977, replacing the DINA with the Centro Nacional de Informaciones (CNI—National Information Center). The CNI is to be:

. . . [a] specialized military organization, of a technical and professional nature, which shall have as its mission to gather and process all information at a national level coming from the different fields of activity that the Supreme Government requires for the formation of policies, plans, programs; the adoption of measures necessary for the protection of the national security and the normal development of national activities and maintenance of the established institutionality.

Velasco went on to explain that the last three articles of the decree establishing the DINA were never published in the regime's official journal: "They were of a 'reserved' or 'secret' nature." However, in the new decree on the CNI, there is one article that simply states that the "Organic Regulations of the agency shall have a 'reserved' nature."

"No one may then doubt," Velasco concludes, "that the 'reserved' powers will be passed on from one agency to the other. Likewise, it is clear that the CNI will inherit as well DINA's know-how, methods and its 20,000 agents." □

New Nostrums in Old Bottles

By Les Evans

The Eleventh Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), held in Peking August 12 to 18, contained few surprises. It did offer a hint of the lineup in the post-Mao leadership and the extent of the purge of Mao's personal faction, which has not by any means been limited to the "gang of four."

After almost thirty years in power, the CCP still conducts its deliberations as though it were a persecuted opposition—in complete secrecy. The Chinese people discovered that their ruling party was holding a congress only after it was over, when the announcement was released to the press on August 20. There was, as usual, no publication beforehand of any documents that could provide a basis for discussion by the party's thirty-five million nominal members.

Constitutionally, the party congress is the highest decision-making body of the CCP and the forum where the ranks have the opportunity to set policy and elect the leadership. This fiction has a ludicrous side to it when the interval between congresses is prolonged to the point that the previous congress decisions, presumably still binding on the leadership, remain unreviewed for many years.

Thus, the main decision of the Seventh Congress, in 1945, was to instruct the party leadership to seek a coalition government with Chiang Kai-shek. This remained in force until the next congress was held—in 1956, seven years after Chiang was overthrown.

The Eighth Congress in 1956 gave its endorsement to Khrushchev's speech condemning Stalin, a speech which Peking later claimed has "restored capitalism" in the USSR. That was not reviewed by a party congress until 1969, thirteen years later.

The Ninth Congress in 1969 made Defense Minister Lin Piao the official successor to Mao Tsetung, even writing this into the party constitution. That constitution remained in force until 1973, two years after Lin had been killed after allegedly trying to assassinate Mao.

The Tenth Congress in 1973 marked the consolidation of Mao's personal faction, now rid of Lin Piao, in both policy and personnel. By the time of the opening of the Eleventh Congress this August, many of the policies adopted four years earlier were being denounced as "fascist" and a large section of the top party leadership promoted by Mao were under arrest.

The new congress had a limited agenda: a political report, which took the form of a four-hour speech by party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng; the adoption of a new party constitution, reported on by 79-year-old Defense Minister Yeh Chien-ying; the election of a new Central Committee and Politburo; and a brief closing address by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Teng had just been rehabilitated in July, having been purged by Mao as an "unrepentant capitalist roader" in April of 1976 in one of Mao's last official acts.

The press communiqué issued by the government news agency, Hsinhua, on August 20 said that Hua had stressed in his report that "Mao Tsetung Thought is a new acquisition enriching the treasure-house of Marxist-Leninist theory and is Chairman Mao's most precious legacy to our era."

The summary of Hua's speech which appeared on August 22, however, was a repudiation of virtually all of the specific campaigns initiated by Mao in the last ten years of his life. Hua declared that the Cultural Revolution had come to a "triumphant conclusion"—with the arrest of the "gang of four," who with Mao had been its principal leaders!

He added that "this has ushered in a new period of development in our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction. Now we are able to achieve stability and unity and attain great order across the land in compliance with Chairman Mao's instructions."

What Hua here calls Mao's "instructions" are, of course, nothing of the sort. As everyone in China recalls, when Mao denounced Teng Hsiao-p'ing as a "representative of the bourgeoisie" in April 1976, it was because Teng allegedly failed to make "class struggle" the "key link" ahead of "stability and unity."

In Maoist jargon this dispute concerned real policy differences within the ruling bureaucracy over the relative priority of economic construction versus indoctrination campaigns to "remold" loyal Maoists. The essence of "Mao Tsetung Thought," insofar as it differed at all from Soviet-style Stalinism, lay in Mao's novel insistence on the "human factor," i.e., the importance of using the party apparatus to generate massive social pressure for ideological conformity.

This went hand-in-hand with the most extreme anti-intellectualism, a disregard for the most elementary requirements of

teaching science and technology, a blatant xenophobia, and a cultural and political monolithism that threatened to disrupt the economy.

At the end of Mao's reign the CCP found itself dominated by ignorant sycophants of the chairman, with an economy in deep trouble and a population more and more restive under the lash of bureaucratic abuse. Small wonder that Hua now promises "stability and unity," choosing his words deliberately as a rejection of Mao's disastrous "class struggle" against independent-minded workers and peasants.

Speaking of the previous government, Hua said that the "gang of four"—Mao's wife, Chiang Ch'ing, and three other senior Maoist members of the Politburo—"repressed and stifled the revolutionary enthusiasm of the mass of intellectuals."

As for the campaigns of recent years, Hua said that the movement to "criticize Lin Piao and Confucius" had been "wrecked," the thousands of articles devoted to criticizing the novel *Water Margin* had been a "vicious propaganda drive" to split the Central Committee, and that the purge of Teng Hsiao-p'ing was based on "false charges."

Hua insisted that it was "upon the personal proposal of Chairman Mao and its adoption by the Political Bureau" on April 7 of last year that he, Hua, had been named first vice-chairman of the Central Committee. Hua tactfully refrained from mentioning the other half of Mao's "personal proposal" at that Politburo meeting, which was to strip Teng Hsiao-p'ing of all his government and party posts.

These obvious slips are deliberate. They constitute an attack on Mao's prestige that stops short of direct public criticism of the late leader. The reasons for the attack are not hard to find. In April, Li Chiang, China's foreign trade minister, told a group of Japanese businessmen that China's coal production had fallen by twenty-five million tons in 1976 as a result of natural disasters and "sabotage" by the "gang of four." Steel production is also reportedly down by some 10 to 15 percent. And there is a food shortage on top of the setbacks in industrial production. On May 6, the Hong Kong *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported:

"Recent wallposters in Shanghai . . . have protested against the size of the rations of rice and cooking oil, and similar manifestations have been noted in Canton."

The new government has been on a campaign footing to increase production, put a halt to indoctrination campaigns that disrupt work, import more foreign technology, and revive scientific education, which had nearly collapsed under Mao. (The September 1977 issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* reports that Chou Jung-hsin, the minister of education hounded from office last year, "con-

cluded, after investigation, that university standards in 1975 were no higher than those of technical middle schools before the Cultural Revolution.”)

The new leadership's concern with industrial productivity and economic growth are so paramount as to be written into the new party constitution, much as Lin Pao's aspirations to rulership were written in eight years ago. The plans for achieving this desirable goal are more shadowy, however.

Western music can now be heard on Chinese radio for the first time in a decade. Foreign trade is welcomed and the slogan of “self-reliance” is seldom heard. But in essence the new leadership—which is not synonymous with a younger leadership—has nothing with which to replace “Maoism” except variants of the same thing.

They are still committed to a narrow nationalistic prospect of trying to construct an advanced industrial economy within the borders of backward China with whatever aid can be secured from imperialism in exchange for collaboration against foreign socialist revolutions. But technical professionalism alone will not lift China to the level of Japan or assuage the discontent of the Chinese masses under the arbitrary rule of a privileged bureaucratic caste.

While these problems were not openly discussed at Hua's handpicked congress, concern over them was reflected in the leadership changes that took place there. In China the actual power is centered not in the congress, nor even in the Central Committee, but in the Politburo and its elite Standing Committee.

Some Western reporters noted the high degree of continuity from the remaining members of the Tenth Politburo to the Eleventh, which is in contrast to an extensive new purge of the Central Committee itself, revealed for the first time in the list published after the Eleventh Congress. This appearance of continuity is misleading, since the purge in this important body was carried out long ago, right after the death of Mao. The decimation of Mao's faction in the Politburo can be seen in the contrast between the number of them included in the full Politburo of 1973 and those who were still on hand to stand for reelection in 1977.

On the eve of the Eleventh Congress, of the five vice-chairmen elected at the Tenth Congress, only two remained—Yeh Chien-ying, and Li Te-sheng, the military commander of Manchuria and a former hard Maoist. Of these, Li was dropped from his vice-chairmanship by the new congress.

Of the nine members of the Politburo Standing Committee elected in 1973, only two remained in 1977; again, Yeh and Li. (Chairman Hua was not considered important enough in 1973 to be elected to the Standing Committee.)

Only twelve of the twenty-two members of the full Politburo were still around by

August 1977, the rest either dead of old age or under arrest.

The situation in the 195-member Central Committee (enlarged by the August congress to 201) was quite different. The list published by Hsinhua on August 20 was the first indication of who had survived the purge of the Mao faction. No fewer than 85 of the 195 CC members elected in



HUA: The real heir after all.

1973 were dropped. Allowing for the six known deaths among these, that still comes to about 40 percent of the party leadership.

Those dropped were overwhelmingly the relatively young representatives of “mass organizations” used by Mao in the Cultural Revolution as a cudgel to beat the veteran bureaucracy into line. Their replacements are the same aged administrators Mao accused of “capitalist restorationism” in 1966.

This move should not be misunderstood as having anything to do with making the new CC less—or more—democratic or representative. It is true that most of Mao's model workers and peasants have been dropped from the committee. But it would be mistaken to equate them with actual representatives of the masses. Their elevation at the party congresses in 1969 and 1973 was tied to the rise of the Mao cult and its peculiar adaptation of reactionary Chinese ruling-class traditions to the administration of the Chinese workers state. They were chosen for their personal loyalty to the chairman, not to the masses they ostensibly represented.

Moreover, like the so-called gang of four, who epitomized this faction in the party, the “model workers and peasants” were among the most ignorant zealots of the bureaucracy.

It is not surprising, then, that Mao's faction has been swept away by the remainder of the bureaucracy. The signifi-

cant point is that these functionaries have nothing to offer as substitutes but their own aging corps of survivors of the Cultural Revolution. The *average* age of the new twenty-three-member Politburo is sixty-eight, which makes it about the oldest party leadership anywhere in the world.

The “new” faces on the Politburo include such figures as Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien, 75, and Nieh Jung-chen, 78, two of China's army marshals; head of the Academy of Sciences Fang I, 68; foreign trade expert Keng Piao, 68; Yu Ch'iu-li, 63, head of the national planning commission; and Su Chen-hua, 68, an admiral purged by Mao in 1966 who is now in charge of cleaning Mao's appointees out of their former stronghold in Shanghai. The youngest member of the new Politburo, and the only one under 50, is Ni Chih-fu, 44, a specialist in questions of public order and former head of the Peking militia, who is now in Shanghai reorganizing the militia there.

In the official rankings, the holdovers from the previous committee retain the top posts. Hua Kuo-feng succeeded at this congress in “legitimizing” his hold on the chairmanship, which until now rested on a scribbled note by Mao in which the dying chairman said that he was “at ease” with Hua taking care of some provincial problems. The four vice-chairmen are Defense Minister Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, economic planner Li Hsien-nien, and Wang Tung-hsing, the commander of the leadership's private bodyguard troops and director of the General Office of the Central Committee.

Among the most prominent of the remaining members reelected to the Politburo are Ch'en Hsi-lien, commander of the Peking military region, and Wu Te, the capital's mayor; and in Canton, party secretary Wei Kuo-ch'ing and Kwangtung military commander Hsu Shih-yu.

The composition is clear. The “new” leadership consists of aged military men, technicians, police, city administrators, foreign-trade experts, economists, and planners.

Mao was fond of saying that in China, women held up half of heaven. His successors have not lived up to his saying in dispensing the posts of power on earth. Not one single woman is included in the twenty-three-member Politburo. In the Central Committee, the twenty who were elected in 1973 were cut back to fourteen out of 201, or 7 percent.

The elderly technocrats and generals who are now in the saddle face the same political and social problems as did Mao. Whatever immediate improvements they are able to achieve by more rational methods of industrial organization will soon be vitiated by their insistence on China's national isolation, hostility to socialist revolution elsewhere, and zealous guarding of the highly privileged and even luxurious living standards of the ruling bureaucratic caste. □

The Struggle to Reverse the Bakke Ruling

By Matilde Zimmermann

Allan Bakke is a 37-year-old white engineer with a research job at NASA who thinks he hasn't gotten a fair deal compared to Blacks, Chicanos and women.

His complaint will be heard by the United States Supreme Court on October 12, in what is widely regarded as the most important civil-rights case in more than two decades.

Bakke contends that he was the victim of "reverse discrimination" when the medical school of the University of California at Davis denied him admission. This because the institution—a publicly financed school in a state that is more than one-third Black, Chicano, Asian and Native American—reserved 16 of 100 places in its medical school each year for "disadvantaged students." Bakke filed suit against the university because Black and Chicano students with lower grade-point averages than his were admitted to fill the sixteen slots. The California Supreme Court ruled in September 1976 that Bakke had been unconstitutionally discriminated against, and the university appealed the case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The case has sharply polarized public opinion in the United States. On one side are those who support special admissions for Blacks and other minorities: the traditional civil-rights and Black organizations; the student movement, particularly in California, where demonstrations of up to 2,000 students have been held on the case; and women's organizations such as the National Organization for Women. Even Carter's two highest Black appointees have called for reversal of the ruling in the case of *Allan Bakke v. Regents of the University of California*.

On the other side are conservative groups like the Young Americans for Freedom and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, several Jewish organizations, such as the American Jewish Committee, and anti-affirmative-action union bureaucrats like Albert Shanker of the United Federation of Teachers.

More friend-of-the-court briefs have been filed in this case than in any other case in the history of the U.S. Supreme Court. Nearly sixty such briefs have been filed so far, many of them signed by several different organizations.

At stake in the *Bakke* case is much more than the opportunity for sixteen Blacks and Chicanos to attend medical school. If the Supreme Court rules in favor of Bakke, special admissions programs won by Blacks and other minority students in the

struggles of the 1960s will be jeopardized. In fact, California universities have already begun to junk their minority admissions programs, on the basis of the state court ruling.

A Russian-born white woman has filed suit against the same medical school, contending that, like Allan Bakke, she was discriminated against in favor of Black and Latino applicants. A New York judge has awarded \$1,500 in damages to nine white students who said their applications were rejected while those of "less qualified" Blacks and Hispanics were accepted; the judge ruled that the whites were victims of "intentional racial discrimination."

A pro-Bakke ruling by the Supreme Court would also give employers the chance to do away with affirmative action programs. Many U.S. industries, including some of the largest, are currently under court order to hire or promote a certain number of women and minorities into higher paying jobs previously reserved for white males.

The establishment of quotas forcing universities to admit a certain number of minority students or forcing industries to hire a certain number of Black or female workers was a victory of the Black student upsurges and the women's liberation movement.

Civil-rights activists discovered that without quotas and special admissions programs all the various means of excluding Blacks and women from higher education and better-paying jobs would simply continue to operate in full force. Special admissions standards are necessary to compensate for segregated inferior education, culturally biased standardized tests, unions that refuse to admit or train minorities and women, and the many other handicaps that go with poverty and sexual oppression.

As civil-rights leader Jesse Jackson put it: "There has always been a quota system for Blacks. Historically, that quota has been zero."

The implications of doing away with quota systems are shown in a survey completed for American law schools in July, 1977: it revealed that only one-fifth of the Blacks who entered law school in 1976 would have been admitted without special admissions programs.

A brief filed by the Association of American Medical Colleges in the *Bakke* case concluded that if the medical schools had chosen to admit students based solely on numerical, "color-blind" criteria, "only a

very small proportion of minority applicants could qualify."

Largely because of special admissions programs, the number of minority students in law school has increased six-fold in the last fifteen years. But centuries of discrimination are not easily compensated for. Blacks represent at least 11 percent of the population, but only 1.3 percent of lawyers and judges, 1.6 percent of doctors, 1.2 percent of engineers.

The whole Black community pays a price for this discrimination in higher education. According to the National Urban League's *The State of Black America 1977*, there is only one doctor for every 3,000 people in Black neighborhoods, although in the country as a whole the ratio is 1 to 700. A three-year study by the Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation revealed that in Jimmy Carter's home state of Georgia, there are 8,903 Blacks for every Black doctor.

Carter's Campaign Promises

Carter, elected to office as a "friend of Blacks," shocked even his diehard Black defenders with his handling of the Bakke matter.

