

# Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

Vol. 12, No. 8

© 1974 Intercontinental Press

March 4, 1974

50c



## **Yevtushenko's Defense of Solzhenitsyn**

## **Left Peronists Squeezed By 'Dogmatic Stage' and 'Assassination Attempt'**

## Protest Police Attacks on Dalit Panthers

The police of Bombay city have been carrying out a campaign of harassment and terror against the Dalit Panthers, an organization of former untouchables who have rejected the caste system of Hinduism. They claim about 10,000 members in Bombay.

On January 5 the Bombay police attacked a meeting called by the Dalit Panthers, beating them and other untouchables, and arresting nineteen, including Raja Dhale, a Panthers leader. Over that weekend, the police and others attacked the untouchable district near the site of the January 5 meeting. By the evening of January 7 about 200 untouchables had been injured and more than 100 arrested.

On January 10 the Panthers organized a march to protest the police attacks. Again they were stoned by bystanders and then charged by club-swinging police. Another 100 were arrested, including the four most important leaders. Forty others were injured, and one Panther, Bhagwat Jadhav, was killed.

On the same day, Raja Dhale was released on bail, but immediately re-arrested. The Bombay Association for the Defense of Democratic Rights issued a statement calling on the state government to take action against the police responsible for the attacks and calling for the withdrawal of all charges against those arrested and for their release, and for the recognition of the Panthers' right to function freely.

But because of the Panthers' denunciations of the caste system, peasant landlessness, and the ruling Congress party, little can be expected from the state and federal governments except more harassment. As the statement in defense of the Panthers noted: "The events of the last week show that the Government has sympathy and solicitousness for the Scheduled Castes [untouchables] only so long as they meekly accept their exploited status; once they begin to organize themselves to fight exploitation, the full force of the Government's repressive powers are turned against them." □

## In This Issue

|               |     |  |
|---------------|-----|--|
| INDIA         | 226 | Protest Police Attacks on Dalit Panthers   |
| ARGENTINA     | 227 | Peron Opens "Dogmatic Stage of Revolution"<br>—by Gerry Foley  |
| CHILE         | 231 | Swedish Ambassador to Speak on Coup  |
| ENERGY CRISIS | 232 | Washington Orders "Allies" Back Into Line<br>—by Ernest Harsch   |
| SPAIN         | 233 | Confirm Death Penalty for Salvador Puig  |
|               | 245 | Prisoners on Hunger Strikes  |
| NEW ZEALAND   | 234 | "One Nation" Based on Oppression   |
| CANADA        | 234 | Revolutionist Defeats Witch-Hunt in NDP  |
| THAILAND      | 235 | Official Says Peking Disowns Rebels  |
| PHILIPPINES   | 236 | Government Attack Destroyed City<br>—by Fazlur Karim and Jim Stentzel  |
| BANGLADESH    | 237 | Rahman Gets New Laws Against Opposition  |
| JAPAN         | 238 | Unionists Protest Soaring Inflation  |
| MALAYSIA      | 238 | Protest Abuse of Prisoners   |
| IRAN          | 239 | Shah's Firing Squads Claim Eight Victims<br>—by Majid Namvar   |
| SOVIET UNION  | 240 | Yevtushenko Defends Solzhenitsyn Against<br>Slanders—by Candida Barberena  |
| U.S.A.        | 242 | Election Upset Shows Depth of Watergate<br>Effects—by Allen Myers  |
|               | 245 | FBI Informer Linked to Hampton Killing   |
| BRITAIN       | 246 | The Stakes in the Miners' Strike<br>—by Patricia Fryd  |
| DOCUMENTS     | 249 | Grigorenko's Appeal to 1968 CP Meeting   |
| DRAWINGS      | 225 | Yevgeny Yevtushenko; 232, Henry Kissinger;<br>235, Chou En-lai; 240, Yevgeny Yevtushenko;<br>250, Leonid Brezhnev; 253, Andrei Sinyavsky;<br>255, Pavel Litvinov—by Copain |

Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

EDITOR: Joseph Hansen.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

COPY EDITOR: Lawrence Rand.

EDITORIAL STAFF: Candida Barberena, Gerry Foley, Ernest Harsch, Allen Myers, Jon Rothschild, George Saunders.

BUSINESS MANAGER: Reba Hansen.

ASSISTANT BUSINESS MANAGER: Steven Warshell.

TECHNICAL STAFF: H. Massey, James M. Morgan, Ruth Schein.

Published in New York each Monday except last in December and first in January; not published in August.

Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material expresses the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism.

PARIS OFFICE: Pierre Frank, 10 Impasse Guemenee, 75004, Paris, France.

TO SUBSCRIBE: For one year send \$15 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail. Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Because of the continuing deterioration of the U.S. postal system, please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Copyright © 1974 by Intercontinental Press.

## Peron Opens 'Dogmatic Stage of Revolution'

By Gerry Foley

"While the raid was being carried out at the house on Republiquetas and Amenábar, other policemen were following Caride. The extremist went into a furniture store on Núñez and Cabildo, where he stayed for a few minutes and then left carrying a portfolio.

"The police followed him for a few yards and after surrounding him, they arrested him. In the portfolio, according to police reports, Caride was carrying a hand grenade and a .38 caliber revolver. When he was arrested, he was heading for the corner of Núñez and Libertador, where shortly afterward the cars carrying presidents Perón and Bordaberry would pass by."

This report in the February 13 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Nación* went on to describe the capture of about thirty alleged guerrillas from the FAP [Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas—Peronist Armed Forces], the FAL [Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación—Liberation Armed Forces], and the Tupamaros. They were allegedly involved in a plot to carry out a series of terrorist operations, one of which was to be the assassination of Bordaberry and Perón.

The liberal daily *La Opinión* ran a front-page editorial in its February 14 issue suggesting that the remnants of various guerrilla groups had united in a plot to throw the country into chaos:

"International news agencies have disseminated a report—which was picked up here by an evening paper and run at length—claiming that a Junta de Coordinación Revolucionaria [Revolutionary Coordinating Committee] has been formed here in Buenos Aires, comprising the Argentine ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—People's Revolutionary Army], the Bolivian ELN [Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army], the Uruguayan Tupamaros, and the Chilean MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario—Movement of the Revolutionary Left]. This junta is supposed to have issued a statement

that 'there is no viable strategy in Latin America but the strategy of revolutionary war.' . . .

"This is all happening at a time when the Federal Police report the capture of persons suspected of involvement in a plot to assassinate President Perón as he was greeting his Uruguayan colleague, Juan María Bordaberry. According to the police communiqué, these persons also planned to eliminate the vice-president of our country and one of the cabinet ministers."

The continuing wave of violence by the guerrilla organizations and the instability they had created in the country was so serious, the editorial suggested, that the benefactor president himself might feel compelled to resign and abandon his work of "national reconstruction."

"Why should President Perón have to relinquish his post? Why should the country be deliberately robbed of the most brilliant opportunity in its history to salvage its national destiny, to regain lost time, and to consolidate its unity?

"If Argentina's image has changed internationally, how can it be marred now by being presented as a new focus of continental guerrilla warfare, as the refuge of violent organizations that have lost the battle in their own countries and are now coming together again in the country where the government has the purest intentions and the attitude of the people stands as a guarantee of the political process and of pacification?

"If Perón embodies all the virtues of the people who elected him, as well as their aspirations, how is it conceivable that groups are coming together to liquidate him physically and thus set Argentina on the slide to chaos?"

This editorial seemed to be in line with adopting the role of a more liberal or left voice of Perón's witch-hunt. For example, when the caudillo, following the January 19-20 raid by the ERP on the Azul tank base, launched the notion of an international ter-

rorist plot organized by the Fourth International in Paris and headed up by Juan Posadas, the well-informed daily did not comment on the obvious absurdity of this claim, as even the conservative news weekly *Panorama* did. On the other hand, it was about this time that *La Opinión* ran an article by its former Chilean correspondent, Ted Córdova Claure (who blamed the "ultraleft" for Allende's fall), in which he tried to prove that Trotskyism was the source of the "adventurism" that has plagued the Latin American left in the past two decades.

At the time of the Azul raid, Perón and his representatives stressed that the left danger came only from the Trotskyists, from "unorthodox Marxism." The "orthodox Marxists," that is, the Communist party, it was stressed, were with Perón. The Peronist guerrilla organizations, which have now fused under the name "Montoneros" [Irregulars, or Rough Riders] also condemned the Azul raid as "ultraleft," meaning that it went against the orders of General Perón. In the present "plot" case, however, the reports seem designed to implicate the left Peronists and the Communist party.

The Commissioner of the Federal Police, Magaride, an ex-official of the military dictatorship known for his suppression of the strike at the Lisandro de la Torre packing house, did say that although Caride "had been a militant of the Peronist resistance, he is now strictly a Trotskyite." However, the newspaper reports identified him with the FAR, which is allegedly continuing certain types of guerrilla operations, such as the kidnapping of the fishing industry executive Ventura, an unpopular action that was protested by a large number of workers in the industry.

In particular, the newspaper reports stressed that Caride had been an official of the Buenos Aires province tourist board until "a few weeks ago," the implication being that he was one of the terrorists coddled by left Peronist Governor Bidegain, who was driven out of office by Perón in the offensive following the Azul raid. Guerrillas were allegedly found living in state tourist cottages, along with Caride's "concubine," Susana Burgos, and her parents. Burgos's father, it was stressed, had been a leader in the Communist party (in 1951!) and the police claimed that they found official mail sacks,



presumably left over from a robbery, as well as weapons, in his cottage.

The claim that Caride intended to assassinate Perón seemed to fit perfectly into the line of the witch-hunt the caudillo launched after Azul when he said that Peronists had not just to shout "long live Perón" to defend him. An attack on the life of the "commander" himself would be the ideal pretext for rallying the maximum support for driving the left out of the Peronist movement. But despite this opportunity, it appears that not very much has been made of the alleged plot so far, although in his February 14 speech to the youth Perón did escalate his attack on the left and mention the Communist party specifically.

Perhaps the evidence was too flimsy and the circumstances of the alleged assassination attempt too embarrassing. It seems likely that if any action was planned for February 12, it was aimed against the Uruguayan military dictator, Bordaberry. Coming in the wake of a harsh crackdown and in the midst of new attacks on what remains of the independent press in Argentina's traditionally liberal neighbor, the visit of the Uruguayan "gorilla" could be expected to provoke the far left and especially the refugees from the draconian repression across the Río Plata.

Special ads by Peronist organizations hailing Bordaberry and showing him shaking hands with Perón undoubtedly increased the scandal of the old demagogue's courting the iron-fisted dictatorship in Uruguay. But while an attack on Bordaberry might have been popular among the left Peronists, it is hard to believe, despite the rapid disillusionment with the "people's general," that the Peronist and nationalist guerrillas associated with the "plot" could have contemplated assassinating Perón himself.

The vagueness of such claims seemed to testify to the incredibility of the Peronist guerrillas planning to "liquidate" the "supreme commander of the Argentine nation." Most of the concrete allegations concerned plans for disrupting the centennial celebrations in Mar del Plata, the capital of Buenos Aires province.

"This plan, according to the police report, called for blowing up oil tanks belonging to the YPF [Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales—State Oil Board] in the harbor of Mar del Plata; kid-

napping an industrialist; and attacks on the vice-president, Señora María Estela Martínez de Perón and the minister of social welfare, Señor José López Rega." (*La Prensa*, February 14.)

These operations would seem to fit into the context of the internecine battle that has been going on in the Peronist movement since the Ezeiza massacre on June 20, when right-wing Peronist goons opened fire on the left-wing contingents that had assembled to welcome back "el líder." The ousting of Perón's delegate, Héctor Cámpora, from the presidency and the nomination of María Estela as vice-president marked the beginning of the caudillo's purge of the left. Both his wife and López Rega are considered leaders of the right wing. Furthermore, María Estela de Perón is due to become acting president during her husband's upcoming foreign trip, and this could provide an opportunity to escalate the purge. Perón's absence would enable him to avoid responsibility and maintain some ties with the left, and the Peronist right would have a free hand to decapitate the militant wing.

The "plot" against Perón came precisely at a time of unprecedented polarization in the Peronist movement, at a time when the left—driven to desperation by rightist gang attacks, mysterious murders of its leaders and activists, the creeping purge in the government, and the return of the old repressive apparatus—defied "el líder" for the first time.

On January 31 the leaders of the main left Peronist organizations refused to turn up for a chat with the president at his country mansion of Olivos.

In its February 1 issue, *La Opinión's* main headline was: "The Self-Exclusion of the 'Revolutionary Tendency' Marks a Breaking Point in the Peronist Movement." The liberal journal could only lament this "hasty" move on the part of the Peronist militants.

"It is obvious that the 'Tendency' went too far, demanding the impossible (or the improper) from Perón, calling on him to separate the sheep from the goats in the Movement, which, moreover, would mean reducing the breadth of his appeal to all Argentines to aid in bringing about harmony and reconstruction. It is difficult to explain the reason for such self-isolation.

"It is difficult to explain in times like the present, when sectors hostile to the 'Tendency' are attacking it phys-

ically and verbally and when negotiation seems a more advisable method than burning your bridges. After the incident yesterday the bridges have been burned and negotiations disrupted, perhaps for good."

On February 1, one of the most prominent left Peronist leaders, Mario Firmenich, representative of the Montoneros, held a news conference to explain that the boycott of the Olivos meeting did not mean a break with Perón but was only an unavoidable protest.

"We wanted to guarantee the success of such a meeting, not just that one should be held. We could not accept the presence of groups that were not representative or were directly provocative, the perpetrators of attacks against us, against our local units, against our headquarters. We made a just and sensible proposal. Just, because we wanted all genuinely representative groups to be there. Sensible, because we did not exclude the Juventud Peronista de la República Argentina, which we consider unrepresentative but which is in the Consejo Superior del Movimiento Nacional Justicialista.

"Our presence was a problem of dignity and renunciation. For years, we raised two slogans: 'Let Perón Return,' and 'Perón or Death.' Many of us died so that Perón could return to the presidency of the country. And, following the lessons we learned from Evita, 'we renounce honors but not struggle.' We have resigned posts in the government and in the [Justicialist] Movement but we will not abandon our posts in the struggle."

(Eight Peronist deputies supporting the Tendencia Revolucionaria resigned their seats rather than vote for the "reform" of the penal code restoring the repressive laws of the military dictatorship.)

In the face of the redoubled offense Perón launched against the left in his January 20 speech following the Azul raid, the Tendencia Revolucionaria had either to make some protest or surrender unconditionally.

In the first place, its militants and leaders were hit with a new wave of rightist terrorist attacks, promoted by their fellow Peronists. A statement by the Peronismo de Base on February 1 totaled up the losses of the left Peronists since their "supreme commander's" return:



"As in the eighteen years of struggle before this, we workers are still seeing our unarmed activists murdered with impunity. Ezeiza was one example. Every day goons and parallel police groups are becoming more active, without anyone stopping them. This is how Fredes, Deleroni, Arana, Avial, Aquino, Grinberg, Razetti, Colombo, Contino, and Roldán fell. And there have been enough other workers and popular militants to fill out a list longer than the one under the military dictatorship."

Secondly, Perón was promoting "moderate" youth groups to replace the leftist Juventud Peronista [JP—Peronist Youth]; and, under the pressure of the national Peronist movement, local JP groups were breaking with their leadership. "Responsible" youth leaders, such as the ex-Montonero Carlos Maguid and Héctor Spina of the Asamblea de Unidades Básicas, Agrupaciones y Militantes de la Juventud Peronista [Assembly of Rank-and-File Units, Groups, and Militants of the Peronist Youth] were prominent in the January 31 meeting.

Spina explained the role of the new group in the February 7 issue of the weekly magazine *Panorama*:

"For eighteen years Perón was the tactical and strategic commander of the struggle against the dictatorship. But the conditions of this struggle led to the growth of perspectives that, if not contradictory to those of the general, were at least different. This happened both among the militants and in the so-called special formations [guerrilla organizations], and they are having a hard time reorienting themselves today.

"The armed forces are no longer our enemies, and political action must predominate over military action. Anything else would mean opposing Perón's own plans, and that would be an insuperable contradiction. But I am an optimist, and I know that errors can be overcome. In any case, to make our position clear, we do not think that there can be any other plans than Perón's."

When asked how the antagonistic currents in the Peronist movement could be reconciled, Spina replied:

"Eighteen years of struggle have created artificial divisions and a conflict that must be overcome today with maturity and honesty. We have reached the dogmatic stage, where we

must reread General Perón and draw positive conclusions that will make it possible to institutionalize and organize the youth."

What was meant by a "dogmatic stage" was explained in detail by General Perón in his February 14 speech to the youth:

"All revolutions without exception, as I have said many times, pass through four stages. The first is the development of the doctrine and ideological preparation. The second is the taking of power. . . .

"The third stage, which I will call the dogmatic stage, is ideological re-



PERON

affirmation and implementing the doctrine. The fourth and final stage of the revolution is its consolidation through an organization that can give permanency to this revolution, which doesn't need to be permanent in the sense of Trotskyist theory. . . .

"Revolutions are stages of transformation, but they cannot be permanent.

"We can see this in the examples of history. In the French Revolution, the doctrinal stage was represented by the Encyclopedists and their work. The taking of power was the 14 Brumaire [Napoleon's coup d'état]. The dogmatic stage was the empire and the institutional stage, the first [third?] republic.

"If you want to look at it from the other point of view, you can see that the doctrinal stage was represented by Lenin, Marx, and Engels, and all those who worked to prepare the way for the revolution of 1917, the taking of power.

"The dogmatic stage was represented

by Stalin, the institutional stage by Khrushchev and the new organizations that the system is establishing today.

"Today we must impose our dogma; that is why we call this the dogmatic stage. . . . We are going through what happens to all revolutions. We have been fighting for a slogan, the slogan of social justice, which involves everything that we have been doing for thirty years.

