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## Argentina

# Right-Wing Thugs Kill 3 Trotskyists

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Hawatmeh Proposes a 'Dialogue'

**Who Will Benefit From  
a Palestinian Ministate?**

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On the Road to World War III

**SALT Talks--Cover for Nuclear Arms Race**

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Northern Ireland

**Unionist Offensive Poses Threat of Pogrom**

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## Report Asks Release of Sri Lanka Youth

The International League for the Rights of Man has charged the Sri Lanka regime with violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in a report to United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim. According to the May 30 *Christian Science Monitor*, the League protested the continued detention without trial of about 6,000 persons who were jailed after the 1971 crackdown on the young rebels of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front).

The League called on the Bandaranaike regime to end the "deplorable" situation and "immediately release" all those detained who have not been charged. Of the 6,000, only forty-one have been charged and are facing trial, the report stated, the rest being imprisoned for three years "without trial or the prospect of a trial."

"Because many of the detainees have been held incommunicado, many families do not know if their children are among the jailed or missing," the report continued. "There is every indication that detainees will languish in custody . . . for several years."

The League also called for the repeal of the Criminal Justice Commissions Act, which set up the special closed tribunals that are trying the rebels. The act allows the tribunals to function without the presence of the accused, permits confessions obtained through torture, and bars the right to appeal. The League also called for the repeal of the Press Council Act, which was enacted in 1971 and gives the regime sweeping powers of censorship. □

### Accidents Must Be Normal

U.S. nuclear power plants scored an enviable safety record once again in 1973, the Atomic Energy Commission reported recently. Not one of the forty-two plants recorded an "accident." There were, however, some 860 "abnormal events," more than a third of which involved "potentially hazardous" incidents. Every single plant had at least one "abnormal event." The nuclear station in Decatur, Alabama, had sixty-five of them.

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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.

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

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## Right-Wing Thugs Murder 3 Argentine Trotskyists

By Judy White

On May 30 fascist terrorists carried out a new murderous attack against the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International).

At 12:30 a.m. on that date a gang of fifteen thugs, using walkie-talkies and armed with machine guns, clubs, and other firearms, broke into the Pacheco headquarters of the party, beat up the approximately twenty persons present, and kidnapped six PST members.

Antonio Moses, Oscar Dalmacio Mesa, and Mario Sida were forced into the trunks of the goons' cars. Their bodies were found several hours later, after they had been tortured and murdered. Beside the bodies were found nineteen .45 caliber, thirty 9-millimeter, and four .22 caliber shells.

The other three victims, who were women, suffered beatings but were released.

Moses, Mesa, and Sida were young workers and factory delegates in the northern Buenos Aires zone; Moses and Mesa were metalworkers and Sida, a textile worker.

On May 7, 26-year-old PST member Inosencio Fernández had been gunned down in the same district of the city. Like the most recent victims, Fernández had been involved in struggles by workers against the stranglehold of the Peronist bureaucracy, which rules the unions through gangster methods. He had organized the local opposition slate to these bureaucrats in the March elections of the UOM (Unión Obrera Metalúrgica—Metalworkers Union).

According to the May 31 Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*, two additional attacks on the PST occurred in Mar del Plata the same day: Carlos Petroni, a party activist and provisional member of the Frente de Trabajadores Mercantiles (Retail Workers Front), was shot by a group of thugs as he left the Commerce Employees Center. In a separate incident, a bomb exploded in the local PST headquar-

ters, bringing to ten the total number of violent attacks suffered by the PST in recent months. No injuries were reported but considerable damage was done to the premises.

There has been a wave of terrorist killings of Perón's critics ever since the general returned to Argentina.

It started, in fact, with the Ezeiza airport massacre as Perón's plane touched down after his long exile. Scores were killed and several hundred wounded in what was widely believed to be a right-wing provocation.

These murders have received backhanded support from the Peronist administration. The victims have included left-wing Peronist bureaucrats and presumed members of illegal guerrilla organizations as well as PST members.

The assassinations of Moses, Mesa, Sida, and Fernández, combined with the bombings of headquarters, indicate a well-organized effort against the PST. This may well be linked to its trade-union work. The party has been actively promoting the formation of a class-struggle tendency in the Argentine labor movement, and has seen some success in winning sectors of the working class to its perspectives.

One of the most important recent struggles the party has been involved in was the metalworkers strike in Villa Constitución. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 29, p. 499, for background on this fight.) This is the industry that three of the four PST assassination victims worked in.

In the aftermath of a successful strike at the Acindar plant in Villa Constitución, an "antibureaucratic plenum" was called by the local Comisiones Internas (plant committees). At the April 20 gathering, the PST proposed the formation of a national united front of all workers and popular organizations in opposition to attacks from the union bureaucrats and the bosses, and to the repressive legislation passed by the Perón re-

gime. The proposal had already begun to be implemented in the northern Buenos Aires zone where the four PST members were murdered.

Response to the killings of Moses, Mesa, and Sida was rapid and massive: The PST reported work stoppages in several factories and secondary schools that the victims were associated with. According to a May 31 article in the Buenos Aires daily *La Razón*, these were expected to spread to the center of Buenos Aires that afternoon.

Mass student meetings took place only hours after the radio announcement on the discovery of the bodies.

Agustín Tosco, the central leader of the Cordobazo, addressed 2,000 students in the Law School of the University of Buenos Aires in solidarity with the PST the night of May 30.

Statements of support were received by the party's national headquarters from all the left parties.

The Juventud Radical Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Radical [party] Youth) called for the mobilization of all popular sectors as the way to confront the violence.

Student groups and human rights organizations have also solidarized with the PST. Even major bourgeois parties have felt it necessary to condemn the assassinations.

Reacting to mass pressure demanding that the government prosecute the fascist gang, the Parliamentary Labor Committee of the Argentine Chamber of Deputies (made up of the heads of all parties participating in the parliament) was convened on an emergency basis late on the evening of May 30. The committee condemned the attack and called on the administration to take steps to arrest the murderers.

The PST has launched a campaign to broaden the protest against terrorist acts against the left and trade-union movements in Argentina and has asked for international solidarity

messages from other groups and prominent individuals. Such messages

may be addressed: Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, 24 de Noviem-

bre 225, Capital Federal, Buenos Aires, Argentina. □

## Argentina

# Matones Derechistas Asesinan a Tres Trotskistas

Por Judy White

[Esta es una traducción del artículo "Right-Wing Thugs Murder 3 Argentine Trotskyists", que aparece en la página 707 de este mismo número de *Intercontinental Press*].

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El 30 de mayo terroristas fascistas atacaron de nuevo al Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST, organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional, en Argentina).

A las 0:30 horas de ese día una pandilla compuesta por quince matones que usaban radios transmisores para comunicarse e iban armados de metrallas, penetraron en el local partidario de Pacheco, golpearon a las personas que se encontraban ahí (alrededor de veinte) y secuestraron a seis miembros del PST.

Antonio Moses, Oscar Dalmacio Mesa y Mario Sida fueron obligados por la fuerza a subir a los autos de los asaltantes. Sus cuerpos fueron encontrados varias horas más tarde, después de que habían sido torturados y asesinados. Junto a los cuerpos se encontraron diecinueve casquillos de bala calibre .45, treinta de 9 milímetros y cuatro de calibre .22.

Las otras víctimas, que eran mujeres, fueron golpeadas y luego puestas en libertad.

Moses, Mesa y Sida eran jóvenes obreros, delegados de fábricas de la zona norte de Buenos Aires; Moses y Mesa eran obreros metalúrgicos y Sida era textil.

El 7 de mayo había sido asesinado en ese mismo barrio de la ciudad otro miembro del PST: Inosencio Fernández, de veintiseis años de edad. Al igual que las últimas víctimas, Fernández participaba en las luchas obreras contra el control de la burocracia peronista, que domina los sindicatos con métodos gangsteriles. El mes de marzo había organizado una

planilla de oposición a estos burócratas en las elecciones de la UOM (Unión Obrera Metalúrgica).

Según informó el 31 de mayo el diario bonaerense *Clarín*, ese mismo día tuvieron lugar otros dos ataques contra el PST en Mar del Plata. Carlos Petroni, activista del partido y miembro provisional del Frente de Trabajadores Mercantiles, fue bañado por un grupo de matones cuando salía del Centro de Empleados de Comercio. En incidente aparte, explotó una bomba en el local partidario de esa ciudad, haciendo aumentar a diez el número de atentados que ha sufrido el PST en los últimos meses. No se registraron víctimas, pero el edificio resultó bastante dañado.