From July through August, the administration hinted it would file a friend-of-the-court brief supporting the university and its preferential admissions policy. Then Carter said in late August that he was actually still undecided.

On September 1, information was "leaked" that in fact the Justice Department draft brief supported Bakke and opposed quotas.

This caused a storm of protest from Black leaders. The congressional Black Caucus released a message to Carter saying that a pro-Bakke ruling would "jeopardize virtually all government programs which are designed to ameliorate the conditions of black people." NAACP executive director Benjamin Hooks warned that "everything that's happened in the last 20 years would be rolled back" if *Bakke* were upheld.

Once again Carter was reported to be agonizing over what position to take.

Finally, on September 19, the Justice Department filed its brief, giving verbal support to affirmative action—which Carter prefers to call "minority-sensitive programs"—while avoiding the question of numerical quotas.

The real position of the Carter administration on quotas was given by Attorney General Griffin Bell at his news conference releasing the Justice Department brief: "There is a line between goals and quotas and when you cross the line we would oppose quotas."

The debate over *Bakke* comes in the context of a long string of attacks on the rights won by Blacks and women in the 1960s and early '70s. The Supreme Court has spearheaded this antirights drive,

with rulings that threaten school desegregation plans, undermine the right to abortion, and uphold discriminatory job-seniority systems.

The struggle over affirmative action is actually a struggle over all civil rights for minorities and women. This is perhaps shown most bluntly in a comment by Congressman John Ashbrook on the *Bakke* case—a comment which also demonstrates the racist thrust of much of the antiquota propaganda. He is quoted in the

Christian Science Monitor of July 19 as saying:

Civil rights has meant a lowering of standards . . . by colleges, schools, and professions, which I call civil wrongs. . . .

The rank-and-file, and especially the productive people, have had their fill of so-called civil rights. . . .

Student groups and civil-rights organizations have called for demonstrations in Washington and around the country October 3 and October 8, demanding the reversal of the *Bakke* ruling. □

Mounting Pressure to Grant Visa

'The Nation' Speaks for Hugo Blanco

[Pressure is mounting on the Carter administration to grant a visa to Peruvian revolutionary Hugo Blanco.

[Blanco was scheduled to begin a speaking tour of thirty cities in the United States on September 9. On September 6, however, the State Department announced that Blanco's visa application had not been approved.

[Previous attempts to arrange a speaking tour for Blanco had been blocked by the witch-hunting McCarran Act, which denies admission to "communists."

[The McGovern Amendment, which was adopted in August, supposedly did away with the most embarrassing aspects of the McCarran Act by making it almost automatic for the State Department to recommend a "waiver" from the Justice Department to admit previously banned individuals.

[A delegation of Stalinist trade-union officials was given permission to visit the U.S. under the procedures of the McGovern Amendment. When it came time to admit Hugo Blanco, however, the State Department explained that the McGovern Amendment did not apply.

[After Blanco was denied a visa in 1975, many intellectual and political leaders protested this violation of democratic rights. A few weeks ago, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) began to publicize the latest exclusion, and telegrams of protest started to arrive at the State Department.

[On September 23, Mr. Lloyd Dewitt, chief of the Public Services Division of the Visa Office at the State Department, told a representative of USLA that the State Department had reversed its position and signed a request for a waiver of the ban. The matter now goes to the Justice Department. In 1975 the Justice Department

barred Blanco even after the State Department recommended such a waiver.

[Reprinted below is an editorial on the Blanco exclusion which appeared in the September 24 issue of the liberal weekly magazine *The Nation* under the title "The Foggy Bottom Curtain."]

* * *

As might have been expected, given the federal government's expertise in loopholing any law, the State Department is already trying to circumvent the recent McGovern amendment to the State Department Authorization Bill. The amendment expresses Congress's desire that the Secretary of State recommend that visas be granted to all foreigners who are excludable under the McCarran Act as members of proscribed organizations: Communists, anarchists, etc. As a result of the amendment a delegation of Soviet union officials received visas two weeks ago, an unprecedented occurrence since the outbreak of the cold war.

Unfortunately, the McCarran Act provides resourceful State Department functionaries with countless excuses for barring the country's door to anyone they consider unsavory. It would appear that their first victim is to be Hugo Blanco, the well-known Peruvian peasant leader. Blanco is scheduled to begin a speaking tour of the United States this month. Two years ago, when a similar tour was scheduled, he was refused a visa at the last moment, forcing cancellation and thus making public protest moot. His application has not yet been granted this year; the same stalling tactics are in effect. But because of the McGovern amendment, new rationales have had to be devised.

A State Department spokesman said recently that Blanco is ineligible for a visa not only under Section 212 (A) (28), which refers to proscribed organizations—and to which the McGovern amendment applies—but also under Paragraph (9), which forbids entry to persons guilty of crimes of "moral turpitude." In 1966 Blanco was convicted in Peru of killing two policemen. He had been forced underground when the army smashed his peasant league, and he argues that he fired after being fired upon—at a time when the dictator's police were under orders to shoot him on sight. He was convicted in a military trial that violated most canons of judicial procedure, and during which one of his lawyers was assassinated. Finally he was freed and exiled after an international campaign was waged in his defense.

It is true, therefore, that Blanco in a legalistic sense may fit into the category of persons described in Paragraph (9). It is also true that, should the State Department desire, Blanco almost certainly would be granted a visa without his "morality" ever becoming an issue. The Department spokesman has said that political considerations will weigh heavily in the Blanco matter, and that officials have yet to decide whether Blanco's presence would be in the best interests of Americans.

Once again, then, the State Department is arbitrarily using the McCarran Act to censor—with paternal concern for our "best interests"—the political views we are allowed to hear. One of the McCarran Act's ill-advised aims was to seal the country off from foreigners with evil designs on the national security. Is it actually possible that the State Department fears that Mr. Blanco (who undeniably is a Communist) will rally this country's vast peasant population and storm Washington? If not, why should we be kept from hearing what he has to say? And finally, is it the State Department's plan in future to flout the intent of the McGovern amendment by combing the miserable McCarran Act for provisions that might apply to anyone the Department wishes to exclude? Someone at Foggy Bottom would do well to ponder what this will say to the world about American self-confidence—and about our compliance with the Helsinki Accords. □

Last Warning

The U.S. Federal Trade Commission has recommended changing the health warning that must appear on all cigarette packages sold in the United States.

Since 1970, the following statement has been required by law: "Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health." The FTC made two proposals, one of which is more succinct and to the point: "Warning: Cigarette Smoking is a Major Health Hazard and May Result in Your Death."

First Four Months of the Begin Regime

[The following interview was obtained in early September with a member of a group associated with *Spark*, a Trotskyist newspaper in Israel.]

* * *

Question. A member of your group was recently warned by the police that he might be in violation of Israel's "sedition law." What lies behind this threat against an anti-Zionist activist?

Answer. The Trotskyists in Israel reject the right of the state of Israel to exist on Palestinian land, and we fight consistently for the rights of the Palestinians. We are another force that could become a voice for the Palestinians; that is why the government is now trying to stop us from even expressing our ideas.

Q. Is this stepped-up attack on the Trotskyists connected with a rise in the Palestinian struggle?

A. The Zionists are coming down harder now because they face both a radicalization of the Palestinians and a sharpening of the contradictions in Israeli society.

So the anti-Zionist ideas that are being expressed are becoming a political force; they can be visualized more and more concretely. In addition, the government sees those ideas spreading among those the Zionists used to call "our Arabs"; that is, Palestinians who live within the borders of the state of Israel.

The government is trying to stop this process as soon as possible, while it is still small. And they are going about it in a very ruthless way.

For example, here is an article in the August 28, 1977, issue of the Israeli newspaper *Yediot Ahronot*. It says:

"In the Arab towns in the Galilee there were cases of sedition against the state of Israel, especially in family parties at which poets and singers were invited to sing songs whose content is against the state of Israel.

"Recently, fifteen youngsters were detained for participating in singing against the state. Last week alone, fourteen members of a theater group from East Jerusalem were detained for participating in a parade sponsored by their theater in the town of Shefaram. Parts of their play constituted sedition against the state."



BEGIN: Speaks loudly, carries big club.

I would say that a regime that has to stop people from singing is in a very bad way.

Q. What changes do you think the election of the Begin government represents?

A. First of all, we must say that there is no qualitative change between these two governments. I think the Begin government is simply taking a more open stance against democratic rights.

What Rabin did in quietly establishing seventy settlements in the occupied territories, Begin did with more publicity. I think Begin also views the Geneva conference in a way not very different from the way Rabin did. Even though Begin is saying everything is open to negotiating, both Rabin and Begin did everything they could to build Israeli settlements everywhere in the occupied territories. It is just a question of emphasis, of style. I don't think the content has changed.

Q. Do you think Begin's election represents a change in the attitude of the Jewish workers in Israel?

A. There is a change among working-class Jews in Israel. But I think it would be a mistake to think that it is a movement toward the right, toward what Begin represents.

The fact is that the Labor government

lost its authority. All the stories about scandal and corruption gave people the feeling that it was not a government they wanted, that it was not a government that represented them. It was a vote against corruption.

Afterward people were very much afraid of what had happened. The elections for the Histadrut a month later resulted in a majority victory for the Labor Party, which showed a trend among workers to reverse, in a way, what they did in the general election. The Jewish workers still sympathize with the Labor Party, they still see it as their party, which will defend them on certain things.

What Jewish workers are doing now is to try to make the Histadrut and the Labor Party defend them.

Q. Do you think Jewish workers will be able to transform the Labor Party into an organization to defend their interests against the capitalist class?

A. Without doubt, the Zionist apparatus, of which the Histadrut is part, will never be transformed into an anti-Zionist, anti-capitalist tool in the hands of the working class. What I say is that the Jewish workers will start their fight for their rights by trying to make it this. I think it's an illusion that many more Jewish workers will see through.

We hear a lot of Jewish workers saying now, "Yes, the Histadrut is against us, we should form an independent trade union." It is a very common idea, but nobody knows how to go about carrying it out. They don't see how it could really help them.

They really feel the Histadrut, which is called a union, is against them. But they don't have a choice now, they don't have any concrete alternative to go to.

The problem is to present a realistic perspective for how to build an independent movement and then to organize a trade-union movement independent from the Histadrut, independent from the state.

Only this kind of an organization could defend the workers. And it must necessarily be an organization of both Jews and Arabs together, because as soon as the Jewish workers begin to organize independently they must confront the Histadrut and the Zionist state.

And in this situation the Arab workers have an advantage—they already understand what the Histadrut and the Labor Party are.

Q. Can you give an example of how the Labor Party is unable to defend the workers in Israel?

A. The Labor Party—from the beginning and then after the formation of the Zionist state—took the responsibility to lead the Zionist state. As a matter of fact, it did so until very recently, until the 1977 elections.

So if we talk about a military regime in the Arab villages inside Israel, we are talking about a military regime under the guns of the Labor government. If we talk about the Kafr Qasim killings in 1956—when forty-nine Arab workers, women, and children were killed coming back from work because some army officer decided that they had violated a curfew they had not been informed of—it was the Labor government that was responsible.

If you talk about the attack against the workers in the Ashkelon port in 1975, where police with drawn guns chased workers into the sea, it was the Labor government that ordered it.

During a strike by air traffic controllers this past spring, military air controllers were brought in to replace the strikers. It was the Labor government that was responsible for that.

I would say generally that in every strike the Histadrut, which should be the defender of the workers, stands clearly with the bosses. Most of the time they don't even pretend to stand with the workers. Since the Histadrut itself owns a lot of factories and industry, it is very clear that they would stand against the attempt of workers in their own industries to organize independently.

But even in private business, the result is the same. In the place I worked, a private company, we went on strike. The Histadrut didn't do anything for us except promise to send a lawyer to represent us in the labor court. On the day of the hearing the Histadrut lawyer didn't show up, but the boss had two attorneys to represent him.

Q. What changes have ten years of Israeli rule brought in the economic life of Arabs in the occupied territories? Will Israel now move to formally annex the West Bank?

A. Figures reported last year showed that the West Bank is now the second largest consumer of Israeli agricultural goods. I think the fact that something like 100,000 Arab workers from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank now make up about 6 to 10 percent of the Israeli work force and are doing the lowest paying, dirtiest jobs; as well as the fact that the Israeli government has invested so much money in settlements on the West Bank and Golan Heights, show very clearly that the West Bank and Gaza Strip have been integrated into the Israeli economy since the 1967 occupation.

Many people in Israel gained a lot of wealth exploiting Arab workers building settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

It is in the interests of capitalists in Israel to press for the integration of the West Bank into the Israeli economy. We must remember that from 1965 to 1967 the Israeli economy was in a very bad situa-

tion. There was a serious deflation and a very high rate of unemployment. It was a crisis for the Israeli state.

Many people left the country. There was even a joke at that time that the last person to leave should turn out the airport lights.

The 1967 war provided an opening for the Israeli state—economically, politically, and morally—to recover from this slump.

That is why I think it is very unlikely that the Israeli regime is prepared to give back any part of what it conquered since the 1967 war.

So in respect to the apparent contradiction between the Labor government, which said it was willing to give back the West Bank, and the Likud government, which says it is not ready to, the facts show that all the moves to integrate the West Bank into the Israeli economy were initiated by the Labor government. The only thing they hesitated to do was create headlines by formally annexing it.

To effectively annex it, however, all Begin had to do was extend government civil services to the occupied territories, which he did. He won't formally annex it because then the Israeli government would have to give West Bank Arabs the same limited democratic rights that citizens in Israel have.

Q. Many commentators in the American press predict a sharp increase in tensions, or even a rupture, between the Carter administration and the Begin government over Washington's verbal opposition to the creation of new Israeli settlements on the West Bank. What do you think?

A. I don't think it would happen. First of all the Begin government couldn't afford such a break. Most of the military, political, and economic assistance for Israel is based on Washington's unconditional support. Israel would not be able to survive without that backing.

On Carter's part, he doesn't have a better base any place in the world, at least until now, that will guarantee the interests of American imperialism in the Middle East. What South Africa is doing for him in the southern part of the African continent, Israel is doing for him in the Middle East.

Q. What do you think the prospects are for Geneva talks?

A. Everybody keeps talking about Geneva, all the rulers of the Middle East, all the rulers of the world. I think each of them has a somewhat different version of what they mean by "Geneva." But all of them are thinking in one direction: how to stabilize the Middle East; how to eliminate every independent movement of the masses, in particular the independent Palestinian organizations.

To accomplish that aim is Begin's ver-

sion of Geneva. Assad's is different sometimes. But I don't think Carter has many disagreements with Begin. They have some differences on how to deal with the Arabs, but make no mistake—they both agree that the attack against the Palestinians should continue.

Q. How is the PLO responding to this attack?

A. It is clear that the PLO is under heavy pressure. The entire Palestinian resistance movement is under heavy pressure, because it is so dangerous to the order that the Americans and the Israelis are anxious to keep in the Middle East. Dangerous not only for them, but for Hussein and the Lebanese Phalangists, and Sadat and Assad.

The fact that the PLO Central Council voted in late August to reject United Nations Resolution 242 [which recognizes the legitimacy of the Israeli state] indicates that the Palestinian masses still have the force to reject this pressure.

The Palestinian movement suffered a setback in the Lebanese civil war, but it is very clear that the Syrians, the Phalangists, and the Israelis were unable to destroy the independence of the Palestinian movement. It is still living. This was very clear in the demonstration in Beirut on May Day, in which 100,000 persons participated.

For the PLO leadership to agree on the United Nations 242 resolution—to accept the existence of the Israeli state—would not give the Palestinians an independent state on the West Bank. It would not give the Palestinians any real status. It would be a blow to the Palestinian movement, a blow to the resistance movement.

Q. What are Israel's relations with South Africa, and how do Israeli revolutionaries view their responsibilities toward the African revolution?

A. It is clear that the Israeli government maintains close political relations with the South African government. The economic and military cooperation between the countries is also clear, mainly in the way of Israeli military experts helping the South Africans build a stronger army. There are, of course, similarities between the role Israel is playing in the Middle East and South Africa is playing in Africa.

They both serve to help guarantee imperialists and monopolists the right to exploit the material resources of the people in southern Africa and in the Middle East. They are both racist and antidemocratic to the core. They both refuse to allow the oppressed Blacks and Palestinians any right to organize or to express their ideas.

This is what gives these two governments the feeling that they can collaborate; that they are in the same situation. □

Carter Soft-Pedals Korean Bribe Probe

By Steve Wattenmaker

After two years of lethargic investigation, the Justice Department has produced the first criminal indictment connected with Washington's "Koreagate" scandal.

Tongsun Park, the millionaire businessman who is alleged to have been the Korean Central Intelligence Agency's principal agent in bribing members of Congress to vote legislation favorable to Seoul, was indicted August 26 by a federal grand jury.

