failure must entail wide and serious repercussions, including the denigration of the United States as a consistent foe of "subversion" and a trustworthy ally and protector. In Vietnam, this little clump of notions was endowed with a geometric, almost Newtonian, precision—the domino theory. Now, however, it assumes the cloudlike form of "managing Soviet expansion within a stable global framework," or some such phrase. Whatever the terminology, the real problem lies in the loose connection made between U.S. interventions and U.S. security. In fact, since physical and territorial security are not the issues, the very meaning of "national security" must be rearticulated through public debate. It is no longer self-evident or compelling. Its meaning has been drained by the long and costly experience of Vietnam, by the Sino-Soviet split, by détente and by overuse. Most significantly, its decline as a convincing public rationale denies policy makers the latitude required to conduct a global policy of direct military intervention.

The administration's basic response, demonstrated most recently in Angola and Chile, has been to conduct a secret foreign policy. Public discussion of important foreign policy decisions has been suppressed precisely because deep divisions were likely to prevent decisive action. Now even that approach is failing. Dissident bureaucrats, Congressmen and committee staff have proved unwilling to conform to a code of secrecy when their own strong preferences, and moral values, are overridden. A primary result is the unprecedented and pervasive leaking of classified material.

Neither the administration nor the Congress has been willing to confront these issues. In the aftermath of Vietnam, Chile and now Angola, there has still not been a fundamental debate over the ends, means and costs of American interventions. Only more of the same.

Gypsies: Blacks of East Europe

GRATTAN PUXON

Skopje, Yugoslavia

Gypsies are the blacks of Eastern Europe. Or rather, I should say we are where "niggers" were before the decade of civil rights and Black Power agitation. Thirty years of socialism have done nothing to alter the relative position of cigani, socially or economically. They are still at the bottom, in fact often beyond the admitted fringes of the so-called classless society. Most inhabit a twilight zone of forgotten ghettos and neglected villages, grossly underprivileged and often underfed.

To be personal for a moment, consider my mother-in-law. In the early stages of the last war, here in Yugoslavia Macedonia, she worked as a child char for a Jewish family. When Skopje's Jews were liquidated she joined Tito's partisans. Today her job, which she "shares" with her husband, is in the private sector sweeping stairs at $20 a month. Another 4,000 Gypsy women from our neighborhood do similar chores, bring home a wage that compares with that of blacks in South Africa, have no Social Security and are hired and fired at the will of the white gadje (non-Gypsies).

We have been living, incidentally, eleven of us in a three-room quonset barracks building erected as emergency accommodation by U.S. Army engineers after the Skopje earthquake disaster in 1963; recently my wife and I moved into rented rooms. The barracks have become the slum end of the Romani township of Suto Orizari, a community of 35,000 Roma on the outskirts of the city.

In America this would be labeled a ghetto, and in some ways it is, especially in its psychology. There is a pervasive inferiority complex, the blight of low racial status. Nevertheless, there are important differences and signs of growth. Before the earthquake, Gypsies occupied squalid hovels in the old quarter of Topana, a district which had existed since earliest Turkish times. Suto Orizari is a modern suburb with a sewer system, where 4,000 families, allocated free plots, have built private houses. The town runs its own council and elects a member to the Macedonian Parliament. Like any other place its size, it has schools, a cinema, football club, dance hall, and so on. On May Day the Romani national flag flies alongside those of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party. As a Gypsy community Suto is unique in the world and has been called half jestingly "the Romani state."

It is certainly in advance of the sizable ghettos at Silven, Sumen and elsewhere in neighboring Bulgaria; at Kosovo in Slovenia and those in the Hungarian province of Novgad. Two thousand Gypsy-inhabited hamlets are spread across Eastern Hungary. Half of them have no wells and two-thirds are without electricity. Conditions are similar in East Slovakia, where Gypsies constitute 8 per cent of the population, and in some districts as much as 12 per cent. In addition the capital cities, Sofia, Bucharest, Budapest and Belgrade, each contain more than 50,000 Gypsy citizens. Many live in shanty dwellings and dilapidated buildings. And most are employed, if at all, in the menial tasks of cleaning and garbage collection, as unskilled labor, or as domestic help by the new middle class.