"We have taken power; the masses are conscious of what is being achieved. But what is happening? The leaders are beginning to have their own preferences inside and outside the dogma, and they are fighting for these instead of the ideology and the doctrine that provided the *raison d'être* of the revolutionary movement.

"This is nothing new. Don't forget the Chinese Cultural Revolution. The process we are going through is fundamentally similar. The deviationism that occurred in the first ten years, in the dogmatic stage, after the seizure of power, led to the Cultural Revolution and the purge that was carried out in China so that they could take the road that would lead them to the true revolution to which they aspired. The same occurred in the French Revolution, which had a stage that lasted five years. They settled it with the guillotine."

Perón is not the first nationalist or populist demagogue to find the mystifications of Stalinism useful for a Bonapartist operation. These irrationalist and romantic formulas were developed specially to hide the contradictions of a parasitic caste ruling in the name of a proletarian revolution, of a counterrevolutionary stratum that could not tolerate the least questioning of its position and role. They have also served other groupings that, while ruling in the name of revolution, have unavowable conservative ends.

For example, the Algerian bourgeoisie that seized the state as a means for building up a native bourgeois society chose as its political instrument a "monolithic revolutionary party" modeled on the Russian Stalinist CP.

Why precisely a "dogmatic stage" was needed appeared quite clearly in Perón's February 7 attack on the JP. The Peronist organization, he said, had to be "for national reconstruc-

tion first and national liberation second. We do not want to liberate ruins. We want to liberate a nation. We do not want to liberate bodies; we want to liberate human beings that can work and develop. At this time we cannot yet speak of liberation. Liberation of what, if everything we have is mortgaged?

"A country that has \$7,500 million in foreign debts and \$3,000 million in domestic debt, don't you think that that is a mortgaged country?"

Since in the entire modern period no dependent capitalism has ever been able to "free itself" of its debt to the imperialist centers, Perón's statement ruled out both revolution and liberation.

So, the revolutionary-minded Peronists who maintained the movement during the years of proimperialist repression and military dictatorship had to be put under firm rein. "We have always had the greatest broadness in our movement. But this broadness has its limits. That is, we do not want to lay down any blueprint so that everybody will have to follow strictly what we say. But we cannot allow anyone to use the pretext of broadness to put forward ideologies and doctrines in our movement that are totally foreign and antagonistic to our way of thinking and judgment."

Perón repeated the theme that he has stressed since January 20: "No one is obliged to stay in the Peronist movement. . . . If I were a Communist, I would join the Communist party."

To justify his purge, Perón cited specifically the need for "pacification," for restoring "peace" after years of violence under the proimperialist regimes and the military dictatorship: "We have the heroes and martyrs that are needed in this kind of struggle. But that was in the bitter struggle that has now passed. For what are we going to go on killing each other? Why should we keep on saying that we are brave?"

The core of the speech, which was made shortly after the Peronist parliamentary bloc accepted the resignation of eight deputies who refused to vote for the new penal code, was that a purge was necessary to eliminate the elements promoting terrorism:

"What we have to do is come to an understanding. Otherwise, really aberrant things will happen, like a group

of Peronists opposing the punishment of terrorism. Are they in the ranks of the terrorists? Peronists do not join with terrorists; they are against terrorism because they are the governing party, the governing movement.

"How can you reconcile the one with the other? How can you be in the government and refuse to give the government the means it needs to defend itself? Do they want the government to fall?"

This was pure demagoguery. The left Peronists opposed the new penal code because they saw it restoring the repressive laws of the military dictatorship, laws that would not be needed if the government fulfilled its commitments to the people.

But the Peronist guerrilla organizations did declare their determination to remain armed and ready as a guarantee that the "revolution" would be carried through to a conclusion and not be overthrown or diverted by the right. And it appears that some Peronist organizations have continued military actions against the right and the exploiters, such as the Ventura kidnapping. An important component of the Peronist left opted for maintaining a small armed apparatus as the symbol and expression of their revolutionary perspective.

They differentiated themselves from Perón and the right-wing Peronist leadership not on the basis of a political program but on the basis of a military program. So, they are particularly vulnerable to the demagoguery of their venerated "supreme commander," who now promises a new era of peace that he claims requires eliminating them.

There was no mistaking the bitterness of the Peronist left's response to "el líder's" February 7 speech. *El Descamisado* wrote: "The traitors are the ones who do not identify with the people. They are the ones who sat and waited—while others fought—for the return of Perón so that they could exploit the victory. Now with this talk about pacification, it seems that those who fought are infiltrators, they are no longer any good for anything. Today is the time for the careerists; the fighters have become dangerous."

But there was already sufficient cause for bitterness in late January, if not before, and then, after a show of protest, the left Peronist leaders ended up making new concessions to prove their loyalty to their "supreme

commander."

"They went to the brink of a split by refusing to attend the Olivos meeting," Ricardo Cámara wrote in the February 7 *Panorama*. "But after that they began to retreat quietly on some questions. Fundamentally, they admitted that their enemies in the 'trade-union bureaucracy' formed part of the real Peronist movement, and that representatives of the bureaucracy could be included so as not to weaken the 'national liberation front.' From this premise, they proposed striving for 'unity,' that is, they sketched their own version of the new equilibrium."

Cámara coined the term "the new equilibrium" to describe the fact that although Perón has launched harsh attacks on the left, every offensive seems to stop short of a showdown. The caudillo's position is in fact a difficult one. He was brought back to use his prestige—won by the reforms of his first administration and by the fact that he was ousted by a rightist military coup—to bring the struggles of the workers and youth under control by political means. Thus he has to retain his progressive image as long as possible. On the other hand, he has to keep a strict rein on militant elements to prevent struggles that would undermine the class peace on which his position depends.

Moreover, this time Perón no longer represents a rising section of the bourgeoisie and has to try to represent the ruling class as a whole. He cannot resolve any conflicts but can only try to maintain the status quo by balancing. Even the right wing of his movement is divided by conflicts that he dares not try to resolve decisively.

But the persistence of a large amount of terrorist activity in the country has enabled Perón at every stage to escalate his war on the left with a defensive cover. It is not yet clear how Perón intends to move after the alleged attempt to assassinate him. But in the aftermath of the incident, Firmench disappeared, amid fears that he had been kidnapped by the official or unofficial repressive forces. Obviously the combination of a terrorist climate with increasing desperation of the Peronist left, unable to stop the right from picking off their supporters one by one, provides ideal conditions for Perón to bring the militants in his movement to heel with the minimum risk to his unstable bloc. □



## Swedish Ambassador to Speak on Chile

In a February 16 press release the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) announced a U.S. speaking tour by former Swedish Ambassador to Chile Harald Edelstam. The USLA-sponsored tour will be from March 5 to April 30. Ambassador Edelstam will speak on the events surrounding the September 11, 1973, military coup d'état in Chile, his expulsion from that country by the junta on December 4, and the continuing repression of the Chilean people.

Following the coup in Chile, Edelstam became internationally known for his courageous efforts to secure asylum for hundreds of refugees fleeing the military terror. (Within the United States, USLA has campaigned for the right of these refugees to enter the United States, but Washington has so far refused to admit more than a handful—although counterrevolutionary Cubans continue to be admitted freely.)

Edelstam's expulsion from Chile was a direct result of his outstanding defense of Chilean leftists and supporters of the Unidad Popular government, as well as foreign political exiles escaping Augusto Pinochet's xenophobic hysteria. In the case of those exiles who had sought refuge from persecution in their own country under the Allende government, Edelstam played an exemplary role in preventing the Chilean junta from casting them out as prey to the Brazilian, Bolivian, and Uruguayan dictatorships. In expelling Edelstam from Chile, the military junta charged that he had exceeded his powers as an ambassador.

USLA's February 16 press release described Edelstam's activity before his expulsion:

"After the coup, members of the Cuban mission were expelled. The Swedish Embassy then took responsibility for protecting the Cuban Embassy. Referring to Ambassador Edelstam's role, the *New York Times* reported November 26, 1973, 'He was credited with single-handedly preventing troops from storming the Cuban Embassy and with providing protection for

about 20 Chileans, Brazilians, and other political refugees who had sought asylum there.' When a military cordon was thrown up around the Embassy, Edelstam took to sleeping nights there to ward off any attack."

"Edelstam received international publicity for his dramatic attempt to save the life of Mirtha Fernandez Pucurull (also known as Consuelo Alonso Ferreira), the 31-year-old widow of a slain Tupamaro leader," continued the USLA statement. "Fernandez was under the protection of the Swedish Embassy. When she began to hemorrhage as a result of the cancer she suffers, Edelstam requested and received permission from the junta to take her to a clinic in Eastern Santiago. He escorted her there. After her operation a group of armed police and soldiers broke into the clinic and attempted to take the semi-conscious Fernandez into custody. When Edelstam protested this breach of safe-conduct, he was beaten and karate-chopped by them. The French Ambassador Pierre de Menthon, a West German diplomat, and four of Edelstam's aides were also attacked. The soldiers were only stopped by a colonel who was alarmed by this gross breach of diplomatic immunity. As a result of international protests, Fernandez was released and allowed to fly to Stockholm, where she was reportedly rushed to a hospital in grave condition."

It was the Fernandez incident that precipitated Edelstam's expulsion.

Edelstam was also instrumental in preserving the life of, and acquiring safe-conduct for the internationally known Peruvian peasant organizer and Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco. USLA played a key role in preventing Blanco's execution by the Peruvian government and again in winning his freedom after he had completed nearly eight years of a 25-year prison sentence.

In the September 24 issue of the Stockholm daily *Expressen*, Ulf Nilsson commented on Edelstam's role in rescuing Blanco:

"Blanco's rescue was entirely the work of Harald Edelstam, who is now repeating the kind of rescue operation he carried out in World War II Norway, where he was known as 'The Black Carnation' for his completely undiplomatic exploits as an agent."

"Today Ambassador Edelstam intervened personally. By means of a technique I am not permitted to disclose, he was able to get Blanco to the Mexican Embassy in Santiago. Mexico and Chile have a treaty that says Santiago cannot deny Latin Americans who take refuge in the Mexican Embassy safe-conduct out of the country. Edelstam bid adieu to his good friend, who is on his way to Stockholm."

Edelstam was born March 17, 1913. In 1939 he began his diplomatic career as an attaché in the Foreign Ministry in Stockholm. Assigned to Rome in late 1939, he returned in 1940 to Stockholm, where he remained until 1941, when he was sent to Berlin. In 1942 he was sent to Oslo, Norway; he was there during the Nazi occupation, when Sweden maintained only consular relations. Under the occupation he helped Norwegian freedom fighters escape to Sweden, for which the Nazis expelled him in 1944.

From 1944 to 1949 Edelstam served as the second secretary in the Stockholm Foreign Ministry. He was then assigned as first secretary in the embassy at the Hague. In 1952 Edelstam was transferred to Warsaw, where he was also first secretary. When he returned to the Foreign Ministry in Stockholm in 1953, he was assigned to head the Polish Desk. In 1956 Edelstam returned to Warsaw, where he was Swedish Chargé d'Affairs until 1958. That year he was sent to Vienna as Counselor.

Edelstam's diplomatic experience extends to the Middle East and Indonesia. In 1962 he began a four-year appointment as consul general in Istanbul. Then in 1965 he became Swedish ambassador to Djakarta.

Prior to Edelstam's appointment to Chile in 1972 he had served as ambassador to Guatemala since 1969.

Inquiries concerning speaking arrangements for the Edelstam tour should be addressed to USLA, 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 703, New York, N.Y. 10010. Telephone calls can be placed to (212) 691-2880. □



## Washington Orders 'Allies' Back Into Line

By Ernest Harsch

An editorial in the *New York Times* on February 11, the same day that the international energy conference opened in Washington, frankly laid out the reasons why U.S. capitalism has been able to get its way with its imperialist allies:

"There has been a sudden reversal of perception on both sides of the Atlantic and Pacific. Instead of a weakened America in competition with new economic giants in West Europe and Japan, the inherent strength of the American economy and the extreme vulnerability of America's allies has emerged again. Instead of complaints about the 'overhang' of America's dollar debt abroad, suddenly dollars are everywhere in such demand at rising rates that there is talk of a developing 'dollar gap' similar to that of the pre-Marshall Plan era."

The fact that the conference—attended by representatives from the United States, Canada, Norway, Japan, and the nine members of the Common Market—was held in Washington merely underlined this greater strength of U. S. capitalism, and particularly its greater control of international oil supplies.

Holding the conference constituted a declaration that Washington would not permit the Arab oil embargo to undermine its political and economic superiority in the imperialist camp. The Arab regimes had no difficulty understanding the message. An editorial in the February 13 *New York Times* noted the reaction of the Arab-Persian Gulf states to the conference: "On the side of the Arab oil-producing states, the conference was considered an American ploy to put together a consumers' cabal to pressure them into concessions on the price and delivery of oil."

In a February 6 statement Secretary of State Henry Kissinger bluntly laid out Washington's attitude toward the continuation of the oil embargo as a lever in the negotiations for a withdrawal by the Israeli and Syrian armies on the Golan Heights. "To maintain an embargo . . . under these

conditions," he said, "must be construed as a form of blackmail, and it would be highly inappropriate, and cannot but affect the attitude with which we have to pursue our diplomacy."

If part of Washington's approach to the conference was to use it as a warning to the Arab regimes, another part was to reaffirm U. S. imperialism's "leadership" role against Tokyo and the European states. The junior partners will be expected to refrain



KISSINGER: Against blackmail except when practiced by Washington.

from breaking ranks and trying to improve their competitive position by unilateral deals with the oil-exporting states.

The European governments appealed for more freedom of maneuver in a statement adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Common Market on February 5. It stressed that the Common Market "should reserve its total freedom to decide the form it will give to its Community energy policy and to its relations with producer countries." With an eye toward

maintaining "friendly" relations with the Arab-Persian Gulf regimes, the statement also urged that the Washington conference "avoid all confrontation between certain consumer countries on one side and the producer countries on the other."

Despite U. S. displeasure, after the oil embargo and the increase in crude oil prices Tokyo and a number of the European states entered into direct deals with the oil-producing regimes. Just two days before the opening of the Washington conference, Paris and Tehran announced that they had signed a \$5,000 million energy agreement in which France will build as many as five nuclear power plants in Iran and a pipeline to bring natural gas to France. The French and Iranian regimes will also jointly construct a gas liquefaction plant and a fleet of gas tankers.

It is just such deals that Washington has been opposed to. In his opening remarks to the energy conference on February 11, Kissinger said: "We confront a fundamental decision. Will we consume ourselves in nationalistic rivalry which the realities of interdependence make suicidal? Or will we acknowledge our interdependence and shape cooperative solutions?"

Kissinger had also previously warned Tokyo and the European states, in the February 6 statement containing the "blackmail" remarks, that if "every nation follows a policy of beggaring its neighbors," Washington would be in the strongest position to assure oil supplies. U. S. imperialism would also hold the upper hand in any trade war in which the imperialist powers attempted to pay for their higher-priced oil imports by increasing exports at each others' expense.

The other states represented at the conference thus had little choice but to accept their junior partner status with Washington and accede to most of its stated goals for the conference.

One of the points that Kissinger raised in his February 11 opening remarks to the conference, which predictably received no opposition, was that the working classes of the imperialist countries should bear the burden of the economic dislocations caused by the fuel shortages and higher fuel prices. The increased unemployment caused by the energy crisis provides the imperialists a convenient handle to beat back the demands of

the workers. In the typical double-talk of bourgeois politicians, Kissinger euphemistically called this approach the "conservation" of energy.

Another major point that Kissinger stressed involved a "cooperative" effort by Washington, Tokyo, and the European states to explore for and develop alternate sources of energy, and to continue exploration for crude oil in parts of the world other than the Middle East. The "cooperative" efforts outlined by Kissinger would undoubtedly be under the direction of the major multinational oil trusts, which are predominantly U. S.-owned.

In an article in the January 30 *Washington Post*, correspondent Bernard Nossiter described the views of "a high-ranking executive from one of the great companies." At a "private gathering in London" the executive expressed a fear that Nossiter said was shared by the "more sophisticated international oil companies." Nossiter wrote: "The Western world and Japan, he thought, were about to embark on a 'wasteful' investment drive to procure additional and alternate energy sources.

"The Washington conference next month, he thought, should devote itself to this problem. The consuming nations should 'collaborate' to avoid 'duplication' of investment projects and bring about an 'orderly' development of new energy supplies."

Such "cooperation," such an "orderly" development of new energy sources under the control of the U. S. oil trusts, and the "inhibition" of investment by Washington's rivals is what Washington wanted from the conference. In the communiqué issued at the close of the conference, all the representatives, with the exception of the French delegate, agreed to Kissinger's proposals in the area of developing new energy sources.

However, real or long-term "cooperation" to the extent that Washington desires is highly unlikely. Paris's refusal at the conference itself—in an open break with the other Common Market states—to support Washington's energy schemes is a clear indication of how unstable such "cooperation" really is.

Diplomatic communiqués cannot change the dog-eat-dog character of the international capitalist system. When the big dog growls, he usually

gets his way, but the smaller dogs continue to be on the lookout for what-

ever scraps they can grab behind his back. □

## Widespread Demands for Clemency

### Confirm Death Penalty for Salvador Puig

The Supreme Council of Military Justice in Madrid confirmed on February 15 the death sentence for Salvador Puig Antich, a 26-year-old anarchist belonging to the Iberian Liberation Movement. Puig was sentenced on January 9 by a military tribunal in Barcelona to two death sentences—one for participating in an armed holdup of a bank in March 1972 and the other for killing a policeman in September 1972, at the time of his arrest. Whether both death sentences have been confirmed has not been revealed.

The Supreme Council has not yet made known its decision on the appeals of Puig's two comrades, 18-year-old José Luis Pons and 17-year-old María Augustias Mateos. Convicted of complicity in the bank holdup, they were sentenced to prison terms of thirty and five years respectively.