A partir del regreso de Perón a la Argentina, ha habido una ola de asesinatos contra quienes lo critican.

Comenzó, de hecho, con la masacre del aeropuerto de Ezeiza en el mismo momento en que tocaba tierra el avión en que venía Perón, después de su largo exilio.

Murieron decenas de personas y cientos resultaron heridas en lo que se cree fue una provocación derechista.

Estos asesinatos han contado con el apoyo solapado del gobierno peronista. Las víctimas han sido burócratas peronistas de izquierda, presuntos miembros de organizaciones guerrilleras y miembros del PST. Los asesinatos de Moses, Mesa, Sida y Fernández, combinados con los bombazos en los locales, demuestran la existencia de un ataque bien organizado contra el PST, que bien puede estar relacionado con su trabajo sindical. El partido ha estado promoviendo activamente la formación de una tendencia clasista en el movimiento obrero argentino y la logrado ganarse a algunos sectores de la clase obrera.

Una de las últimas luchas importantes en las que ha participado fue la huelga de los obreros metalúrgicos de Villa Constitución (sobre los antecedentes de esta lucha, ver *Intercontinental Press*, abril 29, p. 499). Tres de las cuatro víctimas del PST eran obreros metalúrgicos.

Después de la huelga exitosa de la fábrica Acindar de Villa Constitución, las Comisiones Internas convocaron a un "plenario antiburocrático". En la reunión del 20 de abril, el PST propuso la formación de un frente unido nacional de todas las organizaciones obreras y populares para enfrentar los ataques de los burócratas sindicales, los patrones y la legislación represiva aprobada por el régimen de Perón. La proposición ya ha comenzado a implementarse en la zona norte de Buenos Aires, donde fueron asesinados los cuatro miembros del PST.

La respuesta al asesinato de Moses, Mesa y Sida fue rápida y masiva: el PST informó de paros en varias fábricas y escuelas secundarias con las que estaban relacionadas las víctimas. Según informó el 31 de mayo el periódico *La Razón*, de Buenos Aires, se esperaba que para la tarde los paros se extendieran al centro de Buenos Aires.

Sólo unas horas después de que se anunció por la radio el descubrimiento de los cuerpos, se realizaron actos masivos de estudiantes. Agustín Tosco, dirigente central del Cordobazo, habló la noche del 30 de mayo ante 2,000 estudiantes reunidos en la Facultad de Derecho de la Universidad de Buenos Aires y se solidarizó con el PST.

En el local partidario se recibieron declaraciones de apoyo de todos los partidos de izquierda.

La Juventud Radical Revolucionaria llamó a la movilización de todos los sectores populares como medio pa-

ra enfrentar la violencia.

También se han solidarizado con el PST grupos estudiantiles y organizaciones para la defensa de los derechos humanos. Incluso los grandes partidos burgueses se han visto obligados a condenar los asesinatos.

Reaccionando ante la presión de las masas que exigían que el gobierno procediera contra las bandas fascistas, la Comisión de Labor Parlamentaria de la Cámara de Diputados argentina (constituida por los jefes de todos los partidos que participan en el Parlamento) fue convocada a una reunión de emergencia la tarde del

30 de mayo. La comisión condenó el ataque y reclamó que el gobierno tome medidas para arrestar a los asesinos.

El PST ha lanzado una campaña para ampliar la protesta contra las acciones terroristas contra la izquierda y el movimiento sindical argentino y pide que se envíen mensajes de solidaridad de otros países, tanto de grupos políticos como de personajes distinguidos. Esos mensajes deben dirigirse a: Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, 24 de Noviembre 225, Capital Federal, Buenos Aires, Argentina. □

which includes the reformist Communist and Socialist parties, had not previously faced such tactics and intransigent demands. The people's initial "love affair" with General Spínola is beginning to wear thin as their demands and aspirations are frustrated or compromised by the general and his "revolutionary" cabinet ministers.

The Peralta affair precipitated the first instance since the coup of tank cannons being aimed at the population and of the Republican Guard, the hated symbol of repression for five decades, being ordered to disperse a crowd but being routed itself instead. Alluding to the junta's unpopular decision not to put the deposed president and premier on trial but to exile them to the resorts of Rio de Janeiro, the crowds chanted, "Free Peralta; the junta to Brazil!"

Yesterday's anticolonial demonstration, which gave rise to the siege of the hospital and the demand for the immediate and unconditional release of Peralta, was called by a coalition of revolutionary organizations to coincide with the opening in London of negotiations between the Provisional Civil Government (represented by Foreign Minister Mario Soares, the secretary general of the Socialist party) and representatives of the Guinea-Bissau liberation movement.

The movement to free Captain Peralta has become symbolic of the de-

## 'Free Peralta; the Junta to Brazil!'

## Lisbon Crowds Demand Release of Cuban

By Scott Sanders

Lisbon

MAY 26—The last political prisoner held in Portugal has become the focus of the most severe confrontation between the people and the military junta since the first euphoric days following the April 25 coup. The Cuban Captain Pedro Peralta, wounded and captured in Guinea-Bissau in 1969, remains imprisoned in Lisbon's military hospital, which has been under siege for the last thirty hours by thousands of students and immigrant African workers demanding his immediate release. This afternoon, after army tanks and armored cars failed to frighten the growing demonstration, police firing tear gas and water cannons, and saber-swinging mounted units of the Republican National Guard, were driven off by a barrage of stones hurled from a barricaded park, apartment buildings, and a nearby cathedral.

A month after the victorious Armed Forces Movement freed hundreds of political prisoners, Peralta continues to be detained despite an amnesty granted him by a military tribunal on May 3. According to unconfirmed reports in the Lisbon press, the captain is being held as a hostage for the release of CIA agent Lawrence Kirby Lunt, a relative of Spanish dictator Francisco Franco, who is serving a thirty-year sentence in Cuba.

Yesterday evening, following a massive antiwar, anticolonial demonstration, 5,000 Guinean/Cape Verdean workers and white students converged on the prison-hospital shouting, "Peralta, son of the people, is not traded for CIA!" and "Bring the troops home now!"

The "Junta of National Salvation" and its Provisional Civil Government,



May Day demonstration in Lisbon. Over recent weeks, popular enthusiasm for the junta has cooled as it attempts to hold back upsurge of workers.

termination of Portuguese antiwar, anticolonial forces to oppose any maneuvers of the junta to impose neocolonial or "federal" solutions on the African liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique.

Led principally by the Liga Comunista Internacionalista [LCI—Internationalist Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International], the campaign for the release of Peralta has won endorsement from several radio stations and

newspapers, which issued appeals for support to the forces besieging the hospital. The junta's prohibition of such broadcasts or written statements is a clear indication of the sensitivity and importance they attribute to this issue.

The LCI and other groups of the coalition have called on the Communist party to join them in a massive demonstration sometime during the coming week to demand freedom for Peralta and immediate, unconditional independence for the colonies. □

civilian department chiefs, have during the last few days been almost permanently in session to grapple with the labor conflicts.

"A Communist, Labor Minister Ave-lino A. Pacheco Gonçalves, is in the forefront of attempts to settle the strikes. He is assisted by the party's secretary general, Alvaro Cunhal, who is a Minister without Portfolio in charge of labor matters."

The CP leadership issued a declaration denouncing the strikes and "adventurist groups that indulge in left-wing phraseology to bring about a confrontation between the people and the police." In a thinly veiled encouragement to the bosses to fire or otherwise victimize militants, the Stalinists urged workers to "unmask demagogues and adventurers" who, it said, were pushing the country toward "anarchy."

Many commentators noted the similarity between the language of the CP leadership and statements by the military officers heading the junta. In a speech on May 29 at Oporto, one of the centers of the strike movement, Spínola warned repeatedly that the strikes were leading to "anarchy, which at all times has been the cancer of democratic society, the cancer of freedom."

Stating that the choice for Portuguese was "between democratic freedom and anarchy," the president warned that "the armed forces will be firm in defending freedom."