In the region of southeast Europe bordered to the north by Slovakia and to the south by Macedonia, there will be in the next decade close to 5 million Gypsies among a total population of 50 million—approximately the ratio as blacks to whites in the United States. Like blacks in the Southern states before civil rights, Gypsies are oppressed by lack of legal status, by malpractices in the administration, and by common prejudice which amounts at times to race hate. There is no Ku Klux Klan and no law-enforced segregation. But there is, on the other hand, the myth that

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in the Socialist countries racial discrimination is unknown. For Gypsies the contrary is a matter of everyday experience. Meaningful social and political power, a monopoly of the gadje, is unquestionably out of their reach. And the corollary to the myth is that, except in Yugoslavia, it is taboo to question current attitudes, let alone to organize and agitate for reform. Politics is the prerogative of the Communist Parties and they will do little or nothing about an injustice which does not officially exist.

Yet for all its shortcomings, Marxist socialism ultimately offers us a way forward. If we have courage to speak out. I say this because in socialist Eastern Europe minorities that gain nationality status receive automatically specific constitutionally guaranteed rights, and state aid for their realization. These include the formation of national organizations, issue of publications, time on radio and television, and education in the national language. Many minorities already possess and exercise these rights. They have their limitations and the “guarantees” are not beyond party recall. But they would give Roma a starting point from which to tackle the internal and external barriers that are the cause of inequalities.

The Communist Parties at present follow radically different policies toward Gypsies, as toward their respective minorities generally. Only federal Yugoslavia has actually encouraged an emancipation movement among Roma, believing this the soundest way to bring about an equilibrium among its numerous peoples. Bulgaria strains to assimilate Gypsies, along with Pirin Macedonians, Turks and others. Romania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia each recognizes as national minorities those groups that have ethnic ties with neighboring states. These happen to be white European minorities. All five deny nationality status to Gypsies, who are of Indian origin. Numerically, Roma are a larger ethnic group than some of the white minorities, and indeed majority nationalities. Globally, at 8.5 million, Gypsies are equal in number to Bulgarians and vastly exceed Macedonians, Albanians and Slovaks. What, then, is the basis for denial of recognition? It has the hallmark of racism.

Viewed from party headquarters, Gypsies are seen as a mélange of good-for-nothing, work-shy scavengers and part-time music makers; a tribe of untouchables outside the proletarian pecking order. In Czechoslovakia, the Marxist theorist Yaroslav Sus describes their way of life as an undesirable combination of “nomadism, tribalism, animism and blood feuds,” and the Romani language as a jargon unworthy of preservation. The party line states that, even if Gypsies could be regarded as a national minority, any separate recognition would conflict with “the building of a socialist society.” Sus concludes: “Marxism-Leninism links the final solution of the gypsy question with the need to liquidate gypsies as a people.”

It is ironic, yet not without significance, that in Lenin’s day, and through the prewar years in the Soviet Union, Gypsies received status as a nationality and the realization of their rights as such. Through the initiative of the All-Russian Romani Union, headed by Nikolai Pankov, who died in 1959, there came into existence an authentic Romani national movement. City-dwelling Roma in Moscow, Minsk and elsewhere established cooperative workshops based on traditional skills. Twenty-five primary schools, with instruction in the Romani language, were opened. Numerous social clubs and evening classes served the larger communities, while books and journals in Romanes were published on a scale never matched since. In rural areas thousands of Gypsies petitioned for free land, and in many cases formed and ran collective farms. The movement vanished with the coming of Stalin and the war. There remains the Moscow Romani Theatre, but since 1939 only one book—a small collection of poems—has been printed in Romanes.

Today Lenin’s example is ignored and the postwar Socialist countries have, as noted, distorted Marxism to justify repression. Outside Yugoslavia, the Gypsy problem, where it has gained attention at all, has been tackled by heavy-fisted, though piecemeal, attempts at assimilation. Poland, the first to formulate a policy, began in 1952 by offering opportunities for resettlement and schooling. But after 1964 it turned to punitive persuasion. Police pursued and harassed Gypsies for every minor infringement; some of them fled to West Germany and Sweden. Czechoslovakia decreed that no commune should contain more than 5 per cent of Gypsies and attempted to break up the ghettos in East Slovakia. Gypsies were transported to the Czech areas, Moravia and Bohemia. Planners believed that by living in the proximity of civilized Czechs, Gypsies would “improve their ways.” Nomadism was outlawed and the country’s remaining 30,000 traveling Gypsies put off the roads. Wheels were removed from caravans and in several districts their horses were shot. A handful of Gypsies who persisted in the old habits were imprisoned.

Despite the harsh Czech methods, a few thousand of the migrants benefited from better housing and regular employment, as they have in Bulgaria and Hungary. That program broke down because local authorities flatly refused to have further Gypsies dumped on them. But there was a more fundamental flaw: throughout, the Roma had merely been manipulated by social planners, bureaucrats who had little contact with the ghettos and no insight into their deeper problems. Party workers were warned not to fraternize with those Gypsies “who are attempting to make an issue of nationality.” They feared trouble, not from patriarchal headmen who might resist innovation but from younger Roma who, under the influence of Communist ideology, were demanding change. Leaders, like Anton Facuna in Slovakia, were denounced as “bourgeois nationalists” and threatened with prison.