Direct appeals to dictator Franco to exercise his exclusive power to grant an amnesty—which he can do at any time—have multiplied since Puig's sentence was confirmed.

The same day the Supreme Council decided on Puig's fate the Barcelona Colegio de Abogados (Lawyers Association) sent a telegram to the Generalissimo demanding the commutation of Puig's death sentence and the abolition of capital punishment in Spain, a position it adopted several years ago.

Prince François Xavier de Bourbon-Parme, the Carlist heir to the Spanish throne, appealed to Franco from exile in Paris to intervene on behalf of the young Catalanian. Fourteen other Spaniards living in France, including the poet Marcos Ana, himself once sentenced to death in Spain for political reasons, issued an appeal to the French public to help save the life of Salvador Puig, "who could be executed at any moment." A similar appeal was made by Angela Grimaù, the widow of Communist party leader Julian Grimaù, who was executed by a Spanish firing squad in 1963, the last year

capital punishment was carried out for a political crime.

The French Communist party appealed for clemency in telegrams sent to Franco and Georges Pompidou. A communiqué from the Revolutionary Anarchist Organization and the Liberation Front published in the February 17-18 issue of *Le Monde* called on all people "to be prepared in the coming hours to respond to the decisions of the Spanish state."

It has also been learned that the European Economic Community appealed through its Spanish representative for clemency for Puig. The Geneva section of the League for the Rights of Man issued a February 14 appeal for Puig's life. The Hermandad Obrera de Acción Católica (Catholic Workers Initiative Society) asked Prime Minister Carlos Arias Navarro to communicate its appeal for executive clemency directly to Franco.

A number of militant demonstrations have been organized by far-left groups in several French cities. On February 18 some 250 persons demonstrated in Montpellier before the Spanish Consulate in response to a call by Rouge (ex-Ligue Communiste). The demonstrators built a barricade in front of the consulate before being dispersed by riot police. In Nîmes, demonstrators from the solidarity committee Vérité painted the front of the Spanish People's Bank. On February 19, some 1,000 Paris demonstrators marched through the streets chanting slogans on behalf of Puig.

Marching to the chants of "Franco Assassin, Marcellin Accomplish," 1,000 persons demonstrated in Toulouse on February 21. Although the demonstration was illegal, people spread through downtown streets.

If Franco does not grant clemency, the death penalty still cannot be carried out until the Council of Ministers declares that it has been informed of the executive's decision. However, there is no time limit on such action by the council. □



### 'One Nation' Based on Oppression

[The following article appeared as an editorial in the February 15 issue of the Wellington revolutionary-socialist fortnightly *Socialist Action*. The Treaty of Waitangi, referred to in the text, was signed by Maori chiefs in northern New Zealand in 1840.]

\* \* \*

Government officials, representatives of royalty, and newspaper editors have been excelling each other in their hypocritical remarks concerning the anniversary of the Treaty of Waitangi. This year their annual ravings about "one nation of New Zealanders" and "race relations unequalled anywhere in the world" reached fever pitch.

The 1974 Waitangi ceremony featured a fairy-tale pageant of New Zealand history which managed to ignore or distort every decisive historical event relating to the condition of the Maori people. The land-grabbing wars of the 1860s, for example, were completely obscured. An observer from Mars at Waitangi on February 6 would not have suspected that any injustices had been perpetrated against the Maori people during the last 200 years.

The Treaty of Waitangi itself symbolises this injustice. Under the treaty, the Maori people lost sovereign rights over these islands to Queen Victoria. In return, the treaty guaranteed the Maoris full and undisturbed possession of their lands so long as they wished to retain them. Not realising what the British meant by their concept of "sovereignty," and not in a position to foresee the extent to which the British were to colonise the country, many Maoris were tricked into the deal. One chief, Nopera Panakareo, expressed the view of many Maori signatories to the treaty: "It is the shadow of the land which has been given to the Queen while the soil remains."

Subsequently the Queen and her successors took the soil and left the shadow with the Maoris. As Pat Hohepa of the Auckland District Maori Council put it a few years ago: "After 131 years, the score is 66 to 4—66 mil-

lion acres of land to the pakeha, 4 million to the Maori."

Apart from losing their land, the Maoris were economically, politically, and socially overwhelmed and today suffer inequalities and injustices in all spheres of social life, as well as having been virtually deprived of their language and culture.

This year, adding insult to injury, the government decided to change the name of Waitangi Day to "New Zealand Day." To groups of young Maoris who protested at this change, the Minister of Maori Affairs, Mat Rata, pathetically suggested that they discuss the matter on the Waitangi marae instead of protesting, and added: "I am confident that New Zealand's success as a multicultural country will in no small way depend upon the *unifying effect of New Zealand Day*, and the (protest) groups will be more than welcome to participate in this endeavour."

Rata's statement sheds light on the

current establishment outburst of national chauvinism, which has been spearheaded by Norman Kirk with his stress on "New Zealand's nationhood." This chauvinistic policy is epitomised by "New Zealand Day," and is carried further by the royal tour, including stunts like re-naming the Queen of England "Queen of New Zealand." The endless patriotic flag-waving and "patting NZ on the back" at the Commonwealth Games fits into this chauvinistic framework too. All these things are valued for their "unifying effect"—the way they paper over the various social inequalities which exist in capitalist New Zealand, by appealing to something higher: the "nation."

However, it is unlikely that New Zealanders, especially young people, are in the mood to be fooled for long by this reactionary appeal. In particular, the Maori people will find that the "one nation" rhetoric is nothing but a cover for pakeha nationalism and white supremacy. The reaction of the protest groups of young Maoris to the first "New Zealand Day" is an indication that this day will continue to be a focus for the expression of Maori grievances. □

### Canadian Provincial Council Affirms Membership

### Revolutionist Defeats Witch-Hunt in NDP

An attempt by the leadership of the British Columbia New Democratic party, Canada's labor party, to expel Wendy Stevenson, a member of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (Canadian section of the Fourth International) failed when the B.C. NDP provincial council overwhelmingly affirmed her membership on February 2-3.

The February 18 *Labor Challenge*, the English-language newspaper of the LSA/LSO, reported: "On Nov. 26, 1973, Stevenson received her NDP membership card. But in the same mail also came a letter from former NDP provincial secretary Hans Brown, who told her that she had 'no status' in the party. Brown alleged that she had a 'longstanding and existing membership in another political party,' and returned her membership fee."

"Refusing to accept this undemocratic expulsion, Stevenson returned the membership fee to the provincial executive. In an accompanying letter, she corrected Brown's assertion that she had 'only recently arrived . . . from Ontario' (where she had been denied membership in the NDP in the mid-1960s). Stevenson pointed out that she had been an active member of the Alberta NDP between 1968 and 1972, and a delegate to the 1971 Alberta NDP convention. She requested that the executive use its constitutional power to affirm her membership and reject Brown's arbitrary action."

The executive referred the question to the provincial council.

Stevenson and the supporters of her right to remain in the party launched a provincewide campaign in her defense. A petition was circulated calling



on the provincial council "to reaffirm the principle of party democracy." She received considerable support from the ranks of the B.C. NDP. The ridings of Vancouver Little Mountain, Vancouver Center, Vancouver Point Grey, and Vancouver Burrard, and the North Delta executive, the steering committee of the NDP women's rights committee, the Lower Mainland NDP women's rights committee, and many individual party members supported her right to remain in the party.

At the provincial council meeting the executive circulated a copy of a 1964 provincial council resolution declaring that "the League for Socialist Action is an organization political in nature and pursuing political action" and that "membership in, support of, active participation in the League for Socialist Action is declared incompatible with membership in the NDP."

In an interview with *Labor Challenge*, Stevenson said: "A number of delegates objected. They pointed out that the resolution was undemocratic and unjust. Some stated that they were supporters of many of the activities of the LSA, like defense of Chilean political prisoners and defense of Dr. Morgentaler [who was placed on trial for having performed abortions]."

"In the morning," she continued, "a motion to table the resolution on the LSA passed by a large majority. Then a motion instructing the executive to affirm my membership was put to a vote. It carried, approximately 35 to 4."

Explaining why the vote represented a victory for every member of the NDP, Stevenson said: "The NDP, as a party based on the organized power of the labor movement, must be open to all those who support working-class political action independent of the big-business parties. There are, of course, many different views on how to achieve socialism—different programs that emerge in the struggle. The party leadership has no right to ban those ideas that differ from its own. And right now we have to pay particular attention to internal party democracy, when the leadership has all the resources of the [provincial] government at its disposal to impose its view—often in opposition to convention decisions made by the party rank and file."

A similar undemocratic move by

the NDP leadership in Ontario occurred when the provincial council there "withdrew" the memberships of Barry Weisleder and Harold Lavender

at its January 13 meeting. The two are also members of the Revolutionary Marxist Group, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.□

## As Bangkok Claims a Guerrilla 'Threat'

### Thai Official Says Peking Disowns Rebels

Returning from his visit to Peking, Thai Defense Minister Dawee Chullasapya said on February 16 that Premier Chou En-lai had told him, as the February 17 *New York Times* reported, "that China had stopped supporting insurgents in Thailand, Laos and other Southeast Asian countries." The *Times* reported that Dawee "said the

Mr. Chou as saying, 'China now will not interfere with countries in your region.'"

These alleged assurances by Peking came one month after the escalation of insurgent activities in northeast Thailand. While there are three other guerrilla fronts in Thailand—two in the south and one in the north—the front in the northeast provinces is the only one under the influence of the underground Communist party of Thailand, which has looked to Peking for its political leadership.

The flare-up of insurgent activity began on January 15 when seven policemen were killed in the district of Na Kae in Nakhon Phanom province and when the insurgents launched a two-pronged assault on Nong Khai province, along the Mekong River. Thai newspaper reports claimed that whole villages had been taken by the guerrillas, that entire districts and provinces were in danger of falling to them, and that uniformed Pathet Lao soldiers had crossed the Mekong River to aid the Thai rebels. The February 11 *Far Eastern Economic Review* observed that "the stories had a familiar, somewhat unconvincing ring about them and many of the more bizarre reports were later shown to be quite untrue." When General Dawee toured Nong Khai province, he said, according to the *Review*, that the "situation was well in hand," and that no villages had been captured by the insurgents.

However, General Kris Sivara, the army commander in chief, maintained that the rebels had taken several villages, at least for a while, and that they had been supported by "foreign communist infiltrators." The *Review* also noted that Bangkok had in the past been accused of exaggerating the extent of insurgent activities in the northeast in order to get more counterinsurgency funds out of Washing-



CHOU: Letting bygones be bygones?

Chinese had admitted supporting Thai insurgents and the Pathet Lao in Laos.

"Mr. Chou, he said, maintained that the unfriendly attitude of Thai military governments dating from 1958 had forced China to support rebel activities inside Thailand and that she supported the Pathet Lao because of Thai mercenaries fighting for the government side in Laos.

"But Marshal Dawee said Peking wanted to let bygones be bygones and to build up its own country. He quoted

ton.

While some Thai government officials have spoken in public about their

desire for negotiations with the insurgents, the rebels are not known to have responded as yet. It remains to

be seen whether Dawee's reported message from Chou will produce any change in this situation. □

## 70,000 Refugees From Jolo

# Government Attack Destroyed Philippine City

By Fazlur Karim and Jim Stentzel

[The following article was distributed by New Asia News, headquartered in Tokyo.]

\* \* \*

Zamboanga City, Philippines

February 14—Using napalm and shelling indiscriminately from jet planes and boats, the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) completely destroyed Jolo, the capital city of the Sulu Archipelago, in a 35-hour onslaught that began at daybreak on February 7.

The entire population of the city—70,000 men, women, and children, 90 percent of them Muslim—fled as the Vietnam-style bombardment turned the city into an inferno. Several hundred citizens are dead, and many more hundreds wounded.

Although news of the massacre was withheld in the censored domestic press, Defense Secretary Juan Ponce

Enrile proudly announced to foreign newsmen on February 12 that "Muslim insurgents have been routed from Jolo!" The announcement came from the presidential yacht, on which the secretary was cruising Manila Bay with President Ferdinand Marcos and visiting Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam.

Nearly 35,000 refugees have entered this city, 100 miles north of Jolo, in the five days since Marcos's mercenary troops, with behind-the-scenes assistance from U.S. "civil advisers," ended their insane onslaught. An equal number of refugees face starvation in the hills of Jolo Island.

"Why does the martial-law regime persist in taking not only our lives but our means of livelihood?" a Muslim refugee asked. "Because for 400 years the Moro people have resisted colonialism and imperialism, against the Spanish, the Americans, and the Japanese; and because, today, we re-

fuse the humiliation, and the loss of independence and cultural identity, that constitute membership in the 'Philippine nation.'

"We will prevail against Manila's exploiters and mercenaries just as our ancestors protected their natural and human resources from foreign exploiters and their armies," he told New Asia News.

Jolo, a seaport located nearly 600 miles south of Manila, was the island's capital. While Defense Secretary Enrile has claimed eradication of the Muslim rebel movement, the Provisional Revolutionary Committee of Sulu continues to control 90 percent of the area.

Marcos and the AFP had hoped that Aminkadra Barli Abubakar, mayor of Jolo and member of the former Liberal party opposition to Marcos, would quickly turn over the keys to the city as the bombing began.

However, the mayor, scion of a prominent family and brother of the ambassador to Cairo, fled to the hills with the resistance forces, taking the entire police force with him. The embarrassed AFP has launched a massive man-hunt for him and has installed a military administrator in the ruined city.

Enrile told foreign correspondents: "We are now in full control of the town. There is no more activity in Jolo." Since the city is devastated, there is no doubt about the "no activity." How much longer the military will be able to claim "full control" is another question.

The defense secretary refuses to admit that five of the eight cities on Jolo Island are still controlled by the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). He has, however, promised "full-scale operations outside the capital where rebel insurgents have been active."

The severity of the government's at-



Government tank patrolling Jolo a month before attack.



tack on Jolo comes in response to successive victories by the Moro People's Army (MPA), the military arm of the MNLF, during January. On January 10 in Bilaan, a city of 10,000 located 10 miles east of Jolo, the MPA won a bloodless victory over the AFP. Using "Trojan Horse" tactics, the MPA made off with all of one army division's mortars, cannons, machine guns, rifles, and ammunition.

That same night in Parang City, 15 miles southwest of Jolo, 1,200 Moro resistance fighters overran the constabulary headquarters and routed both the Marcos troops and local turncoats who had sold out to one of Marcos's "new society" organizations on the island.

On January 14, Chief of Staff Romeo Espino arrived at Jolo Airport to investigate the deteriorating military situation. As he stepped off the plane, one of his Air Force F-86 sabre-jets, hit by Muslim gunfire, caught fire in mid-air and crashed adjacent to the airport. Citizens in the Jolo market places cheered the dramatic sky show.

A further disappointment to the Marcos regime has been the failure of its so-called pacification program to enlist Muslims in government programs and even in the AFP. While the government claims hundreds of Muslim turncoats in the AFP, the actual number of persons co-opted by the power structure in Manila is much smaller, and their loyalties are at best uncertain. And although Marcos insists that these turncoats are "former rebel leaders," no MPA leaders have deserted the liberation struggle in recent months.

"Although our capital has been destroyed—and even though we have great difficulty making the truth of our struggle known in the rest of the country and the world, the struggle of the Moro people for national liberation and independence will continue under the guiding principle of Islamic ideology," declared a Muslim leader in Zamboanga. □

#### If You Can't Drive It, Burn It

A New York state motorist, who ran out of gasoline and had to travel eight miles in a friend's car before finding a station that would sell him a gallon of gas, returned to his own car only to find he had no funnel to pour in the gas. To the cheers of onlookers, he then poured the gas over the car and lit it. "We had quite a celebration," he said. "Everybody said I was right."

## Bangladesh

### Rahman Gets New Laws Against Opposition

Within two weeks after the successful January 20 general strike called by the Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD—National Socialist party), the Awami League majority in the Bangladesh National Assembly passed two pieces of legislation giving the government and its Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini (National Defense Forces) greatly expanded powers of repression.

The February 3 issue of *Holiday*, a leftist weekly published in Dacca, wrote of the Rakkhi Bahini (Amendment) Bill 1974: "According to the provisions of the Amendment, the Rakkhi Bahini will be able to search, detain and arrest any individual without any warrant whatsoever. And what appears quite evident from the recent and present performance of the Bahini, they will also be able to physically liquidate or kill any individual without any sanction from any court of law." The amendment even carries a provision stipulating that the new powers of the Rakkhi Bahini cannot even be challenged in court.

On February 5 the Awami League went even further in its efforts to strengthen its repressive hand by pushing a Special Powers Act through the National Assembly. Seven opposition and independent members of the Assembly demanded that the bill be circulated publicly for discussion before the Awami League majority attempted to pass it. When the Awami League MPs ignored the demand, the oppositionists walked out of the session in protest, and the act was passed in their absence.

Before leaving the session, however, some of the opposition members spoke against it. Attur Rahman Khan of the Jatiya League (National League) said the passing of the law was an effort to kill all opposition politics. Qamrul Islam Mohammed Salebuddin of the National Awami party (Bhashani) called it an aggression against the people. And Mainuddin Ahmed Manik of the JSD said that the people of Bangladesh would reject the Special Powers Act and, in the words of *Holiday*, "throw it into a dustbin."

As with the legislation giving the Rakkhi Bahini new repressive powers,

the Special Powers Act gives the government the legal means to arrest, detain, try, and sentence anyone for acting, writing, or speaking in a manner "prejudicial" to broadly defined national "interests." It sets up a Special Tribunal to try offenders of the act and also puts any actions carried out under the act above the court system. One provision of the act gives the government the power to suspend the activities of any union or political party for up to six months.