There is no doubt that the military intends to keep a tight rein on the "civilian" government. An Agence France-Presse dispatch in the June 1 *Le Monde* reported the composition of the new State Council that is to substitute for a parliament until the promised election of a constituent assembly next year. In addition to the generals of the junta and seven officers of the "Political Committee" of the Armed Forces Movement, there are "seven citizens of recognized merit"—two of whom are also high-ranking military officers.

But in today's conditions of worker militancy and general social instability, the most important defender of capitalist interests in Portugal is the Communist party. It has warned repeatedly against attempts by elements further to the left "to drive a wedge between the democratic parties and the armed forces." On June 1, the CP and the country's largest labor fed-

## 'We Say No to Strikes'

# Portuguese CP Restrains Worker Upsurge

By Dick Fidler

A wave of strikes swept Portugal in recent weeks as hundreds of thousands of workers, suddenly freed from the constraints of corporatist organizations, pressed forward with long-suppressed demands for higher wages and improved working conditions.

On May 15, within hours of the inauguration of the new government headed by General António de Spínola, some 10,000 workers at the Lisnave shipyard in Lisbon occupied the plant demanding a doubling of wages and workers control of management.

"It was a revolutionary scene," wrote Henry Giniger of the *New York Times* in a May 16 dispatch from Lisbon, "with banners proclaiming 'we want to own our country' and 'down with the useless lackeys. Up with the workers.'"

Within days, factories owned by Firestone, Timex, and ITT, as well as mines, bakeries, and transit systems, had been struck by workers demanding wage raises and removal of management accused of complicity with the former regime. Some 200,000 workers struck the textile industry. In many cases the plants were occupied by the workers.

For several days thousands of commuters in the Lisbon area rode buses and trains free as conductors refused fares, to back demands for better working conditions. Then 6,000 workers in Lisbon struck the surface transit system, seeking the same raises 800 subway workers had won

through a three-hour work stoppage.

On May 10, in a move to head off mounting labor unrest, the junta had approved labor contracts providing wage increases of up to 50 percent and cutting the work week to forty hours for thousands of industrial and construction workers. The junta also dissolved the corporate organizations of workers and management established by the Salazar dictatorship.

Under the pressure of the subsequent strike wave, the new regime was forced to make further concessions. On May 25, it introduced a minimum wage of \$132 a month, excluding, however, domestics, farm hands, and workers in firms with fewer than five employees. At the same time, all salaries of more than \$300 were frozen.

By the end of May, most of the strikes and occupations had ended. A major factor in their dissipation was the role of the Communist party, the largest organized political grouping in Portugal and the leading force in the new labor organizations that have emerged since the April 25 coup. Each strike has been confronted by the opposition of the CP leadership, who, as partners in the new government, have undertaken responsibility for stabilizing capitalist rule in the country.

*New York Times* correspondent Paul Hofmann reported from Lisbon May 29 that "the Government and members of the military junta, which keeps supervising the activities of the

eration, which it leads, sponsored a mass demonstration in Lisbon with the slogan "We say No to strikes."

The main theme, according to organizers, was to demonstrate "the nation's support to the armed forces."

Handbills were passed out carrying a CP statement charging that "fascist agents" had fomented the strike of bakery workers earlier in the week.

Meanwhile, the May 31 *New York Times* reported, "the Government

found that the subway system could not afford the pay increases it had announced last week and dismissed its entire board. As a result the subway workers are again restless, fearing that the promised raises will not materialize." □

## En Lisboa Expresan Oposición al Neocolonialismo de Spínola

# Estudiantes Africanos Toman una Agencia Colonial

Por Gerry Foley

Esta es una traducción del artículo "African Students Seize Colonial Agency in Lisbon," que apareció en la edición del 3 de junio de 1974 de *Intercontinental Press*. Forma parte de una serie de reportajes, escritos en inglés, realizados en el mismo Portugal.

\* \* \*

### Lisboa

Si bien la mayor parte de las charlas políticas en Portugal son sobre la composición del gobierno provisional, el problema político fundamental sigue siendo qué es lo que el nuevo régimen va a ofrecer a los pueblos de las colonias.

En su libro *Portugal y el Futuro*, el General António de Spínola, jefe de la Junta de Salvación Nacional, claramente excluía la independencia como una posible solución para las guerras de liberación en las colonias portuguesas.

La posición del General, como está planteada en su libro, es nacionalista burguesa. Tiene dos lados: el primero es que Portugal ya no puede seguir manteniendo la carga de sus guerras coloniales. Lo que drenan de la economía nacional pone al país en una desventaja muy grande en relación a los países del Mercado Común.

En particular, la gran emigración que resulta de esta creciente desventaja amenaza con producir explosiones sociales porque pone en contacto a un sector activo de la clase obrera portuguesa con un nivel de vida que su país natal "no puede igualar". Por lo tanto, el desaguadero de las guerras coloniales debe ser parado.

Pero el segundo lado del argumento del General Spínola es que Portugal tampoco puede darse el lujo de abandonar las colonias. El país sería tan débil en relación a las otras potencias europeas y los Estados Unidos sin sus dependencias africanas, que la independencia de Portugal estaría amenazada.

La única solución a este dilema es encontrar aliados africanos que quieran aceptar algunas concesiones dentro del marco de la "Comunidad Lusitana". Spínola se muestra particularmente vago y romántico al evocar este "espíritu de comunidad". Pero puede tener en mente algo más definido cuando escribe sobre los africanos "que quieren ser portugueses".

Para crear las condiciones para un arreglo neocolonial en las partes de África que están bajo el dominio de Portugal, el General Spínola y la Junta han tenido que correr un gran riesgo. Han tenido que echar a pique el sistema de represión policiaca-estatal que se interponía en el camino de cualquier concesión a los pueblos africanos y que desechaba el ganarse algún apoyo popular para sus iniciativas políticas.

El sector más lúcido de la burguesía portuguesa, representado por Spínola y la Junta, sintió que no le quedaba otra alternativa que correr este riesgo. En su libro, Spínola plantea las razones con suficiente claridad. Pero los peligros que corre la burguesía portuguesa por esta elección han aparecido rápidamente.

Uno de los primeros resultados de la "apertura democrática" es que cientos de estudiantes africanos, que antes estaban condenados a mantener un silencio total por medio de una

fuerte vigilancia policiaca, han comenzado a hablar y a expresar directamente sus aspiraciones y las de sus pueblos.

### FUERTE Y CLARO

Lo que han dicho no encaja dentro del esquema de Spínola de una gran confederación lusitana. Han hablado fuerte y claro a favor de la independencia inmediata de las colonias, y al hacerlo se han planteado como una fuerza política clave en la situación actual de Portugal, una fuerza a la que la Junta claramente teme.

Esta nueva fuerza emergió abruptamente. El 6 de mayo, los periódicos de la ciudad norteña de Oporto, donde me encontraba esos días, informaron sobre una manifestación en Lisboa de varios cientos de estudiantes africanos que exigían la independencia inmediata para las colonias.

Después informaban que los estudiantes habían tomado la sede de la agencia gubernamental para estudiantes coloniales, la Procuraduría de los Estudiantes Ultramarinos. Los estudiantes habían rebautizado estos cuartos como Casa dos Estudantes das Colonias.

Esta ocupación encuadra dentro del modelo de muchas ocupaciones destinadas a destruir el aparato y las instituciones del estado corporativo establecido por António Salazar. En el caso de los estudiantes africanos, esta acción tuvo un poderoso impacto político.

Los representantes de la Junta se quejaron de que si el gobierno llegaba

a aceptar el nombre de "Casa dos Estudantes das Colonias", destruiría la unidad del Movimiento de las Fuerzas Armadas. Esto es, algunos elementos de la Junta no aceptarían otro nombre que no sea el de "provincias de ultramar".

Fui a la ex-Procuraduría para hablar con los ocupadores. Las habitaciones estaban en los pisos sexto y séptimo de un moderno edificio de oficinas en la Avenida da República en una sección de las afueras de Lisboa. En este punto, la Avenida se parece bastante a una vía rápida que corriera entre conjuntos urbanos cada vez más escasos.

En la puerta del edificio había un letrero que decía "Casa dos Estudantes das Colonias" y el número del piso. Obviamente el letrero llevaba ya varios días puesto, pero no había sido mutilado. El barrio entero estaba cubierto de consignas de los grupos de extrema izquierda, como parecen estarlo todos los barrios de Lisboa, incluso el laberinto medieval del distrito de Alfama.