Suddenly came the thaw in Czechoslovakia, and a reversal of policy. The dispersal law was annulled and the question of the constitutional status of Gypsies reviewed. While formal classification as an ethnic group remained unchanged, Roma received privileges similar to those of the recognized national minorities. They were permitted to form their own organizations and publish in their language. Thus began another brief flirtation with Romani nationalism. Enlightened party members saw it as a lever for social change among a deeply conservative people.

In those uncertain weeks before the Russian intervention, I went to Bratislava to meet the spokesmen of the
proposed Slovak Romani Union. Facuna, a municipal architect, and Dr. Jan Cibula, now in exile in Geneva, had got the go-ahead to hold the first Romani national congress in Czechoslovakia. Surprisingly, the intrusion of Russian tanks and Dubcek’s fall made no immediate difference. Separate Romani associations were set up in Slovakia and the Czech areas. Within three years their membership reached 20,000 and together they employed a full-time staff of fifty. Workers’ syndicates and labor brigades were formed to negotiate contracts and piece work, particularly in the construction industry. Across the country 200 Romani musical groups were created and thirty local football clubs. Several Romani journals and papers appeared, including a color magazine, *Romén*.

While they registered laudable successes through these activities, it soon became evident that the unions were uncovering more problems than they could solve. The full plight of *Roma*, the gap between them and the *gadjé* in terms of education, jobs and housing, was now exposed. Simultaneously, expectations rose sharply and Gypsies grew restless over their status and treatment. They wanted, and were ready to press for, swift and radical action. Meanwhile, propelled by a baby boom, the number of Gypsies had rocketed. It passed 350,000 and will reach half a million by 1984.

To meet the rising demands would have cost a lot of money and a modest sharing of power through participation in local government and the admission of *Roma* into the political apparatus. At that point, the party and government balked. It might have been argued, apart from the ideal of common welfare, that it was not in the long-term interest of socialism to leave 8 to 10 per cent of the population (in East Slovakia, for example) underdeveloped and underproductive. The party, however, knew that popular feeling, that is of Czechs and Slovaks, was against spending more on “unworthy Gypsies.” The upper strata preferred to abandon the Gypsies, drawing them only as a pool of cheap labor. Class and race self-interest dictated a stop. Other parties and governments have reached the same barrier. They are clearly in the grip of what Lenin called “Great Nation chauvinism,” the domination and exploitation of the smaller peoples by the majority nationalities within the same state. No doubt some ruling Marxists perceive the evil and believe the Gypsy anomaly will be dealt with—later.

They should understand that it is having appalling consequences within the Romani communities, already alienated by long neglect. All the symptoms of poverty and low status are evident in the Gypsy ghettos: low aspirations, instability within the family, alcoholism and illness. The affliction of inferior racial caste brings with it the pathology of despair and hatred, including self-hatred. One sees social injustice corroding the human personality, robbing it even of hope. Crowning this is the sinister fact that the *gadjé*, inhibited by their disdain and scorn for Gypsies, regard the outcry for a better deal as *revolt*. Yet *Roma* seek only equality and no more than the political rights enjoyed by other national minorities. Theirs is the cry of the have-nots. Moreover, the emerging protest movement, such as it is, represents for *Roma* the single way they can break out of isolation.

Governments habitually postpone or dilute necessary reform as long as a minority remains quiescent. The vocal get attention. In this respect global dispersion can prove an advantage for the Gypsies. The Pan-Romani movement, dating back more than a century, now has outposts in every European country, in the United States, Canada, Australia and India. The lifting of the iron curtain—which for us was locked on both sides—coupled with modern communications, has made it possible for Gypsies to link up internationally. At the same time, the prevalence of national liberation movements and the concept of the Third World have drawn attention to minority struggles and accelerated the pace of political and economic democracy. Gypsies are part of the Third World, albeit half of them are chained within the frontiers of the Socialist countries. We are the back-yard garbage that has been overlooked.