He was charged with thirty-six counts of conspiracy to defraud the United States government, failing to register as a foreign agent, and racketeering.

Although the grand jury proceedings were supposed to be cloaked in the strictest secrecy, Park evidently caught wind of the impending indictment. A week before it was handed down, he traveled to Seoul from London, where he had been living since he fled the United States in 1976. Unlike Britain, South Korea has no extradition treaty with the United States for the offenses with which Park is charged.

Former Rep. Richard Hanna of California was named as an unindicted coconspirator. Twenty current members of the House of Representatives and four senators were identified as recipients of Korean largess but not charged.

To allay any fears on Capitol Hill that Park's indictment signaled a decision to prosecute the scores of lawmakers whose names have been linked to the scandal, Attorney General Griffin Bell told two *Los Angeles Times* reporters August 31 that he was virtually certain no present members of Congress would face indictments.

Asked about former members, Bell said, "We're going to have some charges, but very few. There aren't going to be a large number of people involved."

Tongsun Park responded to his indictment at a news conference in Seoul September 9. He would not return to face the charges against him in the "emotionally charged" atmosphere of Washington, he said.

He complained that "innuendos" and "allegations" of wrongdoing had tarnished his reputation as a businessman.

At an earlier meeting with reporters August 24, Park said it was "absurd" to suggest he was part of a Korean government plot to bribe members of Congress.

"I always enjoy the company of political figures and that happens to be my hobby," he explained.

Park was immediately backed by the



MacNelly/New York Daily News

South Korean regime. Foreign Minister Park Tong Jin announced September 8 that the decision to return to Washington was up to Tongsun Park alone.

"As a fully sovereign and law-governed nation, Korea finds no ground or reason to turn over its national merely on the ground he is suspected of having violated a foreign law," Jin said.

On the other hand, South Korean prosecutors themselves have questioned Park on three occasions since he returned to Seoul.

Within hours of hearing the South Korean regime's refusal to extradite Park, Congress voted 205 to 181 against an amendment to cut aid to Seoul by \$110 million. The amendment was offered by Rep. Bruce Caputo, a member of the House Ethics committee currently investigating the Korean scandal.

While the measure lost, the unexpectedly close vote was interpreted as an indication of Congress's newfound sensitivity to appearing too "pro-Korean."

The Carter administration responded to the South Korean government's decision with a September 13 statement by Attorney General Bell. Bell said he wasn't "taking no for an answer" from the South Korean government.

Despite its "get tough" appearance, it is likely that the Carter administration has Tongsun Park just where they want him. With Park under indictment but conveniently out of reach in Seoul, Carter can pose as finally cracking down on the bribery ring without risking even more explosive revelations if Park were actually forced onto the witness stand.

With the expected indictment of a few former Congressmen and Park under wraps, the Carter administration can shelve its investigation and pass the problem back to Congress without having stepped on any important toes in the process.

One of those lingering problems is the deepening involvement of the entire House Democratic leadership in the scandal.

Speaker of the House Thomas "Tip" O'Neill was the recipient of two gala birthday parties hosted by Park at his exclusive George Town Club in Washington, according to information that came to light in 1976.

New testimony has revealed that Park may have actually used O'Neill's office on Capitol Hill as a base of operations for his illegal influence-buying racket.

Suzi Park Thomson, herself alleged to have been working for the KCIA, implicated O'Neill August 25 in a closed session of the House Ethics Committee.

She reportedly told the committee that while working as a personal aide to former House Speaker Carl Albert, she sometimes delivered messages to Park in O'Neill's office.

O'Neill's involvement, however, appears to be only the tip of the iceberg. Park reportedly prepared a list of his "associates" in Congress two years ago. The list is now in the hands of congressional investigators, according to a report in the August 25 *Christian Science Monitor*.

Encompassing fifty-eight currently serving members of Congress, the list includes an impressive cross section of the House power structure. Among those named are:

- Five of the seven-member Democratic leadership (speaker, majority whip, two deputy whips, caucus chairman) and two of the top three Republican leaders.
- Seven committee chairmen, seventeen subcommittee chairmen, and two ranking Republican committee members.
- Nine members of the Appropriations Committee, seven members of International Relations, four members of Agriculture, three members of Armed Services and Rules, and two members of the Ethics Committee.

To complicate matters for the embattled members of Congress, a former secretary in Tongsun Park's Seoul office has shed new light on another side of the South Korean regime's operation.

Shin Kwang Ja, who now lives in the United States, has given Congressional investigators details of how members of Congress visiting Korea were provided with lavish entertainment and prostitutes.

Shin, who does not speak English, is said to have picked out about fifty Congressmen after looking over photographs of lawmakers who visited South Korea in recent years. News reports said she appeared to have an accurate recollection of dates and places when Congressmen visited South Korea.

Shin has said she personally handed over gifts and cash to visiting legislators. She also recruited several of her friends as prostitutes, who gave her firsthand accounts of their liaisons.

South Korean dictator Park Chung Hee personally helped pick out prostitutes for American dignitaries, according to a report in the August 4 *New York Daily News*. The *News* also cited a "U.S. source in Seoul" as saying that Tongsun Park arranged for photographs of congressmen to be taken with the prostitutes. Park is said to possess thirty such snapshots.

However, the *News* added, there is no indication that Park ever tried to use the candid photos to blackmail the American lawmakers. □

many African workers are forced to leave their families in the Bantustans, while they work in "white" South Africa on one-year contracts.

In an effort to divide the African and Coloured* sectors of the Black population, Pretoria has declared the Western Cape a "Coloured labor preference area." Virtually no Africans are allowed to settle there permanently with their families. Those African workers who are needed in Cape Town and other cities in the region are generally hired as migratory laborers only. Many of them are housed in barracks-like "hostels" in Cape Town's three African townships, Langa, Guguletu, and Nyanga.

Despite this policy, however, many Africans come to the Cape Town area illegally in search of jobs. Some of the migrant workers who are there legally later bring their families to live with them in defiance of the laws. But since the construction of new housing in the three established African townships has been frozen for the past three years, they are forced to look elsewhere for room to live. As a result, unauthorized "squatter" settlements like Modderdam are built on vacant land outside the city.

Some whites oppose the demolition of these shantytowns on the grounds that they have developed into stable, "orderly" communities and that their continued destruction could further inflame Black unrest. But as one white official replied, "You know what governmental policy is. This is a preferential area for Coloureds and Whites. Where possible, future African development has to take place in the homelands." (Quoted in the February 11 *Johannesburg Financial Mail*.)

After the destruction of Modderdam, the white authorities offered to find homes in the existing townships for those African residents who are in the area legally (about half of those evicted). That simply means shoehorning more people into the already overcrowded townships.

The rest have been ordered to settle in the Bantustans. Most are refusing to go, since the Bantustans are extremely poor, with little opportunity for employment.

Like the African population, Coloureds have also suffered from Pretoria's forced resettlement policy. Since 1950, tens of thousands of Coloureds have been expelled from their old neighborhoods under the Group Areas Act and resettled in segregated townships. Because of the tremendous overcrowding in these townships, about 150,000 Coloureds are forced to live in "squatter" settlements around Cape Town as well.

The same week that Modderdam was being demolished, Coloured families in Doornfontein, a section of Johannesburg, were also being evicted from their homes.

*South Africa's 2.4 million Coloureds are descendants of the Khoikhoi, San, and other African peoples, as well as of early white settlers and Malay slaves.

Apartheid by Bulldozer

Black Shantytown Demolished in Cape Town

By Ernest Harsch

In a scene that has become all too familiar in South Africa in recent years, police and bulldozers moved into Modderdam, east of Cape Town, in early August to evict the shantytown's 11,000 African inhabitants.

Modderdam and two other African shantytowns in the area, Unibel and Werkgenoot, had been ordered destroyed by the Vorster regime's Bantu Affairs Administration. The three shantytowns, which together housed about 26,000 Africans, were declared illegal "squatter" camps. The white authorities had first tried to demolish Modderdam in June 1976, but the residents resisted, resulting in clashes with the police.

Finally, on August 8, the police moved in with dogs, guns, and tear gas to begin the demolition. The next day a large crowd of Africans, joined by some white supporters, rallied to protest the evictions and to obstruct the bulldozers. Police dogs were used to break up the protesters, but they later regrouped. A dozen tear-gas cannisters were fired into the crowd.

By August 11, the destruction of Modderdam was virtually completed, with only 10 of the 1,200 corrugated iron and wood shacks left standing.

A dispatch in the August 12 *New York Times* described the plight of the dispossessed residents. "At dusk," it reported, "hundreds of shivering squatters gathered for another winter night under makeshift shelters fashioned from plastic sheeting, strung over wooden boxes and battered pieces of furniture. Although the gale-force winds were abating, it remained bitterly cold, with occasional rain squalls."

One woman, Elizabeth Nongauza, told a

reporter, "I will just have to leave my stuff here on the pavement. I have nowhere else to go."

The destruction and human suffering at Modderdam is but one small part of the apartheid regime's grand strategy of "separate development," in which entire Black communities are being forcibly resettled to suit the needs of white supremacy.

Between 1960 and 1970 alone, an estimated 1.6 million Africans were evicted from their homes. Many of them were simply trucked to the impoverished African reserves, known as Bantustans or "Bantu homelands," and dumped in squalid and barren resettlement camps. Most of those evicted were so-called rural "squatters," but about 400,000 had been "endorsed out" of the major cities.

This massive resettlement scheme is a result of Pretoria's fear of the social and political power of a stable and urbanized Black population. Since South Africa's white-owned industries, mines, and farms are dependent on large numbers of low-paid Black workers, the regime cannot simply expel the entire African population to the Bantustans. It has sought instead to evict those Africans who are not directly involved in labor.

As a 1967 government circular declared, "It must be stressed here that no stone is to be left unturned to achieve the settlement in the homelands of non-productive Bantu [a racist term for Africans] at present residing in the European areas."

And to tighten its control over the African workers themselves, Pretoria is extending the migratory labor system as much as possible. Under this arrangement,

Steel—the Shutdowns Begin

By Jon Britton

[Second of three articles]

Growing doubts about the strength of the U.S. economy have been "provoked mainly by [a] capital investment strike by American businessmen," according to the August 6 London *Economist*.

The employers in the United States have indeed been extraordinarily cautious about buying equipment and constructing new factories to expand productive capacity. As the accompanying graph shows, growth in capital spending is lagging far behind that of previous upturns in the business cycle.

Of course, the *Economist's* vexed comment about an "investment strike" applies with even more force to "businessmen" of the other major imperialist powers. In Japan, for example, outlays for plant and equipment are still more than 25% below their previous peak in 1973. In that country's earlier upturns such spending, on the average, had by this point in the cycle exceeded the previous peak by over 35%.

With the rise in consumer spending beginning to level off and government spending limited by the threat of renewed double-digit inflation, capital outlays will to a large extent determine the longevity of the current upturn, which is already getting old (twenty-nine months as compared to the average post-World War II lifespan of thirty-four months).

But the latest report of the Commerce Department projects such spending to increase a modest 13% in 1977 from 1976, a gain of less than 8% if inflation is taken into account.

One of the more pessimistic Wall Street forecasters, Michael Evans of Chase Manhattan Bank, thinks this spells a sharp slowdown in economic growth next year, and possibly a "mild recession":

I see the economy steadily running out of steam. . . . Consumers tried their best. They pushed the savings rate down to 4.3 percent in the first quarter this year, the lowest since the Korean War, and extended their credit to what I consider dangerous levels.

Income didn't grow enough, and so they'll have to pull in their horns. Meanwhile, increased capital spending was supposed to rescue the economy, but it hasn't. It is up only a little in this quarter and the next, but there won't be any real increase in 1978. And exports are looking poorly. There are no bright spots for the next year or so. [New York Times, September 16]

(Evans conceded to the *Times* interviewer that he had predicted only a mild recession in 1974, when in fact it turned out to be the worst slump of the postwar period.)

A similar scenario is outlined by an

authoritative UN body. "Unless capital investments expand more rapidly in the United States, West Germany and Japan, a new economic downturn could begin in the second half of 1978," an August 17 Associated Press dispatch states, citing a report of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

The increase in U.S. capital spending that has occurred has been concentrated in motor vehicles and quick-return, labor-displacing equipment, while construction of plants has stagnated. From the second quarter of 1975 through the second quarter of 1977, equipment purchases, measured in constant dollars, have advanced at an average 8.2% per year. Outlays for structures, however, have risen only 2.7% at an annual rate.

Clearly, tight-fisted bankers and industrialists are reluctant to invest in major projects that may not repay the cost of construction for many years. These costs are soaring, owing both to inflation and to pollution standards imposed by Congress under pressure from the environmental movement. Economic and political uncertainties are on the rise. The capitalists' "investment strike" is in reality an attempt to extort from society higher profits to ensure that such investments will pay off more quickly.

The slow pace in factory construction has had a big impact on new orders for structural steel in the United States. After plummeting in the 1974-75 depression, orders for fabricated structural steel have recovered only about one-quarter of their decline.

Overall, capital goods account for 70% of steel consumption. Thus, the lag in capital spending is a prime contributor to a growing world glut in steel and other key industrial commodities, which in turn further depresses capital spending.

"Only three years after one of the biggest booms in its history, the steel industry is in deep trouble. U.S. steelmakers are swamped by overcapacity, red ink, and a tide of imports offered at prices they cannot match," the September 19 *Business Week* states in its cover story entitled "Steel's Sea of Troubles."

The steel companies have responded to this crisis by beginning the process of closing down less profitable, technologically obsolete facilities, to better meet international competition.

The steel bosses are using the closings already announced, and the threat of more to come, to pressure steelworkers into

giving up current demands and past gains, including the affirmative-action victories won by Black and women workers in recent years. They are wielding the same club to demand that the Carter administration ease pollution guidelines and impose quotas or tariffs to stem the tide of foreign imports.

"Citing import competition and environmental restraints, the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company announced yesterday a major cutback in its steel operations at Youngstown, Ohio, at a cost of 5,000 jobs," Gene Smith reports in the September 20 *New York Times*. "In addition," Smith continues, "the United States Steel Corporation, the nation's largest producer, has said it is planning to consolidate its Youngstown area operations with severe cuts in a work force that ranges between 5,400 and 6,400."

New York Times reporter William K. Stevens, writing from Youngstown, indicates the likely impact of these cutbacks:

Here, if no reprieve comes . . . roughly 12 percent of all jobs in basic steel in a metropolitan area that calls itself the Steel Valley, are about to disappear. This is expected to throw thousands of others out of work as well, to severely reduce the tax base, send off a migration of the unemployed and uproot portions of an industrial culture whose origins go back a hundred years or more.

On September 22, Armco Steel Corporation said it would eliminate 600 jobs at two Ohio plants.

Earlier, Bethlehem Steel, the second-largest U.S. steel producer, announced that it will cut production capability by 2.6 million tons, or 10%, permanently lay off about 7,500 workers, and slash \$200 million from its capital spending through 1978.

U.S. Steel plans to lay off 1,000 white-collar workers in the Chicago-Gary area this fall and has already dropped 2,000 production workers at its giant South Works in Chicago, where rumors persist that the entire plant will be shut down.

Inland Steel, another major producer, has shelved the \$1 billion "second phase" of a huge capital spending program.

In Conshohocken, Pennsylvania, production at bankrupt Alan Wood Steel Co. has ended and only a skeleton maintenance crew remains from a work force that once numbered 3,000.

Even the super-efficient Japanese steel industry is feeling the pinch. In an article entitled "Japan: The steel boom is over," Tracy Dahlby writes in the August 26 *Far Eastern Economic Review*:

Two of the four giant blast furnaces at Nippon Steel Corporation's main production complex on the northern end of Tokyo Bay have been shut down for more than 18 months, and the command to reignite the fires is unlikely to be given for some time. Nippon Steel is the world's largest producer in the world's largest steel-exporting nation, and its production cutbacks are symbolic of problems shared with major steel-makers

everywhere in coping with slumping demand and rising production costs.

Dahlby quotes Nippon Steel chairman Yoshihiro Inayama, popularly known as Japan's "Emperor of Steel":

From now on, there won't be much incentive for rapidly expanding steel-making capacity. The advanced economies have reached the point where so-called prosperity has just about hit the ceiling.

Increasing competition from semicolonial countries such as South Korea and Brazil, which are setting up their own steel-making industries, will further add to the steel glut, Inayama says.

Such competition is a serious threat to the Japanese steel industry, which is heavily dependent (about one-third of sales) on exports and needs especially high operating rates to realize economies of scale with its new, technologically advanced mills.