In December, the president of Bangladesh, Abu Sayeed Chaudhury, resigned from the government. The February 4 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported that one of the reasons for his resignation was his opposition to the continued use of Presidential Orders 50, 8, and 9, which give the government almost unlimited powers of detention. The Special Powers Act, however, renders even these presidential orders obsolete.

An editorial in the February 10 *Holiday* commented on the passing of the act: "In the case of Bangladesh, the passage of this Bill is not only tragic (mainly because of the people's enormous sacrifices for democracy and freedom) but it is ironic as well. And that is because the same political organization which had agitated against similar laws in the not too distant past should now decide that to administer this country they must have this law. And what is worse—and sinister too—is that the Special Powers Act is the ultimate in black laws, for in its pernicious embrace it covers almost all acts of men living in a society; from censorship of news publication to any action of anyone which the government thinks is prejudicial to the interests of the state. And that can be made to mean anything because explaining away internal repression as a defense against international conspiracy is a very familiar phenomenon indeed."

The main target of the regime's attacks has been the JSD, which responded by calling demonstrations, strikes, and rallies against the repression. Although the Rahman regime has not yet used all of the repressive powers



at its command, the passing of the Special Powers Act gives it the legal cover and apparatus to attempt to smash the JSD if an opportunity arises. While the massive support expressed for the JSD's actions has been the main deterrent to an all-out at-

tack by the Awami League regime against the JSD, many JSD members have been clubbed, arrested, and even killed. On February 3, for instance, a leader of the JSD, Mosharraf Hussain, was assassinated in Jessore by "unknown assailants." □

## Demand 30 Percent Pay Raise

# Japan Unionists Protest Soaring Inflation

More than 30,000 Japanese trade unionists from all the major trade union federations held an anti-inflation rally in Tokyo on February 18. *Washington Post* correspondent Don Oberdorfer reported from Tokyo in the February 19 issue: "The 30,000 unionists, sitting amid red banners in a vast indoor hall, heard speeches declaring that the government, big business and the international oil companies are responsible for this country's soaring inflation."

In a January 22 dispatch to the *New York Times* Richard Halloran noted the growing realization among the Japanese people of the real causes for Japan's skyrocketing inflation: "There is growing suspicion here that oil concerns and trading companies that import oil colluded to drive up prices, or at least to benefit from price increases announced by producing nations."

Such suspicion could only be further aggravated by reports such as the one that appeared in the January 15 *Washington Post*: "Japanese oil companies have given their workers off-season bonuses as a share in unusual profits resulting from the oil crisis. Shell Sekiyu Co. gave its employees a bonus of \$263 on top of the customary winter bonus. . . . General Sekiyu, an Exxon affiliate, and Esso Standard Sekiyu, a subsidiary, have also agreed to pay extra bonuses at the end of January." Thus, while many Japanese industries and companies are cutting back production and laying off workers as a result of the government-ordered cutbacks in fuel consumption, the oil companies, many of which are controlled by the U.S. oil trusts, are able to pay bonuses from their higher profits.

The anti-inflation rally on February

18 was the first action of the spring labor offensive, which may be among the most militant Japanese labor actions since the second world war. The January 19 *Daily Yomiuri* reported that all four of the major Japanese trade-union federations were planning to carry out joint struggles in the spring. The four federations are Sohyo (General Council of Trade Unions), Domei (Confederation of Labor Unions), Churitsuroren (Federation of Independent Unions), and Shinsanbetsu (National Federation of Industrial Labor Organizations). Sohyo, Churitsuroren, and Shinsanbetsu previously coordinated their labor actions, but Domei did not. So the upcoming labor offensive marks the first time that all four will carry out a joint campaign.

The *Washington Post* report on the rally noted that the trade unions would be asking for an unprecedented 30 percent pay hike. In addition, the labor offensive will also stress anti-inflation and public welfare measures.

The four opposition parties—the Socialist party, the Communist party, the Komeito (Clean Government party), and the Democratic Socialist party—agreed at a November 28 meeting to launch a joint anti-inflation campaign within the Diet (parliament). The Socialist party suggested that they also carry out joint actions outside the Diet, during the spring labor offensive. At the time, the Democratic Socialist party refused. But the agreement of Domei, which is heavily influenced by the DSP, to join the other labor federations (Sohyo is under Socialist party domination with some Communist party influence) in a joint campaign indicates that the DSP has also changed its approach to joint labor actions.

At the November meeting the four parties agreed on a joint anti-inflation platform, parts of which will most likely be raised as demands in the labor actions. The November 29 issue of the *Daily Yomiuri* listed the five points of the platform: "Halting increases in public service charges and establishing tough controls over large private enterprises, ensuring constant supplies of daily necessities, scrapping the Japanese archipelago scheme, reducing taxes and increasing pensions, and drafting a 1974 budget in the people's interests." The "Japanese archipelago scheme" refers to Premier Kakuei Tanaka's previous plans to redistribute Japan's industry and people throughout the country.

In the face of determination by the Japanese working class to press demands for higher wages and for anti-inflationary measures, some sections of the Japanese ruling class have begun to express nervousness about the more blatant instances of profit gouging and hoarding. An editorial in the January 14 *Mainichi Daily News*, for example, said: "The situation is quite serious. If the industrial and business firms, which have already made fat profits by increasing the prices of their goods last year in anticipation of the impact of the petroleum crisis, are allowed to raise prices further, Japan's economy will reach a catastrophic stage. It requires no expert to predict that the dissatisfaction and anger of the masses will explode if some enterprises are allowed to continue to fatten themselves at the sacrifice of the people's livelihood." □

## Protest Abuse of Malaysian Prisoners

Amnesty International has asked the Malaysian government to comment on or "clarify" reports of mistreatment of political prisoners in that country.

According to Amnesty's London office, on December 29 a prisoner named Wong Sui Song, held in Taiping detention camp, committed suicide after having suffered prolonged ill health without medical treatment. Shortly thereafter, prisoners at Batu Gajah camp were reportedly injured by re-

serve forces after they demanded an official inquiry into Wong's death.

"Some of the injured reportedly were taken to a hospital and handcuffed to the beds against medical advice," Amnesty noted in a press release. "It was further alleged that a three-month punishment diet combined with several physical restrictions was then imposed on detainees in both camps. Detainees had been on hunger strike since December 29."

In a letter — released February 18 —

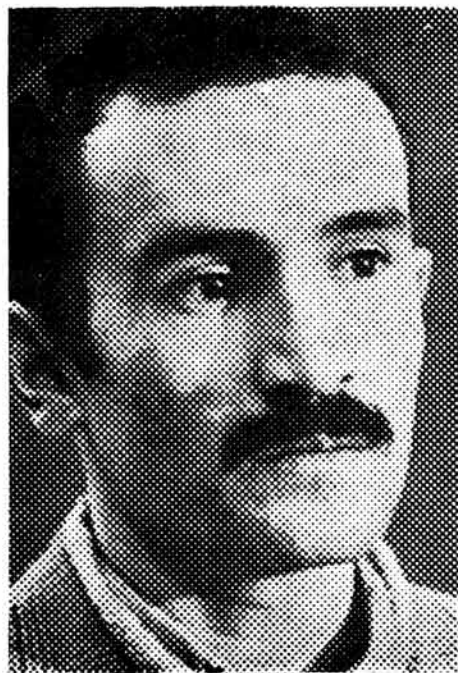
to Prime Minister Tun Haji Abdul Razak, Amnesty International's secretary general wrote: "We have no reason to doubt the integrity of those who have sought Amnesty's intervention. . . . I should be very grateful indeed for any comment or clarification from your office on this unfortunate sequence of events."

There are an estimated 300 political prisoners held in the Malaya area of Malaysia and hundreds more in Sabah and Sarawak. □

## Iran

# Shah's Firing Squads Claim Eight Victims

By Majid Namvar



KARAMET DANESHIAN

Within forty-eight hours February 18-19, the shah's regime executed another eight of its political opponents. On February 18, firing squads murdered Khosrow Golsorkhi and Karamet Daneshian, who belonged to a group of twelve artists, filmmakers, and journalists sentenced earlier this year. (See the January 28 and February 4 issues of *Intercontinental Press*.) On February 19, a group of six persons accused of sabotage fell

before the shah's firing squads.

The arrest of the group of twelve was made public by the government on October 3, 1973, after they had already been imprisoned for more than a year. The group was accused of plotting to assassinate the shah and to kidnap three members of his family as hostages to secure the release of political prisoners.

On January 9, a military court in Tehran sentenced seven of the defendants to death and the other five to prison terms. The only evidence against them consisted of "confessions" extracted by SAVAK, the shah's secret police. A military court of appeals in Tehran confirmed five of the seven death sentences January 20. According to the February 23 air edition of the Tehran daily *Kayhan*, the shah commuted three of these death sentences to life imprisonment.

The order for the execution of Golsorkhi and Daneshian was signed by the shah. During their trial, the two had proclaimed their adherence to Marxism and had defended their ideas before the military tribunal.

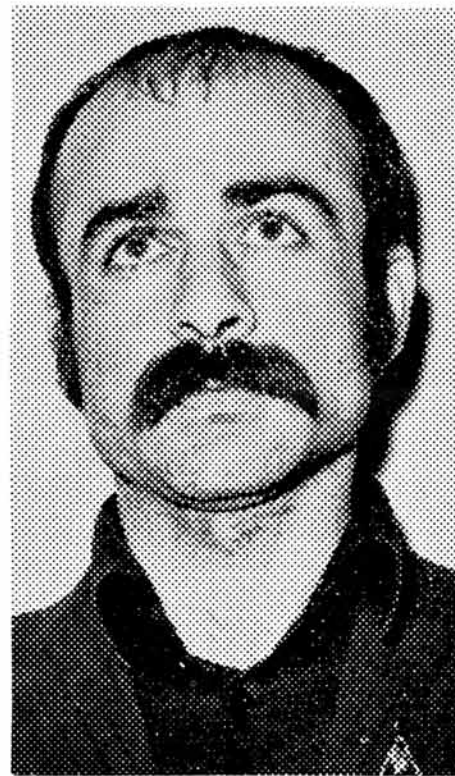
In announcing the execution of the group of six persons, the Iranian press gave no information about the date of their arrest or the circumstances under which they were tried. Allegedly the six were part of a group of ten persons accused of acts of sabotage, assassination, arson, and armed attacks against the state. The govern-

ment tried to create the impression that they were religious fanatics.

According to *Kayhan*, the six were: Abdo-Allah Khodarahmi, Bahman Manshat, Hojat-Allah Abdolli, Masha-Allah Sayfe, Ruh-Allah Sayfe, and Vali-Allah Sayfe.

In response to the recent wave of royal murders in Iran, protests have been organized in Europe and the United States. According to the February 21 issue of *Le Monde*, the Union of Iranian Students in France released a statement protesting against "the policy of more and more savage repression against Iranian intellectuals with the aim of silencing them."

A broad defense campaign on behalf of the twelve was waged by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual



KHOSROW GOLSORKHI

Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). Forums were organized in several cities, including one in Boston, at which Noam Chomsky was a featured speaker, that drew an audience of 160.

Other organizations, such as the Confederation of Iranian Students, Amnesty International, and the international writers' organization P.E.N., have also condemned the shah's renewed executions of political opponents.

At a concert of Iranian music at

New York University January 26, W.H. Mervin, a Pulitzer Prize winner who was invited by the Iranian Embassy as a guest speaker, prefaced his poetry reading with an appeal by P.E.N. for the twelve. Mervin said

that P.E.N. had been attempting to get information on the case for three months and announced the availability of defense literature in the hall.

"Now more than ever," CAIFI declared in a statement released Febru-

ary 20, "a broad and extensive international public campaign must be waged to stay the hands of the regime from committing more barbarous crimes against Iranian artists and intellectuals." □

## Poet Calls for Truth on Stalin Era

# Yevtushenko Defends Solzhenitsyn Against Slanders

By Candida Barberena

On February 17 an unexpected voice rose to defend Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. The poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko praised the exiled Soviet novelist in an open letter for having raised the issue of the Stalinist purges.

Commenting on Yevtushenko's decision openly to defend a dissident, *Le Monde* correspondent Jacques Amalric wired the following in a dispatch from Moscow printed in the February 19 issue of the Paris daily.

"Yevtushenko's position greatly surprised Moscow, as for several years now the poet has increasingly acted—and written—like an official. Enjoying the honors of fame, living rather grandly for Moscow, and strongly convinced of his talent, he has hardly raised his voice since condemning the [Soviet] invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968."

Yevtushenko made his last big "political" speech in June-July 1971 before the Congress of Soviet Writers. "At that time," wrote Amalric, "Yevtushenko asked that his generation be allowed to take on responsibilities, even though certain members of this generation 'were sceptical and doubtful and plunged at times into the snobbery of nonparticipation and social opposition.' It was clear from this speech that Yevtushenko himself had not gone astray, although he once again denounced the blunders of Stalinism."

Yevtushenko's open letter, published in the February 17 issue of the Milan daily *Il Giorno* and addressed to Soviet radio and television viewers, was entitled "Is it a Crime to Defend a Man?" Here Yevtushenko's explanation of his reaction to Solzhenitsyn's arrest was excerpted in the February 18 *New York Times*:

"On Feb. 12, there were rumors circulating in Moscow about the arrest of Solzhenitsyn; I was shaken by this news. Trying not to believe it, I tele-



YEVTUSHENKO

phoned the K.G.B. [the Soviet secret police] and was told, 'Yes, he's arrested.'

"Extremely agitated over both the writer's personal fate and public repercussions of the arrest, I immediately sent a telegram to the Central Committee addressed to the General Secretary [Leonid Brezhnev] in which I voiced my anxiety about the fate of the writer and also about how this might affect the prestige of our motherland, but in polite form without any sharp expressions."

But the "polite form" of Yevtushenko's telegram did not prevent reprisals against him.

"In my telegram," Yevtushenko continued, "I even emphasized that I did not agree with many views of Solzhenitsyn."

"Nevertheless, in response to my sincere, confidential appeal, there followed immediate, crude and humiliating punishment."

"I do not know who is responsible, but my concert was canceled. I was summoned to the secretariat of the Union of Writers. There, people already knew about my phone call and telegram. During the conversation my actions were termed 'unworthy black-mail,' and it was proposed that I deliver a public denunciation of Solzhenitsyn, which I refused to do."

In reply to Yevtushenko's request for an explanation for the canceling of his performance, he was merely told that the action taken was "correct."

"Unambiguously, they expressed opinions about 'the doubtfulness' of my political face," wrote Yevtushenko.

"I know how such utterances about the 'doubtfulness' of a poet's political face usually end—with attempts to discredit him by various methods. This cancelation of my concert is nothing but the beginning of discrediting my poetry as a whole."

"But who is needed by our people—writers who write or automatically sign everything asked of them, or those writers who, taking the positions of socialism, nevertheless consider it their right to have their own viewpoint on the advantage to socialism of various actions?"

Yevtushenko is well acquainted with the Stalinist legacy of slandering and blackballing potential "enemies of the



people." He has himself in the past been asked to participate in some of the Kremlin's exploits in this field. Although Yevtushenko mentions several such instances in his open letter in *Il Giorno*, they were not included in the *New York Times's* excerpts.

However, Amalric, in his February 19 *Le Monde* article, referred to the passages in question. Yevtushenko stated that in the past he had been the object of several approaches and pressures. The first time, fifteen years ago, the Kremlin sought to extort from him a denunciation of Boris Pasternak. Then in 1963 he was asked to write criticisms of some young artists whose names were not mentioned in his open letter.

In addition, Yevtushenko revealed that on two occasions he asked that Solzhenitsyn's *Cancer Ward* be published in the Soviet Union. He also opposed the expulsion of Solzhenitsyn from the Union of Writers. The open letter went on to charge that reprisals were being taken against persons who had dared to speak in Solzhenitsyn's behalf and even against those who had defended his defenders. In reference to Vladimir Voinovich, a writer who was the first person to speak out publicly in Solzhenitsyn's defense after the official campaign was launched against him in January, Yevtushenko wrote: "Someone will probably defend him and in turn be punished. In this way we're going to lose all our writers."

Yevtushenko's charge of reprisals was confirmed on February 20 with the expulsion of Voinovich from the Union of Writers. In a statement of defiance to the Union published in the February 21 *New York Times*, Voinovich said: "You have slandered and helped push out of the country her greatest citizen. You think that you all now can take his place. You are mistaken."

Pointing out the dangers of siding with Solzhenitsyn, Yevtushenko noted that Lidiya Chukovskaya, the writer whose country home Solzhenitsyn had lived in recently, was not long ago ousted from the Union of Writers.

Yevtushenko also explained the position from which he was writing, leaving no doubt of his loyalty:

"I have proven my adherence to the ideas of socialism not only by my verses but also in public appearances

abroad, when young fascist toughs attacked me right on stage, trying to drag me down from it. Now, attempts are being made to drag my poetry down from my very own native, Soviet stage."

Yevtushenko stated his disagreement with many of Solzhenitsyn's conclusions, but defended his book as necessary to an understanding of Stalinism: "No, I do not agree with many of Solzhenitsyn's views in *Gulag Archipelago*, which I have read. . . .

"But in this book there are terrible, documented pages about the bloody crimes of the Stalinist past. However great the mistakes of Solzhenitsyn, the bloody blunders of the Stalinist past are beyond comparison with him.

"And have we said everything to our people about those bloody blunders?"

"The theory of the flow of 'prison-camp literature,' which allegedly flooded the pages of our magazines, is invented. Actually, only a few books were once published, including *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* [the only book Solzhenitsyn was allowed to publish in the Soviet Union], and a number of verses, including my poem, 'Stalin's Heirs.' Later, those works were never reprinted. Instead, a number of memoirs and novels were published in which Stalinist blunders were artificially painted over and history was distorted with beautifications."