Tomé el elevador al sexto piso. Algunas mujeres portuguesas que hacían la limpieza me preguntaron qué quería. Dije que había venido a hablar con los estudiantes. Llamaron a una de los representantes de éstos. Parecía que estas empleadas estaban trabajando con ellos, pero era evidente que tenían dificultades para dirigir el establecimiento bajo control estudiantil.

Un estudiante de Cabo Verde, Scapa, muy cortesmente me hizo pasar a lo que debe haber sido la oficina del director. Después un joven en uniforme, un suboficial de algún tipo, asomó la cabeza en el cuarto. Scapa me explicó que el oficial era un representante de la Junta enviado para supervisar los problemas materiales, para ver cómo estaba funcionando el establecimiento y averiguar—de ser posible—qué había pasado con el dinero que se supone debía estar en las oficinas antes del golpe.

El joven oficial fue muy cortés y no interrogó sobre la presencia de un extranjero en la antigua oficina del director.

#### 'SOLUCIONES NEOCOLONIALES'

Scapa me dijo que los estudiantes africanos comprenden perfectamente bien que la Junta no tiene la intención de dar la independencia a las

colonias, y que el grupo que estaba ocupando la ex-Procuraduría estaba decidido a oponerse a cualquier "solución neocolonial".

Los estudiantes también sabían, dijo Scapa, que debido a las necesidades políticas que tiene la Junta en estos momentos, los africanos que estudian en la Universidad de Lisboa tienen una fuerza considerable. Dijo que pensaba que era poco probable que la Junta tratara de echarlos por la fuerza de las habitaciones que estaban ocupando, al menos por un tiempo.

Scapa demostró tener razón. Más tarde entró al cuarto trayendo una copia de un acuerdo al que la Junta acababa de llegar con los estudiantes. El texto era el siguiente:

"1. El Delegado de la Junta apoya el manejo democrático del Instituto por un comité electo democráticamente en una asamblea general.

"2. El Delegado de la Junta apoya la elección de una Comisión Directiva Provisional para que maneje el establecimiento, y considera que estuvo bien que miembros representativos de esta Comisión Directiva participaran en la liquidación de la antigua P.E.U. [Procuraduría de los Estudiantes Ultramarinos].

"3. El Delegado de la Junta está de acuerdo en mantener este establecimiento abierto y funcionando regularmente, mientras la Comisión Directiva garantice el orden y el mantenimiento de este establecimiento.

"4. El Delegado de la Junta confirma la abolición de la P.E.U., la expulsión de los antiguos directores y la abolición del C.E.U. [Círculo de Estudios Ultramarinos].

"5. Se darán becas a partir del 13 de mayo."

#### OBSTACULO PARA LA JUNTA

Scapa sonreía ampliamente. Era una gran victoria, porque no había duda de que la ocupación y las actividades de estos estudiantes africanos eran, y siguen siendo, un gran obstáculo para los planes del General Spínola sobre una "comunidad lusitana".

Una de las primeras acciones de los Estudiantes das Colonias, fue denunciar una declaración a favor de la "comunidad lusitana" hecha por un grupo de estudiantes africanos "moderados", declaración de cierta impor-

tancia para los planes de la Junta. La respuesta de los Estudiantes das Colonias, fechada el 7 de mayo, decía en una parte:

"Denunciamos el carácter oportunista, demagógico y neocolonialista de esta posición y hacemos claro que no representa a los movimientos de liberación, vanguardia de los pueblos en lucha de las colonias.

"Proclamamos el hecho (basado en documentos que tenemos en nuestra posesión) de que los elementos que firmaron este comunicado estaban vinculados al abolido Círculo de Estudios Ultramarinos, un cuerpo fascista y colonialista.

"Reafirmamos nuestra posición de que no puede haber una solución real a los problemas de los pueblos de las colonias sino en el marco de una independencia total de las respectivas colonias. Reafirmamos nuestro repudio a toda posición colonialista o neocolonialista. Declaramos nuestra solidaridad con la posición adoptada por PAIGC, el MPLA y el FRELIMO (grupos de liberación en Guinea-Bissau, Angola y Mozambique)."

#### ABOLICION DE LA POLICIA POLITICA

Los Estudiantes das Colonias también plantearon algunas peticiones que eran embarazosas para la Junta, incluso en un sentido más inmediato. Por ejemplo, pidieron la abolición de la antigua policía política, la PIDE [Policía Internacional para a Defesa do Estado — Policía Internacional para la Defensa del Estado], en las colonias, resaltando de esta manera el hecho de que esta odiada fuerza, que ha sido abolida en Portugal, ha permanecido intacta en los territorios que Portugal controla en ultramar. En las colonias, ha dicho el gobierno, trata de convertir a la PIDE en una "fuerza de inteligencia militar".

Los estudiantes africanos pidieron también la liberación de todos los presos que hay en las colonias. La Junta ha liberado a los que considera que estaban presos por sus ideas, pero se ha negado a liberar a personas a las que llama "prisioneros de guerra". Mientras se mantenga esta última categoría, sin embargo, es claro que continuará la guerra colonial.

Otro tema que preocupa a la Junta ha sido levantado por los Estudiantes das Colonias. Los estudiantes han llamado a los 20,000 trabajadores de Cabo Verde residentes en



Portugal a que manifiesten su dignidad luchando por la independencia de su patria y por su propia igualdad en Portugal.

Los trabajadores de Cabo Verde son la sección más brutalmente explotada de la clase obrera portuguesa, me dijo Salomé, uno de los voceros de los estudiantes.

Se alimentan casi exclusivamente de arroz y papas. Además de su pobreza económica, son objeto de los prejuicios raciales. Ninguno de los estudiantes africanos a quienes yo hablé cree los cuentos de que en la "civilización lusitana" no habrá prejuicios raciales.

### EFFECTOS A LARGO PLAZO

La mayoría de los activistas estudiantiles africanos, así como los trabajadores africanos inmigrantes, son de Cabo Verde. La politización y movilización de esta capa, como resultado del proceso que está teniendo lugar en Portugal, puede tener importantes efectos a largo plazo para la lucha de las colonias.

La asimilación más extensiva ha tenido lugar en Cabo Verde; y, me explicaron los estudiantes de Cabo Verde, su pueblo ha sido utilizado por los portugueses como intermediario. La lucha contra el dominio colonial ha tendido a estancarse en Cabo Verde y esta desigualdad ha creado tensiones dentro del movimiento de liberación.

La activación de los estudiantes de Cabo Verde ha sido un proceso muy rápido. Salomé me dijo que la supervisión policiaca era tan dura antes de la caída del régimen de Caetano que hacía imposible toda discusión política. Los estudiantes eran tan cuidadosamente investigados que no había entre ellos representantes de los movimientos de liberación nacional y no sabían casi nada sobre la actividad y programa de estos grupos.

Mientras que antes los estudiantes no podían siquiera murmurar sobre la lucha de liberación en sus países, ahora el cuarto principal de su centro se llama Amílcar Cabral, y las paredes están cubiertas de retratos de los dirigentes nacionalistas y de los campamentos de las diversas fuerzas. Hay banderas, carteles y retratos de escuelas en las zonas liberadas.

Estos nuevos activistas estudiantiles parecen ser muy críticos; están muy

lejanos, en cuanto a temperamento y perspectiva política, de los sentimentales jóvenes seguidores de los partidos Comunista y Socialista, que cantaban alabanzas a la Junta en la manifestación del Primero de Mayo.

El 15 de mayo vi por televisión, en el centro estudiantil, la investidura del gobierno provisional. Cuando el increíblemente fastuoso General Costa Gomes dió su discurso, doblándose bajo el peso de sus galones y medallas, los estudiantes armaban gran alboroto, especialmente cuando tosió, se ajustó los lentes y pasó otra página del aparentemente inmenso legajo de papeles que tenía en la mano. Fue un discurso largo y aburrido sobre la responsabilidad cívica y cómo la libertad no significa "anarquía", etc.

Salomé me dijo que los estudiantes africanos estaban disgustados con los partidos Comunista y Socialista por su actitud servil hacia la Junta. En lo que a ellos se refiere, están decididos a mantener sus principios revolucionarios a cualquier precio.