The nationalized British steel industry is in bad shape too, despite a huge government-financed modernization effort. Its biggest blast furnace, Llanwern No. 3, is running at less than two-thirds of capacity, far below the company-wide break-even point of 92%, *New York Times* reporter Robert D. Hershey, Jr., writes in the August 22 issue.

Hershey says that British steel has become a "full-fledged industrial disaster," with losses of \$446 million last year. The red ink could be even more copious this year, possibly exceeding \$600 million according to Sir Charles Villiers, the company's chairman.

Copper is another industry in crisis. The commodity is in such oversupply and competition so intense that prices have actually been falling, which is unusual in today's inflation-plagued world. Kennecott and four other companies recently announced a 7.7% cut in prices to 60 cents a pound.

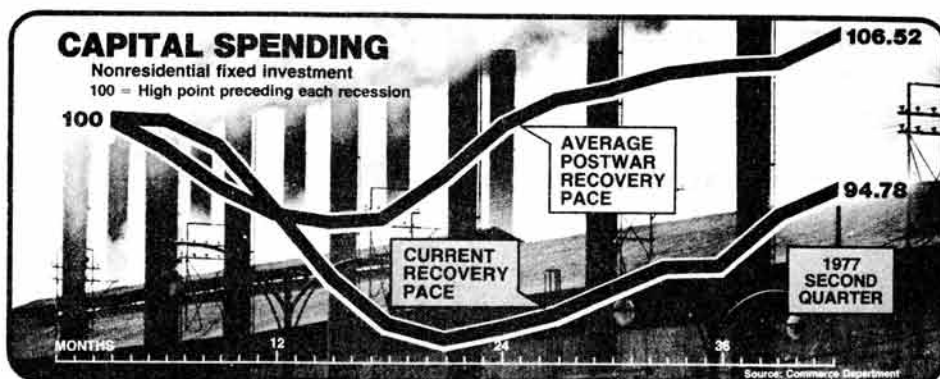
According to the August 20 *New York Times*, "The reduction, the fourth and the largest for copper since April . . . indicates worsening of the excess world copper supply that has plagued the industry for the last three years."

The September 5 issue of *Business Week* sheds further light on this oversupply:

While U.S. copper consumption has picked up briskly, use of the red metal in the rest of the industrialized world is still about 20% below the rate of 1974, the last good year for copper. . . .

But copper executives think the most lasting and troubling dilemma, brought to light by the recent price cuts, is that posed by foreign producers. The largest copper nations outside North America are Chile, Zambia, Zaire, and Peru. All are poor countries that desperately need foreign currency to make payments to the world's bankers on their sizable loans.

The loans are so "sizable," in fact, that some of these countries are on the brink of bankruptcy. Peru and other semicolonial producers are dumping copper on the world market to stave off imminent financial collapse.



Newsweek

A whole series of agricultural commodities are also piling up in the warehouses—and even overflowing onto the streets of some Midwest towns—because of saturated markets. Among these are wheat, corn, and sugar.

Because of falling prices, farmers are caught in a financial squeeze, even where there have been record harvests. The Kansas Bankers association found in a recent survey that 8.7% of farm clients had been unable to repay their debts, and 36.2% had been able to do so only by selling part of their land or by pledging their land as collateral for new long-term loans. Where the extensive western drought has wiped out crops, the farmers are in a much worse bind.

The situation is so bad that the Carter administration has taken steps to restore farm price supports that will cost billions of dollars. And despite continued hunger in much of the world, acreage reductions will be ordered to cut future harvests.

Plunging farm prices account for the recent slowing rate of food price rises in the supermarkets, hardly a sign of economic health when costs faced by farmers remain at near-record levels.

Gluts and massive amounts of unused productive capacity also plague the petroleum industry (despite the scare propaganda about impending shortages), makers of synthetic fibers, and shipbuilding, among others.

The profit picture is particularly bleak for the above-mentioned industries (steel profits dropped 18.4% in the second quarter from last year's figure). But corporate profits in general, contrary to appearances, also stand at a historically low level if the inflation in monetary terms is discounted.

This fact helps to explain the slower pace of capital spending in the 1970s, as well as the commodity gluts, sharpening international competition, and rising protectionism that have accompanied it.

While this general trend will continue, it is not excluded that a short-lived investment boom could get under way in the months ahead, deferring a new economic downturn for a time. In fact, some recent figures indicate that a pickup in capital spending is occurring.

The September 1 *New York Times* reports "a sharp gain—48 percent—in commercial and industrial building in July," compared to July 1976.

Also, capital appropriations by the 1,000 largest U.S. manufacturers—authorizations to spend money in the future for new plants and equipment—totalled \$15 billion in the second quarter of 1977, the second highest dollar amount in twenty-four years, the Conference Board, a business research organization, reported August 30. Appropriations were 4% over those of the first quarter and 24% above those of the same period last year.

The second quarter 1977 figures would have been a record, according to the report, except for a 20% cutback by the petroleum industry.

All this makes cheery reading on Wall Street. Yet it has not dissipated the gathering gloom. The longer-term prospects for capital spending remain dim. And pessimistic forecasters point to other ills afflicting the U.S. and world economies. These will be the subject of another article. □

Big Slump in U.S. Nuclear Industry

"American manufacturers of nuclear reactors are in deep trouble," John Vinocur reported in the September 21 *New York Times*. "Their slumping markets show no signs of recovery, and the industry itself is now facing the disintegration of skills and production capability built up since World War II."

Vinocur quoted a professor at the Harvard Business School: "Flatly stated, the manufacturers cannot go on under the present conditions. The minimum healthy market for one of the companies I know is five to 10 new orders a year." There were just three orders altogether for new nuclear plants in 1976, and only two have been definitely confirmed so far this year.

The manufacturers complained of government regulations, decreased demand for electricity, and "continuing resistance by strong environmentalist groups. . . ." Exports, said Vinocur, now seem threatened by "local anti-nuclear sentiment of an intensity so far unknown in the United States."

Foreign Landlords and the Great Theft of Tribal Holdings

By Jim Atkinson

[Fourth of a series]

"No issue is of greater dimension, and of deeper emotional appeal, to Africans in Southern Africa, than land shortage, in a motherland that has thousands of acres, abounds with fish, fruit and honey, but is occupied by foreign landlords." Nathan Shamuyarira.³³

After the British conquest in 1890-93, the white settlers stole tens of thousands of acres from the Africans. They also took most of the Ndebele cattle, reducing the Ndebele nation's herd from 250,000 before 1893 to about 41,000 after the conquest.³⁴

After the failure of the gold boom anticipated by Cecil Rhodes when he persuaded the British government in 1889 to grant his British South Africa Company (BSAC) a royal charter to rule Zimbabwe, the BSAC began to encourage European land settlement, hoping to recover its investment through sales of land expropriated from the Africans.

To guarantee the profitability of the new white-owned farms, the regime took measures to prevent effective competition from African peasant farmers. In the early years of European settlement, the whites were not used to farming in African conditions and they were generally inefficient. It was hard for them to outbid African farmers. So African competition had to be undermined. This meant curtailing African agriculture. The way that the regime decided to achieve this was to apportion the land formally on racial lines, hand over the best land to the whites, and crowd the Africans into so-called Native Reserves, often by simply evicting them from "European" land.

This policy was first proposed in 1925 by a commission headed by Sir Morris Carter, which recommended that the land should be formally divided on racial lines between areas reserved for European farmers and those left for the Africans. Accordingly, the settler government introduced a bill in Parliament, incorporating the commission's recommendations.

In July 1929, a number of African organizations held a congress to voice opposition to the planned legislation, and one Shona speaker told the assembly: "Let us tell the Government that this bill is wrong. Our people have been driven to lands where they cannot live. Our cattle die for want of water . . . Let us tell the Government that the bill is no good. It is all for the white man."³⁵

Nonetheless, in 1931, the Land Apportionment Act became law. Under the new law, most of the good land ended up in white hands, with the act distributing the country's land resources as shown in Table 4. The racist nature of this legislation was laid bare in a 1945 amendment to the act. This declared:

- No owner or occupier of land in the European area, or his agent, shall
1. dispose or attempt to dispose of any such land to a native;
 2. lease any such land to a native;
 3. permit, suffer or allow any native to occupy such land.³⁶

In 1969, the settler regime introduced a new law, the Land Tenure Act, "to finalise the division of land in Rhodesia into African and European Areas."³⁷ This act stated that "the total extent of all the land in the European Area shall not differ by more than two per centum from one-half of the combined extent of both the European Area and the African Area" and it classified the country's land resources as shown in Table 5.

Thus, under the Land Tenure Act, the country's land was divided roughly equally between the 273,000 Europeans and 6.3 million Africans. The 15.6 million hectares of European General Land are farmed by about 6,000 agricultural enterprises, with an average of 2,600 hectares each. By contrast, the estimated four million Africans who live in the Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs) and on African Purchase Lands³⁸ have to eke out a living from a roughly equivalent allotment of land (some 17.6 million hectares), with an average of 4.4 hectares per person.

The distribution of cattle is just as lopsided. The 6,000 white farms owned 2,812,000 cattle at the end of 1975, while the 4 million Africans in the TTLs and African Purchase Lands owned 3,317,000.³⁹

Furthermore, the quality of the European-owned land is higher than that in the African areas. And, as Duncan Clarke, an economist who has studied the land problem in Zimbabwe in detail, notes: "The effect of differential investments in infrastructure (roads, power, electricity, irrigation, water services, etc.) is an important factor and can be seen to provide a set of supports for plantation production structures markedly superior to those available for Africans."⁴⁰

The 356,000 agricultural laborers who work on the white commercial farms are the most exploited workers in Zimbabwe today, earning an average annual wage of R\$201 in 1976.⁴¹ According to Clarke, the average wage of an unskilled farm

33. *Crisis in Rhodesia* (André Deutsch: London, 1965), p. 90.

34. Ranger, "The Nineteenth Century in Southern Rhodesia," in *Aspects of Central African History*, p. 150.

Table 4

European Areas	49,149,000 acres
Native Reserves	21,600,000 acres
Native Purchase Areas	7,465,000 acres
Unassigned or Reserved	17,793,000 acres
Forest Area	591,000 acres
Undetermined Area	88,000 acres
Total	99,686,000 acres

Source: *Land Policy in Rhodesia: Its History and Present-Day Application*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Salisbury, April 1976.

35. Ranger, "African Politics in Twentieth-Century Southern Rhodesia," in *Aspects of Central African History*, p. 227.

36. Quoted in Shamuyarira, *Crisis in Rhodesia*.

37. *Land Policy in Rhodesia: Its History and Present-Day Application* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Salisbury, April 1976).

38. In the Tribal Trust Lands there is a communal land-tenure system. In the African Purchase Lands land is held on a private tenure basis by small African commercial farmers.

39. *Supplement to Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* (Central Statistics Office: Salisbury, April 1977).

40. D. G. Clarke, *The Distribution of Income and Wealth in Rhodesia* (Mambo Press: Gwelo, 1977), p. 54.

worker in 1975 was about R\$9 to R\$10 a month plus "rations" (principally maize-meal). Furthermore, farm workers are prohibited by law under the draconian Masters and Servants legislation from joining trade unions or taking strike action to improve their wages and conditions.

Many of these superexploited agricultural laborers work for absentee landlords or giant international capitalist companies like the South African based Anglo-American Corporation. Nathan Shamuyarira notes that "large areas of the 'white highlands' are owned by absentee landlords who come there occasionally to escape the English winters, and have a holiday riding horses round their vast estates."⁴²

In line with its policy of racial classification of the land, the regime has encouraged white farmers to evict tens of thousands of Africans from "white areas." After the passage of the Land Apportionment Act in 1931, Africans living on white land were given six years to quit; and, in consequence, an estimated 113,000 Africans were forcibly moved from their lands between 1936 and 1959, according to Shamuyarira.

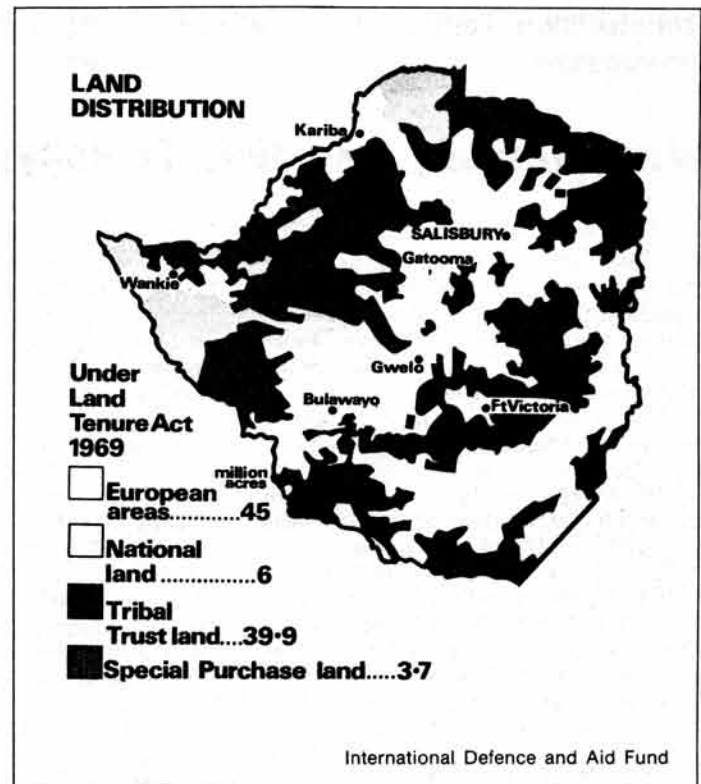
Symbolic of the mass of Africans forced off their traditional lands are the Tangwena people. The Tangwena are a small tribe with a population at present of around 3,000. Traditionally, they occupied a ten- by five-mile stretch of land alongside the Mozambique border; but the government issued a proclamation under Section 86 of the Land Apportionment Act ordering the Tangwena to vacate their traditional lands by August 31, 1969. In September, the government sent police to evict them. Their homes and property were destroyed and the Tangwena fled into the mountains where they have stayed ever since. In 1970, the government impounded all the Tangwena cattle.⁴³

The exclusion of the African population from half of the land area of Zimbabwe and their crowding into the TTLs has brought a serious decline in African agriculture. Soil erosion is widespread in the TTLs; and the standard of living and the incidence of malnutrition there are probably worse now than before the colonial conquest. The white agrarian capitalists have benefited from the decline of agriculture in the TTLs. As Martin Loney notes: "Increased pressure on African land reduced the marketable surplus from African agriculture and therefore reduced African competition with white farmers. It also propelled a large number of African males into the labour market to provide cheap labour for European employers."⁴⁴ It has also ensured a steady stream of cheap labor for capitalist factories and mines.

In February 1977, the Rhodesian Front government introduced legislation to amend the Land Tenure Act, removing the racial barriers to land ownership. For the first time, Africans are now

41. *Economic Survey of Rhodesia, 1976.*

42. Shamuyarira, *Crisis in Rhodesia*, p. 81.



free to buy commercial farms in the hitherto "white areas." But this amendment brings little real change. Virtually no Africans have the capital needed to buy these big estates; and there will be no change in the wretched conditions of either the mass of peasants in the TTLs or the farm laborers in the capitalist farms.

The real solution is to nationalize the white-owned plantations, ranches, and estates without compensation. After all, the land on which these farms lie was stolen from the Africans in the first place. As Shamuyarira has written: "So much envy has been created, that expropriation or seizure of European land will be resorted to by the future African rulers of the country."⁴⁵

[Next: The Rise of Zimbabwe Nationalism]

43. Anthony R. Wilkinson, "From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe," in Basil Davidson, Joe Slovo, Anthony R. Wilkinson, *Southern Africa: The New Politics of Revolution* (Penguin: London, 1976), pp. 250-1.

44. Martin Loney, *Rhodesia: White Racism and Imperial Response*, p. 56.

45. Shamuyarira, *Crisis in Rhodesia*, p. 87.

Table 5

	Hectares		Hectares
European Forest Area	754,623	African Forest Area	172,000
European Parks and Wild Life Land	1,774,674	African Parks and Wild Life Land	255,274
European General Land	15,613,344	African Purchase Land	1,486,142
European Specially Designated Land	7,656	Tribal Trust Land	16,186,084
		African Specially Designated Land	118,205
Total European Land	18,150,297	Total African Land	18,217,705

Source: *Land Policy in Rhodesia: Its History and Present-Day Application*. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Salisbury, April 1976.

Why Danish, Swedish Trotskyists Marched With Masses

[Danish and Swedish opponents of atomic power called an international demonstration for September 10 to protest the building of a nuclear power plant in Barsebäck, an area in Sweden just across the straits from Copenhagen.

