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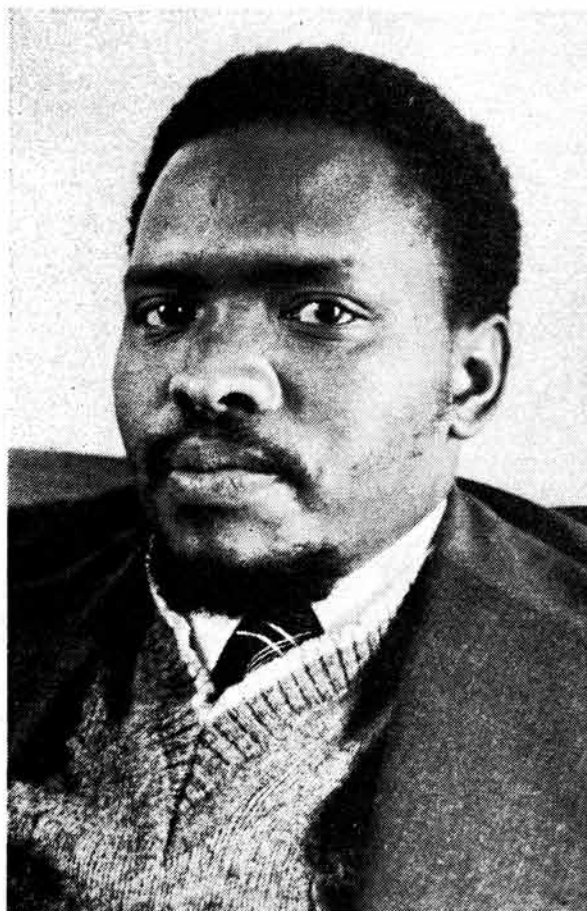
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October 17, 1977

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**'Hunger Strike' Turns Out to be
Cover-up Story Issued by Cops**

Evidence Shows Steve Biko Was Beaten to Death



BURNS—THE NEW YORK TIMES

STEVE BIKO

Carter Moves Toward 'First Strike' Capability

The Assassination of Seamus Costello

Four More Argentine Trotskyists Disappear

Did Tongsun Park Pay 'Tip' O'Neill's Rent?

Carter Moves Toward 'First Strike' Capability

By Fred Murphy



CARTER: A 50% cut . . . if . . . and provided that.

President Carter addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations on October 4. His words were widely applauded in the U.S. news media, and were apparently well-received in Moscow as well.

Carter made several dramatic pronouncements to shore up his image as a man of peace:

"In Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, we and the Soviets are within sight of a significant agreement in limiting the total numbers of weapons and in restricting certain categories of weapons of special concern to us. . . .

"The United States is willing to go as far as possible, consistent with our security interests, in limiting and reducing our nuclear weapons. On a reciprocal basis we are willing now to reduce them by 10 percent or 20 percent, even 50 percent. . . .

"I hereby declare . . . that we will not use nuclear weapons except in self-defense; that is, in circumstances of an actual nuclear or conventional attack on the United States, our territories or armed forces, or such an attack on our allies."

The chief Soviet delegate to the U.N., Oleg Troyanovsky, "said it was gratifying that the problem of ending the arms race and preventing nuclear war was 'in the forefront of the President's speech'" (*New York Times*, October 5).

The reality, which Carter's rhetoric was designed to cover up, emerged just two days later, however. Bernard Weinraub reported in the October 6 *New York Times*:

"Secretary of Defense Harold Brown has approved full-scale development funds for a new mobile missile system that could lead to the largest and most costly missile program ever undertaken by the United States. . . .

"Although the project is still in its planning stages, the new mobile missile will probably occupy a trench 10 to 12 miles long and five feet underground. It will be movable, thereby avoiding Soviet targeting, more accurate and far more powerful than any strategic weapon now employed by the United States."

Carter's pledge not to use nuclear weapons "except in self-defense" rings especially hollow against the analysis of this new system (known as the "MX") offered by *New York Times* military specialist Drew Middleton. Middleton wrote October 6 that "the deployment of 300 M-X missiles some time in the next decade could represent a shift away from deterrence toward capability to fight—and win—a nuclear war."

Middleton explained that the Air Force claims the MX is needed to counter advances in Soviet technology that make Minuteman III missiles—currently deployed by the Pentagon—vulnerable to attack, even if their silos are "hardened" to withstand blast, heat, or radiation.

"But the Air Force also concedes that hardening the silos makes them capable of providing survival well into the 1980's and possibly longer." So the real motivation is more likely the following: "Deployment of the M-X would increase the capability of the American strategic missile force to hit more targets in the Soviet Union."

Thus "MX would amount to a first-strike

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weapon," the editors of the *New York Times* said October 10. "A force of 300 MX's could destroy the entire Soviet land-based force in half an hour."

Carter's proclaimed willingness to reduce the number of nuclear weapons "on a reciprocal basis" by up to 50 percent is likewise deceptive. The Pentagon currently has 11,000 deliverable warheads, as against 3,800 deployed by the Soviet Union. Any "reciprocal" reduction would still give Washington a commanding lead.

Similarly, there is little to be expected from a new agreement on a strategic arms treaty, which Carter said is "within sight."

A flurry of excitement ran through the U.S. press after the latest round of talks September 22-27 between Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. In an October 6 column in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Victor Zorza said: "The ice did not really begin to move until Andrei Gromyko . . . persuade[d] the U.S. administration that Moscow was now willing to accept the basic negotiating context proposed earlier by President Carter—something it had vehemently rejected earlier in the year."

After the May 18-20 round of arms talks in Geneva, Gromyko had declared: "From all I can gather, the United States has not given up its attempts to achieve unilateral advantages, nor has the United States given up its attempt to conclude an agreement that would undermine the security of the Soviet Union."

Obviously, Washington still holds to its bellicose perspective. But the class-collaborationist bureaucrats in the Kremlin appear to have concluded that for the sake of the détente they should accede to Carter's wishes. Things are now moving toward a new treaty not unlike the Interim Agreement on Strategic Arms Limitation, or SALT I, concluded in 1972.

The effect that accord had on the arms race was evident in a recent statement by the Pentagon's top military commander, Gen. George S. Brown:

"We have made tremendous technical progress since SALT I in our missile force."

Next Week

A review article by Ernest Mandel on a new book, *The Alternative*, by an East German political dissident now held in prison because of his views.

The book is a noteworthy analysis of bureaucratism in a deformed workers state. The author, Rudolf Bahro, comes close to the Trotskyist position.

In This Issue

Closing News Date: October 10, 1977

FEATURES	1151	Coating the Ocean With Oil to Save 6 Cents a Ton
	1154	Miksemup's Menagerie —by Allen Myers
IRELAND	1132	The Assassination of Séamus Costello —by Gerry Foley
SOUTH KOREA	1133	Lawmakers on Edge as "Koreagate" Hearings Open—by Steve Wattenmaker
ARGENTINA	1134	Four More Trotskyists Disappear
CAMBODIA	1134	Regime Breaks Official Silence
PANAMA	1135	Carter Faces More Pact Problems —by Fred Murphy
SOUTH AFRICA	1136	Evidence Shows Biko Beaten to Death —by Ernest Harsch
	1136	Biko's Condemnation of U.S. Complicity
PUERTO RICO	1137	Nationalist Freed from Prison
ISRAEL	1138	The Sharon Plan: A "Final Solution" for the West Bank?
PHILIPPINES	1141	Students Protest Martial Law
CHINA	1142	Blossom and Contend and Take a Great Leap Forward
ZIMBABWE	1145	Obstacles to Mass Mobilizations —by Jim Atkinson
USA	1148	Behind the Leftist Mask of the "U.S. Labor Party" —by Matilde Zimmermann
	1152	New York's "Dead Sea" Is Growing
SWITZERLAND	1154	Referendum on Abortion Loses
INDIA	1155	West Bengal's Popular Front Government—by Sharad Jhaveri
AUSTRALIA	1156	Healyites Discover the Movement Against Uranium Mining —by Allen Myers
CANADA	1159	First Issue of New Québec Trotskyist Paper
NEWS ANALYSIS	1130	Carter Moves Toward "First Strike" Capability—by Fred Murphy
AROUND THE WORLD	1140	Pakistan Military Cancels Elections
CAPITALISM		
FOULS THINGS UP	1150	Split in White House Over Nuclear Plans?
SELECTIONS		
FROM THE LEFT	1153	
DOCUMENTS	1158	Analysis of the Elections in Sri Lanka—by Bala Tampoe
FROM OUR READERS	1160	
DRAWINGS	1130	Jimmy Carter; 1140, Zia ul-Haq —by Copain

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The Assassination of Séamus Costello

By Gerry Foley

Séamus Costello, chairman of the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP), was assassinated in Dublin in the early afternoon of October 5. The New York *Daily News* summarized the incident the following day:

A witness told police that the gunman, a young bearded man, spoke with Costello through the car window, then shot him twice in the face. They said the assailant calmly reloaded, fired a third time, and then left the scene in a car, vanishing in the midday traffic.

Lunch hour strollers ducked for cover as the shots rang out near the Dublin dock area.

The murder weapon was a sawed-off shotgun. Costello was reportedly killed instantly. He was thirty-eight years old, and had been a leader of the Irish republican movement since his youth.

Costello was the second major republican figure to be assassinated in the past twelve months. On October 28, 1976, Máire Drumm, one of the best-known Provisional speakers, was shot by a murder gang in Belfast as she lay helpless in a hospital bed.

Both Costello and Máire Drumm had been set up for assassination by a campaign in the capitalist press picturing them as fanatical proponents of terrorism and communal war. The hatred of the British imperialist and Irish neocolonial ruling classes, the repressive forces, and the ultraright Protestant pro-imperialists centered on them.

Even the so-called responsible British papers reported Máire Drumm's assassination as something that she had brought on herself as an apostle of "hatred." They tried hard to distract attention from the fact that a sick elderly woman had been shot down by a heavily armed Loyalist gang dedicated to defending British rule in Northern Ireland.

By maintaining the Protestant community in a position of insecurity and of relative privilege vis-à-vis the Catholics, the British imperialists have carefully cultivated communalist savagery. And then they try to put the blame for the violence of this system on those who oppose it.

The relative lack of response by international public opinion to the murder of Máire Drumm was a defeat for the anti-imperialist movement. But the murder of Séamus Costello raises the danger of a still greater defeat.

Part of the capitalist press has already accused the "Official" republicans of killing Costello. The "Officials" have denied any involvement. However, the extremely factional attitude of the "Officials" toward

Costello and the IRSP has made them open to suspicion. This situation is quite dangerous not only for this organization but for the entire anti-imperialist movement.

In particular since the downturn in the mass struggle against imperialist and pro-imperialist repression in late 1972, the republican organizations have been gravely damaged by a series of internecine armed conflicts.

This cycle began with armed clashes between the "Officials" and the IRSP in early 1975 shortly after the founding of the IRSP.

The formation of the IRSP was the culmination of a long and politically unclear factional struggle in the "Official" republican movement. The origin of this fight lay in the increasing isolation of the "Official" movement after the spring of 1972.

The "Official" republican leadership had played the decisive role in the development of the Northern Ireland civil-rights movement, which touched off the most powerful campaign of mass action in the country since the Land League struggle of the last century.

But the "Official" leadership was taken by surprise by its explosive dynamic. They had viewed the civil-rights struggle as a stage that had to be completed prior to a second stage in which the Protestant and Catholic workers would be united in economic struggles. They viewed the upsurge of nationalism among the oppressed Catholics as dangerous and premature and as something bound up with the guerrilla campaign of the Provisionals and its destructive effect on the mass movement.

However, the "Official" leaders' attitude simply isolated them and allowed the Provisionals to bypass them. The response to the increasingly obvious failure of the "Official" line took two forms. The organization's attitude to the nationalism of the oppressed Catholics was questioned. On the other hand, the manifest failure of what was presented as a "political" line of "mass action" led to backsliding toward guerrillaism. It is not clear to what extent these two tendencies became tangled in the factional struggle.

The opposition, of which Costello was one of the main leaders, won a majority in the fall of 1972. But the line of the organization was not changed. Some of his key allies capitulated to the older, more deeply Stalinist-influenced leaders. He was isolated within the leadership and expelled in

late 1974. It was then that he founded the IRSP.

In response to the Provisionals' growth and the IRSP split, the "Official" leaders became extremely subjective. Their line was correct, they held, but was constantly being defeated by "traitors," who exploited "emotionalism." Thus, they came to view those who did not share their attitude as more dangerous than the British imperialists or the Protestant terrorists.

The result was an element of fanaticism and paranoia in the clashes with the IRSP in Belfast. Although not all the details of the incidents can be verified, the first person killed was an IRSP member, and it was the "Officials" who incited hatred, to the point of actually encouraging Protestant terrorists to attack the IRSP. The assassination of one "Official" leader and the attempted assassination of another that occurred in this period now seem to have been the work of adventurers attracted by the conflict.

These clashes were followed by a still more costly feud between the Provisionals and "Officials." The exact origin of this is unclear, but the fanaticization of the "Officials" obviously did not promote a healthy atmosphere.

The hate campaign of the "Officials" also helped the capitalist press and authorities to persecute the IRSP. The media portrayed it as an extremist splinter group whose aim was to rally the most violent and irreconcilable terrorists. The "Officials" and reporters in the capitalist press friendly to them depicted the IRSP as a band of criminals and communalist murderers. In violation of the most elementary republican principles, the "Officials" accused Costello of being a "bank robber."

This witch-hunt campaign against the IRSP set the stage for two major attacks on the organization. The first was a provocation. When an attempt was made to blow up a train carrying "Official" supporters to an annual commemoration, the police accused the IRSP and arrested twelve of its members. But they were forced to release them because the IRSP members proved they could not have been involved. Later evidence came to light showing that it was a Protestant murder gang that carried out the operation.

Then in April 1976, nearly all the leading activists of the IRSP in Dublin were jailed on suspicion of a train robbery. Six were charged. The scandal created by the obvious torture of the arrested IRSP members forced

the police to retreat, at least temporarily.

Throughout this period, the "Officials" presented Séamus Costello as a kind of evil genius, thus helping the press and the authorities to make him a focus of hatred. Hundreds of militant nationalist activists and sympathizers were told by police and British army interrogators in both parts of Ireland that the only way to deal with a man

like Costello was to shoot him out of hand. This view must also have been shared by the Protestant terrorists.

The "Official" leaders have now had two years to see the results of the subjectivism and factionalism they showed in their campaign against Costello and the IRSP. Unless they reverse this course, they will help

open the way for the assassination of more republican leaders and for attacks on themselves.

The "Official" leaders cannot effectively clear themselves of suspicion unless they condemn Costello's murder in no uncertain terms and explain to their membership why it was a crime against the anti-imperialist movement as a whole. □

Did Tongsun Park Pay 'Tip' O'Neill's Rent?

Lawmakers On Edge as 'Koreagate' Hearings Open

By Steve Wattenmaker

Congressional investigators plan to subpoena the rent records of House speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill in view of allegations that fugitive South Korean CIA agent Tongsun Park picked up the tab for O'Neill's Washington apartment.

The House ethics committee authorized the subpoena—the first to be issued to a sitting member of Congress in connection with the South Korean bribery probe—after it was requested by the committee's special counsel Leon Jaworski, according to a report by Richard Halloran in the October 8 *New York Times*.

O'Neill, the highest ranking Democrat in Congress, had previously admitted being the guest of honor at two birthday parties hosted by Tongsun Park at his fashionable Georgetown Club in 1973 and 1974.

Another KCIA "agent of influence" and Washington party-giver, Suzi Park Thomson, told a closed session of the House ethics committee August 25 that Tongsun Park used O'Neill's office as a base of operations for his Capitol Hill bribery ring.

Both the Justice Department and Congressional investigations of Seoul's illegal efforts to sway U.S. policy have thus far successfully steered the probe away from current members of Congress.

Indictments have been limited to Tongsun Park, who is now back in Korea, and Maryland businessman Hancho Kim, who reportedly took over the KCIA's bribery operation after Tongsun Park's role was exposed.

While several indictments against former members of Congress are expected, Attorney General Griffin Bell told reporters August 31 that he was virtually certain no present members of Congress would be charged.

The allegations against "Tip" O'Neill and recent disclosures implicating other sitting members of Congress, however, may foil the attempts by the Carter administration and Congress to cover up the full extent of the scandal.

The October 6 *New York Post*, for example, reported that Tongsun Park gave Sen.

Hubert Humphrey a campaign contribution of \$80,000 and Sen. Robert Dole \$30,000. The *Post* said that Park detailed the payoffs in a 1971 or 1972 report to his KCIA superiors.

Investigators are also reported to have in their possession a list Park drew up of his "associates" in Congress. Fifty-eight—including an impressive cross section of the House leadership—are still in office, according to a report in the August 25 *Christian Science Monitor*.

How effectively the House ethics committee will be able to stage-manage its end of the investigation will be determined shortly when the committee opens its first round of public hearings October 19.

Among the potential witnesses who could blow the lid off the cover-up are four former KCIA officials who have defected to the United States and offered to cooperate with the bribery investigation.

Kim Hyung Wook, who headed the KCIA from 1963 to 1969, has already testified that Tongsun Park worked for the KCIA. Gen. Yank Doo Wan, once KCIA station chief in Washington, D.C., and Sang Kuen Kim, the KCIA agent who carried cash from Seoul to Washington, are also cooperating.

In the latest defection, Sohn Young Ho, former KCIA station chief in New York City, requested asylum from U.S. officials September 16. Ho is thought to have knowledge of both the bribery operation and KCIA harassment of South Korean dissidents living in America.

Whatever information these or other witnesses may provide, however, it is widely acknowledged that Tongsun Park's testimony is the critical element in the investigation. From the mid-1960s until he fled Washington in 1976, Park was the KCIA's most successful "agent of influence" on Capitol Hill.

The Carter administration's efforts to get Park returned to the United States have been minimal, prompting speculation that the White House is not entirely unhappy over Park's being safely out of reach in

Seoul.

To undercut the growing criticism of its foot-dragging attempts to extradite Park, the Justice Department announced that Benjamin Civiletti, the assistant attorney general in charge of the criminal division, and Paul Michel, who is heading the Korea investigation, will travel to Seoul October 13.

They plan to meet with officials in the Korean Ministry of Justice to negotiate terms under which American investigators can question Tongsun Park in Seoul. It appears just as likely that their real mission is to make sure the South Korean regime keeps Park on ice until the Washington bribery scandal cools off.

Lawmakers in Washington are justifiably on edge these days as the "Koreagate" probe enters its potentially most explosive phase with the onset of public hearings.

Only a handful of the 535 invited senators and representatives were expected to show up this year at the annual gala Korea National Day reception in Washington, Richard Halloran reported in the October 4 *New York Times*.

"It's instinctive with most members to stay away," Halloran quoted a longtime Capitol Hill aide as saying. "It shows you which way the wind is blowing. . . ." □

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Four More Argentine Trotskyists Disappear

Four supporters of the Argentine Trotskyist group *Política Obrera* (Workers Politics) were kidnapped by the Videla dictatorship in separate incidents during the last two weeks of September. An international campaign is being organized to find out where these militants are being held and to win their release.

Three of the victims are trade-union activists: Fernando Sánchez, Gustavo Grassi, and Guido Puletti. The fourth, Juan José Cuello, is a leader of the student movement.

A number of trade-union militants and socialists in Argentina have disappeared after being seized by Videla's police in the past few months, including members of the Communist Party and of the *Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores* (PST—Socialist Workers Party).

A fact sheet by the *Unión de Juventudes por el Socialismo* (UJS—Union of Youth for Socialism), the youth organization of *Política Obrera*, describes the latest victims of right-wing terror.

Fernando Sánchez, thirty-four, was active in the metalworkers union and ran for office on an antibureaucratic slate in the last union election. He was arrested in May of 1975 and held in prison for three months without any charges being brought against him. The company took advantage of this to fire him upon his release. Recently he has been working for a construction firm.

Sánchez was kidnapped in a public street in the middle of the day September 23. Nothing has been heard of him since.

Gustavo Grassi, twenty-five, was kidnapped the same time as Sánchez, but in a separate incident. There has been no news of him since his disappearance. Grassi is a textile worker at the SELSA factory.

Guido Puletti is a state worker and a leader of the union of public workers at the Ministry of Social Welfare. An army contingent came to his house the evening of September 20, blindfolded his wife, and took Puletti away. The authorities deny holding him.

Juan José Cuello is a leader of the student and youth movements. His fiancée, Diana Quatrocci, has been in prison for more than two years, and Cuello's disappearance is thought to be a direct reprisal against someone close to a political prisoner.

Two carloads of heavily armed men in civilian clothes came to the factory where Cuello worked the afternoon of September 15 and took him away. They claimed to be from the security forces.

There was a report that Cuello was taken to the First Army Corps in Palermo, where he was brutally tortured. A subsequent report indicated that he was taken away from the First Army Corps to an unknown destination. The authorities deny holding Cuello.

The UJS appeal for international support notes that Videla's terror squads use the excuse that they are fighting "guerrilla terrorism" when they round up leftists. But the UJS points out that *Política Obrera*—like the PST, which has also been hit with kidnappings and murders—is well known for its opposition to guerrilla tactics.