Yevtushenko's criticisms are well-founded. The way the Kremlin is now attempting to rewrite and distort Solzhenitsyn's past is a case in point. In an 8,000-word article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, the Union of Writers weekly, the historian Nikolai N. Yakovlev leveled a new allegation: that Solzhenitsyn's eleven-year imprisonment and exile for exchanging anti-Stalinist remarks in battlefield letters with a friend were entirely justified. Such a view contradicts the conclusion of the court that rehabilitated Solzhenitsyn in 1965 that he had shown "personal heroism" at the front and had been imprisoned unjustly.

Yevtushenko cited a powerful example from his personal experience of the consequences of perpetually distorting history:

"Last year around a campfire in Siberia, one good young girl, a student about 18 years old, raised a toast to Stalin. I was shaken. 'Why?' I

asked.

"'Because then, all people believed in Stalin and with this belief they used to be victorious,' she answered.

"'And do you know how many people were arrested during the years of Stalin's rule?' I asked.

"'Well, say 20 or 30 people,' she replied.

"Other students were sitting around the fire, and they were about her age. I started asking them the same question.

"'About 200,' said one lad.

"'Maybe 2,000,' said another girl.

"Only one student out of 15 to 20 said, 'It seems to me about 10,000.'

"When I told them that the figure is reckoned not in thousands but in millions, they did not believe me.

"'Did you read my poem "Stalin's Heirs"?' I asked.

"'And did you really have such a poem?' asked the first girl. 'Where was it published?'

"'In Pravda, in 1963,' I answered.

"'But at that time I was only eight years old,' she replied, somewhat at a loss.

"And then I suddenly understood, as never before, that the young generation really does not have sources nowadays for learning the tragic truth about that period because they cannot read about it either in books or textbooks."

Yevtushenko warned of the dangers to the Soviet state implicit in the official lies:

"The disparity between historical reality and the description of history in books and newspapers can lead our youth only to lack of belief, to cynicism, whereas we need belief; but real belief can be based only on the truth."

Yevtushenko's is not the only document circulating among dissident intellectuals. An essay by Solzhenitsyn, "Live Not By Lies," has apparently created some stir in Moscow since his expulsion. Dated February 12, the day of his arrest, the essay is probably the last thing he wrote in the Soviet Union.

In some ways the document parallels the Yevtushenko statement in its refutation and condemnation of Kremlin lies and historical distortions. While Yevtushenko's open letter "Is It a Crime to Defend a Man?" alludes only to the pressures brought to bear on him personally to denounce some

of his colleagues, Solzhenitsyn's "Live Not By Lies" asserts that virtually every Soviet citizen is subjected to varying degrees of pressure to accept official lies as truth, or at least not to question them openly.

The call to action—the act of personally rejecting falsehood—is the end of Yevtushenko's appeal, but Solzhenitsyn's beginning. Solzhenitsyn pessimistically asserts that most Russians have not matured enough politically "to march into the squares and shout the truth out loud or to express aloud what we think," because it's still too dangerous. He proposes an individual response to the Kremlin falsifiers: "Let us refuse to say that which we do not think!"

"So in our timidity," continues Solzhenitsyn, "let each of us make a choice: Whether consciously to remain a servant of falsehood—of course, it is not out of inclination, but to feed one's family, that one raises his children in the spirit of lies—or to shrug off the lies and become an honest man worthy of respect both by one's children and contemporaries."

While Solzhenitsyn envisages an individual opposition to bureaucratic falsehood, his proposals are particularly revealing of the social pressures that the bureaucrats mobilize to force acceptance of their falsifications.

In the process of casting off these lies, Solzhenitsyn proposes, the individual:

● Will not henceforth write, sign

or print in any way a single phrase which in his opinion distorts the truth.

● Will utter such a phrase neither in private conversation nor in the presence of many people, neither on his own behalf nor at the prompting of someone else, neither in the role of agitator, teacher, educator, nor in a theatrical role.

● Will not depict, foster or broadcast a single idea which he can see is false or a distortion of the truth, whether it be in painting, sculpture, photography, technical science or music.

● Will not cite out of context, either orally or written, a single quotation so as to please someone, to feather his own nest, to achieve success in his work, if he does not share completely the idea which is quoted, or if it does not accurately reflect the matter at issue.

● Will not allow himself to be compelled to attend demonstrations or meetings if they are contrary to his desire or will, will neither take into hand nor raise into the air a poster or slogan which he does not completely accept.

● Will not raise his hand to vote for a proposal with which he does not sincerely sympathize, will vote neither openly nor secretly for a person whom he considers unworthy or of doubtful abilities.

● Will not allow himself to be dragged to a meeting where there can be expected a forced or distorted dis-

cussion of a question.

● Will immediately walk out of a meeting, session, lecture, performance or film showing if he hears a speaker tell lies, or purvey ideological nonsense or shameless propaganda.

● Will not subscribe to or buy a newspaper or magazine in which information is distorted and primary facts are concealed. . . .

Solzhenitsyn charges that the practice of these most elementary democratic rights is forbidden in the Soviet Union, and to broach them is not without certain risk, as he points out in the following passage:

"No, it will not be the same for everybody at first. Some, at first, will lose their jobs. For young people who want to live with the truth, this will, in the beginning, complicate their young lives very much, because the required recitations are stuffed with lies, and it is necessary to make a choice."

Solzhenitsyn remarks that even these acts of individual resistance are not carried out in isolation, that many people have for years adhered to these principles of living by the truth.

"So you will not be the first to take this path, but will join those who have already taken it. This path will be easier and shorter for all of us if we take it by mutual efforts and in close rank. If there are thousands of us, they will not be able to do anything with us. If there are tens of thousands of us, then we would not even recognize our country." □

## 'Moving Inexorably Toward Impeachment'

# Election Upset Shows Depth of Watergate Effects

By Allen Myers

Writing in the February 18 *New York Times*, John Herbers described "a new self-assurance in the White House" that "appears to have dispelled a view of only a month ago that President Nixon was on the verge of resigning." The mood in the Nixon gang, Herbers continued, "is like that surrounding a candidate who has suffered all manner of reverses but who now feels he can prevail in the end."

"This new assertion of confidence," Herbers wrote, "is based on the belief

of the President and his advisers that the House will not vote impeachment and, even if it should, the Senate will not convict him."

The alleged optimism in the White House is contradicted by the views of other observers. The *New York Times*, for example, stated in a February 20 editorial:

"The nation is moving inexorably toward an impeachment trial of President Nixon. His conviction by two-thirds vote of the Senate is by no

means certain but his indictment by the House of Representatives [i.e., impeachment] sitting as grand jury for the nation appears increasingly likely."

One of the factors making impeachment increasingly likely is the result of the February 18 election for the Michigan House seat vacated by Gerald Ford when he became vice-president. The district had returned a Republican in every election since 1910, often with 60 percent or more of the vote. This time, however, the winner



was the Democratic candidate, Richard VanderVeen.

VanderVeen, who had previously run for office on numerous occasions without success, got 51 percent of the vote to 44 percent for his Republican opponent. His major campaign theme was Watergate and the desirability of removing Nixon from office.

"The premise of Democratic strategy in the upset victory," Christopher Lydon wrote in the *New York Times* February 21 "... is that disapproval of the Nixon Administration is now the most powerful current in American politics, even in 'local' contests."

A Gallup poll released February 24 tended to confirm that evaluation. It found Democrats leading Republicans in voter preferences for Congress by a margin of 58 to 29 percent. This was the lowest level for Republicans in the thirty-eight years that Gallup has been conducting the poll.

This situation tends to create for Republicans in Congress an identity between a vote for impeachment and political self-preservation. *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker explained February 22 how the matter is likely to be evaluated by Republicans running for reelection:

"In a stand-up-and-be-counted impeachment vote on the floor of the House, a Republican voting for impeachment will be voting, after all, only to submit the Nixon matter to the Senate ... for a trial on the merits of the case. A Republican so voting can explain to his constituents that his vote gives Mr. Nixon a chance to confront his accusers and clear himself. He can show by his vote for impeachment, as a member of the Judiciary Committee has put it, that he is 'not part of the cover-up' but is not necessarily 'against the Commander in Chief.' A vote for impeachment, by late spring or early summer, may, in fact, have become the 'safe vote.'

"On the other hand, a vote against impeachment will be a flat vote for Mr. Nixon's exoneration. ... The news from Gerald Ford's hometown, for anyone who has to face the electorate in November, was that such a vote will be hard to cast this summer. Not many opponents would fail to call it a 'cover-up' vote."

But the real significance of the election and the polls for Nixon's future is less their effect on the fears of members of Congress than what they re-

veal to the U.S. ruling class about the public distrust of the White House gang and U.S. capitalist government in general. This distrust was expressed in the Michigan election in the form of a vote for the Democratic candidate, but in fact it affects both capitalist parties. Polls recently have shown an even lower approval for the Democratic-majority Congress than for Nixon. In this situation, it must seem to growing sectors of the ruling class, impeaching Nixon might help to restore public confidence in both the presidency and Congress.

This is all the more true in view of the fact that Nixon has been foolish enough to leave evidence of his personal involvement in a host of crimes. His only real defense therefore is to try to conceal the evidence—an effort that has already considerably discredited him and is likely to do so even more as it continues.

Nixon and his lawyers have been engaged in a maneuver designed to lay the basis for withholding information even from the House Judiciary Committee in its impeachment investigation. In private discussions with the committee staff, Nixon's chief lawyer, James St. Clair, was reported in the February 25 *Newsweek* to have said that "he would be disposed to give the committee only that evidence he judged 'relevant' to what he considered an impeachable offense."

The White House gang and its supporters in Congress are trying to create the narrowest possible definition of an "impeachable offense," and then use this definition to deny the committee's request for White House documents. "When we deadlock on stuff we're trying to get from the White House," one committee staff member told columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, "they'll say we can't have it because it isn't relevant under their definition of impeachment. They'll say, let the courts decide."

On February 21, the committee's legal staff presented the Congressional members a lengthy advisory report arguing for a broad definition of what is an impeachable offense.

"The staff," James M. Naughton reported in the *New York Times* the next day, "dismissed the expected White House position, and the view of the committee's ranking Republican, that proof of criminal wrongdoing would

be the sole justification for attempts to remove Mr. Nixon from office.

"The criminal law sets a general standard of conduct which all must follow," the staff study asserted. "It does not address itself to the abuses of Presidential power. In an impeachment proceeding a President is called to account for abusing powers which only a President possesses."

In Nixon's case, the distinction makes little difference, since his "abuses of Presidential power" that the committee will concern itself with were committed in order to conceal his complicity in violations of the criminal law. And, occasional liberal noises to the contrary, the ruling class is not about to have Nixon impeached for war crimes in Indochina or any other exercise of presidential powers that served the interests of U.S. imperialism; they will want those powers to be freely exercised by Nixon's successors.

The real danger to Nixon in the report is its position that he can be impeached for precisely the actions that have forced the ruling class to consider dumping him, that is, his destruction of the public credibility of his office. Speaking of impeachment precedents, the report states:

"The emphasis has been on the significant effects of the conduct—undermining the integrity of office, disregard of constitutional duties and oath of office, arrogation of power, abuse of the governmental process, adverse impact on the system of government. Clearly, these effects can be brought about in ways not anticipated by the criminal law."

The "integrity" of Nixon's office is due for some further buffeting over the next weeks and months, a fact that can be counted on to make Nixon seem more and more of a liability to the ruling class.

Jury selection for the trial of former Attorney General John Mitchell and former Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans began February 19. Once a jury has been chosen and sequestered to isolate them from the effects of publicity, it is expected that Watergate special prosecutor Leon Jaworski will make public a series of indictments of former top Nixon aides. John J. Wilson, who is attorney for both H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, formerly Nixon's top-rank-



ing assistants, has told reporters that indictments of his clients "would not be unexpected."

On the other hand, Nixon will no longer have to worry about further disclosures in testimony before the Senate Watergate committee. In a display of bipartisan concern for protecting what remains of the reputation of U.S. capitalist politics, the committee voted unanimously February 19 to hold no more public hearings.

Senator Sam Ervin, the committee chairman, who became a liberal hero in the course of the hearings last summer, excused the committee's decision to silently steal away by saying that "the committee believes that it should be careful not to interfere unduly with the ongoing impeachment process of the House Judiciary Committee or the criminal cases which will soon be prosecuted by the special prosecutor, on which the attention of the country appears now to be focused."

But another committee, the Senate Armed Services Committee, has been conducting hearings that once again demonstrate the inevitability of continuing scandals for as long as Nixon remains in office. The committee has heard testimony from a navy enlisted man, Yeoman Charles E. Radford, that he regularly provided officers in the Pentagon with materials stolen or copied from the files of members of the National Security Council (NSC) in 1970 and 1971.

At that time Radford was a clerk assigned to a military liaison unit inside the NSC. He told the committee February 20 that two rear admirals in the Pentagon instructed him to take whatever "I could get my hands on." The instructions came, he said, from Admiral Rembrandt C. Robinson, who was killed in Vietnam in 1972, and Admiral Robert O. Welander.

Radford was sometimes taken along on their diplomatic travels by Henry Kissinger and General Alexander Haig, who was then Kissinger's deputy. Consequently, the yeoman was able to get his hands on quite a lot, even including Kissinger's secret report to Nixon on his conversations with Chou En-lai in Peking in 1971.

Radford indicated that the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Thomas Moorer, was well aware of the "spy" operation, despite Moorer's denials since the scandal began to un-

fold. On one occasion, Radford said, Welander told him that "I had no idea how helpful it was for the chairman of the Joint Chiefs to walk into a meeting and to know what is going to be said."

In a telephone interview with Seymour M. Hersh of the *New York Times*, another former Pentagon officer indicated that the documents obtained by Radford were used quite regularly by the Pentagon brass. James A. MacDonald, a retired marine colonel, told Hersh that he had been given such documents to read on several occasions and that when he had finished he normally returned them to Moorer's office.

The Pentagon "spy ring" was discovered in late 1971, after columnist Jack Anderson published accounts of Nixon's "tilt toward Pakistan" in the India-Pakistan war. Anderson had somehow obtained access to NSC documents and Radford, a personal acquaintance of Anderson, was suspected of being the source. The secret White House "plumbers" unit was assigned to investigate Radford and in the course of its investigation learned about his funneling of documents to the Pentagon.

Interestingly enough, Nixon, who has been such a zealous defender of "national security information" when someone makes it available to the public, did nothing about the Pentagon "spy ring" except to transfer Radford and Welander to other assignments. Moorer was later reappointed to another term as chairman of the Joint Chiefs. Hersh wrote in a February 23 dispatch to the *New York Times*:

"President Nixon personally ordered the special White House investigative unit not to seek prosecution of any suspects in the military snooping on the National Security Council in late 1971, sources close to the inquiry said today.

"These sources, some of whom have close White House connections, pictured the President as extremely angry about the pilfering of high-level documents that were not intended for the Pentagon. But they said that he decided to cancel the inquiry after consultation with, among others, John N. Mitchell, who was then the Attorney General."

One of Hersh's sources quoted John Ehrlichman as saying of the investi-

gation: "The President called me off it. He said, 'John, if you prosecute this you'll blow the whole thing open.'"

It is hardly surprising that Nixon was not anxious to "blow open" in public view the bureaucratic intrigues going on behind the scenes in Washington. How would it look if it were made known that "national security secrets" were being passed around by navy enlisted men—particularly when Nixon was prosecuting Daniel Ellsberg for revealing outdated secrets to the public?

In a February 21 editorial on the affair, the *New York Times* complained that Kissinger, among other, had created a credibility gap for himself by trying to brush the scandal aside as insignificant:

"For his part, Secretary Kissinger is still offering explanations like this: 'I think some eager beaver was trying to get Brownie points with his superior, and his superiors, being extremely busy, never bothered to shut it off, especially since they were not really getting anything to which they needed to pay particular attention.'

"Such explanations are implausible. Young enlisted men, no matter how eager, do not steal documents from the President of the United States and pass them to admirals unless they are encouraged and protected by someone much higher in rank. It is too late now for double-talk and dissimulation. It is time for everyone involved in this matter to tell the truth, the whole truth."

From the standpoint of the ruling class, that is the chief and continuing failure of the Nixon administration: It keeps getting itself into situations where the usual "double-talk and dissimulation" don't suffice. And that alone is sufficient reason for the rulers of the United States to look more and more favorably on the idea of getting Nixon out of the White House. □

## New Energy Source?

E.H. Brill published an open letter to Vice-President Gerald Ford in the January 29 *Washington Post*. He offered Ford a free copy of his book, *Power Gravity*, which "shows a hitherto unknown function of Gravitation together with its mathematical law. This function is an inexhaustible and useable source of energy. . . ." He recommended that Ford initiate Senate action to help develop his gravity power generators.

### FBI Informer Linked to Hampton Killing

The chief of security of the Illinois Black Panther party, at the time of the December 4, 1969, police raid in which Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were killed, was a paid FBI informer. This disclosure—made public February 11—came in the course of court testimony in Detroit on January 12 in connection with a \$47 million damage suit filed on behalf of the families of the two slain Panthers against Edward Hanrahan, who as Cook County state's attorney at the time was the official who ordered the raid, and against other police officials.

The Chicago police raid on the home of Fred Hampton, Illinois Black Panther party chairman, in which Hampton and Clark were killed in a hail of bullets, also wounded four other Panthers. The police claimed that the Panthers had initiated a "shoot-out," firing as many as 200 shots at the police.

A federal grand jury, which was called as a result of contradictions in the police story and widespread outrage in the Black community, later revealed that out of the approximately 100 shots fired, only one could have come from the Panthers. But other evidence indicated that the hole left by that shot was also caused by a police bullet. The grand jury report also stated that the police department investigation into the killings was conducted in a manner that indicated "purposeful malfeasance."