Parecía que no había ninguna duda acerca de la intención idealista de estos estudiantes o sobre su poder para dar serios golpes políticos a los planes neocolonialistas de la Junta. Las próximas semanas mostrarán si tienen la habilidad táctica y organizativa necesaria para sacarle provecho a la ventaja con que cuentan.

Esta también será una prueba para la extrema izquierda portuguesa, que apoya y ayuda a los estudiantes africanos.

El problema colonial es absolutamente vital para la Junta, y por eso es muy probable que este grupo relativamente pequeño de jóvenes africanos sea lanzado al centro mismo de la política portuguesa y esté sujeto a grandes presiones políticas y materiales. Necesitarán la perspectiva política más clara y las tácticas más avanzadas para ganar contra las fuerzas combinadas de la burguesía "modernista" y los partidos reformistas que dominan el panorama aquí en estos momentos. □

## PAIGC Rejects Partition Plan for Guinea-Bissau

### Lisbon Presses Talks With African Rebels

By Ernest Harsch

Commenting on Lisbon's efforts to retain some form of control over Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau, Prime Minister Adelino da Palma Carlos states May 18 that "the creation of a federal state would be the best possible solution." He added, however, according to the May 21 *Le Monde*: "This formula depends on the circumstances."

In a statement released May 17 on the situation in the African colonies, Minister of Interterritorial Coordination António de Almeida Santos seemed pessimistic about the prospects of staving off independence for the colonies. "Nobody can seriously put in doubt," he said, "the possibility that among the solutions there can be included — indeed must be included — an option of total independence."

While much of the rhetoric about "self-determination" or "independence" for the colonies is just a facade intended to convince the guerrilla forces

that the junta is being "reasonable" and that they have little to lose by observing a cease-fire, the comments by figures like Almeida Santos and Palma Carlos also indicate the pressure Lisbon is under to come up with a political solution before it completely loses its grip on its African empire. The opening of talks between Lisbon and the Guinea-Bissau rebels, and the junta's continual pleas for truces or cease-fires in Angola and Mozambique are simply a bid to gain time, to halt the fighting in the colonies, while Lisbon maneuvers to retain as much as it can in Africa.

The first round of the negotiations between Lisbon and the African guerrillas began in London May 25, when a delegation of seven members of the PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné-Bissau e Cabo Verde—African party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands) met with Foreign Min-

ister Mario Soares, the Socialist party leader, who was later joined by Almeida Santos. The PAIGC delegation was led by Pedro Pires. Some reporters speculated that the absence from the talks of Luis Cabral and Aristides Pereira, the two top leaders of the PAIGC, indicated the PAIGC's caution toward the talks.

That caution was confirmed May 31 when the negotiations were adjourned after differences arose between the junta representatives and the guerrillas over whether the Cape Verde Islands would be included in a settlement. The talks are scheduled to reopen June 8.

Lisbon's approach to the negotiations was evident even before the talks began. In announcing that the negotiations would be held, a junta spokesman stated May 17 that the London talks "will be about a cease-fire, not about the independence" of Guinea-Bissau. Writing in the May 26 *New York Times*, correspondent Richard Eder outlined Lisbon's scenario for the future of Guinea-Bissau: "The Portuguese intention is to proceed in three stages. After a cease-fire agreement a referendum would be organized. The leaders of the independence movement, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, would be free to take part in the referendum campaign. Independence would follow a favorable referendum vote."

Santos stated May 21 that such a referendum would be organized in the Portuguese colonies in about one year, so that the populations could exercise "their right to self-determination."

A senior Portuguese foreign office official, interviewed in the May 25 *Washington Post*, said that such a Portuguese-supervised referendum would take some time to organize and that Lisbon was not yet ready to pull out of any of the African colonies. He predicted that the voting would be different in each country.

A referendum organized by the imperialists would be little more than a farce. A "senior military source" in Lisbon told *Washington Post* correspondent Miguel Acoca, as reported in the May 19 issue, that he believed the Africans in Guinea-Bissau would vote for federation with Lisbon because General António de Spínola "is a big hero over there."

In addition, it appears that Lisbon

will attempt to play the various guerrilla groups in the three colonies off against one another. According to the May 24 *Le Monde*, Mario Soares stated in an interview with the Paris weekly *Jeune Afrique*: "I am prepared to discuss with each group separately, while trying to bring together the different points of view."

While the PAIGC is the only organization of any political significance in Guinea-Bissau, another group, which pretends to speak for Guinea-Bissau's population, has arisen since the Lisbon coup. The Front for the Struggle for the National Independence of Guinea (FLING) claimed in a May 24 statement from Dakar, Senegal, that "any negotiations aimed at granting independence would not be authentic or realistic without the participation of the Guineans included in FLING and other parties existing within the country." The statement clearly implies that if the PAIGC proves uncooperative, there are other groups that would be willing to negotiate Guinea-Bissau's future.

The most serious maneuver that Lisbon has advanced so far is the scheme to partition Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands. While Guinea-Bissau is less strategically and economically important to Lisbon than either Angola or Mozambique (and would therefore be less of a loss to the imperialists if the African nationalists gained complete control), the Cape Verde Islands are another matter entirely.

The islands serve as a major air link between South Africa and Europe, since the Black African states bar South African planes from flying over their territory. In addition, the islands are important to Washington as bases for military operations. During the October War in the Arab East, U.S. planes supplying Israel refueled in the Cape Verdes.

In the *Jeune Afrique* interview, Soares stated that the negotiations with the PAIGC would be limited to the mainland of Guinea-Bissau. And Paul Hofmann wrote in the May 23 *New York Times*: "In Lisbon, the official formula for the future of the Cape Verde Islands is 'self-determination' — that is, it should be up to the islanders to say, in a referendum, whether they want to belong to an independent Guinea-Bissau, set up a new nation of their own, or retain ties with Portu-

gal.

The initial response of the PAIGC to Lisbon's moves to exclude the Cape Verde Islands from the cease-fire negotiations was a complete rejection. According to the May 29 *Le Monde*, the PAIGC, many of whose leaders come from the islands, demanded that the Portuguese junta recognize "the unity of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands." In addition, the PAIGC de-



NETO: "The referendum would be no more than a means used by the Portuguese to prolong their presence in our country."

manded that Lisbon consider the PAIGC delegates in London as representatives of a government that has been recognized by eighty-two states, and not simply as representatives of a political party. The postponement of further talks between Lisbon and the guerrillas was apparently caused by the PAIGC's refusal to accept a partition of its territory.

At least one of the guerrilla groups in Angola has declared its rejection of Lisbon's referendum maneuver. In an interview published in the May 27 Algerian daily *El Moudjahid*, Agostinho Neto, the president of the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola — Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), stated: "For our people, the referendum solution is not acceptable. We reject a referendum organized by the Portuguese and car-

ried out in Angola by the administration, the army, and the police. Because of that, it would not guarantee a serious result. We demand that Portugal purely and simply put an end to its domination of our country. The referendum would be no more than a means used by the Portuguese to prolong their presence in our country."

Lieutenant General Joaquim António Franco Pinheiro, the commander of the Portuguese forces in Angola, stated June 1 in Luanda that it would be "a little difficult" to organize a referendum there while the war continued. According to a dispatch by Henry Kamm published in the June 2 *New York Times*, General Franco Pinheiro did not rule out voting on a referendum while the war continued, but he said that no one would accept the results of such a referendum as valid. He stated that his troops had halted all "offensive" operations against the guerrillas in an effort to encourage them to lay down their arms and take part in "open" political activity.

A few days earlier, on May 27, General Franco Pinheiro banned all demonstrations in Angola after clashes in Luanda between several hundred Africans and Portuguese following separate demonstrations. He also rejected a demand by the African demonstrators that he disarm the whites.

The continued unrest in Mozambique also threatens to derail Lisbon's maneuvers. A May 26 dispatch from Lourenço Marques, the capital of Mozambique, by *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm, noted that support for Frelimo (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique—Mozambique Liberation Front) was quickly spreading in the city's African slums. "The once forbidden name of Frelimo, the Mozambique Liberation Front, came easily to people's lips," he wrote. "Many expressed approval of the guerrillas and their aims and voiced hope that they would soon govern an independent Mozambique."