[In the September 6-19 issue of *Klassekampen*, the fortnightly paper of the Revolutionäre Socialisters Forbund (RSF—Revolutionary Socialist League, Danish section of the Fourth International) Jens Riis Bojsen explained why the Danish and Swedish Trotskyists rejected an invitation from Stalinists and centrists to participate in a special “Red Contingent” in the march, which was organized ostensibly to put forward more advanced and specially socialist slogans. The translation of this article, which follows, is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

What is the important thing for the working class in the Barsebäck march? Is it to win the greatest possible support for the march and to mobilize people to demand that the Barsebäck nuclear power plant be abandoned? Or is there a danger in mobilizing people for such a concrete demand? Is it necessary to take special measures to put a socialist stamp on the demonstration so that it cannot be used by bourgeois opponents of nuclear power?

This question was posed for us when the RSF, along with other left-wing organizations, was invited to participate in a “Red Contingent” in the Barsebäck march. The initiative came from the Swedish Förbund Kommunist [FK—Communist League, a Maoist group] and the Venstresocialister [VS—Left Socialists, a Danish centrist organization].

The FK’s argument for a “Red Contingent” was rather painful. The VS’s Swedish sister organization seemed almost to bemoan the fact that the demonstration was taking place at all. But now that it is a fact, the FK thinks that the occasion should be utilized to build a contingent of left organizations “on a common political line.”

On the VS’s part, this initiative seems to be the result of a fear that the march can be used by the Swedish Centerparti [one of the parties in the ruling bourgeois coalition, the party of Swedish premier Thorbjörn Fälldin]. This fear is totally without basis, now that Fälldin has become premier and, in that capacity, taken responsibility for the continuing expansion of the Swedish atomic power plants.

We rejected the invitation to participate in the “Red Contingent.” We saw absolutely no reason why some left-wing organizations should try to work out a common line on the energy question for this occasion.

Contrary to what is “normal” in Denmark, there will be freedom of tendencies on this march. This means that all organizations can take part under whatever slogans they think appropriate, so long as these do not contradict the main slogans of the demonstration. The RSF and the KAF [Kommunist Arbetarförbund—Communist Workers League], the Swedish section of the Fourth International, will utilize this right to march under their own banners.

So, if there are no arguments for a “Red Contingent,” are there any against it? In the “Red Contingent,” there is to be no freedom of tendencies. This means that in order to participate you have to be fully in agreement with its slogans, which presumably say precisely what has to be said in the Barsebäck march, no more and no less.

We can point out many weaknesses in the work of the environmental organizations, but their main line is correct. We have to say the same about the slogans for the Barsebäck march. Some are unclear and partially meaningless. But the main line, “All Scandinavia Opposes Barsebäck,” is correct.

What the environmental movement needs is maximum backing behind the demand, “Abandon the Barsebäck Project.” This is an anticapitalist demand because it goes against the ASEA-Atom [the atomic division of the Swedish national electric corporation] and the state atomic program.

The VS has not thought at all about what slogans are appropriate for the march. It has not thought about the situation of the antinuclear movement in Scandinavia. Instead the VS has proposed a real grab bag of slogans. And the most astonishing thing is that not one of these slogans is directed at the Barsebäck project. They deal with everything under the sun but energy policy. What in general does the VS really want to accomplish at Barsebäck?

The VS, the FK, and the “Eurocommunist” VPK [Vänsterpartiet Kommunisterna—Left Party of Communists, the name taken by the Swedish CP after its liberalizing turn] together with its youth organizations, the KU [Kommunist Ungdom—Communist Youth] want to put on a show: “Here we come, the reds, with

the right socialist explanations. In our political supermarket, you can find just the right politics.”

This is empty political huckstering. The left should raise demands and slogans that can mobilize people in concrete situations. To raise slogans that do not mobilize, slogans that only show that the VS, FK, and VPK are “red,” is nothing more than sham.

The VS proposed the following slogans for Danish participants in the “Red Contingent”:

Nationalize North Sea oil.

Fight pollution by oil and coal.

Alternative energy sources provide more jobs.

Support the international struggle against atomic power.

Atomic power strengthens monopoly capital.

We don’t want any more atomic police.

No more experimenting with the health of atomic workers.

The Common Market cannot force us to accept atomic power.

So, is Barsebäck in the Common Market? [Sweden is not a member of the EEC.] What does the struggle against the two reactors in Barsebäck have to do with A.P. Moller’s business deals with North Sea gas, coal and oil pollution, police, or monopoly capital?

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Some of these slogans are outright wrong. "Atomic power strengthens monopoly capital." OK, in the U.S., the authorities have a 200,000,000 kroner [US\$33.3 million] wind-power program for 1975-78. Boeing and Lockheed, among others, are participating. Should we now say: "Down with capitalist wind power!"?

The VS often says that we should not create illusions. But that is what it is in fact doing with its slogan: "Alternative energy sources provide more jobs." This gives the impression that available energy by itself creates jobs. That is only the case, however, in upturns. And these are always followed by a new sharpening of the crisis of capitalism. Nor can wind power do anything about jobs.

Only the demand for a shorter workweek without reduction in pay and with cost-of-living increases to keep inflation from cutting into real wages can effectively answer the problem of unemployment. The struggle for this demand can help advance the working class toward its objective—a socialist planned economy in which there will be no unemployment and no waste of natural resources.

F.L. Smith and Westinghouse

On Saturday, August 27, at the last minute, the FK and VPK added a new slogan—"Atomic power increases our dependency on foreign countries."

This slogan is directed against the world's largest producer of atomic reactors, Westinghouse, which built the Ringhals power plant at Varberg. But we might ask: Is F.L. Smith a more prolabor employer than Westinghouse? F.L. Smith is tied up with wind-power technology and environmental technology in Denmark.

Another slogan added at the last minute was "Structural rationalization doesn't require increased use of energy—stop atomic power." It is true that increased mechanization means increased use of energy. But is it true that there is a shortage of energy sources? No, there are abundant sources of energy in clean-burning coal, as well as solar and wind power, which can now gradually be brought into use. To link the demand for rejecting atomic power with a rejection of increased mechanization means rejecting the labor savings this brings with it, and we cannot do that. These two things have to be separated.

The RSF/KAF Contingent

The RSF and the KAF, the Swedish Trotskyists, agree on the basis for the Barsebäck march: Down with the Barsebäck plant and atomic power.

Some members of the RSF and KAF are also members of the OOA [Organisation til Oplysning om Atomkraft—Organization for Information on Atomic Power] and various environmental defense groups. They will participate in the march as environmental activists.

Other members of our organizations will march in the RSF/KAF contingent. The purpose of this contingent is simply to show that our two organizations fully support the environmental groups that organized the demonstration. Therefore, the RSF is raising the following slogans:

Abandon the Barsebäck project!

Down with atomic power!

Down with capitalist waste of natural resources! Put energy production under workers control!

The fight against atomic power is international! □

long-standing claims to the Somali-populated areas of northern Kenya and to the former French colony of Djibouti.

This was then followed by the State Department's public offer, which came about the same time as the fighting in the Ogaden escalated into a major conflict. According to de Borchgrave, differences then arose within the State Department over the prospect of Washington being drawn into the war, finally leading to the withdrawal of the offer of American aid.

Tom Reston, a State Department representative, denied September 19 that Washington had intended to encourage the Somali regime to step up its involvement in the Ogaden. He claimed that the Somalis had misinterpreted American comments.

Although there is now no direct American military aid to the Siad Barre regime, correspondent Jim Hoagland reported in the September 1 *Washington Post* that some of Washington's Arab allies, such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia, were sending military and medical aid to Somalia.

Siad Barre claims that all the fighting in the Ogaden is being carried out by guerrillas of the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF), which favors the separation of the Somali-populated Ogaden from Ethiopia and its incorporation into Somalia. The desire for the unity of all Somalis within one country has long been a driving force behind Somali nationalism.

Foreign journalists who visited Diredawa September 14, however, reported seeing Somali trucks, tanks, and heavy artillery captured by the Ethiopians, giving credence to the Ethiopian charges that regular Somali troops were also involved in the war.

There is new evidence, also, indicating that the aims of the WSLF and the Somali regime may have wide support among the Somali inhabitants of the Ogaden. Correspondent Graham Hancock, who traveled through the region, reported in the September 18 *London Sunday Times*, "I did not see one village, nor one nomadic Somali group, that was not armed and angry, ready and willing to fight again at any time. The entire population seemed intoxicated with victory, in total support of the guerrillas and very able to defend itself."

Hancock also reported visiting the ruins of Kebri Dehari, an Ethiopian garrison of 5,000 troops that had been captured by the Somali forces.

Although it has not been confirmed, the *New York Times* cited sources in both the Ethiopian and Somali capitals indicating that the Somalis have captured Jijiga, one of the three most important cities in the region. However, without Somali control of the other two, Diredawa and Harar, the Ethiopian forces will remain in a strong position from which to launch a counter-offensive. □

War in Ethiopia Escalates

Carter Stoking Fires in Horn of Africa?

As the war between the Ethiopian military junta and Somali forces in the Ogaden desert region of eastern Ethiopia escalates, evidence has surfaced that the Carter administration has been trying to take advantage of the conflict.

The Ethiopian junta, a former American ally, now receives substantial aid from Moscow, as does the regime in neighboring Somalia. In July, the State Department announced that it was willing to supply arms to the Somali regime "in principle," with the apparent intention of reducing Soviet influence in that country. It later rescinded the offer.

Newsweek correspondent Arnaud de Borchgrave reported in the September 26 issue, however, that Carter's overtures to the Somali regime of President Mohammad Siad Barre may have actually encouraged the Somalis to step up their activities in the Ogaden.

De Borchgrave reported that Siad Barre's American doctor, Kevin Cahill, relayed a message to him from the State Department to the effect that Washington was "not averse to further guerrilla pressure in the Ogaden." In return for American military aid, however, Washington wanted the Somali regime to drop its

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



Carter Opens U.S. to Concorde Noise Pollution

U.S. Secretary of Transportation Brock Adams announced September 23 that the Concorde supersonic jetliner will be allowed landing rights at airports in thirteen American cities. He said President Carter played a direct role in setting the administration's new SST policies, "and spoke to me about it as recently as this morning."

The problems of the manufacturers of the noisiest plane in the world was a major topic in Carter's talks with Prime Minister Raymond Barre of France during Barre's visit to Washington September 15 and 16.

The new regulations announced by Adams will allow the Concorde to use airports in Philadelphia, Anchorage, Boston, Dallas, Honolulu, Houston, Los Angeles, Miami, Chicago, Seattle, and San Francisco, in addition to Washington, D.C., and New York City. Federal permission for sixteen months of trial flights into the latter two cities expired September 24.

The Federal Aviation Administration places noise limits on subsonic aircraft, although these are routinely violated. But the sixteen Concorde now in service will be exempted from compliance with the FAA's rules until 1985. Any future SSTs put into operation would have to meet FAA standards, Adams said.

Fifty million persons in the United States (more than 20 percent of the population) live in areas where jet noise now causes "substantial annoyance." Of these, 2.5 million are exposed to noise that is hazardous to hearing. Both figures will shoot up if Concorde flights are expanded: The plane's "noise footprint" covers an area forty-one times that of conventional aircraft; in addition, according to a recent study by the U.S. Congress's General Accounting Office (GAO), the Concorde is twice as loud as a Boeing 707, four times noisier than a Boeing 747, and eight times noisier than a DC-10.

Adams said that SST landings and takeoffs would be restricted to the period between 7 a.m. and 10 p.m. The plane will not be allowed to exceed the speed of sound when flying over land. All of the rules, he claimed, had been designed "to protect the health and safety of the American people, set a fair and reasonable noise standard for SST operations and strike a balance

between legitimate domestic and international interests of the United States."

The "international interests" no doubt involve Washington's apprehensions about the French Communist Party's pro-Concorde campaign. By broadening U.S. landing rights for the plane, Carter hopes to take French President Giscard d'Estaing off the hook.

Paris wasn't satisfied, however. French Secretary of State for Transportation Marcel Cavaillé said exempting only the current fleet of sixteen Concorde from noise limits was "inadmissible and very grave." Requiring future SSTs to meet current standards for subsonic aircraft would violate international law and throw "the future of the Concorde program into jeopardy," he said.

Caivaillé is worried because of studies showing that little more can be done to reduce the Concorde's noise. In Britain, the Noise Advisory Council concluded in April that "there is no likelihood of any significant improvement in Concorde's noise performance in operation and . . . no measures are in hand to reduce further its noise at source."

The GAO report said that an administration decision to expand SST flights would be "counter to the thrust of the national noise abatement effort." The report concluded that the plane not only fails to meet current noise standards but "cannot be modified to do so" (*Washington Post*, September 16).

Opponents of the Concorde in the United States began to react to rumors of Carter's impending OK before it was officially announced. On September 11, 200 persons, mostly from neighborhoods near New York's Kennedy airport, demonstrated outside the White House.

Such opposition is broadening as more cities are threatened by the needle-nosed noisemaker. The *New York Times* reported September 19 that the Emergency Coalition to Stop the SST, which has led opposition to the plane on Long Island, now has groups of supporters in Miami, Chicago, Boston, Honolulu, and Dallas. Coalition leader Carol Berman told the *New York Daily News* in late August, "I have been saying all along that we have been fighting three governments—ours as much as

that of England and France. I hope . . . that we will be joined in our fight by environmentalists all around the country."

After the administration's ruling was announced, Berman told the *Daily News* that "new demonstrations were likely and that her organization would seek to tie in with community groups in the other dozen cities where the SST would have landing rights under the Carter proposal."

The Emergency Coalition has worked with other groups in the past to build anti-Concorde motorcades at Kennedyport involving up to 1,500 cars.

Adams said that local airport authorities could still ban the Concorde, but only if they adopted "reasonable, nondiscriminatory noise rules." Whether this will mean anything is being tested in a lawsuit by Air France and British Airways against the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, in which a federal judge has ruled that the authority's temporary ban on the plane is "unreasonable, unfair and discriminatory."

Enforcement of the judge's order to allow the Concorde to use Kennedy airport was stayed by a Court of Appeals, which is now considering the case for a second time. The Port Authority is asking that its ban be upheld while further studies are conducted on the Concorde's "unique low-frequency noise."

Whether the Carter administration's ruling will be enough to save the Concorde remains to be seen. According to a report by the Public Accounts Committee of the British Parliament issued September 21, "There appears to be no practical possibility of production beyond the 16 aircraft being authorized." The plane has already cost the British government \$1.3 billion, and has yet to show a profit. British Airways lost \$12 million on the Concorde in 1976, and its partner, Air France, took a \$44.7 million loss.

Blackout Lessons

Junking their initial attempt to place responsibility for the July 13-14 power failure in New York City on an "act of God," top officials of the Consolidated Edison Company fell back on "human error" in their second report on the causes

of the blackout.

The report, released in late August, concluded that the system operator on duty "may not have pushed the buttons properly" in his efforts to avert the collapse of the entire electrical system. It also noted the failure of a New York Power Pool dispatcher to use an emergency "hot line" to notify other major utility control rooms around the state of a possible emergency.

The monthly antinuclear magazine *Critical Mass Journal** asked Robert Pollard, former Nuclear Regulatory Commission project manager for Con Edison's Indian Point power plant, for his opinion of the utility's conclusions.

"I think this is interesting to me," Pollard said, "because in evaluating safety systems for nuclear power plants, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission assumes that operators will respond correctly within ten minutes.

"And we see here from a blackout that they weren't able to do it and we wonder now, 'what if the same events would take place at a nuclear plant that would require quick operator action?'"

At a nuclear plant, the newspaper noted, "the controller has no more than 10 minutes to make the right choices in an emergency."

A similar point was made in a July 21 letter to the *New York Times* by Jeremiah Gutman:

"Mr. Luce of Consolidated Edison is correct, of course, in pointing out that a system, no matter how carefully designed and well maintained, is, after all, but a collection of machines operated by fallible mortals.

"I hope that he and other spokespeople for the utility will bear that in mind when they ask that they be entrusted with nuclear reactors, plutonium recycling plants, and other devices whose failure would not be darkness for hours but could, indeed, spell the end of a city for all time."

No Hazard?

More than six hundred pounds of uranium 238 was recently discovered among materials salvaged from the crash of two jumbo jet aircraft in the Canary Islands last March. The uranium was in a junk and scrap-metal shop for several months, and thirty-three pounds of it later reached a jeweler who thought it was white gold.

After Spanish nuclear experts announced the discovery, a spokesman for the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration told the *Washington Post* that aircraft manufacturers have used depleted uranium as ballast in large planes for the last seventeen years. Another FAA representative said the material was chosen because "a small amount is awfully heavy."

"There is no radiation hazard to pas-

sengers," he added.