In addition, the report revealed the involvement of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the raid. The May 16, 1970, *New York Times*, said: "... the initial information that the Black Panthers were thought to be stockpiling weapons in Chicago had come to the Chicago officials from the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This disclosure was the first official substantiation of charges by black leaders that Federal officials had played a part in the investigation that led to a raid on the apartment and the fatal shooting. According to the grand jury, the two F.B.I. tips were routine transmittals of information

from a 'confidential source.'"

That "confidential source" was probably William O'Neal, who, according to the February 13 *New York Times*, "said that his duties as the Panther security chief included making sure that all members were properly armed and their weapons working, screening and investigating possible informers, and building 'security devices.' At one point, he said, he built a home-made electric chair to scare informers."

O'Neal said in his court testimony in Detroit that he had kept his FBI control agent, Roy M. Mitchell, advised of the weapons that the Panthers kept first in their office and later in Hampton's apartment. When O'Neal was asked if Mitchell inquired what was being done with the weapons, he said: "No. He knew the same thing was happening to them when they were at the office, just collecting dust." Possession of the weapons was used by the police as the justification for the raid, although they had known of their existence for nearly a year.

The *Times* article noted that "Mr. O'Neal's activities came during a period when, as the Watergate testimony has shown, the Nixon administration was concerned with what it perceived as the threat of radical activity. It was a period, too, when, according to documents stolen from the F.B.I. office in Media, Pennsylvania, and released by radicals, agents were or-

dered to make every effort to recruit new black informers."

"Much of Mr. O'Neal's background," the article added, "is still murky. However, lawyers, ex-Panthers and forces in the black community say he is known as a drug dealer, burglar and hold-up man. The Federal authorities have moved him to another city and given him a new identity."

The attorneys involved in the damage suit also hope to investigate a report published in the *Chicago Sun-Times* that one of the investigators on the special grand jury in 1970 had produced two phony witnesses. Chief Criminal Court Judge Joseph Power, who was a neighbor and former law partner of Mayor Richard Daley, appointed John Clarke as the investigator. According to the *Sun-Times* report, Clarke was a highly paid police consultant carrying out special investigations for Daley. The two witnesses that Clarke produced, both of whom had long criminal records, said that they had heard Panther survivors of the raid boasting that they had fired shots at the police. But all seven surviving Panthers had been in the county jails on the dates the conversations were supposed to have taken place. Clarke recently received a three-year sentence after pleading guilty to federal charges of tax evasion and tampering with a grand jury investigation of waterfront corruption.

Although Edward Hanrahan and the police involved in the raid were indicted on charges of conspiring to obstruct justice, they were later acquitted. Hanrahan is presently running for Congress. □

### Spanish Prisoners on Hunger Strikes

Political prisoners in two different Spanish prisons are engaged in hunger strikes, according to a February 18 press release from Amnesty International. The protests are taking place at Santander and Pontevedra provincial prisons in Galicia.

The hunger strike at Pontevedra began January 27 in protest against restrictions on visits by prisoners' families and against a lack of proper sanitary facilities.

Prisoners at Santander began their hunger strike February 14, after police armed with machine guns were called in to "settle an altercation between guards and prisoners." Amnesty said that two of the striking prisoners have been placed in solitary confinement.

Amnesty reported that it had cabled the Spanish government's director general of penal institutions, asking for an "urgent investigation" into the conditions that produced the strikes. □



# The Stakes in the Miners' Strike

By Patricia Fryd

London

The February 28 general election occurs in the most turbulent period of class struggle seen in Britain since the general strike of 1926.

The February 4 decision by the national executive of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) to call an all-out strike of its 270,000 members in defiance of the Tories' Phase III wage controls followed a national ballot in which 81 percent of the country's miners voted in favor of strike action. No fewer than 22 of the NUM's 23 areas endorsed the strike call, compared with only 12 in the ballot preceding the 1972 miners' strike. South Wales and Yorkshire miners voted over 90 percent for a strike. Ten other areas voted more than 80 percent in favor, some (like South Derbyshire and Durham) having never before voted for strike action. In Leicestershire, where less than 38 percent had voted for the 1972 strike, a 77 percent Yes vote this time forced Frank Smith, the right-wing Leicestershire NUM leader who had earlier opposed the ban on overtime work, to declare that he now supported a "fight to the bitter end."

## Strong Backing for Miners

As soon as the strike decision was known, plans were drawn up throughout the country for picketing and solidarity action. The Trades Union Congress (TUC) asked all affiliated unions to honour miners' picket lines.

The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions wrote to Prime Minister Edward Heath February 6, stating that they would do everything possible to help the miners. The train drivers union, ASLEF, instructed its 28,000 members not to drive coal or oil supplies to power stations. And the General and Municipal Workers Union, with the majority of gas workers and a high proportion of power-station workers in its membership, issued in-

structions February 10 that no fresh coal stocks arriving at power stations and gasworks should be handled by its members. The Transport and General Workers Union agreed to halt all coal deliveries to factories, power stations, and gasworks.

The Miners' Federation, with members in thirty-four countries, has urged unions throughout the world to stop all coal exports to Britain during the strike. In Australia, where increased exports to Britain are planned, the miners have declared that they will not allow their labour to be used against miners of any other country. West German miners also declared their solidarity, and Swedish miners are sending material aid to the NUM. On January 21, the United Mine Workers of America sent \$5,000 to support the NUM's overtime ban.

The International Transport Workers Federation has alerted its affiliated organisations to the situation. Dockers and seamen in Belgium, France, and other countries will notify the NUM of destinations of any coal-carrying ships they are unable to stop.

Meanwhile, dockers at Immingham, Lincolnshire, the chief port of entry for foreign coal, are refusing to unload any coal during the strike. Some 3,000 tons of Polish coal have been left in the hold of the bulk carrier *Fenice*.

A notable exception to this pattern of growing worldwide solidarity with the NUM is the refusal of the Polish government to cancel its contract with the British government to supply 500,000 tons of coal to Britain by the end of March. According to Bert Ramelson, industrial organiser of the British Communist party, the sanctity of commercial contracts with capitalist governments is "a legitimate point of view for the Polish state. They have got to honour their contracts."

The miners' decision to strike in support of their demand for an £8.21 to £12.71 increase in their basic rates came as a major blow to the Tories'

attempt to impose their Phase III wage controls on the working class.

What particularly disturbed Heath was the failure of his patriotic appeals to the "nation" and his three-day-week measures to dent the determination of the miners and give the NUM bureaucracy room for further manoeuvres to stall decisive industrial action. Anger in the pits had reached the boiling point. A prostrike Durham miner, responding to a London *Times* journalist's remark that Durham miners were moderate, replied: "We were, but the prime minister has changed all that." A Yorkshire miner said as the strike ballot approached: "If necessary I can stay out forever. I am one that doesn't come back to this industry if something isn't done."

After the NUM national executive rejected his proposal to postpone the strike, Joe Gormley, the NUM president, explained that "the argument by the lads for continuing with the strike was that if it was called off, the members might walk all over us."

In some parts of the country, miners went out on strike even before the NUM leaders began their meeting. At Bilsthorpe colliery in Nottinghamshire, miners walked out early on February 7. They left twenty-three foremen, who had refused to support the strike, stranded 1,500 feet underground, refusing to wind them to the surface for several hours.

Throughout the miners' struggle the militancy of the miners has stood in sharp relief against the timidity and hesitations of their leaders. The NUM bureaucracy refused for nearly three months to step up its actions beyond the overtime ban first called on November 12, thus wasting the crucial winter months when coal consumption is high and when a strike would have hit hard and quick.

Up to one week before the decision to hold a strike ballot the Communist party, strongly represented at all levels of the NUM, opposed a strike. In the Comrie pit in Fife the CP, only days before the ballot was announced, refused to accept a resolution urging the Scottish NUM to call on the national executive to go for a strike.

The ballot itself did *not* actually call for a strike, but only authorised the executive to call one if necessary. Clearly the NUM bureaucrats hoped that a majority for the ballot would give them added bargaining ability



in continued negotiations with the government. But the intransigence of the Tories in their rigid defence of Phase III and the massive support for strike action gave the bureaucrats no choice but to call a strike.

The inadequacy of the present leaders has also been highlighted by their failure to fight for an escalator clause to defend miners' living standards against inflation. The 1972 miners' strike ended in victory and the collapse of Heath's "voluntary incomes policy," but all of the miners' gains have since been eroded by inflation because of the failure of the NUM leaders to win automatic wage increases to offset price rises.

Prices are now rising at an annual rate of about 11 percent. In 1973, food prices soared 19 percent. If an escalator clause had been won in 1972, the miners would not have been forced to fight again merely to regain what has been lost, but could be fighting for real advances.

But for all their inability to lead the struggle forward, the NUM leaders are being forced to confront the government by the frustration, anger, and determination of the miners.

The Tories have been completely unable to dampen this militancy. And they are threatened by growing public support for the miners' cause. Only one day after Heath's election announcement, masses of students marched through London in solidarity with the miners and in support of their own demands for higher grants. [See last week's *Intercontinental Press*.] Student unions are arranging to provide accommodation for miners' flying pickets, to join the picketing themselves wherever they are needed, to collect money for the strikers, and to hold campus meetings to build support for the struggle.

According to a poll published in the February 7 *Daily Telegraph*, there was an enormous shift of sentiment in favor of the miners in a period of a little more than a month. In December only 28 percent of those polled said that the miners should be taken as a special case outside the government's incomes policy while 60 percent said they should not. By February, 50 percent were for settling the miners' dispute outside Phase III limits while only 44 percent were opposed.

## 'Economics of Catastrophe'

The Tories have also been faced with mounting economic problems caused by the three-day week. When it was announced in mid-December, the draconian measure was intended to mobilise public opinion against the miners. Its failure to do so has left the Tories with nothing but escalating economic dangers as a result of their strategy.

By late March, according to the National Economic Development Council, manufacturing output will be 40 to 50 percent below normal. Unemployment, which now includes at least 2 million persons registered as temporarily unemployed because of the three-day week, will inevitably spiral as industry grinds to a halt.

The February 6 *Guardian* suggested that the government might be forced to put industry on a two-day week if the miners' strike leads to a swift decline in coal stocks.

"Then," the *Guardian* continued, "we are into the economics of catastrophe. For many firms it would not be worthwhile continuing production. The fall in living standards, the damage to the industrial structure, the utter social chaos that would follow would create a situation beyond rational contemplation." The paper estimated that at the current rate of consumption, coal stocks would reach "the danger level" in about six weeks.

Dr. Monty Finniston, chairman of the British Steel Corporation, announced on February 6 that steel production would virtually end within seven weeks of the start of the miners' strike. Operations at 80 percent of capacity are required in the steel industry to break even, so massive layoffs are expected. The effect on the engineering and automobile industries, which depend on steel, can be imagined.

These dangers prompted some industrialists to caution Heath to pull back from his confrontationist stance toward the miners, even if it meant a temporary retreat from Phase III. Lord Stokes, chairman of British Leyland, Britain's largest automobile producer, appealed to Heath on February 5: "The government has just got to find a way of settling this dispute. There has got to be some honourable compromise."

In the same vein, Sir Michael Clapham, president of the Confederation of British Industries, said on television February 5 that "Britain is facing a crisis almost as serious as the outbreak of war."

Warning that stopping steel production could bring the country to a standstill, Clapham advocated a settlement with the miners: "After all, we cannot get coal by any other means except by employing skilled men. Therefore something has to be done to get these men working again. . . . The miners insist that there is no other way than a cash offer and they are responsible people who realise they have the country in their hands."

## Red-baiting the Miners

Before the strike began, Heath attempted to utilise the TUC bureaucracy's fears of an all-out miners' strike by recommending that the government and unions agree to abide by the Pay Board's timely report on "relationships."

The report accepted that higher wage increases might be given to groups of workers who could prove that they were a "special case." Acceptance of Heath's proposal would imply labour movement approval for the Tory incomes policy. Initially the report had received a lukewarm reception from the government, and at that point Labour party leader Harold Wilson became its best champion.

But the miners wanted "cash on the table," and the NUM bureaucracy, even with Wilson's help, could not make a deal with the government. The TUC-government talks broke down as a result, and the massive strike vote forced the Tories to call an election. Immediately upon doing so, the government announced that it was referring the miners' wage claim for consideration as a special case to the Pay Board for recommendation—something it had refused to do beforehand without a TUC commitment to a government incomes policy.

Having made his election announcement, Heath refused to back down from his strategy of confrontation with the trade unions. Determined to defend Phase III at all costs, he made it clear that the Tories would run their election campaign with all the antiunion demagoguery and red-baiting

necessary for them to win a new mandate for further attacks on the miners and the labour movement generally.

The Conservative party election manifesto, published February 11, charged: "The choice before the nation today, as never before, is a clear choice between moderation and extremism. We therefore appeal, at this critical time in our country's affairs, for the support of the great moderate majority of the British people, men and women of all parties and no party, who reject extremism in any shape or form." The manifesto stressed the party's determination to stand by Phase III and force on the miners a settlement within its terms.

In addition to trying to whip up antiunion feeling and launching a scare about "extremists," the Tories began to gird themselves for a bitter struggle against the strike itself. In a speech to a Tory rally February 8, Attorney General Sir Peter Rowlinson said that any repetition of the mass "flying pickets" used so successfully in the 1972 miners' strike would be considered illegal by the government. He warned that the Industrial Relations Act and the precedent of the Shrewsbury 24 case and other recent legal precedents would be used against the miners.

"It is very difficult," Rowlinson said, "to imagine how any so-called mass picketing can be lawful. For the law allows pickets to attend for the purpose of peaceful persuasion. It does not allow them to attend for the purpose of obstruction or intimidation. The likely consequences of mass picketing are obviously obstruction or intimidation rather than peaceful persuasion. In such a case those who have organised or have taken part in such a picket have committed a criminal offence."

The government's threats readily intimidated the NUM leadership. Just before Heath's election announcement, the NUM brass sent out strict instructions to NUM area secretaries that pickets should not include more than six persons! In Nottinghamshire, NUM officials said that they would ask the police to move on any groups other than miners who turned up at picket lines.

### Wilson's Treachery

The Labour party leaders have

played a treacherous role in the miners' struggle, joining in Tory red-baiting attempts and urging postponement of the strike until after the election.

The Labour party election manifesto, released on February 8, demonstrated Wilson's anti-working-class approach to the crisis. The manifesto openly committed the party to support for an incomes policy:

"Only practical action by the government to create a much fairer distribution of the national wealth can convince the worker and his family and his trade union that an 'incomes policy' is not some kind of trick to force him, particularly if he works in a public service or a nationalised industry, to bear the brunt of the national burden."

Workers should not be cajoled into thinking that an incomes policy—"voluntary" or otherwise—is anything but an attempt to drive down real wages and boost profits.

The manifesto also promises "substantially to extend public enterprise," but it is clear that the promise falls far short of what is needed. In order to plan use of resources for the satisfaction of the needs of the people, the Labour party should nationalise the land, the big industrial monopolies, and the financial institutions, and operate them under workers' control.

Another failing of the manifesto is its proposal to renegotiate the terms of entry into the Common Market. A policy really in the interests of the labour movement would repudiate the Common Market altogether, for its only purpose has been to advance the interests of European big business and cut into workers' living standards. The Labour party should call for an immediate withdrawal from the Common Market and should fight for a Socialist United States of Europe.

Most striking about the manifesto is the lack of any reference to the attitude of a future Labour government to the struggle of the Irish people for self-determination. To date, the Labour party brass have backed the Tories all down the line in their campaign against the Irish people.

It was the last Labour government, after all, that first sent British troops to Ireland in 1969. A real socialist policy would call for a mass campaign in Britain to get the troops withdrawn immediately, release all Irish

political prisoners, and acknowledge the right of the Irish people to determine their own affairs.

The Labour leaders' shameful complicity with the oppression of the people of Ireland is paralleled by their pro-Zionist support for the colonial settler state of Israel. Rather than solidarise with the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people, the Labour party leaders propose to *increase* the British government's military aid to Israel beyond that already given by the Tories. It is only consistent that the manifesto then reaffirms the party's support for NATO and other imperialist war alliances.

The bureaucratic leadership of the Labour party is a major obstacle in the struggle for socialism. Its red-baiting attacks on the miners at the height of their struggle and its right-wing manifesto proposals only hold back the working-class movement.

However, while vigorously criticising these misleaders, socialists have thrown their support behind the Labour party in the coming election to defeat the Tory government. Many bourgeois commentators correctly described the election as the most bitter and the most class-polarised election in many decades. As the February 8 *Times* editorial put it:

"This will be a very difficult and perhaps a very bitter election. It is the first election in British history to be forced by an industrial dispute. . . . It is the first election since 1931 to be fought in a period of economic crisis. It is an election which affects fundamental social and economic relationships in our society." □

### Maharishi Thought

Professional guru Maharishi Mahesh Yogi visited Stockholm in January to speak about his "World Plan to improve the quality of life" and transcendental meditation, which "brings about very beautiful modifications in the nervous system." One of the potential disciples who sat at his feet was Tien Chang, the chancellor of the Chinese Embassy in Stockholm. Upon hearing from Chang that China's grain production was rising, the Maharishi said: "Mao is pleased with his achievements. He must be a very great man. He would appreciate this World Plan to improve the quality of life. . . ." He also offered to train Chinese teachers for the 700 teacher-training centers he would like to set up in China under his World Plan.



## Grigorenko's Appeal to 1968 CP Meeting

[We are printing below the complete text of an open letter by Pyotr Grigorenko to the participants of the Conference of Communist parties, which met in Budapest at the end of February 1968. It is preceded by an introductory letter signed by Grigorenko and Aleksei Kosterin, an old Bolshevik writer who had spent seventeen years in Stalin's prison camps. Kosterin died later in 1968. Grigorenko has been imprisoned since 1969. (See *Intercontinental Press*, February 25, p. 197.)

[Dated February 13, 1968, the document remains one of the most interesting and exceptional analyses of the nature of the Soviet Union to be written by a Soviet dissident. The original Russian text, of which this is the first English translation to be published, was received by the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners. Kosterin's appeal, referred to in the introductory letter, is still unavailable in the West.