"Sánchez, Cuello and Puletti are comrades who belong to the organization *Política Obrera*, which has been banned by the military junta. It is an organization that supports united action by the workers and not the methods of individual terror-

ism, that favors establishment of a workers and peasants government, and that is a partisan of international socialism. . . .

"*Política Obrera* struggles for democratic rights and for the construction of an independent labor party so that the working class can have its own political expression. It calls for a constituent assembly where the problems of the country can be dealt with by the masses of citizens instead of by a minority of exploiters."

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) asks that telegrams protesting the kidnappings be sent to General Jorge Videla, Casa Rosada, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Copies should be sent to USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, N.Y. 10003. □

Pol Pot Confirms Mass Evacuation of Cities

Cambodian Regime Breaks Official Silence

For the first time, the Cambodian regime has lifted a tiny corner of the official veil of secrecy that has enveloped that country since the end of the war in April 1975.

On September 25, Pnompenh radio announced that a government and Communist Party delegation, headed by Prime Minister Pol Pot, was to visit China. It was the first public mention by the Cambodian leadership that a Communist Party as such actually existed in their country.

Pol Pot arrived in Peking September 28. He was greeted at the airport by Chinese Communist Party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Chairmen Teng Hsiao-p'ing and Li Hsien-nien. More than 100,000 persons were mobilized to greet him at Tien An Men Square as he drove through the city.

Hsinhua, the Chinese news agency, identified Pol Pot, again for the first time, as secretary of the Central Committee of the Cambodian Communist Party.

Reflective of the secrecy under which the Cambodian regime has been operating was the uncertainty among foreign journalists of Pol Pot's real identity. The name Pol Pot was not mentioned publicly until April 1976, when it was announced that he had been appointed prime minister. He then reportedly resigned six months later "for health

reasons," but has now emerged once again as prime minister.

Besides Pol Pot, other leading officials named during the visit included Nuon Chea, chairman of the People's Congress and deputy secretary of the Central Committee of the party; Ieng Sary, deputy prime minister in charge of foreign affairs; Son Sen, deputy prime minister in charge of defense; and Von Vet, deputy prime minister for economic affairs. The latter three were also identified as members of the Standing Committee of the Communist Party. President Khieu Samphan was mentioned several times, but was not identified with any party position.

Pol Pot used the occasion of his visit to Peking to officially confirm the reports of the Khmer Rouge's mass evacuation of the cities in 1975. At the time, refugees, as well as a few Western reporters who stayed in Cambodia after the fall of the Lon Nol regime, told of the compulsory evacuation of millions of Cambodians from urban areas, particularly Pnompenh, in which many persons were said to have died. (See *Intercontinental Press*, May 19, June 2, and July 28, 1975; and February 9, 1976.)

Until now, however, the Khmer Rouge remained silent on these reports. But at an

October 4 news conference in Peking, Pol Pot revealed that the evacuation policy had been decided upon two or three months before the Khmer Rouge captured Pnompenh. He justified the measure on the grounds of security. According to a Hsinhua account, Pol Pot said:

This was decided on before victory was won, that is, in February 1975, because we knew that before the smashing of all sorts of enemy spy organizations, our strength was not great enough to defend the revolutionary regime. Judging from the struggles waged from 1976 to 1977, the enemy's secret agent network lying low in our country was very massive and complicated. But when we crushed them, it was difficult for them to stage a comeback. Their forces were scattered in various cooperatives which are in our own grip.

A few days earlier, however, he hinted that other factors may also have been involved, such as the Khmer Rouge's strong distaste for what they regarded as an imperialist-imposed culture in the cities. During a banquet toast, he referred to "social blemishes and the depraved culture, debauchery, brigandage, crimes and other decadent phenomena in the age of imperialism, colonialism and other exploiting classes [that] have been basically abolished by the great mass movement in our country."

Coinciding with Pol Pot's visit to Peking, Pnompenh radio broadcast, on September 29, a five-hour speech that he made two days earlier. In it, Pol Pot also seemed to confirm the reports of executions after the Khmer Rouge takeover, but he denied that they were massive.

In an apparent effort to counter the reports by thousands of refugees of widespread hunger and disease, Pol Pot claimed on his arrival in Peking that the situation in Cambodia was "excellent," that the regime had "wiped out illiteracy by 80 or 90 percent," that the country produced enough grain to feed "our people an average of 312 kilos [a kilo is 2.2 pounds] of rice per capita," and that a "network of hospitals and pharmaceutical centers" had been built so that there was a clinic with twenty beds for every hundred families.

If true, this would be quite remarkable for a generally poor country that had been devastated for years by war and massive American bombing. But Pol Pot offered no proof of his claims, nor has the Cambodian regime allowed independent observers to survey the situation for themselves.

In his five-hour speech over Pnompenh radio, Pol Pot also gave what was purported to be a history of the Cambodian Communist Party. He claimed that it had been founded seventeen years ago, in 1960, but offered no explanation of why it waited until September 25 to reveal its existence. At one point in the speech, he noted that "some capitalists and feudalists agreed to cooperate with the revolution."

Stressing agricultural development and

the role of the peasantry, he stated that 95 percent of the population lived as "middle

peasants." He added, "Our workers were not the main force of our revolution." □

Release of Secret Cable Spurs Opposition

Carter Faces More Panama Pact Problems

By Fred Murphy

The Carter administration's difficulties in securing Senate ratification of the proposed Panama Canal treaty* are increasing.

During the first few days of October there had been speculation in the news media that the right-wing campaign against the treaty was faltering. The antitreaty jingoists had failed to win the support of key Republicans and conservatives such as Gerald Ford and columnist William F. Buckley.

Although the Republican Party's National Committee voted to withhold support from the treaty "as proposed by President Carter," leading Republican senators such as Howard Baker of Tennessee and S.I. Hayakawa of California were continuing to say they had not yet made up their minds. The October 4 *Christian Science Monitor* said some party leaders were worried that "the repercussions could split the Republican party down the old Ford-Reagan lines. . . ."

But the right-wingers got a big boost on October 4. Republican Senator Robert Dole released a secret State Department cable reporting on a discussion between a U.S. embassy official in Panama and Carlos López Guevara, a member of the Panamanian government team that negotiated the proposed accord with Washington.

López Guevara had taken exception to some remarks made by Carter administration officials in testimony September 26-27 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Article VI of the "neutrality treaty" provides that U.S. and Panamanian "vessels of war . . . will be entitled to transit the canal expeditiously." Secretary of State Cyrus Vance told the committee that this actually meant American battleships could "go to the head of the line" if Washington was at war. The cable read:

Lopez Guevara said that Royo and Escobar [two other Panamanian negotiators] tentatively accepted preferential treatment for U.S. and Panamanian war vessels, but in a later session this was specifically rejected by Panama and the word "expeditiously" was substituted.

López Guevara's other objection was more serious. It reflected the problem his government faces in trying to portray the treaty to the Panamanian people as a great anti-imperialist victory:

He urged that U.S. officials stop using the term "intervention" in describing [U.S.] rights under the treaty. He also expressed the view that those

testifying before the committee . . . had made too much of General Torrijos' statement that Panama was under the umbrella of the Pentagon. "The general was stating a fact, not giving the U.S. any right to intervene."

After quoting López Guevara as saying, "Intervention is simply forbidden by international law. Panama cannot agree to the right of the U.S. to intervene," the embassy official warned:

. . . we are likely to be faced with increasing irritation over—and perhaps public disavowals of—our interpretations. Any assertion which seems to claim a right to intervene in Panama's domestic affairs is almost certain to be challenged here.

Dole's revelation of the cable touched off a furor in Washington. At a Foreign Relations Committee hearing the next day "a parade of senators whose support is considered crucial to the treaties warned that the pacts have no chance of approval without unequivocal assurances from both governments that the treaties safeguard future U.S. military rights in the canal" (*Washington Post*, October 6).

To seek such clarification, Dole has submitted a series of amendments to the treaties. At least some of these are being given a good chance of Senate approval by news commentators. One of them reads:

Nothing in this Treaty may be construed to prevent the United States of America . . . from intervening militarily to maintain such regime of neutrality when [this] is determined to be seriously threatened. . . .

It will be difficult for the Torrijos regime to convince the Panamanians to accept such an explicit formulation of continued U.S. domination of Panama. Covering up this reality was the purpose of the vague formulations in the draft of the treaty about "maintaining neutrality."

But if Carter is to effectively undercut Dole's amendments and the campaign of the jingoists, it is this vagueness that will have to be cleared up. Such clarification can only lead to more difficulties for both Torrijos and Carter. □

* The accord actually consists of three treaties, one on the turnover of the canal itself, scheduled to take place December 31, 1999; one guaranteeing the canal's "neutrality"; and a protocol to the "neutrality" pact that other governments will be asked to sign. For an account of the provisions of the treaties, see *Intercontinental Press*, August 29, p. 922.

Evidence Shows Biko Beaten to Death

By Ernest Harsch

More evidence has surfaced indicating that Steve Biko, one of the most influential young Black leaders in South Africa, was actually murdered in prison, despite initial government claims that he died after a hunger strike.

Biko had been a founder and first president of the militantly nationalist South African Students Organisation and was honorary president of the Black People's Convention at the time of his death in police custody September 12. He was only thirty years old.

The most detailed report questioning the racist regime's version of Biko's death appeared under front-page headlines in the October 7 *Rand Daily Mail*. Citing interviews with doctors who treated Biko in the days preceding his death, the newspaper reported that there was no evidence that Biko had embarked on a hunger strike. In fact, he was slightly over his normal weight when he died.

The *Rand Daily Mail* also reported that a lumbar puncture taken by a specialist showed that Biko's brain fluid contained "many red cells," indicating severe brain damage.

A few days earlier, South African newspapers reported that the lumbar puncture had been taken several days before Biko's death, while he was in a coma at a hospital in Port Elizabeth. This too contradicted the initial account given by Justice Minister James T. Kruger, who said that Biko had been examined by doctors a number of times before he died and was found to be suffering from nothing worse than weakness from the alleged hunger strike.

It was also reported that Dr. J.T. Loubser, the chief state pathologist who conducted the autopsy on Biko, found that Biko had several broken ribs.

Although the white minority regime received a preliminary report on the autopsy less than a week after Biko died, it has delayed releasing its findings, apparently fearing that the results could further fuel the massive Black protests that have swept the country. Citing South African newspaper accounts, correspondent John F. Burns said in the October 2 *New York Times* that the autopsy report concluded "that the brain damage could have been caused by a severe blow on the forehead."

Mourners at Biko's funeral could themselves see evidence of this. There was a huge bump on Biko's left temple, and the back of his head was so badly crushed that it had to be concealed with velvet.

The reports indicating direct police responsibility in Biko's death have elicited a sharp reaction from the Vorster regime. On September 7, Kruger made a formal complaint against the *Rand Daily Mail* and won a ruling in the Press Council, a disciplinary body, that the newspaper had engaged in "tendentious reporting."

Realizing that it is no longer possible to cover up the real causes of Biko's death, the regime has at the same time moved to place the blame on a few scapegoats in the police force. On October 1 Police Commissioner Gen. Gert Prinsloo strongly hinted that charges would be brought against some police officers who were involved in Biko's detention and interrogation. Earlier, Kruger himself stated that "heads may roll" after an investigation.

It is unlikely, however, that the regime will be able to convince the country's twenty-two million Blacks that only a few police officials are responsible for Biko's murder. Torture and beatings are almost routine in South African jails and more than twenty other Black political prisoners have died under suspicious circumstances over the past year.

Ultimately, it was the entire system of white supremacy and its brutal repressive apparatus that killed Biko.

Nor have the regime's lame excuses dampened the unrest that followed Biko's death. In the days after his September 25 funeral near Kingwilliamstown, in which 20,000 Blacks participated, demonstrations and protests continued to spread to a number of

cities and Black townships throughout the country.

Immediately after the funeral, mourners clashed with police in the Black township of Mdantsane, outside East London.

Hundreds of Black youths staged at least three protests within two days at Dimbaza, a township near Kingwilliamstown. Reflecting the widespread hatred of young Blacks toward the regime's Bantustan policy, some of the protesters burned down four offices belonging to the Bantustan administration of the Ciskei. Police attacked the demonstrators with tear gas and shotguns, killing at least one youth.

Two more Black protesters were killed in Queenstown after police fired into a demonstration, and one Black was shot to death in Soweto allegedly after a gun battle with police. Sixty-two persons were arrested after a protest in Whittlesea October 5.

In Port Elizabeth, Black students conducted a one-day boycott of classes, while ninety-six youths were arrested in Grahamstown during a protest against Bantu Education, the regime's policy of segregated and inferior education for Africans. High schools in Soweto have been empty for weeks as a result of student boycotts against Bantu Education.

The determination of South Africa's young Black activists to press forward with their opposition to the racist regime was exemplified by Hlaku Rachidi, the president of the Black People's Convention, who said at Biko's funeral:

"Let us not stand accused by posterity for having slowed down the pace toward the total emancipation of the oppressed people in this country. Many a man has lost his life along this path. Many more may be destined to follow. Steve the physical giant is dead but Steve the idea lives and burns brighter than ever . . . Steve was meant for the nation. He died to unite the black people in this country." □

Biko's Condemnation of U.S. Complicity

[The following are excerpts from a statement given to Iowa Senator Dick Clark in South Africa in December 1976 by Steve Biko. Biko, one of South Africa's foremost young Black leaders, died in police custody September 12.

[The excerpts are taken from the September 18 issue of the *New York Times*.]

* * *

It has become pretty obvious to us that these are crucial years in the history of Azania [South Africa]. The winds of liberation which have been sweeping down the face of Africa have reached our very

borders. There is no more doubt about the inevitability of change—the only questions now remaining are how and when.

At this stage of the liberation process, we have become very sensitive to the role played by the world's big powers in affecting the direction of that process. In a sense America has played a shameful role in her relations with our country.

Given the clear analysis of our problems, the choice is very simple for America in shaping her policy toward present-day South Africa. The interests of black and white politically have been made diametrically opposed to each other. America's

choice is narrowed down to either entrenching the existing minority white regime or alternatively assisting, in a very definite way, the attainment of the aspirations of millions of the black population as well as those of whites of good will.

We are looking forward to a nonracial, just and egalitarian society in which color, creed and race shall form no point of reference.

We rely not only on our own strength but also on the belief that the rest of the world views the . . . discrimination against, oppression and blatant exploitation of, the black majority by a minority as an unforgivable sin that cannot be pardoned by civilized societies.

While many words and statements to this effect have been made by politicians in America, very little by way of constructive action has been taken to apply concerted pressure on the minority white South African regime.

Besides the sin of omission, 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.

The new American Administration must, however, take to account that no situation remains static forever. Through their political intransigence and racial bigotry, the South African white minority regime has increased the level of resentment amongst blacks to a point where it now seems that the people are prepared to use any means to attain their aspirations.

Heavy investments in the South African economy, bilateral trade with South Africa, cultural exchanges in the fields of sport and music and of late joint political ventures like the Vorster-Kissinger exercise are amongst the sins of which America is accused. All these activities relate to whites and their interests and serve to entrench the position of the minority regime.

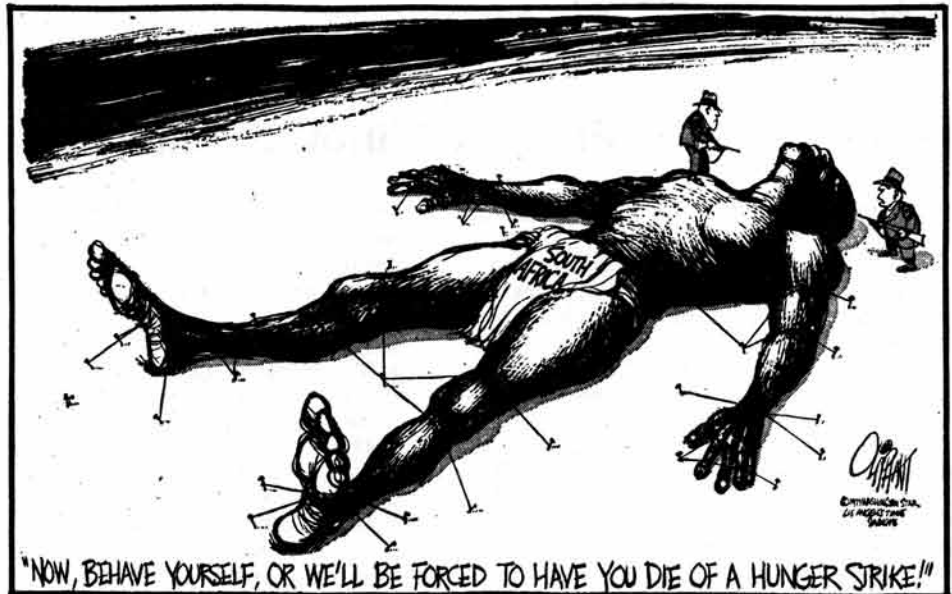
America must therefore re-examine her policy towards South Africa drastically.

A few minimum requirements can perhaps be outlined at this stage.

- Mr. Carter should reverse the policy whereby America looks [to] the South African Government as a partner in diplomatic initiatives in Africa.

- Mr. Carter should immediately develop a new approach to involvement by America in the South African economy—whether in so-called Bantustans or in metropolitan “white” South Africa. Whilst it is illegal for us to call for trade boycotts, arms embargo, withdrawal of investments, etc., America herself is quite free to decide what price South Africa must pay for maintaining obnoxious policies.

- Where American firms do not on their



Oliphant/Washington Star

own withdraw, the least that can be expected is for their Government to set rigid rules on questions like remuneration, rate for the job, job reservation, trade unions, etc., to completely insure that America is not involved in the exploitation of South African blacks.

- America should cease showing any form of tolerance to Bantustan leaders who are operating as a model and platform obviously designed for the perpetual subjugation of black people. Invitations to people like Gatsha Buthelezi, Matanzima, Mangope and granting them any form of recognition is gross insult to the black people of this country.

- America must insist on South Africa recognizing the need for legitimate non-Government-initiated platforms like the

Black People's Convention. Equally, organizations banned in the past, like the African National Congress, should be re-allowed to operate in the country.

- America must call for the release of political prisoners and banned people . . . and the integration of these people in the political process that shall shape things to come.

The direction in which allegiances will go will obviously be affected by the role played by the various world powers. If America goes for a full-scale support of the struggle for the black man's liberation, then she stands a chance of influencing political trends and being regarded as a genuine friend. Otherwise, so far her role has been seen as that of bolstering the minority regime, all at the expense of the black man. □

Puerto Rican Nationalist Freed from Prison

Andrés Figueroa Cordero, one of the five Puerto Rican nationalist fighters imprisoned by the U.S. government for more than twenty years, was released October 6. Cordero, who has terminal lung cancer, is reported near death.

President Carter, who has been under increasing pressure to free all five nationalist prisoners, ordered Cordero's sentence commuted "on humanitarian grounds."

In fact, Carter's "humanitarian" gesture was nothing more than a cynical political maneuver, according to a report in the October 7 *New York Post*. The *Post* story quoted informed sources who said Carter ordered Cordero's release to head off protests against Rosalynn Carter, who was scheduled to speak on human rights in San Juan October 10.

An estimated 6,000 persons gathered to welcome Cordero on his return to Puerto Rico October 9. Although frail and confined to a wheelchair, Cordero addressed the gathering, pledging to carry on the fight for Puerto Rican independence and the struggle to free the remaining four prisoners.

A private physician who examined Cordero after his release charged that the prison doctors could have stopped the freed nationalist's cancer before it became inoperable.

Cordero himself led the way in exposing Carter's cynical "human rights" ploy. The Committee to Free the [Nationalist] Prisoners announced that Cordero would take part in the demonstrations against Rosalynn Carter, demanding freedom for his four comrades still behind U.S. prison walls. □

The Sharon Plan: A 'Final Solution' for the West Bank?

[In mid-September Dr. Israel Shahak, the head of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, arrived in the United States for an extended speaking tour sponsored by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign.

[Born in Poland in 1933, Dr. Shahak spent his childhood in the Warsaw ghetto and the Nazis' Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. He emigrated to Palestine in 1945. As a result of his experiences in the Israeli army during the June 1967 Middle East war, Shahak became an opponent of Zionism.

[*Intercontinental Press* interviewed Dr. Shahak shortly after he arrived in New York City.]

Question. Ariel Sharon, who serves as Agriculture Minister and head of the Committee on Settlement in Menahem Begin's cabinet, recently announced a plan to settle two million Israeli Jews in the occupied West Bank territory over the next twenty years. What are the details of his proposal?

Answer. The "Sharon plan" was hatched about a year ago in a kibbutz, Hameuchad, by supporters of the Labor Party, mainly. But the Labor Party being what it is—a tissue of hesitations, confusions, internal quarrels, and so on—the plan remained on paper. There was no possibility that [Labor Party leaders Yitzhak] Rabin and [Shimon] Peres would be able to quickly and clearly put the plan into action.