It is a primary objective of the Romani movement to gain nationality status. In Czechoslovakia privileges, but not constitutional rights, were temporarily extended. In Yugoslavia it is argued that, although classified as an ethnic group, *Roma* enjoy the same rights as other nationalities. The term *ethnic group*, however, as Slobodan Berberski, president of the World Romani Congress, has pointed out in the Belgrade press, has no legal standing. As yet there are no Romani language schools, no regular television programs and few Romani publications. Nonetheless, there are some thirty Romani organizations and since 1969 they have spoken with a united voice on major issues. Bulgaria and Romania have not permitted *Roma* to establish national associations. And in 1973 the Czechoslovak Communist Party decided to break up the Romani unions.

Three weeks before the May Day parades in which Gypsies, then mobilized, were preparing to take part in large contingents, an extraordinary plenum session of the Svaz Cikanu-Roma was called in Prague. Party spokesmen tried to bully union leaders into disbanding “voluntarily.” Collectively they refused. The statutes of association, it was stated, required a two-thirds majority of a full Congress to dissolve; legally, the delegates present could not decide the issue. Called upon to approve the resolution to disband, only eight of the twenty-nine committee members raised their hands. However, expelled from the National Front, the Romani organizations had already been rendered “illegal.”

Fortunately, there was one thing that the Czech party, and others for that matter, could not destroy. At the World Romani Congress, held in London in 1971, delegates from seventeen countries, including Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, had formally demanded for the Romani people recognition as a separate nationality, along with a measure of self-determination. Moreover, the congress authorized its permanent secretariat, the Paris-based Comité International Rom (CIR) to pursue these issues in its name.

The congress divided its program among five commissions, which have since made varying degrees of progress. The commission on social questions, meeting in Freiburg, West Germany, in 1972, urged the implementation of the Council of Europe report on the plight of nomadic Gypsies in Western Europe. On evidence from
the CIR, the Strasbourg assembly had been told that 600,000 Gypsies in the member states "often suffer discrimination which does not correspond at all to the ideals underlying the European Convention on Human Rights." They lacked schooling and work opportunities, and were frequently denied even a place to live.

The war crimes commission, concerned with the still outstanding question of compensation for the Gypsy victims of the Nazi period, met last year in Budapest. The occasion was the thirtieth anniversary of the liquidation of the Gypsy camp at Auschwitz. Significantly, despite its official sponsorship, the meeting sprang a surprise on the Communist Party. The 200 Roma present made an open and clamorous demand for the creation of a national Romani organization in Hungary. Two days later, as a compromise, sanction was given to the formation of the Ciganszovetseg, the Gypsy Council. Headed by writer Menyhert Lakatos, it is a non-elected, consultative body; but Lakatos represented a step forward. As late as 1972, he had written: "We have no schools of our own, no newspapers and no organization. We hang onto a belief in our own existence—but perhaps even that is a hallucination."

Gypsies feel particularly bitter about the suppression of their language, especially by the schools. As noted above, in prewar Russia it was used as a teaching medium, and a pedagogical institute was opened to train a cadre of Romani teachers. Today not one Romani school exists in the Socialist countries. Hundreds of thousands of Romani children are handicapped by the obligation to be educated through an alien tongue. It is true that many have a smattering of the language of the gadje, whether Hungarian, Bulgarian or Serbian, picked up outside the ghetto. But according to a UNESCO study, the ban on their own language costs them the equivalent of three years' schooling in the eight years of primary school. This retardation shows up clearly in educational achievement. In Slovakia only one in six Gypsy children completes primary school. Fewer than one in 100 goes to secondary school. In Serbia one in sixty reaches junior high school. Relative to their numbers, there ought to be 20,000 university-trained persons among Roma in Eastern Europe. In fact, it would be hard to find 2,000. In Yugoslavia more Palestinian than Roma students are currently studying in colleges.

The present educational system dumps Gypsies semiliterate among the unskilled and the unemployed, making of them an exploited race. Their low status is thus further reinforced and a breakout from isolation becomes manifestly more difficult.

However, another promising factor is the awakening interest of India in the fate of Roma in Europe. G.S. Dhillon, Speaker of the Indian Parliament, said in June 1974: "The Roma of Europe originally hailed from the Punjab." Prime Minister Gandhi herself has expressed concern. The fact of the Indian origin of Gypsies, known to scholars since the 18th century, may now take on political significance. For the world must recognize that Roma, while possessing their own identity, comprise an historic Indian community. Indeed, in Romans, they have retained their Indian language. Therefore the rationale for refusing Gypsies nationality status on the ground that they are not a national minority is demolished.