[The translation for *Intercontinental Press* is by Marilyn Vogt.]

\* \* \*

To:

Comrade J. Kadar, Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers party;

Comrade W. Rochet, Central Committee, French Communist party;

Comrade L. Longo, Central Committee, Italian Communist party.

Copy to: Comrade L. Brezhnev, Central Committee, Communist party of the Soviet Union.

Dear Comrades:

Guided by an awareness of our duty as communists, we the undersigned have decided to send letters of appeal to those attending the Budapest Conference.

We earnestly request that you:

1. Distribute these letters as conference documents;

2. Support our request that we be invited to attend the conference.

P. Grigorenko  
A. Kosterin

\* \* \*

To the participants of the Budapest Conference:

Comrades:

I assume that you have gathered in Budapest because of your concern with the fate of the world communist movement.

I, like you and all true communists, am very much troubled by the presence of a deepgoing crisis in our movement. But I am even more alarmed that in the Soviet press the existence of this crisis is concealed in every way possible. Publications that broach this issue insist that communism is marching triumphantly across the planet and that only enemy propaganda, passing off wishful thinking for reality, is making noise about a crisis.

You know better than I do that—to put it mildly—such information does not correspond to the truth. Manifestations of the crisis are so obvious that to dispute its existence shows, at best, a lack of seriousness. The only people who could dare to do that are those who do not care what happens to the movement and are looking not for a way to cure the disease but for a means by which they can deceive and tranquilize the general public and lull it to sleep.

The only thing that there may be some debate about is whether this exceedingly unpleasant phenomenon is worthy of special attention or if it is better to try to smooth over the differences quietly, keeping it in the family.

The leadership of the CPSU, as can be understood from its official statements, supports the latter course. It has repeatedly proposed that we put aside the disputed issues and reestablish unity by concentrating our efforts on resolving tasks upon which a general consensus has been attained.

For communists, the question of unity is undoubtedly a decisive one, inasmuch as communists are fighting

for a goal that is international in character—to reconstruct human society according to communist principles. And when the leaders of the CPSU talk about achieving unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, I suppose they have in mind this very goal, common to communists the world over.

Supposedly, the entire question is quite simple: If you agree with the goal, join our ranks; if you do not agree, go and join the camp of communism's enemies. But this simplicity is more apparent than real. The trouble is that the fundamental conceptions of how the science of Marxism-Leninism should be applied in the contemporary situation are not being defined in a way that is clear and acknowledged by all.

In order to explain how this has come about, it is appropriate to present a brief history.

It is well known that half a century ago communism passed over from being simply a theory into a real-world phenomenon; and from that moment, many people began to judge communism not by what was written in books and not by the utterances of the communist leaders and theoreticians, but by practical achievements in the Soviet Union.

And in the early years, these achievements served as an inspiring example for the workers of the entire world. Despite the enemies' resistance and the most colossal domestic difficulties, the workers and peasants were able to uphold the power they had won, and the country, under the leadership of its elected representatives, experienced one success after another:

—in an extremely short historical period, it moved from a state of semi-barbarism to the most advanced levels of industrial development;

—the economy based on peasants with small or very small holdings was collectivized and a highly mechanized agricultural complex, the greatest in the world, was created.

—a genuine cultural revolution took place: the broadest number of the working masses had access to the achievements of science, and all the benefits of culture and art were brought within reach of the people.

Broad masses of communists within the country and the communist public beyond the borders of our native land



did not know how and by what methods this was accomplished, and hence did not ponder over the question of whether these successes were socialist in nature. The Soviet people and our friends abroad were impressed by the fact that all this was accomplished by the workers themselves without the landlords and capitalists; without the czarist officials or aid from outside; without foreign loans or contributions and without recourse to colonial plunder. And all this was accomplished under conditions of capitalist encirclement.

On the question of this encirclement it is proper to be more specific.

The interventions that were engineered abroad and the subsequent blockade evoked in turn a reaction: We did everything by ourselves. This natural and healthy response grew, as time passed, into a reactionary isolationism.

The clearly hostile and slanderous bourgeois propaganda caused our foreign friends to fully distrust all the bourgeois reports. And within the USSR, especially among the new intelligentsia, there arose a determination not to give out for use in this propaganda campaign the actual data on our shortcomings. It is precisely this objective that has explained the fact that not only in foreign relations but even domestically, the negative aspects of our life began to be hidden, spoken of only behind closed doors to a narrow circle of party and state leaders.

Stalin was able to derive considerable advantage from the domestic as well as the foreign reactions to the propaganda that was hostile to the Soviet Union. Introducing the strictest censorship, forbidding Soviet citizens—under penalty of death—to make any kind of contact whatever with foreigners, making the lie an instrument of governmental policy, he managed to insure that life in the Soviet Union was illuminated only in a light that pleased him. Every success—real or imaginary—was blown up and extolled in every way possible. Every mistake or failure was attributed to enemy intrigues or passed off as a lie.

This was so much the easier to do because he had found reliable assistants.

On his deathbed the great Lenin warned the communists of the Soviet

Union that he was bequeathing to the party not simply Soviet power but "Soviet power with bureaucratic distortions." While doing so, he indicated that the bureaucrat is the central, most dangerous enemy of Soviet power. The party, unfortunately, did not heed his warning, and the Soviet bureaucracy began to become more and more entrenched. The bureaucracy sensed, perhaps unconsciously, that the masses—their control—presented the greatest threat to its existence. Therefore, when



BREZHNEV: Short memory?

tendencies to limit open criticism of shortcomings began to appear among the masses, the bureaucrats actively supported these tendencies and used them toward their own ends. It turned out that way because, as the poet N. Korzhaven said to the protagonist of his poem *Tanka*, an enthusiastic communist who had given himself body and soul to the party, "You lied for a good cause . . . but those who were more capable than you at contriving lies took up the lie as a tradition."

When Stalin undertook action directed toward getting out from under the control of the party and the working masses, the bureaucracy proved to be a most reliable ally for him in this cause, since it was freeing itself by this means from a potential control that could only terrify it: the initiative of the masses.

Thus Stalin and the apparatus he led ended up beyond the control of the masses inside the country and beyond the criticism of the Communist parties of the world. The experiment in building a society that the best minds of humanity had dreamed about, the success of which was in the interest of the broadest masses of workers, ended up being handed over to a small group of "communist priests" who "solemnly performed rites" somewhere behind closed doors, passing off the outcome of their efforts as the highest achievements of human genius. In other words, conditions were deliberately created such that a scientific experiment that was to be the first attempt to organize a socialist system could not take the correct course.

Worst of all, it turned out that there was no one to reveal the mistakes in the experiment. Mass terror was soon instituted in the Soviet Union, striking not only the real opponents but even the potential critics of Stalin's regime. This repression was carried out in an environment that was exceptionally favorable from Stalin's point of view. The major portion of the population believed in the insidiousness of the enemies—in the enemies' enduring determination to harm us and their ability to penetrate every sector of our life, cleverly masquerading as friends. They believed that the victorious construction of socialism was under way in our country.

Even the people who fell into the hands of the Stalin-Beria torturers were for a long time unable to comprehend what was taking place. They did not understand how this power that had promoted them to the highest levels was now emerging as their executioner. It seemed to them that this was all some kind of terrible mistake, that it was intrigues of the class enemy; that their party and government would examine every aspect of the matter and that for the time being they had to endure and obey.

It never occurred to them that what they were observing in the case at hand was a totally new phenomenon, unprecedented in history—the population that was being "worn down" by a bureaucratic machine for the purpose of converting it into the meek implementors of an alien will were not ignorant and impoverished masses. Rather they were people who had access to all the benefits of culture,

who had ascended to the very heights of contemporary science, literature, and art. To attain this unprecedented objective, unprecedented methods were applied. While in times past the most brutal of tyrannies resorted to such a method as executing every tenth person only in cases when it was necessary to subdue rebellious military units, now all the people were dealt with more savagely than the mutineers of old had been.

But before the war, none of our friends abroad could have found out about this. During the second world war the peoples of the world looked to the Soviet Union as the savior from the inhuman Hitlerite tyranny. Progressive people of the world were imbued with an inexhaustible love for our country and for a long time would hear nothing negative about it.

Therefore, the cries of those tortured in Beria's chambers and the moans of millions who liberated Europe and were now perishing in the boundless expanses of Siberia and the Far East were not heard by the world community for a long time. Bitter cold and disease literally decimated the poorly clad people who had been weakened by starvation, backbreaking labor, the unbearable living conditions, and savage treatment. But the world heard only the florid marches and bombastic reports about the happy life afforded the people by the "great leader and teacher," our "own beloved Stalin."

Nevertheless, times had changed in the postwar world. The fact that Communist parties came to power in a number of countries in Southeast and Central Europe and in Asia, particularly the revolution in China, led to a weakening of the USSR's position in the world Communist movement. The day when Lenin's dream of a "World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" could be realized not only failed to draw closer, but was put off for a long time to come. Centrifugal forces began to manifest themselves with particular strength after Stalin's death. The leaders of the new socialist states were no longer of a mind to tremble in fear before Stalin's machine for reprisals against objectionable persons. This situation, along with certain of the Soviet state's domestic phenomena, compelled the CPSU leadership to come out with partial disclosures of the Stalin calamity. However, the Twentieth Congress of

the CPSU did not disclose the full essence of what had gone on. What was said at the congress was not the whole truth or half the truth, or even one thousandth of the truth. All in all, what was reported to the congress—in a very restrained manner and distorted form—was only a very tiny part of the truth on one issue: the brutalities of Stalin's period of rule. But even reporting this tiny bit frightened them, and immediately after the congress they began to equivocate: First, "Stalin performed this and that horrible crime"; later on we hear, "We will not allow Stalin to be insulted."

However, the brutality did not exist in a vacuum. It was only one consequence of the particular system of government administration. The whole truth was far more terrible: *In all practical matters in the USSR there was a fundamental departure from Marxist-Leninist theory.* The points listed below attest to this.

1. The social structure created under Stalin's leadership was not able to provide a higher level of labor productivity than had capitalism. But according to Marxist teachings this is the main criterion for determining the viability of the new social structure.

2. The Soviet Union was not only unable to attain the main goal of the proletarian revolution—the elimination of the state through its depoliticization. It did not even open up a practical avenue toward this end. In fact, the course of events in the post-October period followed the same road as all previous revolutions. A machine for suppression was created that was more perfect than the one that had existed before October. But according to Marxist-Leninist theory the old mechanism for governing is supposed to be smashed and broken and replaced by a state that "is withering away," that "will begin to wither away immediately and cannot do otherwise."

3. Instead of the unlimited expansion of democracy envisaged by the teachings of Marx and Lenin, democracy ended up being totally liquidated, without a trace remaining. A state was set up that had an unprecedented degree of totalitarian control. There was a monstrous centralization of every area of Soviet life. In the entire country there was not one independent popular organization. Not only the party and state apparatus, but

also the trade unions, scientific and cultural societies, religious communities, editorial boards, publishers, and so forth, were all only appendages of a single, far-flung bureaucratic apparatus directed from the center and controlled by an organ especially created for this purpose. (At the present time this organ is called the KGB.)

A gigantic bureaucratic octopus has the entire society in its tentacles and is strangling it to death. It is impossible to undertake any organized public activity if it isn't arranged and authorized by the higher bureaucratic body. Religious activities are possible only on that condition. Gatherings, meetings, demonstrations, and other activities organized by the bureaucratic apparatus are carried out in accordance with well-known models or carefully prepared stage directions. No one can say or do anything that does not correspond to the organizers' wishes.

All this applies not only to ordinary people but even to functionaries of the bureaucratic hierarchy on all levels, and to scientists, writers, and artists as well. Every person who has attempted to resist these methods has been eliminated or completely isolated from society. Bulgakov, Mandelstam, Pilniak, Platonov, and hundreds of other writers, scientists, and artists whom it would take too long to enumerate are some of those who sought to defend their right to free expression of ideas and sentiments and would not say or do what was commanded if doing so would mean violating their convictions. . . .

The speeches of the party and its leadership role during the period of Stalin's personal dictatorship are nothing but demagogic chatter, devoid of meaning and having nothing in common with reality. The party, to use Gramsci's expression, was at that point "nothing but a simple executor that doesn't discuss. . . . Its name is merely a metaphor having the properties of a myth."

What was involved in fact was the complete failure of humanity's first attempt at creating a social system fairer than capitalism. No one (except a fool) would want to replace the most backward capitalism with a backward "socialism." It is possible that this is precisely why those on whom all of that depended were opposed to disclosure of the truth.



But we all know that the truth cannot be hidden, and it becomes ever more widely known. But since the attempt was made stubbornly to hide the truth and since the truth was disseminated above all through bourgeois channels, the people began to think that the Soviet system and communism were one and the same.

It is on precisely this level that the present crisis developed. It is from the Soviet system that anticommunism draws arguments for its struggle against the world Communist movement. In such a situation the world Communist movement could save itself as an ideological current in only one way: by totally and unequivocally distinguishing itself from the "socialist" system of the USSR. But this was not done and it is the CPSU that is above all responsible for that fact.

After the Twentieth Congress, the leadership of our party not only failed to become involved in correcting the anticommunist course of Stalinism, but it began to impede denunciation of Stalinism. The line in the direction of a complete return to Stalinism was expressed most clearly after the Twenty-third Congress of the CPSU.

At the present time the censor does not permit the publication of any document revealing the true nature of Stalinist rule.

Even the term "personality cult" has been secretly banned. On the other hand, everything that in a more or less veiled manner whitewashes Stalin and his time encouraged. We observe the same line in the official statements of leading party and state figures.

Thus L. I. Brezhnev in his address "Fifty years of the Great October Revolution" completely "forgot" not only the entire period of prewar and postwar repression, but also the Twentieth and Twenty-second Party Congresses, which exposed the savage character of Stalin's dictatorship. However, he did not let pass a chance to place Stalin as unobtrusively as possible on the same level as Lenin: In the Civil War "in order to mobilize the country's forces to crush its enemies, the Soviet for Workers' and Peasants' Defense was created with V.I. Lenin at its head"; and in the Great Patriotic War "there was a State Committee for Defense with Stalin presiding."

Yu. V. Andropov, in an address

on the fiftieth anniversary of the state security organs, could not help but mention the illegalities of the Stalin period, since the organs he was praising—and they actually were glorified—were the organs contrived to annihilate many outstanding organizers of the VChK (All-Union Extraordinary Commission, Cheka). However, while making a very obscure reference to "violations of socialist legality" (not in the period of Stalin's dictatorship or even in the time of Stalin's cult, but in the times when "political adventurers worked their way into the leadership of the security organs"; do you sense how easily Stalinism is replaced by its offspring, Beriaism?) he indicated then and there that this did not alter the *socialist* nature of these organs.

Thus was perfected the "ideological" preparation, if we can call it that, for the revival of Stalinism to its full scope. No less have been the "successes" in the sphere of its revival in practice.

We know that the changes that took place in the country after the Twentieth Party Congress applied only to the most loathsome manifestations of Stalinism, but in no way affected its foundations.

For example, the massive repression and brutal torture were discontinued, but the possibility still remained that both might be resumed, since just as in Stalin's time there is no publicity about legal proceedings, and just as before we have no control over the functioning of the KGB.

One positive phenomenon has been a certain leveling of the discrepancies in living standards. And although as a result of this, the living standard of the urban workers, the engineering and technological personnel, and the lower-echelon office employees sharply declined, on the other hand collective-farm workers stopped going hungry.

Some other smaller changes took place. But for the most part the components of the Stalinist order were left untouched and their authority is tenaciously defended.

The isolated signs of a democratization in internal party life that followed the Twentieth Party Congress have long since been suppressed. Members of the party have been deprived of any rights whatsoever and have only one duty: unquestioning obedience to the party, state, and industrial administra-

tive apparatus.

The rights the organs for state security had in the previous period have been restored to them. It is well known that after Beria's clique was crushed, these organs' main line of activity was intelligence and counterintelligence. Therefore, their numbers were sharply cut back and an intelligence specialist was appointed to supervise the work. Now these organs have been directed once again, as in Stalin's time, mainly into the struggle against popular protest within this country. In connection with this, they have again been given the right of total control over the activity of every institution and organization, including the party. Accordingly, the numerical strength of the security organs has been restored and the leadership has again passed into the hands of a political figure who is joining the ranks of the party-state elite. Now the KGB is a committee in name only. By virtue of its importance and its numerous personnel, it is the same kind of super-administrative organ as it was under Beria.

The main features of the Stalinist structure have also been preserved—government by means of lies and terror. It is true that the terror is not being displayed so openly and does not have the same abominable forms it did not so long ago. But to make up for it, the lying has reached most incredible heights. The lying is done openly—in the press, on radio, and on television—and secretly at different kinds of meetings and conferences, in reports, conversations, instructions, and seminars.

The open lie is used to present our economic and social life in the way that is most advantageous to the ruling circles—to misrepresent the facts about what really has taken place, exaggerate the significance of isolated successes, maintain silence about failures, etc. Particularly notable distortions can be seen in the way historical events are rendered.

The histories of the party and of the Soviet state have been falsified to such a degree that it is embarrassing to read them, the very same event being presented in different ways in different years, but all of them false. Even Stalin's illegal and savage annihilation of those he imagined to be competitors for power—the best students and closest collaborators of the



great Lenin, the true Bolshevik-Communists: Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kamenov, Rykov, and the others—until now has been presented as a blessing in disguise, the liquidation of socialism's worst enemies. Anyone who attempts to restore historical truth is viciously persecuted. Not long ago A.M. Nekrich was expelled from the party for venturing to raise ever so slightly the curtain hiding the secrets about how criminally ill-prepared we were for the war.

But particularly disgusting is the undercover falsehood, which is calculated to appeal to the ill-informed and ignorant listener and earmarked "for internal use only," for distribution by the philistines "by word of mouth."