But, like all the seeming differences between Begin and his Labor Party predecessors, Begin is simply more of the same with less hypocrisy. He took over the settlements plan and he is beginning to carry it out.

The plan itself is very simple. It is called the "Second Avenue." At present the Jewish population of Israel is concentrated along "First Avenue," referring to the strip of land running north-south along the Mediterranean coast.

The Israeli government now wants to build a "Second Avenue," another strong belt of population which will run through the West Bank along the Jordan River and the Dead Sea—along the eastern border of what is now called "Greater Israel."

There remains the rest of the area of the West Bank. To keep the Palestinian population of the West Bank in hand, the Sharon plan calls for the area to be crisscrossed by belts of new Jewish settlements. Two population belts will run north-south and three will run east-west.

In addition, Jews will replace Palestinians in a wide belt running east from Jerusalem to the Jordan River. This would split the northern and southern parts of the West Bank.

These steps will result in concentrating the Arab population in what Sharon calls "squares," which will be controlled from outside by militarized Jewish settlements. In other words the Palestinians will be ghettoized—not in one, but in numerous separate ghettos.

This plan also treats the Israeli Arabs in exactly the same manner as it treats the Arabs in the conquered territory. Let me point out a paragraph from an article in the September 9 issue of the *Jerusalem Post*:

Arik [Sharon] notes that as a result of the 1949 Armistice Agreements, Israel's narrow waist has been bounded on the east by a string of Arab villages . . . whose inhabitants today number close to 100,000. Immediately on the other side of the former green line [within Israel's pre-1967 eastern border] is another band of dense Arab settlements in towns such as Tulkarm and Kalkilya and the villages in between, which also number close to 100,000 inhabitants. The danger, he says is that this solid Arab block will grow to join the other area of dense Arab settlement on the mountain tops. This must be prevented by the insertion of a wedge of Israeli settlements in the sparsely populated western slopes.

This all means that Arabs are not allowed to live in concentrated blocks. There must be "wedges," "belts," "lines"—you can say ghetto walls—in between. Arabs must be divided into permanent ghettos which will be controlled outside by Israeli settlers.

The same plan is also being advanced in Galilee. Settlements being established in Galilee are being regarded by the Israeli government as the same as the settlements proposed for the West Bank. They are called "border settlements within the country."

The second part of the Sharon plan is even more important. When some of the plan was reported in America—actually very little of it was reported—some American specialists on the Middle East ridiculed it as unrealistic. But this is not true.

It is quite realistic if you consider that it will be a very powerful means of removing what little democracy exists in Israel today for Jews. It is of course true that Jews will not go of their own free will to settle those "belts" and "wedges."

In fact, in the major West Bank Jewish settlement of Kiryat Arba near the Arab town of Hebron, a quarter of the buildings stand empty. They are offering flats

almost free, along with low-interest loans. Any Jew can afford to live in Kiryat Arba almost without cost. But Jews are not settling there.

Even the famous Rabbi Meir Kahane, head of the JDL [Jewish Defense League, an ultra-Zionist group], who at first fought for his right to live in Kiryat Arba, returned his flat. He prefers to live in western Jerusalem or New York, where he lives now.

The Sharon plan cannot succeed without compelling Jews to settle the West Bank. And that means further eroding what democracy remains in Israel. To this effect a proposal has already been made by friends of Sharon who are officials in charge of Kiryat Arba.

The September 16 issue of *Ha'aretz* reports that the two officials—a Mr. Mayevsky and another man who is not named—have proposed that the Israeli government prohibit all new housing construction within the pre-1967 borders of Israel. Then Jews would be compelled by the absence of housing to move into the new West Bank settlements.

I think the Israeli government will pass such a law because Sharon is not so naïve as to have based his plan on hopes of a new wave of immigrants arriving from outside Israel.

Efforts by the Israeli government to bolster "Aliya"—that is, the immigration of Jews to Israel—failed miserably. According to official population figures, which are distorted in the direction of optimistic projections, there is either a small net outflow or a stationary state.

You can understand it even better if you see what is happening today with Argentinian Jews. Large numbers of Jews are leaving Argentina. It is estimated in Israel that 90 percent of them do not want to go to Israel. They want to go to France, or England—any place but Israel.

This is in spite of the fact that if they go to France, they go by their own means. If they go to Israel, they receive a free airline ticket, free housing for three months and a nearly rent-free apartment after that, free education for their children for three years, and many other benefits.

Q. Given the lack of immigration to Israel, is Sharon's figure of two million Jewish settlers for the West Bank in twenty years realistic?

A. In the present circumstances, no. But Sharon can easily achieve several hundred thousand from inside Israel. When Sharon

speaks of millions of settlers, he is thinking about the effects of the next war.

Another war, whatever the result, will undoubtedly cause some increase in anti-Semitism, and the right-wing Zionists are very good at promoting anti-Semitism. Perhaps, and it is supposition, under those conditions he can achieve his announced goal. But without a war he can only count on native Israelis.

I might just add that war under the Begin regime is also more of the same. The Labor government was also determined to make war, but it waited for a "provocation" or a good diplomatic opportunity. It would have behaved like Golda Meir behaved in October 1973.

With Begin, we are returning to the scenario of the 1956 war. That is, "preventive" war undertaken without any provocation. If you want a small example, the current Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon provides one.

But southern Lebanon is peanuts, to use a "Carterian" phrase. Israel is determined to smash the three "confrontation" states [Syria, Jordan, and Egypt] and their armies. Israel under Begin is determined to conquer and occupy Jordan itself.

A principle that Begin has been true to for forty years—a principle that is a prominent part of his Herut [Freedom] Party program—is that Jordan is a part of the land of Israel. That not only Palestinians have no right to their country, but Jordanians don't have any right to theirs either.

One of the most striking examples of the dishonesty of the American establishment and its allied press is the concealment of the current Israeli government's avowed aim of conquering the East Bank of the Jordan—an aim that is accepted as an elementary fact of Israeli politics.

Not a single journalist or politician asked Begin during his July visit to the United States a simple question: did he still stand by the conquest of Jordan as written in his party's program?

Why was Begin not asked? Because for all of his horrors, Begin is an honest man. *He would have answered that he is true to his principles; that East Jordan is part of the land of Israel.* Because they knew he would say it, they arranged not to ask him.

Q. There has been speculation in the American press that the Begin government is simply making gestures towards colonizing the West Bank as part of its diplomatic maneuvering; that Jerusalem is not seriously going to massively settle the occupied territories. Could you comment?

A. The Carter administration purposely promotes that speculation in order to win some time and shield itself from the direct anger of the Arab regimes. Not only do I think, I am completely sure, that the Carter administration itself knows that the Sharon plan is real.

Whether the American government is deceiving itself or others in this regard is a problem I will leave to the historians.

Q. Can you discuss what effect the London Sunday Times articles on torture of Palestinian prisoners and the follow-up visits by American and Swiss human-rights investigators have had both in Israel and internationally?

A. So far—let me speak with caution—at least until the fifteenth of September, the impact on Hebrew-reading Jews was nil. This was for the very simple reason that the Hebrew press didn't publish any details.

The Hebrew press has published that haters of Israel and "self-hating" Jews have attacked Israel based on slanders provided by attorneys Felicia Langer and Lea Tsemel. No details at all have been published.

The general Hebrew-speaking public is completely ignorant of the substance of the *Sunday Times* report.

On the other hand, I think by now the majority of Israeli Jews are aware of torture and accept it when it is used against Arabs.

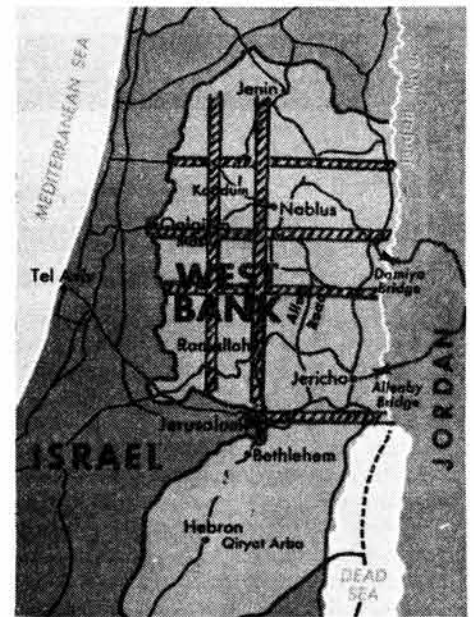
Here there is a distinction between the Hebrew press and the English-language press inside Israel. The *Jerusalem Post* has provided an answer to the *Sunday Times'* allegations of torture in which they admit that an interrogation method is to strip male Palestinian prisoners naked and then bring in a woman soldier to "mock his manliness."

This also was not reported in the Hebrew press. Again, the government control of communication media both in Israel and the United States is, in this respect, almost absolute. The *New York Times* also failed to quote the *Jerusalem Post*.

Can you imagine, for example, that *Pravda* would admit that a Russian dissident had been stripped naked and a woman brought in to "mock his manliness?" Can you imagine what a storm would break in the United States? And not just from the politicians, who are prostitutes by definition, but also the so-called human rights movement.

Another point I want to add is that mistreatment and torture of Jewish prisoners by the Israeli police is widely reported in the Hebrew press. So you have a situation where a large segment of the Jewish population accepts as fact that Jews are tortured by Israeli police, but are substantially ignorant of torture used against Palestinians.

The reason for this anomaly is that the Israeli regime cannot prevent the publication of allegations of mistreatment by Jewish prisoners. It is one of the consequences of Zionist racism. No matter who it is or what they have done, a Jew is always important.



Shaded lines indicate new "belts" of Israeli settlements proposed by Sharon.

Even a right-wing Hebrew paper will report allegations of torture made by a Jew. No Hebrew paper will report similar claims made by an Arab.

I will give you a historical example of this kind of racism. Forty or fifty years ago when the American Deep South was openly racist in its majority, when a Black was beaten, nobody cared. But suppose a white man who supported Black rights was beaten. That would be reported not only in New York, but in Alabama. A white being beaten became a case for concern for a great segment of white Alabama public opinion.

In fact, a factor in the decline of the Ku Klux Klan was its shift from beating Blacks to beating their white supporters.

You also asked how the international repercussions from the *Sunday Times* article will affect Israel. To answer you, I would say that there will be no political consequences so long as Carter continues to give the Israeli government money.

For example, the September 15 issue of *Ma'ariv* reported that during Begin's recent visit to Washington, Carter actually asked Begin if there was torture used in Israel. And Begin gave Carter a solemn undertaking that there is no torture in Israel. What is more, upon his return Begin issued a directive not to torture people.

According to *Ma'ariv*, Carter accepted this as evidence that Israel won't use torture. Of course, after accepting Begin's word that torture was not being used, Carter gave Israel an enormous sum of money to develop a new tank.

So long as Carter continues to accept Begin's "word" and give money to the Israeli government, the torture will go on.

AROUND THE WORLD



Pakistan Military Cancels Elections

Three months after seizing power in a military coup, the regime of Gen. Mohammad Zia ul-Haq declared October 1 that it was canceling the general elections promised for later in the month and was continuing martial law for an indefinite period.

Reflecting a concern that the elections could have opened the way for another mass upsurge similar to the one that rocked the country earlier this year, General Zia said, "I have come to the conclusion that to hold the elections on Oct. 18 will only be an invitation to a new crisis."

Declaring that Pakistan was in too great a state of political turmoil, he banned all political activity "to allow passions to cool down."

He then warned political activists, "I wish to make it clear that if anybody flouts the martial law he will be dealt with severely."

The next day a martial-law order was published providing a possible penalty of fifteen lashes at a public flogging for anyone who attempted to make speeches or participate in rallies or marches.

General Zia also warned that newspapers,

"in order to safeguard their own freedom, should refrain from publishing inflammatory material."

Just two weeks earlier, former Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who had been deposed by Zia in July, was rearrested on charges of involvement in at least one political assassination, and possibly others.

Although Zia had originally announced that Bhutto would be brought before a military court, he said during his October 1 declaration that Bhutto would be tried in the regular courts instead. Zia has said that he thinks Bhutto will be convicted, but if he is acquitted there are a number of other charges on which he would be tried as well.

Africa Hardest Hit

Africa is suffering more than any other continent from the world economic recession. So says Francis Blanchard, director general of the International Labor Organization.

In a report prepared for the Fifth African Regional Conference in the Ivory Coast at the end of September, Blanchard added that eighteen of the twenty-nine poorest countries are in Africa. In 1972, according to the report, 39 percent of the population were "destitute" and most of the rest were "seriously poor."

Of the total labor force of 140 million, Blanchard said, more than 60 million were jobless—10 million in urban areas and more than 50 million in rural regions. Since 1965 food production had actually declined in twenty-nine out of forty-seven countries, he pointed out.

Istanbul Police Bulldoze Shantytown

In its September 2 issue, the Istanbul daily *Hürriyet* ran the headline "Blood Runs Like Water in Demolition of Shantytown." The story was about clashes between police, who were trying to tear down an illegal shantytown on the outskirts of the city, and slum dwellers. Four persons were reported killed, and forty-four wounded.

Hürriyet tried to put the blame for the fighting on the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist Leninist), a Maoist organization. A subheadline proclaimed: "'Leninists' Provoke the People." The second sentence in the article said: "It is reported that these bloody incidents were caused by members of a

secret organization." However, none of those killed was a policeman.

The article continued:

In fact, the Istiklal quarter of the Umraniye district was transformed into a veritable battlefield, and hundreds of bullets flew through the air, while concussion grenades and tear gas bombs exploded. In the din of gunfire, the terrifying wailing of armored-car sirens, and the roar of bulldozers smashing down all the shantytowns, women carrying babies, together with elderly people, were seized by panic, and trampled over each other seeking to escape from the scene of the incident.

The Turkish daily claimed that the fighting started when the Maoists opened fire on the police while they were negotiating with shantytown dwellers. Nonetheless, its report made clear that the main battle was between the police and unarmed local people:

While about 500 policemen were defending themselves against those firing on them, a section of the shantytown dwellers rained stones down on the police from the surrounding roofs.

For about ten minutes the surrounded group of police stood up against a rain of stones and bullets. Seeking these police caught in a trap, another group of police, supported by armored vehicles, broke through the ring of civilians and rushed to the aid of their comrades. In the meantime, smoke and dust bombs turned the Istiklal quarter into a world of darkness lit only by death-dealing gunfire. Those who remained inside could not see each other, and fled to escape those who were firing at random.

With the help of the soldiers and tanks that came to reinforce them, the police gained the upper hand, and began to pursue those firing on them. As they ran into resistance in the course of the pursuit, the fighting continued.

After an hour-long struggle . . . civilians lying in their blood and wounded policemen began to be picked up. . . .

At the conclusion of the armed battle, the slum dwellers and police began to clash at close quarters. People were wounded with stones, clubs, fists, and kicks.

About eighty persons were detained for questioning. About twenty of these were members of a secret organization. They included students, teachers, and workers.

Hürriyet quoted a statement issued by the authorities following the clashes:

The Ministry of Construction and Settlement had banned the building of shantytowns in the Istiklal quarter of the Umraniye district. A month ago, this quarter was totally cleared. But once again 2,000 shanties were built there. The provincial authorities ordered them to be razed. But before these measures were taken, anarchists ambushed the police.



ZIA: Favors the lash—as did the tsars.

Students Protest Martial Law in Philippines

By Ernest Harsch

On September 21, the fifth anniversary of the imposition of martial law in the Philippines in 1972, President Ferdinand E. Marcos told the country that martial law would remain in force.

Marcos claimed that he had no choice in the matter. He sought to pin the blame for the continuation of authoritarian rule on the opponents of his regime: Muslim rebels in the south, Maoist guerrillas in the north, and students and other political activists in Manila.

"Largely because of remaining problems in the areas of peace and order and national security," he said, "it is not possible for us to implement the lifting of martial law."

The announcement brought an angry reaction from students. On September 23, about 3,000 young protesters gathered on the Avenida Rizal in Manila. They sang songs, and chanted: "Marcos, the puppet dictator." Their banners proclaimed, "Enough of Martial Law" and "We Want Democracy."

Squads of uniformed riot police blocked off both ends of the avenue to prevent the demonstrators from marching to the presidential palace. They then attacked the protesters with clubs and powerful water hoses. Hospitals reported that four persons had been treated for injuries. The police arrested more than 100 demonstrators.

The September 23 protest was but the most recent of a growing number of antigovernment actions in Manila and another sign of the rising discontent with Marcos's "New Society," under which thousands of political dissidents have been arrested and a number of them tortured to death.

One of the biggest actions earlier this year took place on May Day, when 4,000 workers and students marched to protest Marcos's repressive rule. After the demonstration was broken up by riot police, the Filipino Workers Alliance announced that "more vigorous and bigger mass actions" would be held in the future.

A few weeks later, student unrest was heightened by a decree that tuition fees throughout the country would be increased by 15 percent. Students at eight universities and colleges in Manila, with a combined enrollment of 200,000 students, organized a series of boycotts and demonstrations to protest the tuition hike, occasionally clashing with security police. The demonstrations forced Marcos to postpone implementation of the tuition hike.

By the time Marcos had backed down, however, students were already raising



Pharis Harvey/New Asia News

One of the "benefits" of Marcos's regime.

other grievances and demands. At a press conference at the University of the Philippines in late July, students condemned the presence of military agents on campus, called for the restoration of independent student councils, and demanded the right to publish their own campus newspaper, free from outside control.

"The fundamental right of students to self-organise has been deprived," they said. "Our student councils are banned. Our campus organisations are constrained. Our publications are controlled. . . . We have no voice."

During the anti-tuition-hike protests, some students went even further, raising the slogan, "Down with dictatorships!"

The ferment on the campuses erupted again on August 25, when about 2,000 students and other activists demonstrated against the abuse of human rights by the Marcos regime. About 100 persons were injured when police attacked the protest.

The action coincided with a symposium held by students, workers, and religious figures at the University of the Philippines that called for the release of political prisoners. Students at the symposium distributed a manifesto that stated:

What makes us hunger more for justice is the way human rights are being denied to our people in order to protect and enlarge the interests of foreign capitalists, chiefly U.S. multinationals, and their native partners. While our people are denied the right to speak up, organize, strike and protest, these foreign and native exploiters are given every imaginable incentive, privilege and freedom of activity in our country. [Quoted in the

Another indication of the mass sentiment was the favorable response given by audiences to a new play, *Pagsambang Bayan* (People's Mass). Written by a former political prisoner, Bonifacio Ilagan, the play has been performed at the University of the Philippines. According to a report by Lewis M. Simons in the September 19 *Washington Post*, "Its message: The students, the church, the peasants, and the poor urban workers must unite against the government."

The audience of nearly a thousand drowned out the last words of the play by chanting, "Down with martial law! Down with martial law!"

Marcos has responded to the renewed opposition to his regime by threatening to "utilize force and violence to stop illegal force and violence utilized against the state." Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile has warned that schools may be closed down and students arrested.

Marcos has at the same time sought to defuse the unrest by promising a "move towards normalcy," which might include local elections for provincial governors, mayors and councilors by the end of next year. With martial law still in force, the elections—if actually held—would be little more than a democratic veneer for Marcos's dictatorial rule.

The real meaning of Marcos's "move towards normalcy" was revealed September 20, the day before the martial law anniversary celebrations. An estimated 1,000 to 2,000 troops, supported by air and naval cover, launched a new attack against the Muslim rebels of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) on Basilan Island in the south. Fighting was also reported on Jolo, southwest of Basilan. This new round of clashes marked the most serious breakdown in the ceasefire that had been negotiated between Manila and the MNLF in December 1976.

In early October, however, both the Marcos regime and the MNLF announced that they had agreed to scale down the fighting. Blaming Manila for the clashes, MNLF representative Tham Manjoorsa said, "The cease-fire is fragile and temporary. Both sides should exert efforts to achieve a better atmosphere. The Government knows the solution to the problem in Mindanao but is reluctant to adopt it."

The MNLF, which began sizable guerrilla actions in 1973, is demanding regional autonomy for the Muslim-populated southern areas, which include much of Mindanao. The Muslims have resisted domination by the central regime in Manila for decades.

There are also signs that the Maoist New People's Army may have stepped up its actions in the north. Maj. Gen. Fidel Ramos, the head of the Philippine Constabulary, has charged that the NPA, which is based mostly in Luzon, was "once again rearing its ugly head." □

Blossom and Contend and Take a Great Leap Forward

Interview With Peng Shu-tse

[Continued from last week]

Q. Did the CCP abandon opportunism and become a revolutionary party after conquering power?

A. Mao's policies since 1949 have twisted and turned, ranging from opportunism to adventurism, but never transforming the CCP into a revolutionary party.

When the People's Republic of China was proclaimed on October 1, 1949, a coalition government of representatives of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and bourgeoisie was established. Government officials have never been elected, but were, and are, appointed by the so-called People's Political Consultative Conference, composed of the CCP, the KMT Revolutionary Committee, the Democratic League, the Worker Peasant Party, and other groups.

The government's policies were based on Mao's "New Democracy." They did not call for confiscation of capitalist property but for its protection and the protection even of imperialist property in China. In the name of New Democracy, the government postponed the badly needed agrarian reform demanded by the peasants in order to effect a compromise with the landlords and rich peasants. Mao expected the New Democracy to last several decades, and Chou En-lai said, "The New Democracy stage of the revolution will be complete within twenty years."