During Almeida Santos's tour of Mozambique, 3,000 striking dock workers joined 1,000 strikers from a cashew-shelling and canning factory May 22 in Lourenço Marques to demand higher pay and better working conditions. According to a report in the May 29 *Washington Post*, military actions by Frelimo were continuing in northern Mozambique. □

## What Kissinger Worked Out in Damascus, Tel Aviv

### Palestinians Lose in Syria-Israeli Accord

By Michael Baumann

On May 22, nine days before the Israeli-Syrian troop disengagement accord was actually signed at Geneva, outgoing Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban assured the Knesset that "the disengagement agreement will not endanger Israeli security in general, nor that of our Golan Heights settlements in particular."

The three public documents signed May 31 by Israeli and Syrian generals seemed to bear out his prediction. The terms of the cease-fire accord left Israel in control of virtually all the territory it seized from Syria in 1967, except for the city of El Quneitra. In addition, the accord established a relatively secure frontier, under United Nations protection, along the fifty miles of rugged mountain terrain that separate the occupied Golan Heights from Syria.

"The first of the three documents signed today," reported a May 31 *New York Times* dispatch, "is the basic disengagement agreement, providing for a buffer zone between the two sides to be patrolled by United Nations units and 'thinned-out' zones on either side of the buffer, where the forces of the belligerents are to be limited. This accord also commits both sides to end all acts of war at once."

"The second document is a protocol defining the size [1,250 men] and role of the neutral force. . . ."

"The third document is a map showing the lines of disengagement—lines marking the United Nations buffer zone but not the 'thinned-out' zones on either side."

A military working group composed of Syrians, Egyptians, and Israelis, with U.S. and Soviet "observers," is supposed to draft a more detailed map and decide how many troops and weapons may remain in the "thinned-out" area. According to the agreement, this was to be worked out by June 5.

"The accord," wrote *Washington Post* analyst Jim Hoagland May 30, "does mean that Israel will give up all its territorial gains from the 1973 fighting, and [Syrian President Hafez] As-

sad has established the important precedent of Israeli withdrawal from some Syrian lands occupied in 1967. He will be able to resettle 60,000 of the Golan refugees who have been an economic and social drag on Syria.

"But the Syrians evidently caved in on two strategic points they said a disengagement would have to include:

● Guarantees that the troop separation would be only a first step toward complete Israeli withdrawal from the 1967 territories. Assad has in effect settled for what [Egyptian President Anwar] Sadat got from Kissinger, a vague promise that disengagement will be a first step toward a 'just and lasting peace' in the Middle East.

● Specific mention of the Palestinian problem as part of an overall settlement. There is no mention of the Palestinians in the agreement."

In the *public* agreement, that is. There was ample discussion about the Palestinian resistance movement in the closed-door negotiating sessions Kissinger specializes in.

#### Secret Deals

"Syria's President," wrote *New York Times* correspondent Flora Lewis in a May 31 dispatch from Geneva, "gave secret assurances to Israel through Secretary of State Kissinger that Palestinian guerrillas would not infiltrate into Israel across the Syrian border. . . ."

"The assurances, representing a major change in Syrian policy, were said to have been given by President Hafez al-Assad orally but in a way that the Israelis accepted as responsible.

"His assurances were described as a vital part of the final breakthrough to the disengagement agreement, reached Wednesday [May 29] and signed here today. . . ."

That was not the only secret commitment Israel received. In a May 30 Knesset debate on the disengagement accord, outgoing Premier Golda Meir answered charges of "surrender" from

the extreme right-wing opposition by pointing to two more under-the-table pledges Israel had obtained—both from Washington.

The most important was Nixon's promise of political backing to all future Israeli bombings of Palestinian refugee camps. Washington, Meir said, had declared in writing in a secret accord that it "will not consider such actions by Israel as violations of the cease-fire, and will support them politically."

"By this," *Times* correspondent Lewis reported, "the United States was understood to mean that it would use its veto if necessary to block any action by the United Nations Security Council to impose sanctions on Israel" for such raids.

Meir also suggested that substantial military aid had been pledged. The "consistent aid of the United States to Israel," she said, "has been assured for the future by the President of the United States."

A third pledge soon to be revealed was Washington's promise to conduct reconnaissance flights over the buffer zone in the Golan Heights. Such flights are intended to insure that the terms of the agreement are being observed, in particular Damascus's pledge to halt guerrilla operations across Syrian borders.

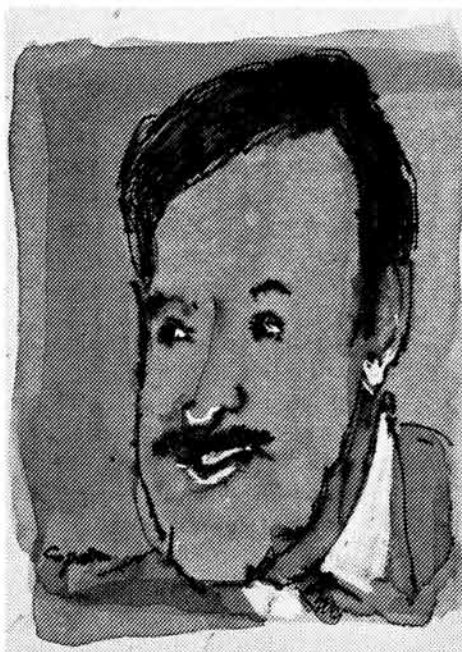
### Betrayal of the Palestinians

The accord and secret pledges halted the fighting along the Syrian front at the price of a betrayal of the Arab masses' struggle against Israel. In exchange for the cease-fire and the promise of a rapid influx of U.S. aid, Assad gave de facto recognition to the legitimacy of the Israeli state and bartered away the struggle of three million dispossessed Palestinians to regain control of their homeland.

Assad's trump card in the negotiations with Kissinger was his ability to obstruct the Palestinian struggle at least temporarily by cutting Syrian financial and political support and stepping up restrictions on the commando groups' freedom of movement. This is precisely the "concession" he held out to the end to secure the best possible diplomatic deal with Israel.

As late as May 27, only four days before the accord and its secret pledges were made public, Damascus was

still denying that it would agree to anything that would restrict the Palestinian struggle. An official communiqué from the Syrian news agency SANA declared: "Those who wish to discuss the fedayeen must resolve the problem of the Arab people of Pal-



ASSAD: Promises to Palestinians, secret deals with Kissinger.

estine through discussions with the Palestinian leaders themselves."

The following day, reported *New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onis in a dispatch from Damascus, Palestinian leaders were still being assured of complete freedom of activity after any disengagement settlement.

"Yasir Arafat, the principal guerrilla leader, who is chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, met for two hours this morning with President Hafez al-Assad, and later for an hour and a half with [Soviet Foreign Minister] Andrei A. Gromyko," de Onis reported.

"Palestinian sources said that both the Syrian and Soviet leaders had assured Mr. Arafat that the disengagement talks would not commit Syria to any curbing of guerrilla attacks." These assurances, of course, were given at the same time that Assad was engaged in trading away support to the resistance movement.

Additional pressure is put on the Palestinian movement by the fact that a second-stage Israeli-Egyptian settlement is apparently the next item in

the works.

"The long-term Kissinger strategy, according to his associates," wrote Terence Smith in the June 2 *New York Times*, "is to try to neutralize Egypt as a factor in the Middle East formula. If Egypt and Israel can be locked into a mutually beneficial agreement or series of agreements, the Kissinger theory goes, full-scale war in the Middle East could be virtually ruled out, because no Arab state ever has or is likely to attack Israel without Egyptian assistance."

The resistance movement must now choose between defying the most powerful Arab governments—a course that its leadership's dependence on these bourgeois regimes has done little to prepare it for—or moving toward a negotiated settlement that would recognize the existence of Israel in return for a pledge of Palestinian "national authority" in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. At most this would amount to a ministate, a Palestinian Bantustan, on whatever territory Israel agreed to relinquish.

The second course is being pushed by Moscow, in fulfillment of its obligation to Washington under the terms of the détente. It also appears to have the support of the leaders of the most powerful resistance organizations represented at the Palestinian National Congress, which began meeting in Cairo June 1.

Israel, for its part, lost no time in demonstrating that it would take full advantage of the disengagement accord. On May 31, the same day the accord was signed, the Israeli air force once again bombed Palestinian refugee camps in the Arquob region of southeastern Lebanon. □

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## Right-Wing Strike Overthrows Faulkner Executive

Northern Ireland's coalition government, headed by Brian Faulkner, collapsed May 28 under the blows of a strike led by Protestant extremists that for two weeks had paralyzed the province's industry and transport, and reduced power supplies to one-third of normal output.