But what if the nickel-cadmium coating on the uranium ballast is broken—in the course of a crash, for example? Walter Patterson writes in his book *Nuclear Power*:

When uranium-238 undergoes alpha decay, it produces a succession of further alpha-emitters, including radium-226 and its immediate daughter-product, the chemically inert but radioactive gas radon-222. Any aggregation of uranium which has remained for some time undisturbed—such as a geological deposit—exudes this radioactive gas. . . . Radon-222 is an alpha emitter with a half-life of less than four days, which produces its own radioactive 'daughters'. . . . Accordingly, air containing radon also contains dust particles laden with intensely radioactive radon daughters. Underground uranium miners who are permitted to inhale such air have proved appallingly susceptible to lung cancer.

So Reassuring

The September 9 issue of the British magazine *Peace News* reports on some testimony given at the inquiry currently being conducted by the British government into plans for building a nuclear fuel reprocessing plant at Windscale, Cumbria:

"Continuous supervision of the high-activity wastes stored at Windscale really means that. The Nuclear Installations Inspectorate said two weeks ago at the Windscale inquiry that if all the workers left the plant and supplies broke down it would be a 'few hours' before the wastes became dangerous. Their speaker added that if there was still 'one man on the plant who knew what to do, I expect he would be able to restore the [cooling] water supply and call in troops to regain control.'"

Bottoms Up!

"70% of the world's population is without safe and dependable water supplies. More than two billion men, women and children are exposed to infectious diseases because of the lack of safe water. There are 250 million new cases of water-borne diseases a year, and 25,000 people die daily from them."—International Institute for Environmental Development, quoted in the September 19 *New York Daily News*.

Alaskan Gas at Twice the Price

President Carter and Prime Minister Trudeau of Canada announced agreement September 8 on the route of a pipeline to bring natural gas south from Alaska's North Slope.

The route chosen parallels the Alaska oil pipeline and the Alaska Highway into Calgary, Alberta. From there branch lines will carry gas to eastern Canada and the United States.

U.S. energy officials had originally favored another route crossing the northern Yukon and the Mackenzie Valley. This proposal was dropped owing to pressure

from environmentalists and the native Dene and Inuit peoples. An inquiry conducted by Justice Thomas Berger for the Canadian government concluded that a Yukon-Mackenzie Valley route would severely disrupt the lives of the native peoples as well as threaten the last unspoiled mountain-to-shore Arctic wilderness area and one of the only surviving wild caribou herds in North America. Berger recommended that the northern Yukon pipeline be dropped altogether and that any Mackenzie Valley development be postponed for ten years.

Because it will parallel existing installations, the new pipeline will not have so severe an environmental impact as the Mackenzie Valley route. But it will contribute further to devastation of the Alaskan wilderness along the oil pipeline.

Cost estimates for the gas project have been put at \$9.6 billion. This is more than ten times the original cost of the Alaska oil pipeline, a project that itself ended up costing ten times more than the initial estimates.

U.S. Energy Secretary James Schlesinger has already said that the gas line may eventually cost \$13 to \$14 billion. U.S. consumers will pay around \$2.50 per 1,000 cubic feet, twice the price of domestic natural gas in the United States at present.

The project must now be approved by the Canadian Parliament and the U.S. Congress. Some jingoists in the latter body are still urging support for a third, "all-American" route through Alaska, followed by shipment of liquefied gas by tanker to California. Senator Jesse Helms warned in a September 8 Senate speech:

"... we cannot overlook the comparisons with the original Panama Canal agreement and particularly the safeguards accruing to this Nation at the time the agreement was adopted. . . .

"I question the advisability of . . . embarking on a new \$10 billion project across Canada which at the outset has none of the safeguards we found so necessary in the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Panama Canal."

Shoot First, Ask Questions Later

An American company has developed a \$75,000 robot designed to function as an industrial security guard.

The robot, named Century I, is bullet-proof, seven feet tall, and weighs 650 pounds. Its purpose is to "find and immobilize" persons intruding upon a company's premises, using such devices as a high-frequency sound transmitter that can cause extreme pain in the inner ear, a strobe light that causes temporary blindness, and an electronic gun that delivers a shock.

The robot's manufacturers say that it could be programmed to kill, but that its "options" will be limited to the use of "nonlethal restraint."

*Critical Mass, P.O. Box 1538, Washington, D.C. 20013. Subscriptions \$7.50 a year.

Selections From the Left

lutte ouvrière

"Workers Struggle," Paris weekly supported by a grouping of militants who view themselves as Trotskyist in orientation.

An editorial by Arlette Laguiller in the September 10 issue examines the relationship between the reformist leaderships of the French trade-union movement and the Communist and Socialist parties, in view of the prospect of a Union of the Left government:

In view of the worsening situation faced by the working class—steadily rising unemployment and a stagnating and even declining standard of living for those who do hold jobs—it was essential for the mass trade-union federations to put forward a concrete plan of struggle for demands to deal with the current problems. But neither Maire's nor Séguy's speeches contained any such proposals. . . .*

No demands whatsoever were set for tackling the problems that face all workers without exception. For example, how to prevent dismissals by the employers; how to force them to hire unemployed workers; how to protect the wage earners' buying power against constant price hikes.

Judging by their remarks, the trade-union leaders seemed mainly concerned with defining their position relative to the CP and SP, when they weren't dissociating themselves from these parties.

This was obvious in Maire's case. He explicitly dismissed both the CP and the SP, and scored the SP for its moderateness and the timidity of its proposals. But Séguy said much the same thing in a different way, stressing that an electoral victory of the Union of the Left is not an end in itself, and that the workers will insist on their demands being met.

But how can we believe that what motivated all these statements was concern about defending the workers' vital interests in all circumstances? Why should we believe that a tough line by the trade-union organizations toward a possible Union of the Left government would consist of anything more than threatening noises, since their so-called tough stand against the Barre government today is just big talk? . . .

The truth is that Maire's and Séguy's statements do not indicate distrust on their part of the CP's and SP's attitude toward the workers' central demands, but rather a division of labor. The Socialist Party is refusing right now to consider even the most elementary demands of the working class, in order to show the bourgeoisie that it is a party fit to govern. The Communist Party is confining itself to a sterile debate with the SP, refusing to take up the workers' central demands. Meanwhile, the CGT and

*Edmond Maire, head of the CFDT (French Democratic Confederation of Labor); Georges Séguy, head of the CGT (General Confederation of Labor).

CFDT are seeking to reassure the workers by making them think their demands will be taken into account no matter what happens.

But in this four-part harmony—dominated alternatively by the discord between the CP and the SP, and by the counterpoint between the left parties and the trade-union organizations—not one of the performers is raising a voice to defend the immediate, vital interests of the workers. And the workers have to be told about this.

proletaries links

"Proletarian Left," organ of the International Communist League, Dutch section of the Fourth International. Published fortnightly in Amsterdam.

The September 10 issue comments on the case of the South Moluccans facing charges over the seizure of a train and the occupation of a school in Holland. These actions were intended to press demands that the Dutch government support independence of the South Moluccan islands from Indonesia.

The Dutch army ended the train occupation by an armed assault in which a number of hostages, as well as South Moluccan nationalists, were killed.

South Moluccans were used extensively in the Dutch East Indian army, and this nationality was used as a pawn against other nationalities in the islands, in particular the Javanese, who dominate the Indonesian state.

Proletaries Links writes:

The South Moluccans . . . will soon be tried. That is, those who survived these actions will be tried. It is shaping up to be a one-sided trial. The entire country is being reminded of the sad fate of the hostages and the bloody outcome of these incidents. The entire responsibility for this is being pinned on the South Moluccans. It is they who are facing judgment.

Those who share the responsibility for the massacre in the train, those who were in the police and military command center at the time, are being let go scot free. The Dutch imperialists who exploited the South Moluccans for their colonialist purposes and brought them to the Netherlands so that they could use them against Indonesia for their own ends, these imperialists are not sitting in the dock.

Suharto's fascist clique of generals who are guilty of economic and cultural genocide against the South Moluccan people are not going to have to answer for their crimes. And the South Moluccan leaders who have failed to offer a perspective for their people's struggle for freedom, and thus have helped to bring about despair and deeds of desperation, will also not have to answer for this in court. Those who are really responsible for the "South Moluccan problem" thus are not being put on trial! . . .

Undoubtedly this trial will be presented as part of defending the security of Dutch citizens. This will be used as a pretext for calling for stronger security forces and a stronger police apparatus. But as long as the problems of the South Moluccan people are not dealt with in a fundamental way—and this trial cannot make any contribution to that—more acts of desperation can be expected. And not even the harshest penalties or the most powerful police apparatus can assure security for anyone.

ΤΟ ΚΟΜΜΟΥΝΙΣΤΙΚΟ ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΤΙΚΟ ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΔΑ ΟΔΟΦΡΑΓΜΑ

"To Odhophragma" (The Barricade), reflects the views of the Greek section of the Fourth International. Published fortnightly in Athens.

The September 15 issue is the first of the united publication incorporating *Ergatike Pale*, the weekly newspaper that presented the views of the Greek section of the Fourth International before its recent unification with another Trotskyist group.

In this issue, *Odhophragma* comments on the opening of the campaign for the legislative elections scheduled to be held in Greece on November 20.

Caramanlis's greatest achievement . . . is undoubtedly that in a few months he has succeeded in diverting the center of attention away from the workers' resistance to his incomes policy and repression to the coming electoral contest, which everyone admits is not going to bring any fundamental change in the relationship of forces on the parliamentary level. . . .

What is unfortunate is not that the workers are going to participate in the coming elections or seek to increase the strength of their parties in the parliament of bourgeois democracy. It is much more that in the present state of things the struggle in the electoral arena is not going to be incorporated into a course of developing the mass struggles, but represents a denial of the effectiveness of such struggles. It will not be a confirmation on the level of bourgeois elections of the power of the political opposition of the workers to the Caramanlis government but rather will confirm the total absence of an independent class perspective.

Elections are never necessarily a useless political battle from the standpoint of the workers, and no revolutionists can turn their backs on the opportunity of projecting a class program of struggle in them. . . . This, however, can only be done if mass struggles are not subordinated to an electoral perspective. . . .

There is no way forward for the workers except by developing their mobilizations and uniting politically around a program of struggle based solely on the class interests of the masses. Revolutionists and conscious workers must advance this perspective and reject the reformist subordination to the game of bourgeois parliamentarism. They must reject any halt to struggles during electoral campaigns and fight to

prepare the workers for the class confrontation that will follow the electoral farce.

klasse-kampen

"Class Struggle," published fortnightly in Copenhagen by the Revolutionary Socialist League, Danish section of the Fourth International.

The September 20-October 3 issue features an article on the demonstration against the atomic-power plants in Barsebäck, Sweden, that was held on September 10:

Some 20,000 people in an eight-kilometer-long march—that is a record in Scandinavia! This was more people than have ever demonstrated on the atomic-power question. It was twice as many as were expected. And everything went off perfectly despite rain and drizzle. A forest of banners and flags were carried twenty kilometers in a strong wind. . . .

Some demonstrators had come 1,400 kilometers, from Lulea in Swedish Lapland. A stream of buses poured in from Uppsala and Stockholm, distances respectively of 600 and 700 kilometers. But most of the Swedes came from the southern part of the country. One bus also came from Tomelilla in Ostskane [the southeast]. The Boliden mining company wants to mine uranium and other metals there, and the inhabitants are protesting against this.

Almost one hundred came from northern Schleswig-Holstein [an area of mixed Danish and German population most of which is in Germany] and some from Brokdorf [in German Schleswig-Holstein, where an atomic reactor is being built]. The Germans came together with the Jutland groups of the Organization for Information on Atomic Energy by the Grenavarberg route, in order to avoid putting too much pressure on the ferries across the Oresund [the narrow and heavily trafficked strait that separates Copenhagen from the big south Swedish city of Malmö]. About 1,000 persons came from Jutland [the mainland part of Denmark; Copenhagen is on the island of Sjælland]. About half the demonstrators were Danes.

In Norway, the media have almost blacked out the debate on atomic power. The plans for the march went unreported. Nonetheless, about 100 persons came.

About sixty Finns traveled a day and a half to participate. Most of them came from around Loviisa, 11 kilometers east of Helsinki. In this locality, a Soviet-built atomic-power plant has just been completed. Others came from the Osterbotten region, where the Swedish electric company is building a reactor of a similar size in Olkiluoto, 100 kilometers north of Abo. The Finns wanted to see how to organize a big demonstration. . . .

rouge

"Red," revolutionary communist daily, published in Paris.

Noting that "most of the German revolutionary organizations have issued a strong

condemnation of the RAF's [Red Army Faction's] strategy as shown by the Schleyer kidnapping," the September 17-18 issue reprints excerpts from a statement by the Socialist Bureau, one of the larger groups claiming to stand to the left of the German Communist and Socialist parties.

We socialists reject murder as a method of politics, not only for tactical reasons, but as a principle. The socialist goal of building a truly human society is the imperative that determines our daily conduct. . . . For socialists, there is a close relationship, that cannot be ignored, between the end envisioned and the means adopted to achieve it. . . . In this sense, it is a matter of principle that we do not attempt to achieve socialist ends by inhuman means.

Terrorist kidnappings accompanied by premeditated murder are not the means by which the cause of a socialist, human society can take a step forward. . . . With a few gunshots, the RAF has annihilated much of what we have fought for through the years, under difficult circumstances. . . . Such murders do not endanger the capitalist system. But they gravely endanger our ability to carry out the fight for socialism. This is the reason why we socialists do not support the murderous terror of the RAF in any way, open or disguised.

However, we also view with indignation the attempts by the state apparatus to substitute itself for the law and to use methods of police-state repression. It seems clear that they were only waiting for a chance to launch an attack on democratic rights. . . . This sheds light on what direction the representatives of the ruling social layers are taking—not toward perfecting liberal democracy, but toward guaranteeing the status quo on behalf of the ruling class. . . .

But we will not let ourselves stray from what constitutes the essence of socialist politics—fighting both in our means and our ends for the emancipation of humanity from the constraints imposed by the ruling class. . . . For this reason, we reject terror just as thoroughly as we combat repressive, authoritarian, and police methods, for the good of humanity.

ΕΚΦΡΑΣΗ

"Socialistike Ekphrase" (Socialist Expression), central organ of the youth affiliate of the Cypriot Social Democratic Party. Published fortnightly in Nicosia, Cyprus.

The September 9 issue features an article entitled "Escalating Violence in Turkey."

In the past week at least six persons were killed and dozens wounded in confrontations between the police and the inhabitants of poor neighborhoods in Istanbul. The cause of these clashes was the attempt by the city government to demolish shacks built on privately owned land. The inhabitants of these shacks were determined to defend the only roof they had and the police resorted to brutal armed force to "enforce the law."

These episodes in Istanbul represent a new and grave escalation of the violence that has become an everyday reality in Turkey, especially in the big cities.

Indicative of the spread of this violence was the official admission by Turkish Minister of the

Interior Ozal that since the beginning of this year 160 persons have been murdered for political motives and 1,860 have been injured. He said that this year there have been 521 bombings in comparison with 175 in 1976 and 9 in 1975. . . .

These statistics represent a small but eloquent indication of the depth of the social and economic crisis Turkey is going through. Facing this crisis, the ruling class will have a hard time coming up with any method it has not tried before. It has tried military intervention in politics and brutal repression, a government headed by the "socialist" Ecevit, whipping up chauvinism by invading Cyprus and sending the Sismic to search for oil in the Aegean [in waters claimed by Greece], martial law, and fascist bands such as the "Grey Wolves." It can be said that the ruling class has exhausted every opening for imposing its domination on the Turkish people except one—a coalition government of the two big parties, the parties of Ecevit and Demirel. Already the leaders of the Turkish unions have called for such a government and backed up their demand with the threat of a general strike in order to delude people about the possibilities such a government would offer and the goals it would have.

The pressures for forming a Demirel-Ecevit government come not only from the unions but from a large part of the capitalist class, which hopes that such a government could impose "austerity measures" to lower still more the already desperately poor living standard of the Turkish toilers. . . . The Demirel government is trying to impose such measures, but it is doubtful if it can succeed in the climate of social unrest that prevails.

In any case, it is hard for anyone to see how the ruling class can overcome this crisis. It is virtually impossible for any government to drive down further the living standard of the Turkish workers, and even if one succeeded it would only gain a little time. The reason for the crisis does not lie in the "indulgence" of the workers but in the underdevelopment imposed by the capitalist system and imperialist exploitation. Only fundamental changes in the structure of the economy could get Turkey out of this impasse. But such changes would require a fundamental rejection of the existing system and driving the right from the government.