We would say one could judge the character of such undercover statements by the speech of the chief editor of *Pravda*, (truth!) Zimyanin, at the Leningrad press building October 5, 1967. He stated that when the text of his speech was distributed in samizdat without any commentary whatever, he was forced to issue a refutation.

Falsehood has literally become a fundamental element of the official practice of the bureaucratic apparatus. Here is a small illustration. The trial of [Yuri] Galanskov, [Aleksandr] Ginzburg, and the others was literally shrouded in lies. Vice-Chairman of the Moscow City Court Mironov, who presided at the trial, lied when on the eve of the trial he announced to citizens who made appeals to him that the case in question was not under the jurisdiction of the Moscow City Court and that he did not know what court would handle it. A department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also lied in announcing to a *l'Humanité* [French CP newspaper] correspondent on the day the trial began that the date of the trial had as yet not been established. Deliberate lies about this trial, and slander of the defendants and witnesses, were publicized by *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (truth!!) and *Izvestia*.

Lies continue to be cultivated at the highest levels regarding the basic law of the land, the Constitution. Our constitution to this very day is purely for show, serving only to foster the myth abroad that workers in the USSR have very democratic right and freedom.

In fact the Criminal Code complete-

ly ignores the Constitution in every way. It contains an article (the article on anti-Soviet agitation) which can be used to block the realization of any of the constitutional freedoms. One can judge the nature of this article by the mere fact that analogous legislation exists only in a country with a fascist dictatorship. Not one bourgeois democracy has such a statute. Even in the United States, where monopolization and conformism have become very highly developed, no law on anti-American activity has yet been forced through.



ANDREI SINYAVSKY

But in our country it has now turned out that even this antipeople article is not enough. New, draconian laws against potential opposition have been passed. Thus, in September 1966 two additions to the Criminal Code were adopted that completely abrogate the citizens' constitutional rights to free speech, press, meetings, gatherings, demonstrations, and also the greatest conquest of the working class—the right to strike. These amendments were adopted in deepest secrecy amid the noisy clamor of a struggle against hooliganism.

The camps for political prisoners are now, as in Stalin's time, barely distinguishable from Hitler's camps.

As before, for political "criminals" in the USSR there is neither a trial nor an investigation in the normal sense of the words. If anyone had

any doubts on this score, the trial of the writers [Andrei] Sinyavsky and [Yuri] Daniel and especially the recent political trial in Moscow (Galanskov, Ginzburg, Dobrovolsky, and Lashkova) left no room for such doubts. And dozens of similar trials have been conducted over the past two years although it is true that Soviet society at large and the world community do not know about them.

The trial of Ginzburg, Galanskov, and the others, referred to above, provokes particular concern. It does so by its clearly provocative nature. The people were arrested because they dared to utilize their constitutional rights and spoke out against earlier illegalities [committed by the government]. They were condemned on the basis of a totally unfounded charge, concocted during a year-long "investigation," of having ties with the NTS [Narodno-Trudovoy Soyuz—Popular Labor Alliance, a right-wing exile group]. In the wholly unfounded nature of the charges, the trial under discussion is fully on a par with the provocative trials of the 1930s, when the sole proof of guilt was the unsubstantiated assertion that the accused was "an enemy of the people." The only difference is that back then they were more frank about it. There were brazen reprisals behind closed doors, with no trial, and now the comedy of an "open" trial is played out and the newspapers even carry a "report"—the most disgusting nonsense, containing not one shred of truth, which is nevertheless purported to be an objective court record.

The appalling genocide continues, on a lesser scale than in Stalin's time, it is true; but it continues none the less. With respect to the Crimean Tatars and the Volga Germans, it has taken forms and methods that are particularly intolerable. By order of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, i.e., under the aegis of the highest official bodies, the Crimean Tatars were even deprived of the right to call themselves a nation. In the Order of September 26, 1967, and in subsequent documents they are referred to as "citizens of the Tatar nationality who had previously lived in the Crimea." Evidently one could just as easily speak of Hungarians as "citizens of the Tatar nationality now living in Hungary."

Naturally, under such conditions, no normal social relations could be developed.

Amidst those who serve the bureaucracy, careerism and moral and ideological indifference are flourishing. None of them, although almost all have a party card, have seriously studied Marxism-Leninism. They only talk about and swear by it; but they do not know its fundamental principles and do not want to know them. The present life fully suits them. The most highly-placed bureaucrats, when the opportunity arises, paint pictures of a happy tomorrow that awaits the Soviet workers, not forgetting for a second the importance of defending their own today by every means available to them. They quote Lenin. But the secretaries and reference workers select quotes for them with the sole purpose in mind of using the quote to strengthen the orator's "general" idea. And woe to Lenin if nothing can be found in his writings that is appropriate. If that happens, they take the first passage they come upon and so mutilate it that "heaven becomes hell."

It is no surprise, therefore, that the judges in the political trials often end up being totally helpless and even ridiculous when in the course of the case they have to join in a polemic against the "anti-Soviet" defendants, among whom there are always people who have studied Marxism-Leninism seriously and extensively. A way out of this awkward situation was soon found. It was not, of course, to have well-educated people as judges. Not at all. Quotations from Marxist-Leninist classics and references to them have simply been forbidden at political trials.

Preposterous? No, it is a fact! And this fact is not surprising if one knows that many of Lenin's works, especially from the later years of his life—above all on the question of bureaucratism—were forbidden publication by Stalin and to this day are secretly banned, despite assurances that his "complete collected works" have been published. The impression is created that this new "filling out" of Lenin's works was done not in the interest of Marxist-Leninist science, but in order more safely to hide the real Lenin from the broad readership. Can it really be that *Leninism* too is the internal

business of the CPSU leadership? Do the fraternal parties really have no right to ask of this leadership? Why are these things happening?

Naturally what has been described here cannot help but provoke public protest within the country. And this protest is beginning to be manifested ever more openly. Here are some facts.

In conjunction with the fact that before the Twenty-third Party Congress rumors were circulating that a partial rehabilitation of Stalin was being contemplated at the congress, several dozen of the most prominent scholars, writers, cultural figures, and artistic figures sent an appeal to the Central Committee requesting that this not be allowed. The people took up this appeal by sending a whole wave of letters in support of it. And although the Central Committee hid this event from the congress, it could not help but take it into account.

Still greater was the public reaction to the thoughtful, courageous, civic-minded letter of the most outstanding contemporary Soviet writer, A. I. Solzhenitsyn, to the Fourth Congress of the Soviet Writers' Union. And there has already been a literal torrent of letters to Pavel Litvinov and Larissa Bogoraz-Daniel in connection with their appeal to Soviet and world public opinion. The fundamental character of this mass of letters can be judged by a letter by twenty-four students, a copy of which I am attaching.

Moreover, there are also other letters that sharply condemn reality in our country. I will illustrate this with a short excerpt from such a letter [addressed to Pavel Litvinov]: "Yes, indeed, your famous grandfather would not find fault with you, a grandson worthy of him. I say this to you as a Communist, a person who is not indifferent to the fate of our ideals. I remember speeches your grandfather made to the League of Nations. In his statements he castigated the fascist brown shirts. But fascists can dress themselves in any color and wear any toga. You are throwing down the gauntlet before a new fascism, one that like a chameleon has donned our glorious red. Even under the czarist regime writers were not put on trial. This only happens where fascism flourishes. We, the ordinary people, have long been asking ourselves: 'How did we

let Soviet power slip away? Into whose hands has it fallen?'"

But what is important here is not so much the letters as the general rise in public responsiveness. In all, only the most active-minded are writing, and they address themselves to the appeals, the majority being sympathetic. One can say with certainty that now, at least in Moscow, there are no more popular people than P. Litvinov and L. Daniel.

Only the party and state leadership remain silent. They have chosen the tactic of keeping silent and hushing it up. Neither letters nor petitions receive a response. Simultaneously measures are taken to impede communication of Soviet citizens among themselves and between Soviet citizens and progressive forces abroad. In the Soviet press not one letter or statement from the representatives of these forces has been published. And telegrams addressed to P. Litvinov and L. Daniel from Bertrand Russell and other prominent scholars, writers, and figures in the arts and culture have not reached them. How does all this look to the rest of the world? It is evident that against such a background, the statements of our leaders in defense of the Greek patriots appear as an act of sheer hypocrisy.

Not the least important feature of the present period is the fact that the people are fed up with being afraid. On a large number of the petitions sent to different governmental institutions during the recent political trial in Moscow, people not only signed their name but indicated their address and place of work. The same thing is seen in letters received by the authors of appeals. Only in one of the letters received by Litvinov was the following written instead of a signature: "Excuse me, but I cannot sign. I have no confidence in our democracy even as it concerns the sending of letters. I believe you will not condemn me." And indeed it is difficult to condemn him. He could not do otherwise. The man's civic conscience is apparently only awakening. Not so long ago, only a few people in the entire country would sign a statement.

But there are, all the same, anonymous letters in the full sense of the word. Both of the authors have received greetings on anonymous *post*



cards. These postcards obviously came from the same factory. They also had an identical opening: "You are a Jew . . ." and continue in the same "style," with foul language, including obscenities. I myself did not go through it, but I believe that in the times of darkest reaction during the reign of Nicholas the Bloody, members of the Black Hundreds wrote the same kind of postcards to revolutionaries. And this phenomenon also characterizes the present time in our country. It is characteristic not only that the Black Hundreds are again rearing their heads, but particularly that the riffraff, speaking from governmental positions, have not dared to sign their names and have used foul language and made threats while hiding like cowards.

Social protest means arrest. And social protest is being manifested everywhere. Even the anonymous letters that have been referred to indicate that it is ripening. Those who have written them understand that it is difficult to find those who sympathize with them. A very broad section of society sympathizes with the protesters. These people are paying attention, looking for answers to questions that are troubling them, and they want to know the truth. In the theaters, the only productions that enjoy success are those in which pressing social problems are posed, if only in Aesopian fashion. The same applies to literature and movies. In the film *Our Contemporary* when the secretary of the oblast committee ended his speech — one that was outwardly cogent but actually shot through with lies and hypocrisy — with the provocative question: "Well, what will you tell the workers?" and the protagonist, without hesitating, answered: "The truth, *only the truth*," the hall invariably exploded with a storm of applause. And in this also there is an undeniable manifestation of public protest against the vile stream of lies that floods the country from the Soviet press and the official rostrums.

Yet that same party leadership that is responsible for all that has been described above in its own country, persistently reiterates the need to restore unity "on the basis of Marxism-Leninism." The question arises: What does it consider Marxism-Leninism to be? Is it really Marxism-Leninism that

is at work in our country?

Our country, it is obvious to everyone, cannot serve as a basis for judgment. In fact, many Communist parties have already come to the conclusion that to preserve what influence they have, they must more or less openly declare that when their party comes to power, it will not allow a repetition of what happened in the USSR. Thus, unity on the basis of



PAVEL LITVINOV

endorsing what is going on in the USSR is excluded.

*What, then, can serve as the basis for unity?*

Some believe that there can be only one answer to this question — *no less than completely eliminating from Communist ideology the stench of Stalinism.*

The great Lenin said of the Communist parties that they are the "mind, honor, and conscience of the epoch." The policies of the CPSU do not give it the right to be so characterized. And all the parties that will not openly say that this is true are themselves unworthy of this distinction. Their declarations that upon coming to power they will not repeat what happened in the USSR must be viewed in this instance as a tactical maneuver, an attempt to betray their own people.

Those who are actually devoted to the ideas of Communism will not be afraid to speak the truth to the peoples of the world openly and unequivocally. Statements about how the disclosure of past flaws will make Communist ideals look less attractive are

just as unfounded as the anticommunist lamentations based on the experience of the USSR and falsification of Marxist-Leninist doctrine as proof that the ideas are unviable and utopian. *But in the USSR it is not the ideas of Communism that have suffered a defeat, but a particular policy calling itself socialist but in reality nothing of the sort.*

The Communist ideal for social organization lives in the dreams of humanity on a much broader scale than the teachings of Marxism. And naturally Marxism, as the scientific expression of humanity's dream, cannot disappear just because there has been an unsuccessful attempt at the realization of that dream. Such an attempt, even an unsuccessful one, only enriches the science and can significantly strengthen it. And the many millions of victims of Stalinism will not be lost without a trace. Their sacred blood and their torment summon us to spare no effort to overcome the present awesome crisis as quickly as possible.

I think it is clear that the resolution of this task is in no way to be found in the realm of secret agreements among party leaders.

Communism is the dream of all humanity, but the attempt to realize it was performed in secret, and information about it was concealed from the broad mass of working people. Worse than that, the people were betrayed and deceived regarding the true results of the experiment. This is precisely why the experiment failed. But this failure occurred not behind the scenes in secret laboratories, but before the eyes of an astonished humanity. It is obvious that after that has happened the world's people cannot allow the explanation of what took place to be hidden away behind closed doors. They want to know the truth — *the whole truth!* And they have a right to know it!

Under these circumstances the people of the world are justified in regarding any closed-door conference promulgating any sort of declaration, report, or communiqué "streamlined to suit everyone" as a conspiracy of totalitarians against the fundamental interests of the people themselves. And your meeting as well should be open and should be reported comprehensively and in depth in the press. Firm-



ly adhering to such a view, I have composed this letter as an open document. For this reason I have not dealt with the most acute manifestations of social protest in our country or those aspects of the questions examined in this letter that are related to my country's defense capacity. I would speak about all this, if invited to, in one of the closed sessions that, of course, no international conference can avoid having as long as the world is split into hostile warring blocs.

*Put negotiations for unity in the hands of the rank-and-file communist masses!* This is the only slogan that your conference can advance to fulfill the hopes that have been entrusted to it. One can only wonder why this slogan, the only one that can be effective, has not been advanced until now. In truth, the present leaders of the party have conclusively proven how totally incapable they are of settling the differences that have arisen among them. More than twenty years have passed since these differences first came to light and as yet not only have they not been settled, but in fact they are ever deepening. The matter has gone so far that countries calling themselves socialist are openly rattling sabers at one another.

The adoption of this slogan in practice will mean the restoration of international unity among the Communist parties who have adopted it. The conference will fulfill its task and in fact it will mark a turning point in the history of the Communist movement if it adopts this slogan and, pursuant to it, does the following:

1. Openly condemns the present domestic policy of the CPSU as anti-socialist and contradictory to the fundamental ideals of Marxism and Leninism. The principle of "noninterference in the affairs of other parties" is not only inapplicable in the present situation but is harmful and reactionary. It is impermissible to interpret this principle to mean that your party has the right to do anything it has a mind to. Communist parties are internationalist—therefore they cannot renounce their indisputable right to openly criticize any fraternal party for breach of its international duty and violation of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. And no Communist party, if it is really Communist, has the right to show disregard

or disrespect toward this criticism. The international duty of the CPSU is to build a social order that can serve as an inspiring example for all fraternal parties. And, if it does not fulfill its fundamental international duty, it is their responsibility to point this out.

2. Demands that the leadership of the CPSU return to Leninist norms in the party and in the country, not only in word but in deed. As a first step, democratic centralism must be restored in the party. In particular the party must reinstate everyone who was expelled for having a different understanding than the leadership of how Leninist principles should apply to internal party life and state life, and also those who were expelled for violation of party rules. As regards the internal political life, the constitution must be brought into force; and in connection with this, all laws and statutes contradictory to it must be abolished. Constitutional amendments that are necessary to make it conform to the "Declaration of Human Rights" must be introduced.

3. Announces in all the Communist parties wide-ranging internal discussion directed toward full disclosure of the causes of the present crisis. The discussion must have an international character, which means, first, that the course of the discussions and the summaries of them are to be published in the international Communist press with a guarantee of full and comprehensive explanation of all the views, expressed by those who support them, without biased commentary. Second, the right to criticize the activity not only of one's own party but of any other. Third, the right of every participant in the discussion to demand and receive from any party any material that he or she feels is necessary in the course of the discussion. And finally, the right to an international investigation regarding any claim that a discussion was undemocratic or that any current of thought was discriminated against.

With respect to the CPSU the conference participants must recommend that the discussion be launched with the publication of the Central Committee's platform and all other platforms, which will then serve as the basis for discussion. Subsequently the supporters of all the platforms must have equal opportunities to defend their positions, whether by means of

a separate press put out by the advocates of each platform or by a joint press with all platforms allotted an equal number of pages and allowed to have an equal number of representatives on the editorial board. The discussion must be crowned by a congress of the party, with delegates being chosen on the basis of their platforms. I believe—and even without proof it is clear—that in the CPSU precisely those conditions exist that Lenin spoke of at the Tenth Party Congress as the kind that make necessary the voting for delegates on the basis of platforms.

In the USSR a transformation has been carried out that has a socialist character. It is only the bureaucratism that has taken roots in the country that prevents it from becoming socialist. And this bureaucratism can be overcome only through the development of the broadest democracy. The CPSU, if it is worthy of being called a Communist party, is obliged to take the lead in the process of democratizing life in our country. However, this is in no way solely its internal affair. I too want to fight, and am fighting, against bureaucrats. I don't want to and don't intend to contribute to the further development of bureaucratism. The Communist parties of the whole world are concerned that the socialist experiment, interrupted by Stalin's dictatorship, be continued and that a society capable of serving all the people of the world be created. And if the leadership of the CPSU will not agree to this, the true Communists of the world are obligated to sever all relations with it and declare clearly and unequivocally that they do not consider that party to be Communist and do not recognize the country that it rules to be socialist.

Comrades participating in the Conference!

I earnestly request that you give Comrade Kosterin and me an opportunity to take part in the conference. We are certain, and can prove, that what has been stated in our letters reflects opposition views that have become fully matured in the CPSU. And we believe that it will not be long before these views become the prevailing ones in the party. I believe this is reason enough for you to rule in favor of our request.

P. Grigorenko

February 13, 1968