Organized by the Ulster Workers Council and paramilitary groups such as the Ulster Defence Association and the Ulster Volunteer Force, the strike had been called to protest moves to give the minority Catholic community representation in the provincial Assembly and government.

Shortly after the government's resignation, on May 29, the Ulster Workers Council called for a "phased return to work." A few hours later Northern Ireland returned to complete direct rule, as British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland Merlyn Rees announced in London that the province's Assembly was being suspended for four months.

The fall of the Faulkner administration was a major setback to the British government's efforts to win the collaboration of a section of the Catholic population in governing the North, with the ultimate aim of isolating and repressing the left wing of the nationalist movement. But the entire Catholic population was in greater danger than ever, as the most hard-line, fanatical loyalists emerged greatly strengthened from their show of force.

On May 30, Rees met with three leaders of the hard-line Protestant faction: William Craig, the Reverend Ian Paisley, and Harry West, and agreed to meet later with the Ulster Workers Council. It was the first time since the strike began that the government had agreed to negotiate with these elements.

The immediate target of the Protestant workers' strike was the Sunningdale agreement, signed in December 1973, which would give the Catholic population a share in local self-government through setting up a Northern Ireland Assembly elected by proportional representation and a provincial Executive with guaranteed representation for the Catholic commu-

nity. The militant nationalists of the republican movement denounced Sunningdale as a further maneuver to maintain British domination of Ireland. But the Social Democratic and Labor party (SDLP) participated in the Sunningdale negotiations and agreed to participate in the Assembly and the Executive.

The SDLP decision was influenced in part by British promises to establish a "Council of Ireland." Hailed by the government in Dublin and the Catholic parliamentarians in the North as a first step toward reunification of Ireland, the function of the proposed council was in fact undefined. It was to be composed of fourteen members appointed equally by the governments of Eire and Northern Ireland, and all its decisions were to be unanimous. But the Unionists saw it as a step toward loss of their privileged position relative to Catholic workers in the North.

In the February British general elections, eleven of the twelve Northern Ireland seats in the House of Commons at Westminster were won by right-wing Protestant opponents of Sunningdale.

This sparked Unionist demands for new elections to the provincial Assembly, in hopes that such elections (they are presently set for 1977 or 1978) would give them an absolute majority.

On May 14 the Assembly voted to approve setting up the Council of Ireland. The next day the right-wing strike began. Its main demands were for scrapping the Council of Ireland and for new elections to the Assembly.

In a television speech May 25, Prime Minister Harold Wilson called the striking Protestant workers "thugs and bullies," described the hard-line Protestant groups as "non-elected, self-appointed people who are systematically breaking the law and intimidating the people of Northern Ireland," and accused them of trying to bring down "the whole constitution of Northern Ireland."

But Wilson announced no measures to confront this threat. The British

had earlier threatened to use their 16,500 occupation troops in Northern Ireland to break the strike. But in fact they had no intention of confronting the Protestant extremists. As one British officer told the *New York Times*, the use of troops would "create hostility and generate support for the strike" among Protestants "who have been our traditional friends here."

Caught between the increasing pressure on more moderate Protestant leaders to yield to the strikers, and the continuing opposition by the Catholic representatives in the government to direct negotiations with the strike leaders, the Faulkner government broke up May 28.

For commentators in the capitalist press, the main victims of the strike were the "moderate" leaders on both sides who have favored participation in the British-sponsored Sunningdale agreement. But the main losers in fact are the oppressed Catholic population of the North, who now face the prospect of increasing concessions to the Protestant reactionaries by the Labour government in Westminster.

Evidence is mounting that powerful forces in Britain have opted for a harder line against the Catholic minority. On May 29, a lobby of businessmen led by the head of the Confederation of British Industry, Campbell Adamson, met with Wilson to press demands that the government negotiate with the Protestant extremists. The *London Times*, blasting the government for "confusion, indecision, and simple inexperience" in dealing with the Northern Ireland situation, has echoed hard-line Protestant calls for new elections to the Assembly. □

### Who's Asking?

What was described as Spain's first published political poll shows widespread support for socialism and indicates that General Franco might suffer a narrow defeat in a free election. On the other hand, the defeat might not be that narrow. The views of half the Spaniards questioned are not reflected, since they told the pollsters they had "no opinion" on political matters.

## Reactionary Strike Poses Threat of Pogroms

By Brian Lyons

London

When Merlyn Rees, the Labour secretary of state for Northern Ireland, announced the Labour government's Irish policy to Parliament April 4, the response of the hard-line loyalists was sharp and to the point.

"Mr William Craig (Belfast East U.U.U.C. [United Ulster Unionist Council])," the April 5 London *Times* reported, "said the persistence to fulfil policies that had failed was an invitation to destruction and civil war in Northern Ireland. . . .

"If the government proceeded to carry out policies that had failed and policies which had been refused consent of the people in Northern Ireland, then he would have no alternative but to seek to bring the government down."

Seven weeks later, the unionist Ulster Workers Council (UWC) called an indefinite general strike throughout the six counties, demanding new elections to the Northern Ireland Assembly. Although the strike was called under the auspices of the UWC, it was backed by the four main Protestant paramilitary organizations: the Ulster Defence Association (UDA), Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF), and the Orange Volunteers. The ties to the UUUC were also evident.

From the beginning of the strike, the Labour leadership attempted to portray the UWC as being "unrepresentative of the body of Protestant opinion." In reality, just the opposite is the truth. But in a desperate bid to prove their point, the Labour leaders, with the cooperation of the trade-union bureaucracy in Britain, attempted to organise back-to-work marches.

Despite the backing of the bureaucracy in the person of Len Murray, general secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, the back-to-work marches were a predictable failure, with no more than 200 workers turning up. "Those ministers who had hoped that the trade unions could break the strike," the *Times* reported May 22, "were disillusioned in the

morning when a union attempt to march its men back to work in east Belfast, led by Mr Murray, the T. U. C. general secretary, failed miserably.

"The trade-union men were abused, pelted with rotten vegetables, and spat at as hundreds of soldiers and po-



CRAIG: Threatens "destruction and civil war in Northern Ireland."

licemen tried to ensure their safety."

The course of the strike itself showed the mass support amongst Protestants for the reactionary loyalist offensive. Particularly in Belfast, the UWC had complete control over transport, the movement of essential supplies, electricity, and communication.

As the power and influence of the strike extended, the Labour government steadily backtracked from its stated position of refusing to be "blackmailed." Just one day after the failure of the back-to-work march, the British-backed Unionist executive announced the postponement of the Coun-

cil of Ireland until "after the next elections to the Northern Ireland Assembly, probably in 1977 or 1978."

The strategy of the British government since the beginning of Direct Rule has been to combine repression of the nationalist population with surface political reforms to remove the uglier features of Unionism and give the minority an illusory sense of political power and hope for the future.

However, like the "reform programme" of the previous Labour government, which was designed for the same purpose, the December 1973 Sunningdale agreement was met from the beginning by determined resistance from a sizable section of the Unionist capitalist class most reliant on the complete entrenchment of the Protestant ascendancy. Over a period of time, the UUUC, backed by the Protestant paramilitary organisations, has become the dominant political faction of Unionism. Although its different components initially had differences on exactly how to pursue its goal, they are all united around two basic objectives.

The first is the use of more extreme measures to crush the nationalist minority. The second is a return to the heyday of the Protestant ascendancy as symbolised by the rule of Stormont. Moreover, the original differences were eliminated at a UUUC conference in Portrush, County Antrim, on April 24. The course of complete integration into Britain, which was initially favoured by Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionists and backed by the British racist demagogue Enoch Powell, has now been abandoned in favour of an "independent Ulster" federated with Britain.

The development of this wing of Unionism has been facilitated by the policy of successive British governments, which, in order to preserve intact the imperialist statelet, have concentrated their fire on the nationalist minority.

The policy of the Labour leader-

ship today is fundamentally no different. Two of the cornerstones of the Tory policy on Ireland—the maintenance of the military occupation and internment without trial—have been retained by Wilson. In addition, the Labour government has committed itself to upholding the provisions of the repressive Special Powers Act, which today are embodied in the Emergency Provisions Act passed by the Tories in 1973.