What is the situation in the workers movement? The spasmodic action of the students, the small numbers of union members, and the uncoordinated activity of the workers are signs of the weakness of the movement. But unquestionably the left organizations are gaining strength day by day. Small workers parties such as the Turkish Socialist Workers Party (which, let it be noted, opposed the invasion of Cyprus), the Turkish Workers Party, and others can look forward to many possibilities. . . .

The question remains whether revolutionary ideas will gain mass support and whether the forces for change will be able to unite to defeat the system of exploitation and corruption. If this is not possible, the crisis will continue to deepen and provide a fertile ground for fascism.

The most significant fact in the present period is that violence has largely moved from the level of attacks against individuals to that of police attacks against masses of people. This period is exceptionally favorable to the spread of revolutionary ideas but also for the rise of fascism. The masses are rising up and slowly finding their way. There is still time for the development of a revolutionary leadership that can lead the people to victory. . . .

AROUND THE WORLD



That's Not What They Meant!

A growing number of U.S. corporations are urging their management personnel to take "assertiveness training" seminars, where executives learn how to apply the carrot and stick tactic in dealing with situations such as turning down an employee's request for a raise.

Lately, however, the employers have been getting more than they bargained for. In at least one instance, according to a report in the September 19 *Wall Street Journal*, a nonprofit organization that hired an outside consultant to teach assertiveness to its women supervisors found that the women used their new outspokenness to demand promotions and accuse the organization of sex discrimination for failing to meet their demands.

The program was hastily shelved.

Kurds Charge Iraqi Atrocities

Representatives of Kurdish exile groups in the West have asked the United Nations Human Rights Commission to investigate reports of atrocities carried out by the Iraqi government against the Kurdish population in northern Iraq.

The reports include charges that Kurdish villages have been bulldozed and their inhabitants tortured and executed. Thousands of Kurds are reported to have been deported to internment camps in the deserts of southern Iraq. Since March 1975, the Iraqi government is said to have resettled Iraqi, Arab, and Egyptian families in Kurdistan, particularly in the oil-rich region around Kirkuk.

The groups have urged that a special mission be sent to Iraq to conduct an on-the-spot investigation.

Murder Is Chief Killer of Young Black Men

A study published September 8 in the *New England Journal of Medicine* revealed that "intentional violence" is the leading cause of death among young nonwhite men in the United States.

"The national increase [between 1960-1970] in homicide mortality in this population group was 80 per cent," the report said.

The study showed that between 1958 and 1962, 82 of every 10,000 Black men in Cleveland, Ohio, between the ages of 25 and 34 were victims of homicide. Between 1969 and 1974, that figure rose to 344 of every 10,000.

The researchers—most of them doctors at Case Western Reserve University—said that these figures represented national trends.

About 13 percent of all homicides in Cleveland between 1958 and 1974 were termed "legally justified," in the report. It was explained that most of these were police killings, and the majority of those killed in such incidents were Black.

5,000 Strangeloves?

The Pentagon transferred 4,965 persons in 1976, United Press International reported August 9, "because officials thought they could not be trusted with nuclear weapons due to drug and alcohol abuse or for other reasons. . . ."

The figure represented about 4.1 percent of the 121,767 military personnel who work with nuclear weapons. The report said the number and percentage were about the same in 1975.

Sing Along With Geisel

As part of the official celebrations marking the 155th anniversary of Brazilian independence from Portugal, Brazil's military regime commissioned a song titled "Brazil Is You and Me." The tune was broadcast over radio and television for several days prior to the main observance of Fatherland Week.

Citizens were also strongly encouraged to join in singing the national anthem at 5 o'clock on September 7—the day and hour that Brazil achieved independence in 1822.

A statement titled "Brazil Is You and Me, Too" was circulated in São Paulo during the first week of September, signed by several hundred artists, intellectuals, journalists, students, and professionals. According to the September 11 *New York Times*, it "said independence should also mean political freedom."

Sing Along With Smith

A new effort has been launched by white businessmen in Zimbabwe to improve relations between the white settler population and the masses of Black Africans.

The campaign's key word is "harmony," a September 10 Reuters dispatch reports, "and its slogan is, 'You don't suddenly have to love your neighbor—just understand him.'"

The campaign also includes a catchy jingle, set to the music of a popular song: "Harmony, harmony, let's all live together

in harmony and sing away the hurt and fear—a great new day will soon be here."

Argentine Unionist Kidnapped

Alfredo Bravo, a leader of the Argentine teachers union and a well-known human-rights activist, was kidnapped in Buenos Aires by an armed squad and driven off to an unknown destination, according to reports from union sources September 10.

American Sociologists Support Equal Rights for Homosexuals

The American Sociological Association adopted resolutions at its national convention September 7 opposing discrimination against homosexuals and favoring the passage of legislation to guarantee civil rights for homosexuals.

The ASA also condemned the use of "abused sociological data" to justify denying full civil and human rights to homosexuals.

A representative of the organization said that this position was a reaction to the campaign led by Anita Bryant in Dade County, Florida, that succeeded in overturning a city ordinance banning discrimination against homosexuals.

One-Fifth of World Unable to Read

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) announced in Paris September 10 that it was canceling the two prizes it awards every year to countries that distinguish themselves in combating illiteracy.

The prizes were canceled because the number of illiterates is still increasing. Of the world's population of four billion persons, an estimated 758 million cannot read or write, 26 million more than three years ago.

The prizes consist of \$5,000 donated by the government of Iran, which has one of the highest illiteracy rates in the world (60%), and 5,000 rubles from the Soviet Union, which has one of the lowest (3%).

Executions in Uganda

Fifteen persons, including teachers, businessmen, and former government officials, were executed by firing squad in Uganda on September 9.

Twelve of those executed were convicted in August of plotting to overthrow President Idi Amin. One was convicted of treason, and the other two were sentenced to death for murder.

Unexpurgated Text of Castro-Walters Interview—4

[Fourth of four parts]

[Among the points of special interest in this final installment of the interview granted by Fidel Castro to Barbara Walters is the status of the "détente" between Washington and Moscow. In Castro's opinion, the Carter administration is reviving the cold war, which was initiated by Churchill and Truman in 1946. Castro states that he is unable to fathom Carter's motives.

[As for Brezhnev, Castro expresses full confidence in the sincerity of the many statements made by the head of the Soviet government about "finding a formula for peace and peaceful coexistence."

[Unfortunately Castro does not indicate what Brezhnev means by "peaceful coexistence." Under Stalin, Khrushchev, and now Brezhnev, "peaceful coexistence" has meant the practice of class-collaborationism, that is, cooperation with the imperialists in maintaining the status quo on an international scale at the expense of the workers, peasants, and urban masses. The capitalists use "peaceful coexistence" the better to prepare savage attacks on the workers movement and its revolutionary conquests. It was Stalin's course of "peaceful coexistence" that helped pave the way for the armies of German imperialism in their assault on the Soviet Union in 1941.

[On the relation between capitalism and fascism, Castro scores some telling points. However, he fails to indicate the root causes of fascism and how to fight it.

[On the question of Moscow's role in crushing the budding political revolution in Czechoslovakia in 1968, Walters succeeds in putting Castro on the defensive. He ends up by asserting that the Soviet Union is the "freest country" in the world.

[In actuality, as Castro indicates in the interview, he was sharply critical of Moscow's action at the time. The text of the speech he made then is still of considerable interest. (See *Intercontinental Press*, September 2, September 9, and September 16, 1968.)

[As for the Soviet Union being the "freest country" in the world, Castro evades the key questions by ridiculing the number of political dissidents.

[This type of argument only discredits Castro although Walters, of course, is incapable of seeing that. If the number of political dissidents in the USSR is so small, why does such a powerful government—if it is really powerful—display fear of what they say? Is it incapable of meeting their arguments in a free debate? Why does it resort to brutally repressive methods in silencing them?

[In Cuba itself, Castro is equivocal about the political prisoners there. First, he admits that there are "some" political prisoners. Then he gives a figure of 2,000 or 3,000 persons—which is roughly ten times his estimate of the number of dissidents in the Soviet Union. Then he says, "But they're not political prisoners." And he defines them as "counterrevolutionaries, people who took up arms under the orders of the CIA in the Escambray, people who committed acts of sabotage and other crimes." Finally, he indicates that they have been given trials for serious crimes and "must serve their sentences."

[It would be helpful to defenders of the Cuban revolution to have more information at their disposal concerning the identity of the political prisoners still in jail and the specific nature of their crimes. The existence of "political prisoners" is an extremely sensitive subject in the international working-class movement.

[On the American naval base at Guantánamo, Castro presents a powerful case. "The United States holds on to it as a show of strength and arrogance. . . . It has no right to be there, since it is

there against our will. I think that no one can have a military base in a country against the will of that country. The United States is there by force."

[Nonetheless, Castro continues, "we have never used nor are we going to use force to recover Guantánamo, because we aren't going to go to war with the United States over Guantánamo."

[The decision of the Cubans to remain patient in the face of Washington's arrogance in hanging on to Guantánamo is understandable. However, that should not prevent others from raising the issue. It is particularly important in the United States to campaign for an end to the blockade on Cuba and for relinquishment of the Guantánamo naval base, which stands as a daily provocation to the Cuban people.]

* * *

Journalist. Do you think that Jimmy Carter is deliberately trying to constrain relations with the Soviet Union, coming close—as you say—to a cold war?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Yes, I think so. That is an unfortunate point that worries me and that I really can't understand.

That is, I can't say that it's deliberate. He may be acting on the basis of something that makes him think that he's doing what he ought to, but I know the Soviet Union very well, inside out, and I know your country. I know the Soviet Union, because we have had a variety of relations with it—and the United States, because we have had many struggles. I know that the Soviet Union's main concern is to halt the arms race, to create a climate of détente and peace. I know this, and I'm sure that it is the main aim of the Soviet leadership. They are really concerned about preventing a world war. They are truly concerned about reducing international tension. They are very concerned about finding a formula for peace and peaceful coexistence. I'm convinced of this, but I don't know whether this is understood or not in the United States.

Journalist. How do you reconcile the Soviet domination of countries like Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia? How do you reconcile when the Soviets put down what they call an uprising in Czechoslovakia?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Look, let me tell you something. The Soviet Union has very close relations with all those countries because millions of Soviet citizens died to free them from fascism. After the war, it wasn't the Soviet Union that started the cold war; it was Churchill and the United States in fact.

Journalist. Did Churchill and the United States do what?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. They started the cold war. If you look back in history, you will find that famous speech by Churchill, the one that became famous.

The cold war began. I think it was one of the craziest things that has taken place in the last 30 years. I repeat, millions of Soviet citizens died to free all those countries from fascism.

Journalist. So did millions of Americans.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. No; forgive me for disagree-

ing. A few hundred thousand citizens of the United States died in World War II. . . .

Journalist. I'm sorry; there's a difference in numbers perhaps, but we also fought and died to fight fascism.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Yes, you fought, it's true; you fought and died. But it must be borne in mind that the United States, England and the western world as a whole were responsible for the rise of fascism. Don't forget the credits that you gave Hitler and the support you gave him because he raised the banner of anticommunism. Don't forget that Hitler rose bearing the banner of anticommunism. That is how fascism developed in Italy and Nazism, in Germany.

Journalist. Also antidemocratic. We did not support Hitler, and we fought against Hitler.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Just as you invested a great deal of money in South Africa, you invested a lot in Hitler's Germany, too. This can't be ignored; it is a historical fact.

Journalist. We have investments all over the world; but we did not support Hitler idealistically or politically.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. But you supported him economically, and in Europe, the capitalist nations looked with favor upon the growth of an anticommunist stronghold—an anticommunist stronghold in Germany. After World War II, you built up anticommunist strongholds wherever you could: in Latin America, in Asia. . . .

Journalist. Also antidemocratic; not only anticommunist.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Your allies were the most reactionary, corrupt and repressive people in the world. You were Franco's ally, and he was a product of fascism.

Journalist. But the Soviet Union initially was an ally of the fascists and then changed and fought them.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Who said the Soviet Union was an ally of the fascists? At the beginning, when Hitler had to be stopped and the Soviet Union was willing to struggle alongside the so-called western democracies—France, England, Poland—against Hitler, the western nations met with Hitler and drew up the Munich Pact. They planned to use Hitler against the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union signed a nonaggression pact with Germany because it could not contribute to the western nations' policy of hurling Hitler against the Soviet Union.

Journalist. If we had done that, you would say that we were allies of fascism and supporting fascism, and, with the Soviets, you excuse them.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. No, the Soviet Union never supported fascism. It signed a nonaggression pact—just as we and the United States might do.

Do you want to sign a nonaggression pact with us? We could sign a nonaggression pact. What do you think? This wouldn't mean that we supported you or you, us.

Journalist. To make a nonaggression pact in that sense means turning your back and allowing it to continue. You would be very critical if we had done that.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I think the nonaggression pact was the only means open to the Soviet Union to counteract the plans not of the United States—at that time the United States didn't intervene very much—but of British and French imperialism and capitalism in western Europe. They wanted to stir up a

war between fascist Germany and the USSR.

Tell me, what was fascist Germany? Wasn't it a capitalist country? A country of monopolies, of free enterprise? What was it? What are the significant differences between the economic and social systems of the United States and fascist Germany? Is there any difference?

Journalist. Look, any time a country has a capitalistic system, you automatically condemn it. There are worlds of differences between a country that has a democracy and believes in free enterprise and believes in people striving for the best and having the opportunity individually to improve their lives and the pursuit of their individual freedoms and successes.

But do you really think that the United States and Nazi Germany are the same?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. No, I don't think that. I said they had the same capitalist system, the same system of monopolies.

Journalist. You have the same system as China, but you condemn China.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Yes, that's right, but I don't deny it. We have things in common under socialism. The only thing I am saying is that China has betrayed the cause of internationalism. Now, fascist Germany and the United States had the same system, the same economic and social order; not the same political regime. The United States had a president, a Congress, a House of Representatives and so forth and two parties; in Germany there was only one party. It's true that there were differences, but their economic and social systems were exactly the same; the reign of the monopolies and of free enterprise. That is undeniable.

Journalist. Our ideals are different; our aims are different; our philosophies are different; our essential feeling of freedom is different.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Yes, that's true.

Journalist. Can we go back, though, to something I began to say. I was talking about Soviet domination of countries like Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania, and the people's attempt in Czechoslovakia to be independent, and the Soviets' coming in and putting down that attempt.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I don't remember if it was Ford who said, during a television debate, that those countries were independent. . . .

Journalist. He made a mistake and corrected it. Now, come on, you're too smart for that.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I have relations with those countries and they have very close relations with the Soviet Union in the economic, political and ideological fields. I can safely say that those countries are completely independent. You call it domination, but what has been created is a sort of union among all those countries.

Now then, what gave rise to the events in Czechoslovakia? Two things: political leadership in error unquestionably—on the part of a group of opportunists who took over the leadership—and western conspiracy.

Of course, quite simply, the Soviet Union couldn't have tolerated a new Munich with Czechoslovakia. That is my point of view.

Journalist. We see it very differently.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. We see it from two different angles.

Journalist. We each write our own history.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Well, but the other time Czechoslovakia was the victim of a Munich, and this time it wasn't.

I have visited Czechoslovakia twice. I had contact with the people and can assure you that the great majority support socialism, the great majority back the Party, and the political conditions in Czechoslovakia are magnificent.

That is what I saw just four years ago.

Yes, there are some dissidents; there are some of those people there, but they are a small minority, an insignificant one, whose activity is magnified by the western press.

Journalist. Do you think that Russia is a free country?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I think it is the freest country of all, although you people in the United States wouldn't understand that because you have completely different concepts. We aren't going to agree on this, so let's not get into a theoretical and rhetorical debate.

Journalist. But, what do you say about the intellectuals . . . ?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I will ask you something about this. . . .

Journalist. No, it's my turn, my question.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. No, no, just one thing. Is it possible to imagine that a people that are not free would sacrifice 20 million human lives defending their country and fighting against fascism?

The United States would have to go through a similar test to find out how much freedom there is in the United States.

Journalist. We did. We did not lose as many people, but in our terms, we risked as much, and, not only that, it was not on our continent, and we fought fascism.

But can we go back to the present moment?

The intellectuals in the Soviet Union, the writers, many of the artists have complained worldwide of the restriction of their intellectual freedom. Many books have been written about it; they have not been written by the U.S. or by the CIA. They have protested in countries all over the world that their freedom, their intellectual freedom, is limited. How do you explain this?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. First of all, I disagree with your speaking of "the intellectuals" of the Soviet Union. I know scores of intellectuals in the Soviet Union, writers and artists, and the great majority of them support Soviet power and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. There is a minority, in this respect, that is very much encouraged by the West. Often the West turns a mediocre intellectual into an international hero. You don't realize it, but that's the way it is.