There is evident support for the Romani cause in the Indian diplomatic corps. Dr. Gopal Singh, former ambassador to Bulgaria, has become a patron of the Indian Institute of Romani Studies. The current ambassador to Italy, Apa Pant, is patron of the Romani Institute...
in London. The ambassador to Yugoslavia, P.N. Menon, has paid a visit to Suto Orizari, where he was told that the red Ashok Chakra on the Romani flag symbolized a desire for renewed ties with the motherland. An International Roma Festival has just taken place at Chandigarh, Punjab. Although primarily a cultural event, Roma marked the occasion by reaffirming, on the territory of their ancient homeland, their demand for recognition.

COMPANY TOWNS, COMPANY COUNTIES

Absentee Lords of the New South

MARK PINSKY

Aurora, N.C., population 671, is a lot like Mayberry, the fictional setting for TV's Andy Griffith Show, except smaller. Main street runs for two blocks through the downtown section, whereupon the paving ends. There is one bank, one food market and one policeman. In Aurora, as in Mayberry, the most exciting pastime is "going on down to Raleigh." Yet the real town is not nearly as idyllic as its fictional counterpart. Aurora has no doctor and no dentist. Twenty per cent of its homes have no telephone, and 15 per cent have no indoor plumbing; most of those without plumbing are in the black section of town, where few of the streets are paved.

The thing that distinguishes Aurora from the dozens of dreary, dying crossroads towns that dot eastern North Carolina is that it is sitting on top of one of the world's richest phosphate deposits. Over the past twenty years it has attracted the attention of a Who's Who of mining multinationals, including Kennecott Copper, International Nickel, U.S. Steel, and Texas Gulf Sulphur. Because of this geological accident, Aurora is in the midst of a fierce battle with Texas Gulf. The town believes its only hope for a future lies in forcing the company to come to its aid.

There is more than a little irony in Aurora's sustained struggle to become a modern-day company town, inasmuch as it is already part of a "company county" and of an area that is rapidly becoming dominated by multinationals. Beaufort County, where Aurora is located, covers 530,000 acres. Texas Gulf and two other large mining operations, North Carolina Phosphate Company and the FMC Corporation, own 75,000 of these acres. The Weyerhaeuser Company raises pulpwood on an additional 165,000 acres, meaning that more than 45 per cent of the county's land is in the hands of four corporations, all controlled fromoutside the state. The Weyerhaeuser Company is the largest private landholder in North Carolina, with 700,000 acres, and the second largest employer in the eastern part of the state. In Beaufort County itself, Texas Gulf, with 1,200 employees, dominates the job market.

Although the ownership mix varies from county to county, the effect is the same in all of them. In Tyrell County more than half the county's 254,000 acres are owned by Weyerhaeuser and the huge First Colony Farms, the mortgage on which is held by the John Hancock Insurance Company. First Colony, with 382,000 acres, spills into three other "east Carolina" counties, including Dare, where it owns 75 per cent of the 247,000 acres. (Most of Dare's remaining land is in the Cape Hatteras National Seashore.)

At this point one in every 5 acres of land in the forty-four counties of east Carolina—3.5 million acres in all—is in the hands of these large landowners. Given the trends in land acquisition and industrial development, it is reasonable to predict that by the year 2000 the area will be controlled by four corporate farms, three mining companies, two timber companies and the federal government (parks and military installations).

In many ways east Carolina is like an underdeveloped nation of the Third World—rich, fertile farmland held in large tracts, valuable mineral deposits, sparse population, few towns, a relatively low standard of living, and a severe shortage of medical and social services. It is not surprising, then, to see emerging here classic patterns of colonial exploitation, mainly by government, multinationals and the military (there are 100,000 active duty personnel based in the area and half a dozen practice bombing runs, artillery ranges and amphibious landing zones). Perhaps the principal difference between east Carolina and the Third World countries is that in the former there is no danger of nationalization or expropriation.

Consider the case of Hyde County, N.C., across the Pamlico River from Aurora. Half of the land is now owned by First Colony Farms, Weyerhaeuser, American Cyanamid and John Hancock, which together operate a 35,000-acre farm called Matamuskeet. The population of the county is less than 10,000—smaller than it was in 1870—and the county budget is less than $1 million. Not even the county seat is an incorporated town; there is one doctor and no dentist. Forty per cent of the residents have no car and no telephone; 37 per cent are without plumbing. The median education is ninth grade, and 29 per cent of the residents have an income of less than $3,000 per year.

More than 40 per cent of Hyde County's population is black; most of these blacks are subsistence farmers, and the black exodus is pronounced, as it is throughout eastern North Carolina. The blacks are steadily losing their land, and not only in North Carolina. Prof. Lester Salamon of Duke University writes in a recent study financed by the federal government that "if this rate were to continue, there would be no black-owned land in these fourteen [Southeastern] states by the year 2000."

The large landholders of Hyde and the other company

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