The objective situation soon changed, however, with the beginning of the Korean War in 1950. Under the pretext of assisting South Korea, the American imperialists attacked North Korea, directly threatening China. This compelled Mao to assist North Korea, first by confiscating imperialist holdings in China.

The bourgeoisie and landlords of China took advantage of the American presence to mount antirevolutionary activities. Mao carried out a land reform to keep the peasantry on the side of the government and initiated the "Five Anti's Movement" in order to strike out at the capitalists.

The land reform of 1952 was carried out without nationalizing the land, which meant continued buying and selling on the open market. This created a further differentiation among the peasantry—poor peasants were forced to sell their land in order to maintain themselves, and rich peasants bought it. Rich peasants were also in the business of loaning money to poor peasants at high interest rates, and some of these loan sharks were party members.

The situation was very serious, obliging the CCP to again carry out an agricultural reform in 1955—agricultural collectivization. Mao was at odds with other CCP leaders on how to carry this out, however. His plan called for completion of the collectivization before the end of the year. Liu Shao-Ch'i and Minister of Agriculture Teng Tzu-hui were among those who advocated a more prudent policy, to be completed by 1967.

Mao, over the heads of the Political Bureau, called a conference of the municipal, provincial, and regional secretaries, which decided that agricultural collectivization should be completed in 1957. This arbitrary maneuver by Mao violated the principles on collectivization of land and agriculture laid down by Engels and Lenin. Instead, Mao's policy was copied directly from that of Stalin during the late 1920s, and created deep dissatisfaction among the masses for years to come.

At the beginning of 1953, American imperialism blockaded China. The CCP then proclaimed its "general line of the transitional period," which included the first "five year plan" for economic construction and industrialization.

In 1955 and 1956, in face of bourgeois sabotage of the economic plan, the New Democracy was abandoned for the policy of "state and private cooperation," aimed at the gradual abolition of bourgeois property and the beginning of socialist construction.

The evolution of the CCP's policies after taking power in 1949 until 1955 was similar to Stalin's policies from 1945 to 1948 in the East European countries occupied by the Red Army. In foreign policy, Mao followed Stalin's course of peaceful coexistence between capitalism and socialism. The "Five Principles" statement agreed upon by Chou En-lai and India's Nehru is a good example.

During this time, Mao's government looked to the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union as both model and mentor. In July 1949, Mao proclaimed the foreign policy of the New China to be "i-pien-tao," which literally translated means "to lean on one side" but in practice meant to lean on the Soviet Union. After this policy statement, Mao visited the Soviet Union in 1950 to talk directly with Stalin. The result was a series of economic, political, and military treaties between the People's Republic of China and the USSR.

All these treaties were more favorable to the Soviet Union than to China, which caused Mao to later complain, "Our rela-

tionship with the Soviet Union was like the relationship between a son and a father."²⁴

After the Nineteenth Congress of the CPSU, Mao ordered the CCP members and cadres to study Stalinist ideology. At the time of Stalin's death in 1953, Mao said:

All the writings of Comrade Stalin are immortal Marxist documents. His works, the *Foundations of Leninism*, the *History of the CPSU (Bolsheviks)*, and his last great work, *The Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, are an encyclopedia of Marxism-Leninism, the summation of the experience of the world Communist movement in the past hundred years.²⁵

The study of Stalin's ideology was enforced on all members of the CCP and its youth organization, on teachers and students in all schools, on cadres in all mass organizations, and on officials at all levels of government. The campaign, which lasted several months, was in reality a campaign to Stalinize China.

Q. How did Khrushchev's speech, revealing many of Stalin's crimes, affect China?

A. It is ironic that at the very time the CPSU was compelled under mass pressure to strike a blow at the cult of Stalin, the CCP was engaged in a campaign to build up Stalin's reputation. At the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU in 1956, Khrushchev denounced Stalin's personal cult and exposed many of Stalin's errors and crimes.

Communist parties throughout the world and particularly in China were strongly affected by the revelations. The reaction within the CCP was voiced at the Eighth Congress, held in September 1956. A resolution proposed by Liu Shao-ch'i revised the party statutes to remove the sentence "the CCP guides all its work by Mao Tse-tung's thought which integrates Marxist ideology with the practical experiences of the Chinese revolution. . . ."

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, in a report on changing the statutes, stated:

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has thrown a searching light on the profound significance of adhering to the principle of collective leadership and combating the cult of the individual, and this illuminating lesson has produced a tremendous effect not only on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union but also on the Communist Parties of all other

24. Remarks made at the Supreme State Conference, October 12, 1957.

25. *Political Thought*, Schram, p. 295.

countries throughout the world. It is obvious that the making of decisions on important questions by individuals runs counter to the Party-building principles of the political parties dedicated to the cause of communism, and is bound to lead to errors. Only collective leadership, in close touch with the masses, conforms to the Party's principle of democratic centralism and can reduce the possibility of errors to the minimum.²⁶

This report represented the majority opinion of the CCP leadership. Mao did not dare to resist the revision of the party statutes and was even compelled to declare to the congress, "At its 20th congress held not long ago, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union formulated many correct policies and criticized shortcomings which were found in the Party. It can be confidently asserted that very great developments will follow this in its work. . . . *our experience is far from being adequate*. So we must be good at studying. We must be good at learning from our forerunner, the Soviet Union. . . ."²⁷

Despite the above statement, Mao had suffered a heavy blow. After the Eighth Congress he prepared an attack on Khrushchev and the destruction of the Liu Shao-ch'i/Teng Hsiao-p'ing faction.

In the autumn of 1956 the Hungarian revolution broke out. It was the first political revolution in the Soviet bloc. Soviet tanks mercilessly suppressed the masses, yet the event had global impact, eliciting support and sympathy from revolutionary-minded people throughout the world. In China, Mao was forced to speak out: "Certain people in our country were delighted when the Hungarian events took place. They hoped that something similar would happen in China, that thousands upon thousands of people would demonstrate in the streets against the People's Government."²⁸

Q. What did Mao do to prevent an outbreak of a Hungarian-type revolution on Chinese soil?

A. Mao sought to alleviate discontent by launching a campaign around the slogan "Let 100 Flowers Blossom and 100 Schools of Thought Contend." This campaign invited every party, every faction, and any individual to express opinions and criticism of the so-called Three Harms—bureaucratism, commandism, and subjectivism. Mao hoped to appease dissatisfaction and hostility to his personality cult by

giving the people a few concessions and freedom of expression.

During the Blossom and Contend Movement (April-June 1957), criticism of the party and its regime poured in from all sectors of the population, especially students and revolutionary intellectuals and including members of the CCP and its youth organization. The arbitrariness of the government and the privileges of the CCP bureaucrats were criticized. Liu Shao-ch'i admitted, "There is a serious bureaucracy . . . much criticism is spreading to every corner of China, including factories, farms, schools and other organizations. The target of the criticism is the leadership."²⁹

The opinions of the masses were most notably expressed by Lin Hsi-ling, a member of the youth and a leader of the student movement, and by Tai Huang, a member of the party and a reporter for Hsinhua, the official press agency. The former stated, "The present upper strata of China does not correspond with the property of common ownership because the party and state apparatus has become a center of bureaucratic organs ruling the people without democracy." Therefore, she proclaimed, "Not reform but thoroughgoing change." The latter proposed to build a new party and "to realize democracy, freedom and the eradication of the privileged class."³⁰

In the middle of June 1957, more than 3,000 middle-school students in Hanyang, near Hankow, demonstrated, destroying the police stations and occupying the offices of the party and the city government. The rebellion was a repeat of the Hungarian revolution on a small scale.

Mao was quick to respond, by launching a counterattack against those he had so recently invited to help reform the party and government. Now these people were labeled as rightist and counterrevolutionary and punished ruthlessly. More than 50,000 were expelled from the party and the youth organizations. People were dismissed from schools, jobs, and public posts. Many were arrested and imprisoned or sent to labor camps.

Q. Instead of restoring his personality cult, Mao seems to have worsened the situation.

A. The masses regarded the Blossom and Contend Movement as a cruel trick and a trap to identify and eliminate dissidents. Mao was temporarily disappointed with the results of the campaign but soon launched his next project—the Great Leap Forward and the people's communes.

29. Speech at a reception given to representatives of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party of Ceylon, *People's Daily*, May 19, 1957.

30. *Kwang Ming Daily*.

At a plenum of the Central Committee of the CCP held in May 1958, Mao proposed the Great Leap Forward, in hope of creating a miracle in agriculture and industry. What the plan amounted to was production of steel in backyard furnaces.

The effort lasted for about a year, mobilizing around 100 million people. Students, professors, workers, peasants, and even housewives made steel in their backyards. Over three million tons of steel were produced in this manner, and not one pound was usable! This tremendous waste of labor and materials demonstrated Mao's utter ignorance in the field of technology.

In early August 1958, after visiting an experimental people's commune in Honan, Mao personally ordered that every peasant must immediately enter a commune. The Political Bureau of the CCP was forced to order the communalization of all privately owned plots of land, including private gardens, stored grains, animals, and fruit trees. The aim was "to abolish all remnants of private property."

All peasants were to eat in communal kitchens and children were to attend communal nurseries, thus allowing women to work a twelve- to fourteen-hour day in the fields. In the short period of three months, 99 percent of China's peasants were compelled to enter the people's communes.

This method of forced collectivization violated the fundamental Marxist principles as laid down by Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky.³¹

Most peasants opposed the communes by committing acts of sabotage, such as killing their animals, cutting down fruit trees, or destroying crops, which of course brought about a great scarcity of food. The situation became critical in the summer of 1959, at the same time the failure of the backyard steelmaking scheme became clear. The whole country was dissatisfied. Many cadres and top leaders of the party spoke out against the people's communes, including Liu Shao-ch'i, vice-chairman of the party and the government; Chu Te, commander-in-chief of the People's Liberation Army; P'eng Te-huai, defense minister; Huang K'o-ch'eng, army chief of staff, and several other members of the Central Committee.

P'eng Te-huai openly criticized the people's communes policy as "petty bourgeois fanaticism." He wrote a letter to Mao on July 14, 1959, in which he said that the Great Leap Forward had been executed in such haste that all rational proportions in economic development had been destroyed and that 20 billion Chinese dollars (approximately equal to US\$9 billion) had been wasted. P'eng claimed that, "The People's Communes were set up too early,

31. See "A Criticism of the Various Views Supporting the Chinese Rural People's Communes," *The Chinese Revolution*, part 2, p. 3.

26. *Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1956), vol. 1, p. 192.

27. *People's China*, October 1956, p. 6, emphasis added.

28. *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, by Mao Tse-tung (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1960), p. 13. Speech at the Eleventh Session of the Supreme State Conference.

which set back agricultural production.”

P'eng's demand that the people's communes be reorganized had widespread support, particularly in the army. Mao responded by calling a plenum of the Central Committee of the CCP at Lushan in August 1959. After a sharp debate, the now-famous meeting—known as the Lushan Conference—adopted a resolution calling for the reorganization of the people's communes. The resolution declared the producers cooperative to be the basic level of ownership—i.e., a return to the form of production before the Great Leap Forward.

The plenum also took measures to reorganize the dissidents within the government. P'eng Te-huai's position as defense minister was taken over by Lin Piao, Huang K'o-ch'eng was dismissed from his post, and several other Central Committee members disappeared from public life.

Mao himself, in an effort to cover up his blunders, had resigned as head of state in December 1958, proposing that his position be taken over by Liu Shao-ch'i. Liu was formally appointed to the post in April 1959. Now responsibility passed to him for undertaking measures to rectify the serious economic situation and the mass discontent.

Q. Was Liu able to make any reforms in his new position?

A. Liu, along with Teng Hsiao-p'ing, general secretary of the party, and P'eng Chen, mayor of Peking, initiated a rectification campaign, including the ending of backyard steelmaking, restoration of private plots of land and personal ownership of livestock, restoration of the free market in the countryside, and abolition of most communal kitchens and nurseries. The great majority of the people, especially the peasants, greeted these reforms with enthusiasm. Production was increased and the extreme shortages of vegetables and meats lessened. From 1960 to 1961 an actual famine existed, attributable to the people's communes, but by the beginning of 1963, agricultural production was restored almost to the level before the launching of the communes.

For those working in education and culture, Liu permitted a certain freedom of expression and independence in their work. This immediately brought forth many newspaper and magazine articles and some new plays.

Wu Han, vice-mayor of Peking, wrote a play called *The Dismissal of Hai Jui*, in obvious reference to the recent purge of P'eng Te-huai. The play was published in the *Peking Daily* in January 1961 and performed on the Peking stage. It met with an exceptionally positive response from the public and critics alike, both for its artistic and political content.

Teng T'o, secretary of the Peking Municipal Committee, Wu Han, and Liao Mo-sha,

head of the United Front work in Peking, wrote a great many articles published in Peking's newspapers and magazines. They published two pamphlets, *Notes from Three-Family Village* and *Evening Talks at Yenshan*, using old fables, parables, historical analogies, and satires to criticize Mao.

At a meeting held in Dairen, August 1962, writers from all over China expressed their dissatisfaction with the Great Leap Forward, the people's communes, and Mao's policies in literature and art. One said, "The life of the peasants is getting worse and worse." Chou Yang, vice-minister of the Cultural Department, said, "The people's communes are adventurist. The Great Leap Forward represents subjective idealism." These comments illustrate the deep discontent among literary people.

Reform of education was initiated with the publication of "Sixty Points of Higher Educational Reforms," issued by the Central Educational Department. These reforms aimed at encouraging students to study in their fields of interest and gave them the necessary time to do so, which they had not had during the Great Leap Forward.

Liu's reforms won him great respect and support from the people, particularly the peasants and intellectuals—a situation very unfavorable to Mao.

Liu made a speech at a meeting called by the Central Committee on February 22, 1962, in which he said:

The temporary economic difficulties were due to the serious errors and mistakes in our work—30 percent were due to natural disasters and 70 percent due to artificial disasters. The attacks against the rightists at Lushan in 1959 [Peng Te-huai] were excessive, even though termed an attempt to rehabilitate them. The struggle was mistaken. . . . The party lacked democracy. Party life was a brutal struggle and a pitiless fight.

This speech, published during the Cultural Revolution in *Red Guard in the Capital*, was an attempt to discredit Liu but in fact did him the service of explaining his views to the public. It was Liu's first attempt at reforming party life and rehabilitating P'eng Te-huai and others.

Meanwhile, Mao was preparing to reestablish his cult and to retaliate against his opposition. First he used Lin Piao, newly appointed defense minister, to propagate his thought and establish his cult within the army.

In the early 1960s, Lin Piao proposed a resolution to the Central Military Committee entitled "The Correct Handling of Four Questions in the Political Fields of the Army," in which he emphasized the role of the individual in politics and thought. When the resolution was adopted, Lin declared, "Everyone must read the books of Chairman Mao, listen to the words of Chairman Mao, work according to the instructions of Chairman Mao."

At a work conference of the Central

Committee, in September 1963, Mao raised the slogan "We must not forget the class struggle." This same conference issued a communiqué saying:

During the transitional period from capitalism to socialism . . . the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie still exists. The struggle between the two lines of socialism and capitalism still exists. This struggle is inevitably reflected inside the party. . . . We must take heed in time and we must firmly struggle against the different types of opportunist tendencies. The significance of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee in August 1959 at Lushan was the crushing victory over the rightist tendency. That is, the crushing of the attack by the revisionists.

These sentences were a warning to Liu Shao-ch'i that he and his opposition would be crushed like P'eng Te-huai if they continued with their so-called "revisionist" tendency. Since then, the labels "revisionist" and "opportunist" have been frequently repeated against any of Mao's opponents within the party.

At a meeting of the All-China Federation of Literature and Art in June 1964, Mao stated:

In the past 15 years this association and most of their other publications have for the most part failed. . . . They have even verged on revisionism. If they do not remold themselves, sooner or later they are bound to become groups of the Hungarian Petöfi type.³²

Mao was issuing a warning to those in cultural fields who were influenced by Liu, but these words referring to the Hungarian revolutionists were also a sign of the coming Cultural Revolution.

[To be continued]

32. Reference to Petöfi Circle, a group of intellectuals who helped precipitate the Hungarian antibureaucratic revolution of 1956. Named after Sándor Petöfi, whose poetry inspired patriots of the Hungarian bourgeois revolution, in which he was killed in 1849.

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Obstacles to Mass Mobilization

By Jim Atkinson

[Sixth of a series]

The first armed actions against the settler regime in Zimbabwe were organized by the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in 1962. A reaction to the party's failure to extract concessions from the settler regime, these armed actions were designed to jolt the imperialist government in London to intervene directly against the settler government.

According to Wilkinson, "as it became increasingly obvious that no fundamental reforms would be conceded by the Southern Rhodesian Government, nationalist policy aimed instead at creating a breakdown of law and order sufficient to induce British military intervention and the imposition of an acceptable constitution."⁵⁸ The settler regime's unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) in 1965 prompted the nationalist leaders to redouble their efforts to get British imperialism to enter the country militarily—under the illusion that British imperialism, rather than the Zimbabwean masses, could advance the cause of national liberation.

Organized just at the time that the settler regime was breaking the back of the nationalist mobilizations that swept the country in 1957-64, the early adventurist guerrilla actions were easily defeated by the government. The guerrillas received almost no active support from the masses and the guerrilla bands were rapidly isolated and smashed.

The first group to announce that it was taking up arms was the Zimbabwe Liberation Army (ZLA), a group led by three ZAPU leaders who adopted the collective *nom-de-guerre* of "General Chedu." The ZLA engaged in minor sabotage activities. In the early 1960s, both ZAPU and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) started sending small numbers of their members to various African countries and workers states for guerrilla training.

In April 1966, a ZANU guerrilla band was trapped by the regime's paramilitary police near Sinoia in the north of the country and seven guerrillas were killed. A year later, in July 1967, a joint guerrilla force of ZAPU and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC-SA) crossed into the northwest of the country from Zambia, but most of the seventy-strong group were detected. Almost all the guerrillas were arrested or killed. In January-March 1968, the ANC-SA and ZAPU sponsored another incursion, but the guerrillas met a similar fate. According to the government, fifty-eight of them were killed. A third attempt, in July 1968, ended in similar failure. Ninety-one guerrillas entered the country; but, according to the government, thirty-nine of them were killed and forty-one captured.

The setbacks suffered by the guerrilla groups, combined with the jostling for personal position by the leaders of the nationalist movements, led to the formation of new factions and to new splits in the nationalist movements. Like the split in 1963 between ZANU and ZAPU, these new divisions were not caused by clear political differences but were essentially the product of power struggles between rival nationalist politicians.

At the end of 1969, a rift emerged in ZAPU which pitted most of the Shona ZAPU leaders against their Ndebele coleaders. The principal leader of the Ndebele-based faction was Jason Moyo, the

ZAPU treasurer; and the main leaders of the Shona-based group were James Chikerema, ZAPU's vice-president, and George Nyandoro, the party's general secretary.

ZAPU was also thrown into crisis by a rank-and-file revolt, unconnected with the leadership squabbles, by guerrilla recruits frustrated and angry with the party leadership. Using the resulting clashes as an excuse, the neocolonial regime in Zambia cracked down on the movement. More than 200 ZAPU members, almost all rank-and-file militants, were detained; and Wilkinson notes that "129 ZAPU dissidents were deported to Rhodesia, where they were immediately arrested and some later even received death sentences in the Rhodesian courts."⁵⁹ The affair revealed the treacherous actions of which a neocolonial "front-line state" was capable.

At the beginning of August 1971, the ZAPU leadership split, with Chikerema and Nyandoro leaving the movement. At the same time, a group led by Nathan Shamuyarira split from ZANU; and, in October 1971, the Shamuyarira group and the ex-ZAPU faction led by Chikerema and Nyandoro, saying that they favored unity between ZANU and ZAPU, merged to form a third main nationalist party, the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (Frolizi). There were no clear political differences between Frolizi and the other two movements, ZAPU and ZANU.

Meanwhile, inside Zimbabwe, conditions matured for a new upsurge of mass struggle. One factor was the increasing severity of the attacks leveled against the African population by the Rhodesian Front regime. Wilkinson describes it as follows:

The Government's determination to introduce and enforce discriminatory legislation aggravated existing resentment. In particular the implementation of the Land Tenure Act, which replaced the Land Apportionment Act, caused considerable bitterness, especially among long-standing black communities threatened with eviction from areas designated as "white" under the Act.⁶⁰

The focus of the new wave of mass mobilizations was a set of constitutional proposals jointly agreed to at the end of 1971 by the British Tory government (which was seeking to legalize UDI) and the settler regime. The electoral system agreed to by the Tories and settler premier Ian Smith would have prevented Blacks achieving a majority in the Rhodesian parliament until at least the year 2035, according to the constitutional expert Claire Palley.⁶¹

In line with a long-standing British government pledge, a commission was sent to Zimbabwe to test popular reaction to the proposed "settlement," doubtlessly expecting that the repression exercised by the settler regime would effectively bar Africans from voicing opposition to the deal in too noticeable a way. The plan, however, backfired. The commission, headed by Lord Pearce, was confronted by a storm of protest from the African masses after it arrived in Zimbabwe on January 11, 1972.