Journalist. Do you think Solzhenitsyn is a mediocre intellectual?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Perhaps I've been too subjective, but I don't like his writing. Perhaps he's not mediocre from a technical point of view, but politically he is mediocre.

Don't forget that, when some of those people left the Soviet Union, they even defended fascism. When some of those so-called dissidents reached the West, they even justified Hitler. These things must not be forgotten, because they are true. Sometimes, you even turn a delinquent into an international hero; I mean the western press does this.

Yes, there may be some people, an insignificant minority, who disagree; but what are these people compared with the tens of millions of Soviet workers and farmers—the essence of the Soviet

Union? Your mistake is confusing the activity of four cats³ that are isolated with the tremendous reality of the Soviet Union.

You never talk about a Soviet worker or hero of labor, a Soviet peasant or scientist; you talk about the three or four dissidents in the Soviet Union.

Journalist. I think there are more than three or four dissidents or cats.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. You turn them into heroes, and Carter welcomes them.

Journalist. Well, Ford didn't, so you. . . .

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Let me ask you a question. Why doesn't Carter receive heroes of labor from the Soviet Union?

Journalist. I'm sure he would if. . . .

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Or an outstanding farmer or scientists from the Soviet Union? Why does he only meet with dissidents?

Journalist. That is not true. We have Soviet workers, we have Soviet visitors all the time.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. But Carter doesn't meet with them.

Journalist. Well, Carter does not receive everybody; you do not receive everybody; Brezhnev does not receive everybody.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. No, I don't meet with reactionaries; I don't welcome any reactionaries. I meet with revolutionaries. Now, Carter doesn't meet with any revolutionaries; he meets with reactionaries.

Journalist. Let us say there are four cats—as you call them—four dissidents, or 24 or 54.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Or even 240—one for every million Soviet citizens.

Journalist. If Russia is so secure, if the system is so good, why can it not tolerate these four dissidents, these four cats? We tolerate dissidents in our country. We may not like it, but we don't imprison them; we don't put them in camps. They write; they speak.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I don't believe that the Soviet Union imprisons the dissidents—only if they carry out activities against Soviet power.

Besides, those dissidents are great allies of the United States. Why must I tolerate the allies of my adversaries? If you want to tolerate them, go ahead, but we don't.

Journalist. You say you are independent. . . . Are you independent of the Soviet Union?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Perhaps not; perhaps we're a state of the Soviet Union.

Journalist. Are you? What do you say?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Look, let's get things straight. I wish there weren't any independent states. I wish there

3. A common idiomatic expression in Spanish which means a handful of people.—*Granma*

weren't a single border and that all of humanity were a single family—a single socialist family with no exploitation of man by man, with genuine equality and with no exploiting and exploited classes! That is my ideal.

We are a sovereign and independent state, and you know it very well; Carter knows it; the CIA knows it; and those in the know in the United States know it.

It may be that a large part of the people who are fooled some of the time think that we are satellites or some such. However, let me tell you, we are Communists, we are internationalists, and our ideal is a single family of man and a single nation. Someday we will have to bring this about.

Journalist. A socialist family.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. It must be socialist because such a thing would be very difficult to achieve under capitalism. Capitalist society on a worldwide scale has already existed.

Journalist. Why can't you live your life and we live ours? Why does the whole world have to be socialist like you?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I'm not saying that the others can't live their own lives. That's what I want: for everyone to have his own life, and for all of humanity to live. . . .

Journalist. You say you want the world to be one community, a socialist community.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. That's because it seems to me that it would be impossible under capitalism, do you understand? Because how could humanity agree to live under the exploitation of many by others? How could humanity accept a society of millionaires and beggars, of blacks and women who are discriminated against? I've told you what my ideal is, but I'm not, by any means, the one who is going to bring that about, nor am I referring to anybody else in particular.

What has been shown, however, is that we can't move from this planet.

My view is that nationalism played its role in history, but what is nationalism today compared with the tribalism of the past? First there were tribes; then there were nations. One day nationalism will be seen as we now see tribalism. One day, borders will have to disappear.

Journalist. Do you think really that there will be that day when the whole world, as we know it, will have total cooperation, in one system and total peace? It has never existed in all of history.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. But never before in man's history have the present conditions existed. Formerly, the Indians of the Americas, the Europeans and the Africans didn't know each other. The world has drawn closer together, and humanity has multiplied. I feel that, if humanity survives the madness of governments, it will have no alternative than to live as a single family one day—because we can't move from this planet.

Journalist. Who knows? Maybe we can.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I know, in the light of all the evidence of science; but it has been shown that we can't live on the moon. Your research on the planets has helped to demonstrate that. There is no atmosphere or oxygen there. Man evolved on the planet Earth and can't live under those conditions.

Journalist. It's a CIA plot.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. The nearest star, the nearest star in the world. . . . She's confusing me. (Laughter) The nearest star to Earth is four light-years away, so we can't get there—that has been demonstrated scientifically and mathematically.

Besides, it would have to be a world without the CIA.

Journalist. In what area of foreign policy have you publicly or even privately disagreed with the Soviet Union?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. It has occurred on occasion that I have disagreed privately and publicly as well.

The differences mustn't be personal. I remember that there were differences of opinion during the October Crisis. There have been differences, but I think those which arise among the socialist countries must be discussed and solved among those countries themselves.

At times we have had public disagreements with the Soviet Union. But, do you want me to tell you the truth? I think they were due to our lack of political maturity.

Now we know ourselves much better, and we know our Soviet comrades much better too. They were extremely patient with us at the time of those differences; they never took the slightest measure of reprisal against us, and they continued helping us. Today, the level of our relations is very high. If differences were to develop one day—which is possible of course—we would have to sit down together and discuss them—not make them public, because it wouldn't be in the interests of socialism to do so.

Journalist. What do you think of Brezhnev?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I have a very high opinion of Brezhnev. I won't talk about him in personal terms. He is a very intelligent and well-trained man, a man with exceptional qualities. For me, however, the most important thing Brezhnev has to his credit is the role he's played in the struggle for détente and peace. That is, he has dedicated his political life, from his post at the head of the Soviet party, to trying to improve relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, to trying to avoid a war and to making efforts to create the conditions for peace. I think that, one day, humanity will have to take this into account and will recognize his merits.

After all, there were difficult periods; the war in Vietnam, the tension and so forth—very difficult times.

I can assure you that Brezhnev is a man who has given himself over to the cause of peace. I think that that is his greatest historical merit.

Journalist. The Soviets give Cuba approximately a million dollars a day in money and almost three million in other areas.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. How's that? How many million? Where are those millions?

Journalist. A million a day in money and almost three million in aid.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. At the start of this interview, you reminded me of what had happened in the town of Triunvirato, where the children—who didn't know that yours was a delegation from the United States—started to shout, "Fidel, hit the Yankees hard!" I explained to you that that was an old slogan, dating back a long time. Now I am amazed to hear you repeat old propaganda slogans. The famous slogan about the four. . . .

Journalist. Okay, you correct me; set me straight. How much aid do they give you?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I will answer you—if you allow me to.

The old slogan about the Soviet Union's helping us with four million pesos a day is still repeated, and perhaps it will be repeated for a long time to come.

But, look, the Soviet Union has certainly given us an extraordinary amount of aid. When the oil companies cut off our supply, it sent us oil; when the United States cut off our sugar quota, it bought our sugar; when the United States stopped selling us food and used its influence all over the world to level what was almost

a total blockade, the Soviet Union sold us raw materials, machinery, food and, especially, the fuel our country needed. When the United States was preparing the Girón invasion, the mercenary attack, it sent us weapons, which were very important in that decisive stage. During all these years, when our country's security has been threatened by the United States, it has supplied us with the weapons we needed free of charge. When we had problems with droughts or with our exports and could not fulfill our commitments, it always fulfilled its export commitments to Cuba.

Then time passed, and today we can and do fulfill all our export commitments to the Soviet Union.

What have the Soviet Union and Cuba established? We have established a satisfactory exchange for our country.

It pays fair prices for our minerals and sugar and charges fair prices for the goods it exports to Cuba. That is, we have established a perfectly satisfactory trade exchange—the kind that should exist between a developed and an underdeveloped country, the kind of exchange that should exist.

Now, if the United States were to trade with the underdeveloped world the way the Soviet Union trades with Cuba, or if Europe were to trade with the underdeveloped world the way the Soviet Union trades with Cuba, the problems of underdevelopment would be solved. The application of this principle of fair exchanges between a developed and an underdeveloped country is what you call the three-, four-, ten- or who-knows-how-many-million subsidy.

Journalist. Well, but can you give me a figure since you tell me the figures we use are wrong.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. You want me to give you a figure?

Journalist. Yes.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. The Soviet Union purchases our sugar at 30 cents a pound and has been selling us oil—last year, for example—at about 45 dollars, at less than or around 50 dollars, a ton, that is, almost half the world price.

Now, we have drawn up agreements that stipulate that, if the goods the Soviet Union exports to Cuba increase in price, the sugar we sell it will increase accordingly.

Journalist. Yes, I know that they sell you oil at half price and they buy your sugar at, what, two or three times market price?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. It depends: when the price of sugar reached 60 cents a pound, they paid us much less than the world market price. This is simply a stable price, which is what underdeveloped countries need.

Journalist. But you know what I am asking. I used the figure of a million dollars a day in money and almost three million in aid. This is the figure our country considers the figure.

Can you tell me, if we are wrong, what is the figure?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Which figure?

Journalist. The figure for aid.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. There is no figure; there is no figure except for the aid in arms. There is no figure, but, of course, there are credits.

Journalist. Just the sugar and oil?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. There are credits for industrial investment, of course, but our trade is based on fair prices, more or less balanced prices. That's the way it is. They pay us a fair price for our products, that's all there is to it. So, you can forget about the three, four, five or seven million. They simply pay us fair prices for our products.

Journalist. For sugar, and send the oil to you.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. The sugar, the nickel and everything else we sell them. It's a fair price, not only for the oil—it's for oil and a large number of other goods they supply us with.

Journalist. And they give you no money to help your economy, and they give you no special aid?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. They give us credits for industrial investment; they help us; and they provide us with weapons.

Journalist. And what does that come to?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Well now, that's a military secret.

Journalist. Guantánamo. Is this something that is a very important part of your conditions for normalization with us, or is it a secondary matter?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Guantánamo is militarily worthless for the United States today. The United States holds on to it as a show of strength and arrogance. It occupies part of our territory, which in today's nuclear age has no strategic value whatsoever.

It has no right to be there, since it is there against our will. I think that no one can have a military base in a country against the will of that country. The United States is there by force.

We've never wanted to turn Guantánamo into a special problem and uphold the banner, the demand for, the return of Guantánamo, because we wanted to avoid creating a feeling of permanent irritation among our people. That's why we have put it to one side. They want to be there? Okay, but someday they will have to leave; the day they start reacting sensibly.

The world is much wider and larger than Guantánamo. Guantánamo is just a small piece of land. If we sit down one day to negotiate a normalization of relations, Guantánamo would, of course, be one of the issues discussed. We would have to come to an agreement as to what day they would leave Guantánamo or what year. They imposed an indefinite agreement on the Republic. An indefinite period in a legal contract is understood to mean 100 years, and the 100 years of that agreement will be up soon, in 20 years.

What right does the United States have to be in Guantánamo against the will of our people? What right does it have to hold on to a piece of our territory against the will of our people?

Guantánamo is a show of strength. The United States is there by force. Now, we have never used nor are we going to use force to recover Guantánamo, because we aren't going to go to war with the United States over Guantánamo. It's a big, wide world.

Journalist. What are Cuba's biggest problems today?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. There are many.

Well, for example, one of the problems we've had is the drought. The last three years were very difficult. But the rains this year are good; it has been raining more than enough.

Of course, we have problems faced by any underdeveloped country, but we are solving them and making headway in our development. Yesterday, you asked me a similar question, and I told you that one of our most serious problems was housing, since we used most of our construction resources for building schools, hospitals and other projects of general social value, roads and agricultural and industrial projects. In order to solve the cumulative housing problem, we would have to build 100,000 homes a year, and we're only building 25,000.

Journalist. Where, or how, if in any case, do you think the Revolution has failed?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. It hasn't failed on any strategic matters. We have had various tactical failures, but they haven't been basic.

Journalist. Do you still have many political prisoners?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Yes, we have some.

Journalist. How many?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Right now I don't recall what the figure is, but I can tell you that the great majority of those who were in jail for counterrevolutionary activity have been released. I'll give you an example: the mercenaries who invaded Girón numbered 1,200, and we devised a method, by means of compensation, to release them. We devised projects for them to take part in—counterrevolutionary and common prisoners alike were allowed to work, and we paid them their salaries. We have maintained that policy; most prisoners in Cuba work, either in prison or in open areas, and they get the same pay and have the same economic rights as a worker.

Journalist. Would you say you had hundreds?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. They may be a little more than hundreds. They may be a little more, about 2,000 or 3,000 in prison for counterrevolutionary activity. It's possible, but there were times—when the United States' activities against Cuba were more intense—that we had as many as over 15,000. About 20 percent of the prisoners we had then must be left today.

Journalist. Two or three thousand political prisoners seems like a pretty large sum.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. But they're not political prisoners. They are counterrevolutionaries, people who took up arms under the orders of the CIA in the Escambray, people who committed acts of sabotage and other crimes.

Journalist. These are Cubans?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Well, yes, they are Cubans, yes. Our counterrevolutionary prisoners are a creation of the United States; they are the result of U.S. policy. Who encouraged those people? Who armed them? Who paid them? Who organized them? The United States.

Journalist. Don't you think that any of them might just oppose you and socialism?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Yes, some were opposed, but who mobilized them? Nobody in Cuba would have dared to defy. . . .

Journalist. Maybe themselves, maybe their own thoughts.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I don't deny that maybe some were like that. But nobody in Cuba would have ever imagined that it was possible to overthrow the Revolution without U.S. backing. Since those years of large-scale CIA and U.S. activity against Cuba, we have released more than 15,000 counterrevolutionary prisoners—and not because Carter asked us to do so or because anybody demanded it.

Now, as long as the United States maintains the blockade against Cuba, can we release those counterrevolutionary prisoners? We can't. The people who committed serious crimes must serve their sentences.

Journalist. Okay.

If we lifted the embargo, would you release those prisoners?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Let me ask you a question: if we reestablish relations, will you release all the imprisoned blacks in the United States who have been forced into crime as a result of discrimination, unemployment and neglect? So, let's come to an agreement, let's do something. . . .

Journalist. That is not why they are in prison.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. No? Why are they in prison? Because they stole? But why did they steal? Why? Because they were unemployed, because they were not given an education, because they were exploited and forgotten. Therefore, let's come to an agreement. Why should you demand unilateral measures from us? If it's a bilateral affair, we can come to any agreement. We will release all the jailed counterrevolutionaries if you release all those in your jails who had to steal because they were hungry, unemployed and poor. Let's come to an agreement. I'll make you a proposal: you release some of your prisoners, and we'll do likewise. An agreement—but bilateral. Don't come imposing unilateral conditions on us, because we won't accept them.

Journalist. I did not. You said to me, do you think as long as we have an embargo we will let those people go? So the next logical conclusion was, if you did not have an embargo, would you let these people go? It was you who brought up the idea.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I will tell you what I think about this. I feel that if relations between Cuba and the United States are normalized and the counterrevolutionaries who are being supported by the United States lose hope. . . . What is the blockade? It is support for the counterrevolution. If the blockade is lifted and relations are normalized then we could no longer say that the United States was supporting the counterrevolution. Then we, of our own accord, with no binding commitment and in a free and sovereign manner, could take measures we deemed appropriate in this respect—but not as the result of a condition. Now then, if our two governments want to do something for humanity—even before the blockade is lifted—let's come to an agreement, a mutual agreement; a certain number of counterrevolutionaries are released and a certain number of prisoners in the United States who have had to commit crimes due to the social system—because of hunger and unemployment—are released as well.

Journalist. President Castro, I would like to ask you, on this opportunity, to say some words to the American people about the situation, or anything you wish, please in English.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. A few words, only few words. I would like to speak much to the people of the United States in English but I am sorry, I am not sure I can translate what I think. I am not sure I can translate what I think.

I want to tell them clearly I feel the best wishes for the people of the United States. Every time when I know a new American, I always have a reason to try understand your people. And I think that every time I find, too, that the Americans, the newsmen, the workers, the technicians, are wonderful people. Really, I appreciate and admire the people of the United States for what they have achieved in technique, in science, and because I see that you, your people, are good working people and honest and idealistic people. Really, these are my feelings, my sincere feelings to the people of the United States. I hope in the future we will understand better and we will be friends.⁴

Journalist. I hope so. Thank you.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Thank you. □

4. The italics indicate that Fidel was speaking in English.—*Granma*