The protests were organized by a new nationalist group, the African National Council (ANC), headed by Bishop Abel Muzorewa, which was able to retain legality on account of the world press attention focused on Zimbabwe as a result of the Pearce Commission's visit. The ANC was founded in December 1971 specifically to fight against the Salisbury-London deal. It included many old ZAPU and ZANU militants in its leadership as well as its ranks; and it mobilized hundreds of thousands of Africans against the settlement proposals. The scale of the mobilizations was such that the British Tory government was compelled to shelve its plans for a deal with the Smith regime.

The new mass upsurge also created the objective conditions for the start of a mass-based rural insurgency. For the first time, at the end of 1972, the guerrillas succeeded in winning active support and assistance from the rural masses in the northeast of the country. While in the early 1960s the freedom fighters had functioned largely in isolation from the rural masses, they now sent in political

58. Ibid., p. 249.

59. Ibid., p. 250.

60. Loney, *Rhodesia: White Racism and Imperial Response*, pp. 171-172.

58. Wilkinson, "From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe," in Davidson, Slovo, Wilkinson, *Southern Africa: the New Politics of Revolution*, pp. 225-226.

organizers beforehand to secure the support of the local population and to prepare a popular base for their guerrilla operations.

The advances made by the freedom fighters in neighboring Mozambique were another factor behind the success of the guerrilla campaign in the northeast. Not only did the nationalist advance in Mozambique's Tete Province, which adjoins northeastern Zimbabwe, open up new entry and supply routes for the Zimbabwean freedom fighters, but it inspired the masses in the northeast to join in support of the military fight against their own settler oppressors. The achievement of independence by Mozambique in June 1975 after a decade of war against Portuguese imperialism gave even greater encouragement to the Zimbabwean masses.

The guerrilla insurgency rapidly gained ground under ZANU leadership in the northeast during 1973 and 1974, tying down an ever greater number of government troops. But the expansion of the guerrilla campaign did not proceed without obstacles. One of these was the restrictions placed on the freedom fighters by the neocolonial "front-line" states, which feared that the Zimbabwe liberation struggle might destabilize the whole region, including their own countries. From December 1974 to January 1976, they forced the nationalist movements to put the guerrilla war on ice while engaging in a fruitless series of negotiations with the settler regime, which remained steadfastly opposed to acquiescing in rule by the Black majority and used the breathing space in the war to regain its military strength.

Another factor weakening the guerrilla campaign has been the political inadequacies of the nationalist leaderships themselves. They too have primarily seen the "armed struggle" as a pressure tactic to induce British imperialist intervention and prod the settler regime into negotiating seriously.

In addition, the nationalist leaderships have weakened the liberation struggle by engaging in repeated, bitter, and often bloody, factional conflicts—motivated mainly by the petty power ambitions of the rival politicians who head the main nationalist groups—and have never seriously attempted to put together a united front, grouping all the forces favoring Black majority rule.

The fratricidal struggle between ZANU and ZAPU in 1963 and the similar clashes which wracked ZAPU in 1970, leading to the formation of Frolizi, were followed at the end of 1974 and the beginning of 1975 by fierce fighting between rival factions of ZANU, which left scores dead and culminated in the assassination of ZANU's chairman, Herbert Chitepo, on March 18, 1975. As in the previous factional clashes, there were no clear political differences between the rival groups, which were concerned merely to place their own members in a controlling position in ZANU's Dare (War Council) and High Command. The competing factions appealed to the genuine frustrations of the recruits in the guerrilla camps in order to build their power base against their rivals. Just as the 1970 fighting in ZAPU camps in Zambia allowed the Kaunda regime to crack down on ZAPU freedom fighters and deport many to the executioners in Salisbury, so on this occasion—at a time when the Zambian government was seeking to derail the guerrilla insurgency in the northeast and sidetrack the nationalists into participating in settlement talks, the Lusaka regime saw an opportunity to crack down on ZANU. By March 24, 1975, the Zambian police had arrested more than seventy ZANU members.

Independent of these developments, a conflict arose between ZANU's president, the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, and ZANU's secretary-general, Robert Mugabe, while they were both being held in detention by the settler government between 1964 and 1974. When Mugabe and Sithole were released from detention at the end of 1974, Mugabe claimed to have ousted Sithole as ZANU president. In this instance, too, there were no clear political differences involved.

Thus, by early 1975, ZANU was torn by bitter factional feuds, motivated by the ambitions of personal cliques rather than opposing political programs. Even more dangerous, the rival factions tended in some cases to be based on different Shona ethnic sub-groups, the bloody clashes in Zambia between October 1974 and March 1975 pitting a largely Karanga ZANU faction against a predominantly Manyika group.

A further division erupted in the nationalist movement in September 1975, following a refusal by the Smith regime to consider nationalist demands for installation of Black rule during a conference between the settler government and the nationalist leaders at Victoria Falls, on the Zambia-Rhodesia border, in August 1975. This time, the rift that split the enlarged ANC into two wings (one led by Nkomo, the other by Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chikerema), was sparked partly by disagreements over whether to continue talks with Smith or again launch guerrilla war. Nkomo favored reopening talks with the settler regime and later, in December, did so. The other faction said that it was against further talks at that stage.

The immediate cause of the split was a dispute over appointments made by Sithole and Muzorewa to a new Zimbabwe Liberation Council (ZLC), set up on September 3 in Lusaka to direct a new guerrilla offensive. The Nkomo-led ANC evolved into the group which still operates legally inside Zimbabwe as the African National Council (Zimbabwe), the ANC(Z). The Muzorewa-led group, in which Chikerema is also prominent, became the United African National Council (UANC), which also exists legally inside Zimbabwe. Inside the country, the followers of both Sithole and Mugabe started leaving the UANC during 1976. Mugabe's supporters formed the People's Movement, while the followers of Sithole went on to set up the African National Council (Sithole), the ANC(S). Outside the country, or in their guerrilla activities, the Nkomo-led movement uses the name ZAPU, and both the followers of Sithole and Mugabe lay claim to the mantle of ZANU. The Mugabe-led ZANU faction and the ANC(Z)/ZAPU are allied in the Patriotic Front, set up in September 1976.

The factional rivalries between these groups have prevented them from unifying their forces in a common struggle against the settler regime and threaten, if prolonged and deepened, to provide the Salisbury government with opportunities to play off the factions against each other, using divide-and-rule tactics. The neocolonial "front-line states" have exacerbated the factionalism and created additional obstacles to the forging of a united front by giving their full support to the Patriotic Front in its power struggle against the movements led by Sithole and Muzorewa.

Despite the failings of the nationalist leaderships and the obstacles created for the liberation struggle by the neocolonial regimes, the nationalist insurgency has spread since the beginning of 1976 throughout the whole of Zimbabwe. The *vakomana* (Shona for "the lads") are active in every part of the country, carrying out hit-and-run attacks against railway lines, road convoys, white-owned farms, "protected villages" (the regime's version of American "strategic hamlets" in Vietnam), and industrial targets. The settler regime, with its troops tied down guarding thousands of vulnerable targets, has announced "operational areas" in the northeast (known as "Hurricane"), the east ("Thrasher"), the southeast ("Repulse") and the west ("Tangent").

Over large stretches of the Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs), which cover just under half the land area of the country and accommodate about four million of the total African population of 6.3 million, the regime's administrative structure is beginning to break down. In some TTLs, such as Belingwe in the south, government officials have abandoned their jobs and government troops seldom attempt to locate or attack the insurgents. The school network in many TTLs has virtually disintegrated as a result of nationalist campaigns to withhold school fees; and campaigns against the payment of cattledipping fees have led to the collapse of the dipping program in many parts of the country.

According to Peter Parsons, a government adviser on the African Councils system, fifty of the country's 240 African Councils (bodies which administer the TTLs on noncontentious matters under the supervision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs) are verging on bankruptcy since Africans are refusing to pay dues to the councils and are boycotting council-run liquor stores and beerhalls. More than forty councils have been placed under the judicial management of district commissioners, "which means that he assumes the legal functions of the council and can run it on his own." According to Parsons, "this has been necessitated because councillors' lives

have been threatened and all the councils have been on the verge of collapse."⁶²

With a white population of only 273,000, the Salisbury regime is already scraping the bottom of its manpower barrel for the war. Today, there are about 60,000 troops and paramilitary police in the regime's armed forces (many of them, as Blacks, potential allies of the liberation fighters), but the government can probably only field some 30,000 at any one time if it is to avoid economic paralysis. Since May 1977, all white males up to the age of thirty-nine have been liable for up to 190 days of military call-up a year, entering the armed forces for repeated six-week stints with inevitably dislocating effects on the economy.

To bolster its forces, the Smith regime has turned increasingly to hiring white mercenaries. There were about 1,500 of these in the Rhodesian army by May 1977, according to information supplied to this author by an American who fought against the Vietnamese and is now an officer in the settler army. About 500 of them are British and another 500 Americans, the remainder coming from France, South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, and other countries.

A threat that could someday come from the regime's Black troops (Africans who have enrolled for economic reasons, not of course because they are committed to the white cause) was evident from what happened during the visit of the Pearce Commission in 1972. The Commission noted that members of the Rhodesian African Rifles had voiced opposition to the constitutional settlement proposals put forward by the settler regime and the British Tory government. As soon as the freedom fighters win the upper hand in the military conflict, some of the African troops in the army might be induced to switch sides. There are also large numbers of Coloured (mixed-race) conscripts in the Rhodesian army, whose bitterness at being made to fight against the African masses is well-known in Zimbabwe.

On top of all these factors, the counterinsurgency war is placing growing economic strains on the settler regime. Military spending rose from £34.8 million in fiscal 1971-72 to £122 million by 1976-77.⁶³ Including other security-related spending, the total war budget took up 23 percent of government expenditure in 1976-77.⁶⁴ Rhodesia's 1977-78 defense budget, published in the last week of June 1977, shows a further 44 percent rise over 1976-77, bringing the war cost to half a million pounds a day.⁶⁵ All this is happening at a time when the Rhodesian economy is being hit by the combined blows of the stringent call-up system and the world capitalist recession. According to even the regime's own (possibly doctored) statistics, the gross domestic product fell 3.4 percent in real terms during 1976.⁶⁶ The economic strains of the war are making it increasingly difficult for the regime to lay out the large amounts of cash required to buy the weaponry it now needs to stem the guerrilla tide.

A symptom of the falling confidence of the white minority is the tendency for more and more whites to emigrate. In 1976, net white emigration was 7,072. In the first four months of 1977, only 1,952 whites settled in the country (a fall of 44.3 percent over the equivalent period in 1976) while 5,530 left (up 26 percent from the same period of 1976).⁶⁷ In May, the net outflow was 1,339, bringing the total net emigration so far this year to 4,900.⁶⁸

So far, the working class in the cities has not entered the struggle in a decisive manner to use its potentially powerful industrial muscle. According to government statistics, there are 1,010,000

Blacks living in the main urban areas, of which 430,000 live in Salisbury alone, and 270,000 in Bulawayo. In fact, these figures are too low since they do not include thousands of Africans who are forced by the regime's racist laws to live illegally in the cities. Altogether there are 926,000 Black workers. Excluding the 126,000 domestic servants and 356,000 agricultural workers, there are 454,000 African workers in industry and public employment.⁶⁹ There is no doubt that, if organized, this work force could bring Rhodesia's relatively sophisticated economy to a standstill.

One reason why Black workers have not yet used their industrial strength against the settler regime in a major way is that it is in the cities that the white regime is most able to use its military and police apparatus to suppress Black protest. The regime is armed for this purpose with a battery of repressive laws—some, like the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act and the Emergency Powers Act, designed to crush all manifestations of Black dissent; others, like the Industrial Conciliation Act, specifically enacted to crack down on trade unionism. This is one of the reasons why there are only about 50,000 African trade-union members in the country.

Another factor weakening the trade unions is the division and factionalism within the labor movement. There are four competing trade-union federations: the African Trades Union Congress (ATUC) and three groups that go under the name National African Trades Union Congress (NATUC). They are kept divided by the personality clashes and position-squabbling of their bureaucratic leaderships, so that they are incapable of unifying their forces in common struggle against the settler regime.

A further debilitating factor is the factional rivalries in the nationalist movement, which are reflected in the trade unions, since the leaders of the competing trade-union federations tend to be identified with the rival nationalist parties. Thus, Phineas Sithole, the president of the ATUC, is also national secretary of the ANC(S), and J.J. Dube, the leader of one of the NATUCs, is a prominent supporter of Nkomo. The burning need is for a new militant trade-union leadership that can displace the squabbling petty politicians currently at the head of the unions and build a strong, united trade-union movement to mobilize the workers in action against the settler regime.

Events in both Angola and Mozambique after the downfall of the Caetano dictatorship in Portugal in 1974 show that when they see their chance, the workers will move into action against colonial oppression and economic exploitation. The big cities of Luanda and Lobito in Angola, and Maputo in Mozambique, were swept by strikes, demonstrations and revolts. There is every prospect that when the Zimbabwe workers see that the chips are down for the settler regime, they too will come into action in a massive way.

The petty-bourgeois nationalist parties have opposed the mobilization of the working class as an independent class force in the national liberation struggle, as this poses a threat to their own hopes of establishing a Black neocolonial regime in which the workers as a class remain passive and subservient to the exploitative capitalist system. The formation of a revolutionary workers party that is not afraid to mobilize the potential strength of the urban workers and can fight to win the leadership of the national liberation struggle from the vacillators and compromisers in the petty-bourgeois nationalist parties is of prime importance.

It is doubtful, however, that the nationalist leaderships will be able to prevent the eruption of spontaneous mobilizations and revolts by the urban masses. A correspondent of the *London Times* has observed: "Rhodesian reversals in the field, and perhaps in international relations, would encourage the black population to prepare mentally and perhaps organizationally for a general revolt."⁷⁰

[Next: Terror Against African Masses]

62. *Bulawayo Chronicle*, May 24, 1977; *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg), May 25, 1977.

63. In 1971-72, one British pound was equivalent to US\$2.40. It is currently US\$1.74.

64. *Financial Times* (London), November 25, 1976.

65. *The Observer* (London), July 3, 1977.

66. *Economic Survey of Rhodesia*, 1976.

67. *Rand Daily Mail*, May 25, 1977.

68. *The Observer*, July 3, 1977.

69. *Economic Survey of Rhodesia*, 1976.

70. Roy Lewis in *The Times*, March 18, 1976.

Behind the Leftist Mask of the 'U.S. Labor Party'

By Matilde Zimmermann

The National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) is a small sectarian group that has traveled over the last decade from the fringes of left politics through political hooliganism to the extreme right of the American political spectrum. This evolution was recently marked by an open appeal to avowed "conservatives" to unite with the NCLC in building a "Whig coalition" in the alleged tradition of Benjamin Franklin and Alexander Hamilton.

A number of articles have appeared in the U.S. press over the past year on this strange group that calls itself socialist and attacks the CIA and Rockefeller, but at the same time supports construction of nuclear plants, condemns strikes while praising management, calls the campaign for decriminalization of the use of marijuana a CIA plot, and is openly against the women's and Black liberation movements and against defense of the democratic rights of homosexuals.

On September 18 the *New York Times* reported that the FBI had "quietly dropped" its seven-year investigation of the NCLC. The FBI considered the NCLC to have "radical" views and therefore subjected it to the same sort of political surveillance and harassment as the Socialist Workers and Communist parties.

The NCLC, which also calls itself the "U.S. Labor Party," originated in a caucus in the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Progressive Labor Party (PLP) in the late 1960s. It distinguished itself by its violent opposition to Black nationalism and its ability to attract the most demoralized petty-bourgeois elements out of the disintegrating SDS. The NCLC also gained notoriety by backing the racist New York teachers' strike against the Black and Puerto Rican communities in 1968.

In 1973 this apparently insignificant grouping brought itself violently to the attention of American radicals. The NCLC newspaper, *New Solidarity*, announced "Operation Mop-Up" to exterminate the Communist Party. "Mop-Up" targets were expanded to include other groups that defended the Communist Party against the NCLC's violence, most notably the Socialist Workers Party. Meetings were threatened and attacked. But the preferred tactic of NCLC goons was to ambush CP or SWP members either alone or in groups of two or three and beat them with pipes and clubs.

Isolated and universally condemned in

the radical movement, the NCLC announced the successful termination of "Operation Mop-Up" and the death of the CPUSA.

At about the same time, the NCLC became more openly anticommunist in its demagoguery. At the General Motors plant in Tarrytown, New York, for example, they distributed a leaflet entitled "Stop the Pinkos." The purpose of the leaflet, signed by the "UAW Committee to Stop Communism," was to "expose" a candidate for union office as a supporter of the Communist Party.

\$96,000 in Brown Paper Bag

The U.S. Labor Party (USLP) gained wider attention during the 1976 election campaign, when Lyndon LaRouche, the group's central leader, ran as a presidential candidate. The size of the financial resources of this tiny group surprised many reporters. Visitors to the NCLC's New York headquarters found the offices staffed around the clock by fifty or sixty people, some of them operating the twenty-four-hour teletype linkup to thirteen U.S. cities; Weisbaden, Germany; and Mexico City. The NCLC publishes a twice-weekly newspaper and a monthly magazine.

As early as 1974, according to the November 9, 1974, *New Solidarity*, the NCLC had annual expenses of about \$1.5 million, with acknowledged income—largely from newspaper sales—of only about \$300,000.

When the NCLC forced NBC to sell LaRouche a half hour of television time on election eve, the station reported that NCLCers brought the \$96,000 payment in cash in a brown paper bag. LaRouche gave critical support to Gerald Ford.

Recently some of the NCLC's financial wells appear to have run dry. The August and September issues of *New Solidarity* contain a public appeal for donations, and the August 16 issue reported that all the European publications of the group had been canceled for lack of funds. According to *Crawdaddy* magazine's exposé of the NCLC, *New Solidarity* had been published as an irregular basis in eight languages.

The NCLC devotes much of its time and money to harassing radical groups and liberal intellectuals. At present this is not on the scale of the 1973 and 1974 attacks; but individual petitioners, picketers and newspaper salespeople are sometimes assaulted. The most serious recent example

involved a knife attack on a member of the Albany, New York, Young Socialist Alliance (see the *Militant*, April 30, 1976).

In addition, the NCLC tries to get candidates of left parties, particularly the Communist and Socialist Workers parties, excluded from the ballot. They succeeded in getting SWP candidates ruled off in Massachusetts in 1974 and Pennsylvania in 1975.

The NCLC also "briefs" local police and the FBI about alleged "terrorist" plans of radical groups. The May 16, 1977 *Intercontinental Press* reported that members of the Labor Committee called the New Hampshire police and claimed that organizers of the April 30 Seabrook antinuclear demonstration were planning violence and sabotage.

The political positions of the NCLC are based on hackneyed right-wing formulas, sugar-coated with rhetoric about the "fascist" threat posed by Rockefeller, Carter and the CIA.

The goal of the NCLC, as explained in *New Solidarity*, is "to restore the nation to its rightful place in the world" through unrestrained use of nuclear power and the establishment of a new private Third National Bank. Although they call themselves socialists, NCLC leaders say that the task of American socialists today is to establish an industrialist capitalist republic based on nuclear energy.

For Nuclear Panacea

The USLP is fanatically pronuclear and devotes much of its propaganda to this issue.

The USLP mayoral candidate in Seattle's November election is campaigning around the slogan "Bring Seattle Into the Nuclear Age." During last June's mayoral contest in Chicago, the USLP candidate centered his campaign on a proposal to construct a \$1 million nuclear plant in the middle of the Black community.

Besides attempting to provoke violence at the Seabrook antinuclear protest by fingering its organizers as "terrorists" to the police, the NCLC also claimed credit for building the pronuclear counterdemonstration June 26.

New Solidarity refers to environmentalists as "greenies" and a "gang of Maoists, potheads, sodomists and other political freak-show elements."

The NCLC appeals to the most reactionary elements in the trade unions, the

pronuclear building-trades bureaucrats, to unite with the NCLC to smash the "worms not people" environmentalist cults." *New Solidarity* blasts the French Socialist Party as "social fascists" for being insufficiently enthusiastic about nuclear power and hails the agreement between the French Communist Party and Giscard d'Estaing on this issue.

The NCLC opposes most strikes and openly advocates strikebreaking when the energy industry is concerned.

In August, at the height of the miners' strike, *New Solidarity* echoed the coal operators' line that the strikers were terrorists and charged that "agents provocateurs spreading the strikes are resorting to terror against reluctant miners."

New Solidarity predicts that a fall strike by the United Mineworkers would bankrupt the coal industry and paralyze the country and that the UMW would engage in sabotage of transportation lines and energy supplies.

This newspaper—which masquerades as socialist—also advocates special long-term, low-interest government loans to save the imperiled steel industry from being ruined by strikes and by conservationist legislation.

Hatred for Blacks, Women, Gays

The leaflets, articles, and speeches of the NCLC have for several years been characterized by the most obscene antiwomen, anti-Black and antigay language. A vicious hatred for Blacks and women is expressed in cartoons depicting Blacks as monkeys, in pornographic descriptions of women, and in the frequent use of terms like "nigger," "faggot," and "lesbian-whore."

Black protests are invariably called "race riots," and cops get the NCLC's sympathy for putting up with the danger of being "gunned down by a dope-confused, brainwashed ghetto youth."

The massive gay rights demonstrations that swept the United States this past summer drove the NCLC into a frenzy; *New Solidarity* called these actions "fascist mob scenes."

In view of its political positions, there is nothing strange about the NCLC's looking to the right wing for its allies. In his nationwide \$96,000 televised speech on the eve of the 1976 presidential election, LaRouche praised the "mainstream Republicans" and told the audience to vote for Gerald Ford because Jimmy Carter would bring thermonuclear war.

After the election the USLP joined with Republicans to bring "vote fraud" suits in states where Carter had narrowly beaten Ford.

Six months later, even "mainstream Republicans" were not right-wing enough. The July 1 *New Solidarity* projected building a new "Whig coalition" in the United States as the task of the day. In

addition to the NCLC, the "new Whigs" consist of antiabortionists, supporters of racist George Wallace, conservative Republicans, and pronuclear union bureaucrats.

New Solidarity also calls its "Whig coalition" a "labor-industry alliance" and spells out the composition of the "labor" wing. It is to come from the craft unions which, "as compared with the industrial unions, have had the highest standard of living. . . . their members have been left with a sense of identity as skilled, educated workmen."

What the NCLC appeals to is the sense of privilege commonly found in white union bureaucrats, their intolerance and contempt for the Black worker, the female worker, the unorganized and the unemployed.

Under the American Eagle

The first fruit of the NCLC's appeal for a "Whig coalition" was a "National Conference of Independent Conservatives" held in Memphis, Tennessee in early August. According to *New Solidarity*, the conference was attended by representatives of the American Independent Party, the American Party, various conservative state parties, and the USLP; it set up a "National Coalition of Independents on Issues" and discussed fielding candidates around conservative issues in 1978.

This new organization and the USLP are cosponsoring "Conferences on the American System" in several cities in September. The advertisements for these

conferences are embellished with American flags, the seal of the United States, and patriotic banners.

In addition to Colonel Thomas McCrary, who heads the new conservative coalition, and representatives of the USLP, speakers at the conferences will include representatives of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the Union Electric Company, the Republican National Committee, and the World Community of Islam in the West.*

These new allegiances should help clarify the nature of the NCLC for those who have been confused by the organization's left rhetoric. They should lay to rest once and for all the mistaken idea that the antics of this bizarre right-wing sect have anything to do with Marxism, socialism, or a labor party based on the unions. □

*The NCLC likes the antinationalist and pro-capitalist positions of the World Community of Islam in the West (formerly Nation of Islam). The Muslims are the only Blacks about whom *New Solidarity* has anything good to say.

Yet Another Nuclear Hazard

"Please don't flush the toilet while the reactor is running," says a sign on a lavatory door in the University of Florida's nuclear research building.

The reactor's secondary cooling system is tied in to the same water main as the toilet. Untimely flushes cause the plant to shut down, sending experiments down the drain. The situation was described as "merely a nuisance" by a Nuclear Regulatory Commission representative.

Sketches by Copain

A sampling of sketches by Copain. Published in 1974 to help celebrate the tenth anniversary of *Intercontinental Press*.

The reproductions, of various sizes, include portraits of Hugo Blanco, Malcolm X, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, James P. Cannon, Che Guevara, Leon Trotsky, and others, some of them suitable for framing.

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Split in White House Over Nuclear Plans?

Some rather sharp disagreements on nuclear-power policy inside the Carter administration emerged publicly September 29.

In a speech to an American Bar Association conference, White House environmental official J. Gustave Speth outlined a number of proposals that run counter to the pronuclear policy that Carter and his energy secretary, James Schlesinger, have been advocating.

Speth is one of three members of the Council on Environmental Quality, a body that Carter sought to dissolve earlier this year. Its function is to advise the president on environmental matters and oversee federal compliance with environmental laws. Before his appointment to the CEQ, Speth was a member of the Natural Resources Defense Council, an environmental law firm. In that capacity he participated in a number of legal challenges to nuclear power projects.

Speth said the CEQ favored "a national decision which would make the expanded use of nuclear power contingent on a clear showing . . . that nuclear power's deadly by-products can be safely contained for geologic periods." He said a deadline should be set for solving the problem of radioactive wastes. No new plants would be licensed after the deadline unless a satisfactory disposal method had been found. "The sorry history of radioactive waste management in this country to date provides no basis for confidence that things will work out," he added.

On September 9, the U.S. General Accounting Office released a report saying that this problem "threatens the future of nuclear power in the United States." Seventy-five million gallons of high-level radioactive wastes and 51 million cubic feet of low-level wastes are currently being stored at a number of temporary locations in the United States. The GAO said that the Energy Research and Development Administration has so far made "negligible" progress in demonstrating "the feasibility and safety of placing radioactive wastes in deep geological formations." It called the ERDA's goals for such programs "overly optimistic."

Failure to resolve the waste-disposal problem could force the shutdown of more than twenty U.S. nuclear plants within the next six or seven years, according to a recent letter to President Carter by California Congressman John Moss.

The problem of radioactive waste is not new—it has existed since the beginning of nuclear-weapons production and nuclear-electricity generation. That government agencies and officials are now taking note of it reflects the growing pressure of the U.S. antinuclear movement.

Speth also said in his speech that the CEQ favors requiring electric utilities to prove that conservation or solar power cannot meet electricity needs before being granted permission to proceed with nuclear plant construction. And he criticized Carter's plans to greatly increase the use of coal as an energy source, citing "grave problems" of strip mining, air pollution, and buildup of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere.

The CEQ is seeking to have its recommendations included in Carter and Schlesinger's "Nuclear Regulatory Reform Act of 1977," the main goal of which is to speed construction of 300 new nuclear plants by the year 2000. (See "'Kangaroo Court' for U.S. Nuclear Hearings?" *Intercontinental Press*, September 12, p. 992.)

Speth and the other White House environmental aides apparently found their criticisms of the proposed law unwelcome and decided to express their views publicly as a means of exerting additional leverage on Carter and Schlesinger. But Schlesinger's nuclear aide John Ahearne told the *Wall Street Journal* that "the council's proposal isn't needed and isn't likely to be part of nuclear licensing legislation that President Carter plans to send to Congress later this month."

Japan Antinuclear Campaign

The Japanese government has set October 26 as "Atomic Day" in an effort to popularize nuclear power. In response, several antipollution groups including the Japan Consumers' League have renamed the date "Anti-Atomic Day" and have

launched a nationwide campaign against construction of nuclear plants.

"The rallying point of the campaign is the enormous amount of energy required in the construction, operation, and waste disposal of nuclear power plants," *New Asia News* reported September 9.

Asbestos Lobby Seeks 'No Suit' Law

A \$500 million lawsuit has been filed against the Johns-Manville Corporation by former workers at the company's Manville, New Jersey, asbestos plant. The workers, all cancer victims, are charging that the company deliberately suppressed information on the hazardous effects of exposure to asbestos and issued misleading studies and reports that minimized the risks involved.

Asbestos has been called one of the most potent cancer-causing agents known. It has been shown to produce *mesothelioma*, a rare form of lung cancer, in asbestos workers, and has also been known to increase the risk of lung cancer in the families of such workers.

Johns-Manville currently faces nearly 400 lawsuits of a kind similar to that filed in New Jersey. Thus the company is pleased with a bill recently introduced in Congress by Rep. Millicent Fenwick of New Jersey.

Fenwick's bill, according to a report by columnist Jack Anderson in the October 5 *New York Daily News*, "would prevent workers from suing their employers or their unions. It would provide modest federal payments instead for some disabled asbestos workers."

Fenwick claims the bill will benefit workers "who can't afford to sue or who might lose in court." However, Anderson reported that a Johns-Manville attorney helped draft the proposed law, and Fenwick's office acknowledged that the company's president, John McKinney, "was actively involved in initiating this bill."

The columnist quoted the opinion of a member of the asbestos workers union: "This bill should more properly be called the Asbestos Industry Release from Liability Act."

Coating the Ocean With Oil to Save 6 Cents a Ton

[The following article appeared in the June 12 issue of *La Brèche*, a revolutionary-socialist newspaper published twice monthly in Lausanne, Switzerland. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

In the first part of this article [see *Intercontinental Press*, July 11, 1977, p. 803], we showed that the source of the Ekofisk catastrophe lay in the fact that it is in the interests of the oil trusts to skimp on safety measures, and that the bourgeois governments are more than willing to accommodate these interests.

In the second part, we will deal with ocean pollution caused by the oil discharged from ships and refineries. Each year, six million tons of oil are dumped into the ocean. Discharges of all kinds by ships amount to 2.13 million tons a year, thus constituting the principal source of oil pollution. Coastal refineries add another 200,000 tons a year, while inland refineries are responsible for a large share of the 1.6 million tons of oil carried into the oceans by rivers each year.

Oil tankers rinse out their empty tanks with sea water to get rid of the fumes given off by the oil residues and avoid the danger of explosions. This is what is called "routine degasification." Other vessels do the same with their empty fuel tanks. Oil tankers that sail with empty tanks fill some of them with sea water to give the ship sufficient draft. These procedures all result in large amounts of rinse or ballast water being dumped into the sea, contaminated by oil.

In 1924 there was already talk of providing oil tankers with equipment for separating oil and water (*Scientific American*, January 1974, p. 12). But this was never really put into practice. An international agreement signed in London in 1954, and ratified by forty-three countries, provided that within a fifty-mile coastal area, discharges must not contain more than 100 parts per million of hydrocarbons. Outside this area, discharges were unregulated. This agreement was amended in 1962 and 1969, and finally revised in 1973. The current regulations are as follows:

- A total ban on discharges within the fifty-mile zone or in the Mediterranean Sea, the Baltic Sea, the Black Sea, the Red Sea, and the Gulf of Mexico.
- No more than sixty liters of hydrocarbons discharged for every mile logged.

Oil Pollution—What It Does to the Sea

Oil is a complex blend of a hundred different substances which vary in their behavior and degree of toxicity. The full effects of oil on marine life forms are still unknown.

Oil floats. Thus, the organisms in plankton are the most affected: algae, tiny crustaceans, and fish larvae.* Oil film reduces the amount of light available to marine algae, and it is these algae that produce most of the oxygen in the atmosphere. Aeration of the water, and thus of the plankton, is reduced. Reflectivity of the sea, which makes up the largest part of the earth's surface, increases (*Scientific American*, September 1970, p. 122), water evaporation decreases (*Le Monde*, June 7, 1977); this can cause unforeseeable climatic disturbances.

The algae in plankton are killed by a concentration of 0.1 to 1,000 parts per million of oil, depending on the species. With 0.1 parts per million, the rate of

growth is slowed down. The tiny organisms in plankton die in twenty-four hours with doses of 100 parts per million. With one part per million, adults usually survive, but the larvae die after two or three days. In the area polluted by the wreck of the *Torrey Canyon*, 50 to 90 percent of the sardine eggs died. In the laboratory, extensive destruction of the eggs and larvae of herring, cod, and plaice, and the hatching of deformed larvae, have been observed at 100 parts per million. Turbot larvae cannot survive 0.01 parts per million.

Diving birds pay a heavy price for oil pollution of the oceans. Professor R.B. Clark of the University of Newcastle, a specialist in the study of birds affected by the "black tide," estimates that millions of birds die each year (cited by H. Rothmann, *Murderous Providence*, Hart Davis, 1972, p. 240).

In his 1970 report to the Council of Europe, Jacques Cousteau stated: "... in most of the earth's oceans in the last twenty years, life has diminished by more than 30 percent and less than 50 percent."

*But less plankton to eat means fewer fish.

- Total discharge limited to one-thirty-thousandth of the cargo for new ships.
- All new oil tankers weighing more than 70,000 tons must be equipped with separate ballast tanks that cannot be used for hydrocarbons.
- Ports must be equipped with waste stations, into which the ballast water must be emptied after tankers have completed short trips of less than seventy-two hours. (*La Pollution des Eaux Marines* [Pollution of the Seas], Pérès et al., Gauthier-Villars, 1976.)

To meet these requirements, tanker builders have installed "load on top" (LOT) systems, in which the rinse water is put in a special tank to settle out. After most of the hydrocarbons are removed, the water is discharged into the sea. The attitude of the capitalists—shipowners and oil trusts—toward such legislation is summed up in the OECD's [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] 1973 report on oil:

Suffice it to say that while the measures intended to reduce and perhaps eliminate pollution are often worthwhile in themselves, they usually increase operating costs. For example, it is estimated that the industry's "load on top"

method raises the cost of transportation by six cents per ton. The provisions that deal with indemnity payments, while desirable, must also be considered as a factor adding to transportation costs. Furthermore, in some countries, taxes are imposed by law to cover the costs of damages resulting from pollution (p. 126).

It is in the capitalists' interests to violate these provisions. Controlling illegal discharges over the vast surface of the ocean is at least as difficult as detecting fiscal fraud amidst the intricacies of banking transactions—assuming that bourgeois governments really want to put a stop to either one of these "economic crimes."

During a spot check carried out off the coast of the Cotentin Peninsula by the French Ministry for the Quality of Life together with the navy in November 1975, 147 ships were monitored from an airplane. Seven were caught in the act of illegal waste disposal (*Le Monde*, December 12, 1975). But as the *Le Monde* reporter pointed out: "During three weeks of 'close surveillance,' nearly 10,000 ships of different nationalities sailed past the Cotentin coast. Counting the eleven cases of pollution spotted in the twenty-five-hour

flight [the source of four cases was not discovered—*La Brèche*], it can be estimated that there are several dozen illegal discharges in this zone every day.”

On April 14, 1977, the French National Assembly debated a bill dealing with civic responsibility and the obligation of shipowners to assume the costs of damages resulting from hydrocarbon pollution. The reporter for the parliamentary majority objected to this law being more restrictive than the London agreement on which it was based, considering that it was “pointless and ineffective to penalize our shipping industry by saddling it with a special burden.” (*Le Monde*, April 16, 1977.)

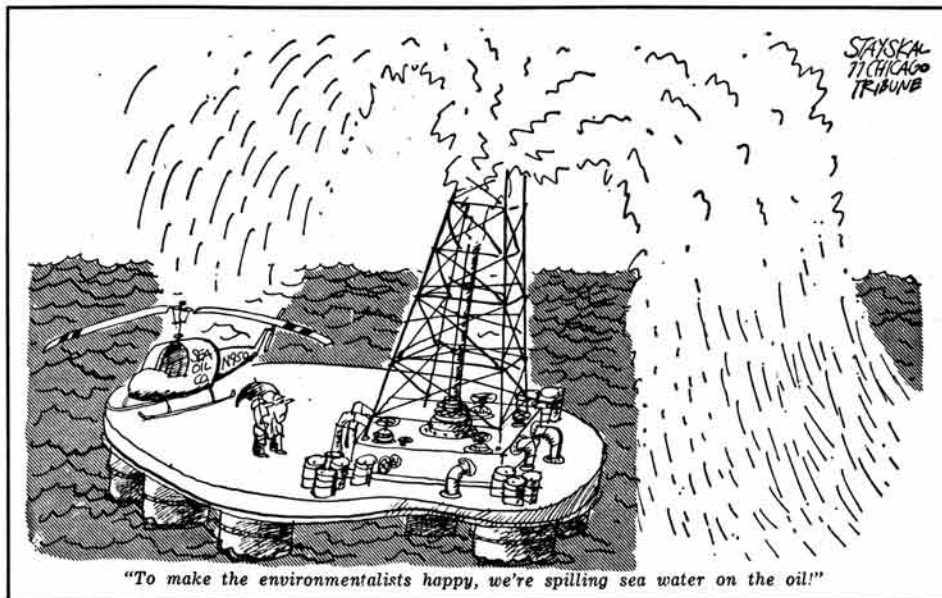
Obviously, a French law would have affected mainly French ships. However, in view of the competition on the world market, the more antipollution measures a shipowner applies, the more disadvantaged he is.

As for accidents at sea, they are not merely the product of chance. In an article in the January-February 1977 issue of *Environment* on the shipwreck of five Liberian oil tankers in American waters in the last two weeks of 1976, that killed nine persons, wounded fifty, and spilled 27,210 tons of oil into the ocean, Sheldon Novick writes:

Liberian registry frees a ship from the requirements of U.S. law and allows the shipowner to disregard U.S. maritime union wage scales. Crews of Liberian vessels therefore may be paid as little as one-sixth what U.S. flag vessels must pay; Liberian vessels are also freed from U.S. safety and reliability regulations. A vessel which is too old to meet U.S. standards may be shifted to Liberian registry in a matter of hours. . . . Many of the owners of the ships are corporations in Panama or other states which permit considerable secrecy and impose few or no regulations. Many of the world's 4,500 tankers are operated by such corporations on charter to the seven giant oil companies which dominate world oil shipments. (p. 44)*

In the case of oil refineries, the OECD report cited above provides several figures that clearly show it is technologically possible to prevent discharges of hydrocarbons. Inland refineries discharge an average of eleven kilograms of hydrocarbons for every 1,000 tons of crude oil processed. Coastal refineries, which use the sea as a huge all-purpose garbage disposal, discharge an average of sixty-two kilograms per 1,000 tons of processed oil. But refineries that process their wastes, combining separation by gravity (settling out), chemical treatment, and biological treatment, drop to an average of 5.6 kilograms (pp. 166-167). And this certainly does not represent the outer limit of technological capacity.

*Liberia has the largest fleet of oil tankers in the world. With 25 percent of the world tonnage, it surpasses Great Britain, which has 14 percent. (*Le Pétrole*, report by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1973.)



It is impossible to talk about pollution by the oil industry without raising the question of whether all the oil that is pumped, shipped, and refined is really necessary to meet genuine human needs. In fact, it is far from it. Large quantities of oil, and of energy in general, are wasted. Since the “oil shortage,” various bourgeois studies have calculated ways to conserve it. But of course, these studies only visualize areas of waste that could be eliminated while maintaining capitalism (better adjustment of furnaces and engines, better insulation of buildings, speed limits, etc.). Even the amounts that could be saved in this way seem to be considerable; for example, a Ford Foundation study projects savings that could make it unnecessary to develop new offshore deposits in the United States until 1985. But much greater waste is inherent in the very nature of capitalism. For example, there is the waste of energy

used to produce goods deliberately designed to wear out quickly (refrigerators, cars, and so on), or the waste of energy caused by the lack of planning, which prevents automatic recycling of the hot water or steam discharged by plants to heat nearby homes.

As in all other cases of pollution, the pollution of the oceans by oil highlights the need for an economy without private ownership of industry, without the profit drive, without competition for markets; an economy planned so as to satisfy and respect genuine human needs. Furthermore, overcoming the problems created by oil pollution of the oceans, with the thousands of polluting oil tankers that plough the seas, the rivers that carry oil through several countries into the ocean, the need to choose between offshore and on-land deposits, exemplifies the need for a worldwide planned socialist economy. □

New York's 'Dead Sea' Is Growing

More information has come to light on the extent of water pollution in Long Island Sound and the New York Bight (the coastal waters bounded by New Jersey and Long Island).

A study conducted by laboratories at the New England Fisheries Center, reported in the September 26 *New York Times*, shows that the two bodies of water are contaminated by “extraordinarily high levels” of toxic heavy metals such as mercury, cadmium, and lead, and by oils and polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs—highly toxic organic compounds used in the electrical equipment industry).

As a result, said laboratory official Dr. Jack Pearce, there has been a “tremendous drop in the amount of bottom-dwelling organisms. . . .”

The *Times* continued: “One change in Raritan Bay [off New Jersey] illustrates the damage being done. Fifteen years ago the bay was loaded with small shrimp-like animals that lived along the bottom. They were the principal food for important fish stocks, such as striped bass and flounder. The . . . investigations show they are nonexistent now.”

According to fishermen, almost one-fifth of the New York Bight was nearly devoid of fish during the past summer. The Environmental Protection Agency is supposed to end coastal pollution by 1981, but “there is widespread concern that this deadline will not be met by industries and municipalities because of the high costs involved in converting to land disposal of wastes,” the *Times* said.

Selections From the Left

An Phoblacht

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

One of the major features in *An Phoblacht* is a column in the Irish language. In the September 23 issue, the columnist takes up a debate with the *Irish Democrat*, the main voice of Irish Stalinism, which is published monthly in London. The columnist writes:

"I attacked an essay by Desmond Greaves [the main intellectual representative of the Irish Stalinists], who wrote a good biography of James Connolly. The counterattack came in the Political Forum section. The name of the writer is not given (although it is suggested that I am hiding behind a pseudonym). . . .

"The writer complains that I said the *Democrat* gets its politics from Moscow. But he does not deny this. And he repeats a warning he said he gave us twenty-five years ago, that we can make war on Moscow, or make war on London, but we cannot war on both. . . .

"We republicans have no intention of making war on Moscow. We have no intention of making war on London. It is London that started the war against this country and we have been defending it for 800 years.

"For the last few years it looked like Moscow was making war against us. You could hear this from time to time on Radio Moscow when it attacked the IRA and Sinn Féin, when it distorted the truth about the war, when it supported Gardiner Place [the "Official" republicans], when it supported the attacks on us by the Communist Party in Dublin.

"There has been a certain change in Moscow's policy recently, or at least there seems to be.

"The attacks over Radio Moscow have virtually ended. TASS is more truthful now and more understanding about the course of the war in the Six Counties.

"What is the reason for this change? The explanation is that Moscow knows that there is nothing left in the rump of Gardiner Place but ultraleftists. It knows that Gardiner Place has lost out in the politics of the revolution, that the revolution is advancing under the leadership of the republican movement. It knows that there is a good chance that Sinn Féin will rule Ireland as a result. And so it has to prepare for it. This is *Realpolitik*, as the Germans say. . . .

"But here is what is at the heart of the dispute. The following is what I pointed

out mainly in Greaves's essay and objected to. It is also the basis for the *Democrat's* complaint in the current issue.

"The Republic, despite its faults, is the most progressive state in northwestern Europe. It has not always had the most progressive governments."

"The *Democrat* complains that I left the second sentence out. I don't know what the reason for this is. It is the first sentence that is important, as a political and historical statement coming from the pen of a man who is respected both as a political figure and historian. . . .

"Greaves knows that the Free State government was the first fascist government in Europe, that the government was controlled by London, that from 1921 to today the Free State has never been anything more than a neocolony, the first example, perhaps, of this dismal sort of thing in the world, that with the Special Powers Act and the Emergency Powers Act the entire country has been a concentration camp for more than fifty years, that there is a bourgeois Protestant state in the Six Counties and a bourgeois Roman Catholic state in the Twenty-Six Counties. He knows that both states are doing their best to strangle the native culture of Ireland, to crush the hopes of Ireland, and to destroy the soul of Ireland."

The columnist concludes by expressing the hope that the debate will continue to be conducted in Irish. That would represent something of a milestone since the Irish-language columns in the press in Ireland are not usually the focus of political controversies of interest to a public outside the various cultural organizations.

POLITYKA

"Politics," published weekly in Warsaw, Poland.

The September 17 issue includes a discussion on Poland's atomic power program. The participants are Jan Felicki, deputy minister of energy for atomic power; Jerzy Minczewski, director of the Institute of Atomic Research; Zdzislaw Celinski, deputy director of the Institute of Atomic Research and head of the reactor engineering section; Edward Obryka from the Institute of Atomic Physics in Cracow; and Tadeusz Musialowicz from the Central Laboratory on Problems of Protection from Radioactivity. These experts were interviewed by Magdalen Bajer.

Bajer: Electricity from nuclear power sources represents a great opportunity both for very rich countries and those that lack sufficient conventional energy sources.

Poland does not belong to either category. Therefore, we sometimes doubt that nuclear energy is really useful, or that it serves a purpose at this time, and on what scale we could or should develop it.

Obryka: The tone of self-justification adopted in discussing nuclear power always bothers me. The situation is quite clear. Our balance of trade in the area of fuels and energy sources is under considerable pressure, so much so that from being a major exporter of energy at the end of the 1960s and early 1970s, we may become an importer of raw materials for energy production. The projected needs are so great that even if we increased the production of hard and soft coal to the maximum, we could not meet them. Furthermore, this would have catastrophic consequences for the environment. About 7,000,000 Poles live in areas where the percentage of sulfur compounds harmful to the health has risen above acceptable levels.

Bajer: Does that mean that a concern for the environment has already determined that we should develop nuclear power?

Obryka: Ecological considerations go hand in hand with economic ones. It is true that nuclear power requires costly investments and likewise that the price of uranium is going up on the world market, but there is no doubt that the cost of importing gas and oil will be higher.

Felicki: I agree entirely with the assessment of our trade balance in energy. We are always faced with the difficult dilemma of deciding which is best, to have enough energy and in some regions to have too much sulfur compounds in the air, or to have clean air and inadequate energy. Out of necessity, we have always chosen the first alternative, although this does not mean, of course, that we have ceased to be concerned about the environment.

Further on in the interview, Bajer asked: "Might it not be feared that as more and more people get involved with nuclear technology, the danger of accidents will multiply? Is there some means of assuring that those involved will not be able to harm other people, either out of negligence or stupidity?"

Felicki: A few days ago, I looked at a flyer produced in 1898 in which the management of an American hotel assured its guests that electric light was not harmful to their health. . . . Today everyone has death at their elbow, in electrical circuits, but the number of fatal accidents is extremely small, since everyone knows that you should not stick your fingers into the plugs.

Referendum on Abortion in Switzerland

[A proposal to amend Switzerland's abortion law by removing restrictions on abortion in the first twelve weeks of pregnancy was defeated in a nationwide referendum on September 25.

[The total popular vote was 994,677 against and 929,239 for the proposed liberalization.

[The following excerpts from an article in the September 17 issue of *La Brèche*, the twice-monthly French-language journal of the Revolutionary Marxist League, published in Lausanne, provide background material on the issue.]

* * *

The recession, which in Switzerland alone has sent tens of thousands of women back to the home, has unexpectedly put wind in the sails of those who advocate keeping women in their "traditional" place. Cheered by this un hoped-for boost, the partisans of women's oppression are becoming emboldened, beating the drums among their followers, and widely distributing propaganda—sometimes crude and sometimes more subtle.

Caritas, a "charitable" organization backed by the Catholic church . . . is blanketing Switzerland with a pamphlet opposing the twelve-week limit, at a cost of 200,000 Swiss francs [US\$83,780]. Swiss bishops are having diatribes against abortion read from the pulpit. All the way up to Pope Paul VI, who has called on the Swiss to vote "no" . . .

In Switzerland, this energetic campaign by the bishops and Christian Democratic politicians, assisted by a majority of

leading figures in the Protestant church, has the same goal as in West Germany and Austria: to use the procedural gimmicks of bourgeois democracy to prevent even a partial decriminalization of abortion and force a retreat on the issue, counter to the will of the majority in parliament or in the population.

Caritas, "Right to Life," and the Christian Democrats are keeping up the pressure to achieve a single goal that is unfortunately within reach. This is to see to it that the ballot initiative, which is practically guaranteed a majority of votes, fails to win a majority of the cantons owing to the gerrymandering that insures a disproportionate weight to the small Catholic cantons. . . .

The proposed twelve-week limit—to which revolutionists call for a "yes" vote—will probably only reduce the percentage of "illegal" abortions and unwanted children. At the same time, rejecting it would mean not maintaining this percentage at its present level but increasing it.

However, there is more at stake in this campaign. Whether the proposal passes or fails, the experience of the United States, Italy, West Germany, and Austria shows that we can expect a boycott of the law by reactionary doctors and Catholic cantons, as well as a tightening of restrictions on the part of doctors and the government.

This is why the campaign will continue after September 25 to organize a response by women, health workers, and the workers movement to the maneuvers of the church, "Right to Life," Caritas, and the complicity of the bourgeois government. □

is not, as they think, at the beginning of its development. It has been virtually perfected by an obscure scientific genius, Professor Henry Miksemup, who has already successfully combined genes from a number of different organisms.

In an exclusive interview, Professor Miksemup said that one of his first experiments involved combining Australia Party genes with Liberal Movement genes. "I was worried," he explained, "by predictions that genetic engineering could produce deadly new organisms which would multiply out of control and I therefore chose genes likely to be very weak, from creatures near extinction. The new creature that resulted has been named Australian Democrats, and it is obviously as unsuited for life as its 'parents.'" Miksemup considers this experiment only a qualified success: "The creature is harmless enough, which is reassuring, but unfortunately it appears to have no practical use.

"My next effort," Miksemup continued, "was to combine an octopus with a factory worker. I wanted to produce a worker with eight arms. Unfortunately, the result was quite different. What I got was a union leader without a spine; whenever he is confronted by an enemy, he retreats rapidly under cover of a cloud of murky rhetoric. I won't mention his name, but I'm sure you can recognise him from the description."

The professor has also conducted more complicated experiments. One was to mix genes of a lemming with genes from cattle and sheep. "It would have been a great benefit to our rural industry," he said. "I intended to create wool-bearing cattle which would commit suicide by leaping into the ocean whenever their numbers became large enough to depress the price of beef or wool.

"But I must have been a bit careless in my work. My laboratory was then in Canberra, and perhaps a stray politician's genes blew in through the window and landed in the test tube. Or perhaps natural background radiation caused an additional mutation. Whatever the reason, what emerged from the test tube was a group of politicians who want to commit suicide with uranium, expect everyone to follow them like sheep, and conceal their intentions with large quantities of bull dust. It was a very disappointing result."

Despite such setbacks, Miksemup is confident that there is a great future in genetic engineering, and he appears to have persuaded other people as well. At the moment, he is working on a project for the Federal government which involves an expansion of his earlier combination of worker and octopus genes. The government wants him to add to the basic mix genes from a goose, a goldfish, and a clam. The aim is to produce eight-armed workers who lay golden eggs and never open their

Miksemup's Menagerie

By Allen Myers

[The following article appeared in the September 22 issue of *Direct Action*, a socialist weekly published in Sydney, Australia.]

* * *

Newspapers recently reported that Australian scientists are planning to carry out research into genetic engineering—the process of combining chromosome material from two or more different organisms to make totally new strains of creatures. Genetic engineering, as one paper put it, "has the potential to combine any one

lifeform with any other—no matter how naturally incompatible they may be."

This sort of research is highly controversial. Opponents warn of the possibility of deadly new strains of germs being created. Advocates of the research point out the almost unlimited potential benefits to be derived when we can create new plants and animals at will. For example, by combining cow genes with wheat genes, it might be possible to grow fields of buttered toast.

What neither side in the debate realises is that there is really very little left for them to argue about. Genetic engineering

mouths. "If this project is successful," he told me, "the Queensland government has also promised to order a large number of the new creature. It would then introduce legislation to abolish the secret ballot and conduct elections in public meetings by a show of hands: this could make the gerrymander obsolete."

In fact, the professor believes that when all the remaining bugs are removed from his work, genetic engineering will rapidly make human beings in their present form obsolete. "It's not that I have anything personal against people," he says, "but I looked at the way our society is evolving and realised that it was necessary to speed up evolution. For example, I want to take

the gene from cockroaches that makes them resistant to radioactivity and put it in people so that they have a chance to survive. Then, for people living in cities, it will be necessary to add genes from a tree or some other plant so that they can live in an atmosphere rich in carbon dioxide.

"Some people may consider me a dreamer," Miksemup continued, "but I think I have the only practical solution to our problems. Human society is obviously becoming more and more unsuited to human life. The only answer is to change human beings—unless you're thinking of some utopian dream, like changing the society." □

West Bengal's Popular Front Government

By Sharad Jhaveri

JAMNAGAR—"National, even international interest, in the mercurial politics of West Bengal has been rising steadily since the CPM was swept to power a month and a half ago through an impressive legislative election victory," the August 6 *Economic Times* commented.

In mid-July, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI[M] or CPM) led the Left Front electoral coalition to a massive victory in the elections to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly. Out of 293 seats, the front won 230. The CPI(M) itself won 177 seats, a big improvement over the 111 seats that it won in the 1969 elections. Except for Midnapur, the Left Front secured all the districts in the state.

The Janata Party won 29 seats in the assembly, while Indira Gandhi's discredited Congress Party got only 20. All the Congress Party leaders in the state who had been closely identified with the repression under Gandhi were decisively rejected by the voters. The pro-Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI), which was also identified with Gandhi, won only two seats, losing all five that it had contested in Calcutta.

The Stalinist CPI(M), which emerged from a split with the CPI in 1964, initially had offered to enter an electoral alliance with the Janata Party, which rules the central government in New Delhi. It offered to allocate a majority of the seats in the election campaign to the Janata Party. The Janata Party spurned this offer.

The CPI(M) then decided to forge an electoral alliance with the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party of India, the Forward Bloc, the Forward Bloc (Marxist), and the Biplabi Bangla Congress, under the banner of the Left Front. The CPI(M) has consistently described the Forward Bloc and the Bi-

plabi Bangla Congress as "left" parties, but they are actually regional bourgeois parties. The Left Front is not a fighting united front of working class parties, but a popular-front electoral alliance for the purpose of winning the elections and administering a capitalist state apparatus.

The Left Front's electoral programme promised immediate reopening of closed factories and the lifting of all cases of lock-out and lay-off. It promised that a Left Front regime would end retrenchment of workers and strive to reinstate all those retrenched or victimised. It promised minimum wages for all based on need, the provision of pension and other social security schemes, and the abolition of antilabour policies and laws.

On the agrarian question, the Left Front pledged to acquire and distribute surplus land to landless and poor peasants and agricultural labourers free of cost. It also promised radical changes in the land reform laws.

Immediately on assuming office, the CPI(M)-dominated ministry decided to release all political prisoners in West Bengal and institute inquiries into all cases of political murders, the killing of prisoners in jail, torture, and other crimes by the former Congress Party regime.

Equally noteworthy, however, is the anxious attempt made by the Left Front regime to reach a modus vivendi with the Janata Party regime in New Delhi and with the Indian bourgeoisie.

Chief Minister Jyoti Basu, a leader of the CPI(M), has taken personal pains to emphasize the constraints within which his ministry will be functioning. He has assured the capitalists that the Left Front regime would not support any labour "excesses" or "coercion." He is holding a continuous dialogue with the capitalists

for the economic development of West Bengal.

At one well-attended meeting of capitalists organised by four Calcutta-based Chambers of Commerce August 19, Basu said that "conflicts cannot be eliminated in a class ridden society." But he went on to console them, stating, "We must get together to see that conflicts are minimised through bipartite talks and government mediation."

He asked them not to be nervous. He explained that his regime believed in "total socialism," but that it had been elected to power in only one state and thus had accepted "the present reality of capitalism, of mixed economy."

Basu continued, "Had we been in power in Delhi, there might have been some grounds for nervousness." He assured them, "But we accept your reality."

Basu then added, "In return we expect you to accept ours and give us our opportunity for five years instead of conspiring against us." He pleaded with the capitalists to "please treat your workers as human beings—they too have their wives and children and are finding it difficult to make ends meet."

Basu has invited Indian monopolies and foreign corporations to invest in West Bengal and expand their interests there.

This attitude toward the capitalists is in marked contrast to the warning he gave to the Maoist Naxalites. Basu threatened that if "they go back to their old ways," the regime "will have to deal with them firmly."

The *Economic Times*, in an August 23 editorial, signalled its appreciation of Basu's approach, describing it as "more pragmatic than ideologically dogmatic."

West Bengal, with more than 30 million people out of a total population of 44 million living below the poverty line, is in India's volatile eastern border region. The Indian bourgeoisie consider it a "problem" state. But with the assurances given by Basu, the capitalists have found the present climate there right not only for a holding operation but possibly for expansion as well. They asked Basu to request that the central government relax the provisions of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act in West Bengal.

On the labour front, representatives of the local Chambers of Commerce noted that industrial relations have been more "satisfactory" in West Bengal than in most other states.

In view of the condition of the capitalist economy throughout the country, the implementation of the Left Front's election programme in West Bengal can only be patchy and half-hearted. Drawing the implications of this, an editorial in the June 25 *Bombay Economic and Political Weekly* commented, "Inevitably this will give rise to discontent and dissatisfaction among the very sections whom these measures are intended to benefit." □

Healyites Discover the Movement Against Uranium Mining

By Allen Myers

[The following article appeared in the September 8 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist weekly published in Sydney, Australia.]

* * *

One of the indications of how rapidly the movement against uranium mining has grown, and of its potential for further growth, is the fact that people and organisations all across the political spectrum feel the need to define their attitude and relationship to it.

The Fraser government is attempting to launch an "anti-violence" witch-hunt against the movement. The ALP national conference felt the pressure of anti-uranium views sufficiently to adopt a position favoring a moratorium on mining. And revolutionary socialists have participated in and built the movement, urging it to continue with its perspective of independent mass action.

Belated 'Support'

The movement has even—if belatedly—impressed itself on the consciousness of the sectarians of the Socialist Labour League (publishers of *Workers News*), a bizarre group noted chiefly for peddling the slanders of their British mentor, Gerry Healy, and for searching out any available pretext to abstain from any mass struggles that arise.

Following the highly successful Hiroshima Day demonstrations, in which 50,000 people across the country rallied against uranium mining and export, the August 18 issue of *Workers News* carried a three-page "Discussion document submitted by the Central Committee of the SLL" devoted to uranium and the anti-uranium movement. (It appears that the SLL does not like long discussions: The subsequent issue of *Workers News* reported that the national congress of the SLL, which presumably would have voted on the discussion document," was held on August 20-21.)

"The Socialist Labour League," the document begins, "supports the actions of workers, youth and professional people against the mining of uranium by imperialist firms or the capitalist state."

The "support" for "professional people" acting against uranium mining is something of a departure from normal practice for the SLL, which usually regards anyone or anything at all connected with "the middle class" as being fascist until proven otherwise. But the endorsement of the

marches is even repeated later in the document:

"We salute those thousands of people who marched against uranium mining on Hiroshima day."

These two statements by themselves should be sufficient to dispel any notion that there is anyone—even the most hardened sectarian—totally incapable of recognising their own errors. The SLL Central Committee now recognises that the Hiroshima Day demonstrations were a good thing. In view of the fact that *Workers News* had *nothing* to say about the demonstrations *before* they occurred, this is a step forward, even though it means that the "support" and "salutes" were not of much *practical* help to the anti-uranium movement.

Unfortunately, however, this small step forward is combined with several steps backward.

Marx once wrote of sectarians: "The sect sees its *raison d'être* and its point of honor not in what it has in *common* with the class movement but in the *particular shibboleth* which *distinguishes* it from the movement." The Australian Healyite sectarians, who mistakenly regard themselves as Marxists, would not deliberately do anything to prove Marx wrong, and they therefore devote the remainder of their document to finding excuses to justify their past—and future—abstention from the anti-uranium movement.

This effort focuses on three areas:

1. Arguing that the movement is focusing on the wrong issue.
2. Arguing that the movement can't be successful anyway.
3. Attacking *Direct Action* and the Socialist Workers Party ("revisionists" in the quaint terminology of the SLL), presumably to make the dwindling ranks of the SLL forget the question of why "revisionists" were able to see the importance of the uranium issue long before the SLL Central Committee stumbled upon it.

'Mystical Power'

At first glance, it might seem difficult to find an issue on which to differ with the anti-uranium movement while still "supporting" and "saluting" it: The question, after all, is whether you dig the stuff up or leave it in the ground, which is pretty straightforward and doesn't leave a lot of room for third positions.

In practice, however, the SLL found a third position already worked out, and

proceeded to borrow it without troubling to acknowledge the authors. This is the position of the Socialist Party of Australia, the most slavishly pro-Moscow of the Australian Stalinist parties.

The SPA argues that the only real reason to oppose uranium mining is the likelihood that uranium will be used by the imperialists to make atomic bombs. The SPA takes this position for the simple reason that the Soviet Union has built a large number of nuclear reactors, without being any closer than the capitalist countries to solving the problems of environmental pollution, waste disposal, etc. The SLL adopts essentially the same position, not out of any need to apologise for the Kremlin bureaucrats, but as a "particular shibboleth" which allows it to disassociate itself from the anti-uranium movement.

"Stripped of all secondary concerns," writes the SLL Central Committee, "it is clear that for imperialism the mining of uranium is a question of major importance because it is linked to its preparations for war.

"Uranium is to be mined by the capitalist class to deliver into the hands of imperialism more terror weapons to be directed against the working class in the advanced capitalist countries, the oppressed masses in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the masses in the USSR, China and the deformed workers states."

The SLL Central Committee appears unaware of one fairly important fact: The imperialists *already* have quite a large arsenal of nuclear terror weapons—enough, by most calculations, to kill the entire population of the earth two or three times. It is not much more terrifying to be threatened with being killed two, three, or four times than it is to be threatened with being killed once. Moreover, the most powerful of these terror weapons are hydrogen bombs, which use only relatively small quantities of uranium (or plutonium).

But the SLL Central Committee is not about to adopt a position that might appear to modify, even in the slightest, its oft-expressed contempt for the environmental movement. It proceeds:

"We do not agree with the revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party who imbue uranium, as a substance, with some mystical power claiming that 'uranium is a deadly threat to human life. The Fox report should be rejected. No to uranium mining.' (*Direct Action* June 2.)"



ANS

August 25 Melbourne march of 3,000 protesters against government go-ahead on uranium mining. The growth of the antinuclear movement has added a new dynamic element in Australian politics.

I have already noted that the SLL is rather new to the anti-uranium movement, and this fact may explain some of their ignorance. Opposition to the "peaceful" use of uranium for power generation is based upon the fact that when so used, uranium releases large quantities of radiation in the form of alpha, beta, gamma, and x-rays which are highly damaging to organic tissue. Moreover, no one has yet figured out a practical way to dispose of the waste products of nuclear power generation, which remain dangerously radioactive, in some cases, for hundreds of thousands of years.

If it cares to take the trouble, the SLL Central Committee could learn about radioactivity and its connection with uranium by glancing through any elementary physics textbook. It is true that radiation is not visible to the naked eye, but that does not make a belief in its existence mysticism.

'Confidence' Trick

But never mind such facts. Opposition to nuclear power is a "revisionist-Luddite position." The Healyite theoreticians have figured out how to make uranium safe:

"It is not [at?] all a question of keeping uranium in the ground. The point is which class and for what purposes is to mine uranium.

"We are confident that the working class, under its dictatorship and having broken apart the fetters of capitalist production could make the technological developments necessary to develop the full potential of nuclear energy as a power source in complete safety.

"Against the revisionists non-class position we call firmly for no mining of uranium by imperialist firms or by the capitalist state, but for the full development of all the potential resources open to mankind through the overthrow of the capitalist system internationally and the establish-

ment of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

It is possible, of course, that the future socialist society *may* solve the technological problems of making nuclear power safe. But it is also possible that it may not—unless, of course, the Healyites' "confidence" has some mystical power to guarantee the future course of science. The workers state might well decide—either by choice or necessity—to develop alternative energy sources, such as wind and solar power. The task of revolutionaries today is not to pretend to predict what decisions will be made by a rational society, but to help create that society which necessitates leading the struggles against the evils of the present system.

Is the SLL Central Committee really unaware of the fact that at present there is no dictatorship of the proletariat with a safe nuclear technology which has applied for the right to mine Australian uranium? And doesn't this fact mean that, at present, the question is whether or not to leave the uranium in the ground?

Back to the Shibboleth

But that is precisely the question which the Central Committee wants the SLL to avoid. The talk about the dictatorship of the proletariat is intended as a left cover for abstention from the anti-uranium movement. The SLL Central Committee plans to sit on the sidelines and make carping criticisms of the movement, which will be printed between their newspaper articles calling for "the overthrow of capitalism internationally and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

It is easy to predict that the SLL's criticisms will take the usual form of pretending that mass struggles against the evils of capitalist society are not nearly as revolutionary as writing articles about the dictatorship of the proletariat. To illustrate, the SLL document quotes with disap-

proval the following passage from the June 2 *Direct Action*:

"The only way uranium mining can be stopped now is by mass action of the kind seen on the April 1 national uranium moratorium mobilisation when 20,000 people around Australia demonstrated in support of the call for a five-year moratorium against uranium mining."

The Central Committee huffs and puffs: "Since then over 50,000 people mobilised around the Hiroshima Day actions—has this made uranium mining more than twice as unlikely as at the time of the April demonstration? Such an absurd position is really not far [!] from what the revisionists actually [!] say." (Apparently, what "revisionists" *do* "actually" say is too contaminating to allow it direct contact with the faithful. Does "revisionism" have a mystical power to harm Healyites?)

I leave it to readers to judge for themselves whether or not *Direct Action* holds the simplistic and undialectical view attributed to it by the Healyites. But there is something that can be "actually" said about the effect of the size of the demonstrations:

A demonstration of 50,000 is more than twice as likely to impinge on the consciousness of muddle-headed sectarians as a demonstration of only 20,000. The evidence is that *Workers News* had not one word to say about the April 1 mobilisation, but has deigned to notice the anti-uranium movement following Hiroshima Day.

Perhaps, if the movement grows to the point of bringing 100,000 or 200,000 or 500,000 people into the streets, the SLL may take another step forward and actually *participate* in the movement. But don't hold your breath.

It only remains to add, as a curious footnote, that the SLL considers itself a "vanguard" party. They'd have a better chance to become one if they first learned the difference between the front and the rear. □

Analysis of the Elections in Sri Lanka

By Bala Tampoe

[The following article appeared in the September 15, 1977, issue of *Inprecor*.

[For further coverage see "The Coming Elections in Sri Lanka" by Ernest Harsch in the July 11 issue of *Intercontinental Press* (p. 798), and "Bandaranaike Routed in Sri Lanka Elections" by Ernest Harsch in the August 1 issue of *Intercontinental Press* (p. 880).

[For a report on the postelection events, see "Scores of Tamils Killed in Sri Lanka" in the September 12 issue of *Intercontinental Press* (p. 988).

* * *

The general election of July 21, 1977, completely reversed the electoral shift that had occurred in the previous elections, held May 27, 1970. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) of outgoing Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, which won 91 seats in the 1970 elections, has been reduced to 8 seats in the new, slightly enlarged 168-seat National State Assembly. The ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the Communist Party, which won 19 and 6 seats respectively in 1970 and had served as junior partners in Bandaranaike's ruling coalition, the United Front, lost all their seats and are now without representation in parliament.

On the other hand, the conservative United National Party (UNP), which was ousted from office by the popular swing to the United Front parties in 1970 and held only 17 seats in the outgoing parliament, has now been swept into office with a larger vote than any party or coalition in the country's parliamentary history. It now holds 139 seats, with the certainty of gaining yet another seat in a postponed election in one constituency. The UNP therefore enjoys complete legislative supremacy, in addition to controlling the state apparatus.

The new Assembly is thus rid of the fake left and now stands under the total sway of the right, not only on the side of the government, but also on the side of the opposition.

Although the UNP leader J.R. Jayawardene asked for a mandate to be prime minister of all Ceylon, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) sought a mandate to establish a separate state of Tamil Eelam (Tamil Ceylon) for the Tamil-speaking people in the northern and east-

ern provinces. The Federal Party and the Tamil Congress, which are the parties that make up the TULF, won all the 14 seats in the northern province, taking 68.5% of the total vote and swamping the UNP, SLFP, and LSSP in all the seats they contested. In the eastern province, however, the TULF secured only 3 out of 10 seats, the remaining 7 going to the UNP.

As the second largest party in the Assembly, with 17 seats, the TULF has decided to function as an opposition party in the new Assembly, and Federal Party leader Amirthalingham has been elected leader of the opposition. The new prime minister is thus faced with the problem of responding to the major political grievances of the Tamil-speaking people if he is to avoid a serious confrontation both inside and outside the Assembly on the issue of a separate Tamil state, at least in the northern province. Bandaranaike now finds herself in the embarrassing position of being in the opposition with a Tamil leader. Under the circumstances, her party has decided to function as a separate group in the opposition.

An analysis of the election results reveals many interesting features. The UNP won a little less than 3 million votes out of a total of 5.7 million votes cast, that is, about 52%. The SLFP got slightly more than 1.7 million votes, or 30%. The United Left Front (ULF), made up of the LSSP, the CP, a group that broke away from the SLFP, and other individuals supported by the latter group, got slightly more than 400,000 votes, just over 7%.

In the northern province, the TULF won 68.5% of the more than 400,000 votes cast, the UNP 7.8%, the SLFP 1.4%, and the ULF slightly less than 1%. In the eight other provinces of the country, the UNP got 55%, the SLFP 32.3%, and the ULF 7.5%. In the eastern province, which has a mixed population of about 300,000 Tamils, more than 245,000 Tamil-speaking Muslims, and about 167,000 Sinhalese (the majority of the Ceylonese population is Sinhalese), the UNP got 41.6%, the TULF 31.4%, the SLFP 24.1%, and the ULF 2.4%.

In the western province, the most highly populated and urbanized, which includes the capital city of Colombo, the UNP polled more than 942,000 votes, the SLFP about 541,000 and the ULF about 138,000, percentages of 56.8%, 32.6%, and 8.3% respectively. In the other provinces—the central, southern, northwestern, north-

central, Uva (east-central), and Sabaragamuwa (between western and central)—where the population is predominantly Sinhalese, the UNP polled 55.2%, 54.9%, 56.8%, 54.9%, 58.8%, and 54.3% respectively. This indicates an almost uniform swing to the UNP in all these provinces. The SLFP totals in these provinces were 33.4%, 29%, 35.5%, 40%, 37.6%, and 30%.

The ULF got only 1.2% of the vote in the central province, 4.3% in the northwestern, 3.6% in the north-central, and 1.9% in Uva. In the southern province, in which the CP held 4 seats in the outgoing Assembly and the LSSP 3 (out of a total of 21), the ULF won 13.3%, as against 29% for the SLFP. In Sabaragamuwa, where some of the strongholds of the LSSP are located, including the constituency of N.M. Perera, a major party leader, and in which the LSSP had held 5 seats and the CP 1 (out of a total of 17) in the old Assembly, the ULF got 14.7% of the vote, as against the SLFP's 30%. In the southern province and in Sabaragamuwa, as well as in Uva, the UNP won all the seats, with more votes than the SLFP and ULF candidates combined in all but 2 of the 50 constituencies of those three provinces.

In the western province, in which the LSSP previously held 10 seats out of 36, it not only lost all its seats to the UNP, but was reduced to a poor third place, for the SLFP polled more votes. The CP former government minister Keuneman lost his seat in the three-member constituency of Colombo Central, where he had secured a seat in every election since 1947. He fell into fifth place, while the SLFP candidates came in third and won one seat. Subasinghe, a former SLFP minister who left the SLFP government at the very end of its term of office to become a leader of the ULF, also came in a poor third in the constituency he had held, while the SLFP candidate polled a much larger vote and came in second to the UNP.

The election results clearly show that the major polarization that took root among the masses throughout the country (except in the northern province and to some extent in the eastern province) was between the UNP and the SLFP, which were viewed as the only credible government alternatives. Although the ULF fielded 130 candidates, only those among them who had previously held seats in parliament were considered, at least to some extent, as credible alternatives to the UNP candidates. As the results attest, however, in several of these constituencies even the SLFP was accepted as the main alternative to the UNP. The ULF leaders' denunciations of J.R. Jayawardene as a "fascist" and of Bandaranaike as the leader of the "reactionary right wing of the SLFP," as well as their unconvincing prattle about "socialism," had hardly any effect on the masses.

In the context of the sharp polarization between the UNP and the SLFP, the few

candidates put forward by the Anti-Capitalist United Front (ACUF)—composed of the Revolutionary Marxist Party (RMP), Ceylonese section of the Fourth International, and the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU)—as well as those of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), were unable to make a sufficient impact on the masses of voters and won only several hundred votes in each of the limited number of constituencies they contested. The RMP/CMU candidates polled only 1,055 votes in the four constituencies they contested in and around Colombo. The JVP contested two seats in the southern province and two in north-central province, in areas where they had held considerable influence prior to the suppression of the JVP in 1971. Nevertheless, they won only 3,443 votes in the two provinces combined. The Revolutionary Communist League (Healyites) ran candidates in six different provinces (one in each), but won only 1,283 votes all together.

The commissioner of elections arbitrarily, unlawfully, and dishonestly refused to treat the RMP as “a recognized party for the purpose of elections” under the reactionary election law which grants “recognized parties” the advantage of paying a deposit of only 250 rupees per candidate, as against 1,000 rupees for others. They also have the right to choose a particular election symbol, which cannot be used by any other party or candidate. Furthermore, the commissioner also arbitrarily and unlawfully notified the Information Department and thereby the press that candidates not belonging to recognized parties were “independents,” whether or not they belonged to parties and organizations, and were simply private individuals seeking election. The public was thus induced to dismiss such candidates as unworthy of serious consideration.

A glaring feature of the election campaign was that all “recognized parties” displayed thousands of posters announcing their campaign meetings, with pictures of their candidates, even though this is prohibited by the election law, which makes it an offense to display any such poster in any place visible to the public. The attorney general and the police regard such posters as illegal, but nobody from the “recognized parties” has ever been arrested for displaying them. On the other hand, five members of the JVP were arrested for pasting up posters in connection with the recent hunger strike of Rohana Wijeweera and other political prisoners, although pasting up this sort of poster is fully legal. The CMU and RMP refrained from displaying any posters in order to avoid the danger of arrest.

The swing away from the SLFP and its former “left” allies to the UNP was undoubtedly due to the bitter experiences of the masses under the United Front government since 1970. The swing away from the traditional “left” parties was due to disillusionment with their “parliamentary road

to socialism.” This resulted in their being left stranded on that “road” by the masses. It is not necessary to dwell at length on the SLFP. The infamous record of brutal repression by this party, the unbridled inflation it unleashed on the country, with the resulting rise in the cost of living, the large-scale unemployment, and the unprecedented corruption and nepotism the country has experienced explain the turn away from the government party. The fact that the United Front broke up before the elections and the SLFP and the ULF were not only competing with but also denouncing each other in most constituencies served only to enhance mass distrust of both.

The overwhelming majority of new voters, numbering more than a million, undoubtedly voted for the UNP. There is also no doubt that the majority of the working class polarized between the UNP and the SLFP, with most voting for the UNP. In the case of the Tamil-speaking minorities

of Ceylon (Tamils, Muslims, and plantation workers of Indian origin who had obtained citizenship rights), the results indicate that their votes also went predominantly to the UNP, except in the northern province and to some extent in the eastern.

The electoral victory of the UNP is thus due primarily to disillusionment and distrust among all sections of the population in the capacity of the SLFP, whether alone or in association with the “left” parties, to resolve any of the basic problems of the masses in Sri Lanka. It is also an indication of some hope among the masses that the UNP may do better. Under the circumstances, the very size of the vote for the UNP carries within it the seeds of serious mass unrest before long, if that hope is not realized.

In this situation, the ouster of the traditional “left” parties from the parliamentary scene is already giving rise to concern among UNP leaders, since mass unrest outside parliament will no longer find any safe outlet in the Assembly. □

First Issue of New Québec Trotskyist Newspaper

The first issue of *Lutte Ouvrière*, the French-language fortnightly published by the fused section of the Fourth International in Canada, the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire-Revolutionary Workers League, is now on the newsstands. Its masthead reads, “For independence and socialism, for the workers republic of Québec.” The issue is dated September 28.

An editorial on page two deals with the reluctance of the Parti Québécois, the bourgeois nationalist party that holds a majority in the Québec government, to enforce its own law establishing French as the primary language in Québec, and its willingness to make deals with Ottawa at the expense of the oppressed French-speaking population in Québec and in other parts of Canada.

This is further proof, the editors state, that revolutionary Marxists have long been correct in saying that “the PQ cannot and will not fight seriously even for the independence, let alone the national liberation, of Québec.”

The editors go on to explain their stand on this important issue:

“We are fighting to liberate an entire people from the yoke of Canadian imperialism. And the only social force that can accomplish this is the working class. But the determination to fight is not enough. For the bourgeois forces are nothing if not well organized. The Liberal Party of [Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott] Trudeau enjoys the support of the Canadian big bourgeoisie and controls the Canadian state apparatus, including the courts, the RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police], and ultimately, the Canadian army.

“And the PQ is proving more and more incapable of standing up to Ottawa’s might. Since November 15 [1976], the government [of Premier René] Levesque has retreated further and further, even from the standpoint of its electoral platform, which was conservative enough. . . .

“Faced with this situation, we have no other choice but to organize to achieve our goals: in our unions, our student organizations, the women’s liberation movement, and everywhere. But these organizations, necessary as they are, will not suffice. We must organize on the political level, form a party of working men and women whose highest task is to take power and form a workers government.

“As against Trudeau and Levesque, we propose independence and socialism as the sole solution for Québécois men and women. The free Québec we want to build will be the Workers Republic of Québec.” □

Cost of Clean Water

Cleaning up all the polluted lakes and rivers in the United States by 1990 would cost \$600 billion, Horace Smith, the president of the Water Pollution Control Federation, said September 28. But if nothing is done, “our water bodies are going to die,” he added.

Building water treatment plants would cost \$450 billion, and the remainder would be needed for operation and maintenance. (An equivalent amount is spent by the Pentagon every five years.)

FROM OUR READERS

Hervé Grall, international affairs director of the Democratic Union of Brittany, wrote us recently:

"We read with interest the excerpts from the magazine *Brud Nevez* that were published in the June 13 issue of *Intercontinental Press* and that dealt with the recent municipal elections in France, and more particularly the results in Brittany.

"We noted with surprise that the role played by our organization went totally unmentioned, an oversight that leads to conclusions that to say the least are hasty. An example of this is the statement that the fact that the Socialist Party used the Breton language in the first meeting of the City Council (this was the only time, moreover) should have an impact on Breton nationalist circles.

"This is simply overlooking the reality of the political forces present and the fact that the UDB played an important role in these elections and thus in the victory of the left, since it participated in the Union of the Left slates in ten Breton cities of over 30,000 inhabitants (to say nothing of many rural townships of lesser importance). So, it was no accident that the left scored certain upsets. To take the case of Brest, for example: The Union of the Left (including the Democratic Union of Brittany) won with a majority of only thirty-three votes. But five years ago in this same city, the UDB won more than 2,000 votes running alone!

"The important fact about these elections is, of course, that the gains of the left were greater in Brittany than anywhere else in France. But it would be misleading not to recognize the part that the Democratic Union of Brittany has played in this rise of socialist aspirations among Breton workers. The coming months will certainly demonstrate this."

Grall adds a P.S.:

"The one-sided report in *Brud Nevez* might be attributable to the fact that several of its editors belong to the French Communist Party."

This message came with a change of address from a reader in Iran:

"Thank you for the copy of *Intercontinental Press* which you send to our address. Since the time our magazine was suppressed and we are unable to translate some of the radical features of your magazine into Persian, issues of *Intercontinental Press* which reach us are regularly read and discussed by a number of our friends, not less than eight or nine."

"I want first to specify the importance for me of your publication," writes a

subscriber in Haifa, Israel. "All week I'm waiting for 'I.P.' and 'Militant' with a great impatience because these publications are my only information about the international class struggle. Your publications are for me the best means to fight against the isolation and the oppressions of the Israeli society.

"So you must understand my disappointment when 'I.P.' doesn't arrive or arrives with a delay."

In response to a renewal notice, a subscriber of many years in British Columbia wrote us:

"I will get *Intercontinental Press* later. I value it very much and fully intend to sustain the sub, but I feel it a little heavy. I lost my wife, so I will have to read more light stuff till I get my bearing.

"So I just say so long for a while."

"I was torn when renewing my subscription to *Intercontinental Press*," explains W.W. of Edmonton, Canada. "I find your publication the best that I have ever purchased in bringing me up to date on international affairs. You deal squarely with many important issues that are avoided by other publications.

"However, I have encountered serious problems receiving my issues on time. I can go weeks without receiving a single issue; then all of a sudden I receive three (and even four) issues at once. This can be a little unsettling but what is even worse is that I frequently receive issues out of sequence. Having just finished one issue I find it extremely annoying to two days later receive the previous issue. And this seems to obey Murphy's Law; that it, this happens when you are publishing a particularly interesting series of articles.

"Then I realized this probably isn't your fault, and by not subscribing, I am denying myself any issues. I hope my airmail subscription will solve the delivery problems."

D.H. of Garfield Heights, Ohio, sent a note with his change of address:

"Please make this change with all possible speed. If Joe Hansen's recent book review of 'Trotskyism in Latin America' was an indication of the quality of IP in the years ahead, I want to make sure it follows me wherever I go, Postal Service notwithstanding."

The reference is to a review article in two parts (August 29-September 5 issues) that can be obtained by sending \$1.50.

S.M., Northampton, Massachusetts, asked us to rush the issue dated September

12:

"This was a particularly bad issue for the U.S. post office to have devoured since it contains the first section of the Walters-Castro interview. I'm chomping at the bit to read this particular article, but I would like to read it in its entirety—from beginning to end. So please send me a copy of the September 12 issue post haste."

"I just received the 9/12 issue," writes S.C. of Dorchester, Massachusetts. "I am very interested in the Castro-Walters interview (I saw it and also read the *Weekly English Granma* version.) The TV version was obviously edited a great deal. I noticed this when I first saw it; it seemed Barbara always got the last word!

"Also, you might be interested to know, a Cuban friend of mine writes that the interview was shown twice on Cuban TV. He wrote to me: 'I wonder if it had over there the impact it had here. She seemed to be the typical North American mentality and she even asked nonsense questions sometimes. People were very enthusiastic about it [here] and you could hear in any corner serious discussions [about it].'"

The unexpurgated text of the Castro-Walters interview appeared in four parts beginning with the September 12 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. The four issues can be ordered from our business office. The total cost is \$3.

M.S., Berkeley, California, sent a note explaining his delay in renewing:

"My life has not been complete without it. I couldn't afford it now that I'm in private practice. That's the first time I've missed in years!

"(I considered going to Cuba to be able to practice medicine because of the insane medical economics in this country.)

"Send me your paper—FAST!"

"I have read your newspaper for several years," writes J.J. of Providence, Rhode Island, "and consider it to be one of the finest works of socialist journalism to be found anywhere. Keep up the good work!

"So that a friend of mine may be introduced to your newspaper, would you please send a sample copy of IP (as an ad in the *Militant* said you might do)."

A sample copy of *Intercontinental Press* is on its way!

L.P. of San Jose, California, sent a request for a free copy:

"I have been a Socialist all my life; I'm very close to ninety years and worked with my father and Eugene Debs in Indiana—we were neighbors. I haven't given up yet and I believe the time is getting closer now for the United Workers over the WORLD—some will see the finishing and the building for the WORKERS OF THE WORLD." □