But although Wilson has openly and consistently declared his commitment to repressing the nationalist minority and maintaining the Unionist caste system, the UUUC is still determined to continue its battle against the power-sharing Assembly.

Both the Labour government and the Tories before them counted on power-sharing and the Council of Ireland to stem the nationalist revolt. The present Unionist resistance is a fundamental challenge to their reformist experiment and threatens to reopen the underlying contradiction of Irish society.

The reactionary mobilisation of the Protestants has traditionally been used by the British government and its Irish collaborators as the pretext for demanding further concessions by the Irish people to the needs of British imperialism. The development of the reactionary loyalist offensive has clearly revealed that the historic policy of British imperialism in backing Unionist terror and reaction is repeating itself once again in the present crisis.

Writing in the May 26 *Observer*, Kevin Myers reported instances of open collaboration by the army with the Protestant paramilitary organisations:

"If the authority of the U.D.A. was in doubt, by Thursday its areas of responsibility had been firmly defined in at least two areas of Belfast by the local army commanders. After claims of harassment of U.D.A. patrols by troops in the Donegal Road area, hundreds of U.D.A. men gathered in the nearby Sandy Row.

"Two Army lieutenant-colonels went into conference with the local U.D.A. commander. They agreed that the U.D.A. would be allowed to patrol, and to stop and search pedestrians, but not put up road blocks, which the Army undertook to do. A conversation lasting five minutes had established the right of Protestant para-

military organisations to perform some of the functions of the security forces."

There are signs that the historic tendency of Unionist reaction to take the form of a pogrom against the Catholic population is also repeating itself today. This can be seen in the UWC's withholding of supplies from Catholic areas and in physical assaults.

"Outside one factory," Robert Fisk reported in the May 17 *Times*, "Roman Catholic workers were beaten up by pickets, while several young men told staff at a Post Office maintenance depot that if they did not go home, their cars would be burnt and their Catholic employees shot. . . ."

"Outside the Michelin factory in the Belfast suburb of Mallusk, several employees who had insisted on working were set upon. One man was beaten up and several Catholic women were injured before they broke through a fence and escaped."

More recently, the Protestant paramilitary organisations have formed flying terror squads traveling through

different areas in car cavalcades. "The first [!] real violence of the strike came last night," Myers reported in the May 26 *Observer*. "Two Roman Catholic brothers, Sean and Brendan Byrne, were shot dead in the back of a pub in Co. Antrim, by men apparently from a Protestant para-military group. Scores of men had gone round the area during the night, smashing up pubs and shops that had opened up without permission."

In such a situation, it is clear that the nationalist population cannot rely for its safety on either the forbearance of the loyalists or the army of British imperialism. Mass organisations of self-defence are necessary to prevent pogroms by the reactionaries.

The defence of the embattled minority can also be aided by mass movements in the Twenty-Six Counties and in Britain demanding the withdrawal of British troops and the end of internment. The building of such movements internationally is an immediate and urgent task facing the socialist and labour movement. □

## Hunger Strikes Continue

### Irish Prisoners in Britain Near Death

By Patricia Fryd

Marion and Dolours Price, Irish republican prisoners held in London's Brixton gaol, are now in serious danger of death. According to their mother, they have already been given the last rites of the Catholic church.

On hunger strike since last November, when they were convicted of the March 1973 London car bombings, the sisters were subjected to the cruel torture of force-feeding by prison authorities from December 3 to May 18. They had declared their refusal to eat until the government granted their demands for political prisoner status and transfer to Northern Ireland to serve their sentences (of life plus twenty years) among other republican prisoners and close to their relatives and friends.

The Home Office disclosed May 22 that the Price sisters had had no food for the previous five days. Force-feed-

ing had been stopped, the Home Office said, because the sisters were "refusing to cooperate with the doctors" at Brixton prison. But they have always refused to cooperate, so the new move indicates a serious worsening of their health.

The sisters, along with two other hunger-striking prisoners, Hugh Feeney and Gerard Kelly, had already lost more than forty pounds. Their hair and teeth are falling out. They suffer swollen jaws and bleeding around the lips and gums, and are often in considerable pain.

A statement from the Joint Action Committee for the hunger strikers, reported in the May 23 *Morning Star*, said that the force-feeding had been stopped because the prison doctors refused to continue with it. The paper quoted Claire Price, sister of the prisoners, as saying: "We are very thank-

ful this torture has stopped. Either the British government returns them now to Ireland or they let them see their protest through to its ultimate conclusion."

In the House of Commons May 23, Labour MP Jock Stallard asked if it was now Home Office policy to allow hunger-striking prisoners to die rather than force-feed them. He asked Home Secretary Roy Jenkins if he would reconsider, "in the name of humanity and compassion and for some security reasons, transferring [the Price sisters] back to Northern Ireland to complete their sentences."

Jenkins admitted that force-feeding of the Price sisters had been stopped for medical reasons. But he reiterated his refusal to allow their transfer to Northern Ireland: "I do not think that, at the present time, in present circumstances, I could add to the burdens of the secretary of state for Northern Ireland by asking him to accept them in Northern Ireland in the state of affairs there."

In a June 1 statement once again refusing to transfer the sisters, Jenkins bluntly admitted: "The likelihood that the sisters may end their lives must now be clearly envisaged."

Two other Irish republican prisoners, Proinsias Stagg and Mick Gaughan, are now being force-fed in Parkhurst Prison Hospital, according to the May 3 issue of *An Phoblacht*, the Provisional republican paper. The two have been on hunger strike since March 30, demanding transfer to Northern Ireland. Force-feeding was begun after a doctor called in by the prison authorities confirmed that Stagg was near death.

The Labour government, unwilling to risk "provoking" the reactionary Protestants of Northern Ireland, has no intention of sending any of the prisoners home, even if its refusal means their death. This gives great urgency to the building of a campaign in support of the prisoners' demands and for the freeing of all political prisoners.

Activities by various organisations in solidarity with the prisoners are continuing. The Irish Political Hostages Campaign has scheduled a big demonstration for June 9 and another at the end of June.

A picket was held at Transport House (the Labour party head-

quarters) May 8. Hints from Jenkins that the Price sisters might be transferred to Durham gaol, in the north of England, have stimulated activity in that area.

The situation of Irish political prisoners in Britain was one of the subjects taken up at the conference of the Troops Out Movement (TOM) attended by more than 600 persons in London May 11.

The TOM was formed last autumn on the demands "Troops out of Ireland now" and "Self-determination for the Irish people." Since then, branches have been formed in several towns. Activities have included demonstrations, pickets of army recruitment offices, public meetings, and leafletting. The TOM's orientation toward winning trade-union support was reflected in the fact that fourteen trades councils and twenty-nine union branches were represented at the conference, along with forty-seven students unions and socialist societies. Eighty delegates came from left-wing and women's liberation groups and claimants' organi-

sations.

The conference decided to support a number of proposals for actions, including a June 2 demonstration in support of the Price sisters; a weekend school on Ireland June 28-29; a rally in Central London on July 12; a mass demonstration in October; a petition to be presented to the October Labour party conference; and local campaigns on such questions as army recruitment, withdrawal of troops, and self-determination for the Irish people.

Another campaign to get the troops out of Ireland was launched May 15. The London *Times* reported May 16 that Labour MP James Wellbeloved called a meeting in the House of Commons attended by about forty persons, most of them relatives of soldiers serving in Northern Ireland. The new group said that committees will be set up around the country with the aim of gaining one million signatures on a petition calling for withdrawal of troops from Northern Ireland. □

## Denmark

### Massive Strike Protests 'Tax Compact'

#### Copenhagen

A week of broad-based strike actions culminated Thursday, May 16, when more than half a million Danish factory and office workers throughout the country walked out in a protest action of near general-strike proportions in opposition to the right-wing parties' "tax compact" passed by the Folketing [parliament] Wednesday afternoon. The compact includes new, heavy taxes and excise duties levied on consumers, and comprehensive antisocial cutbacks aimed at pensioners and people seeking educational training.

The meaning of the compact is clear. The working class is expected to pay for the capitalist crisis so that profits can be increased. At the same time, the compact ensures that real-estate speculators, "gratis millionaires" (millionaires who pay no taxes), and the thousands of millions for the military will not be touched.

Most cities throughout the country

were paralyzed. The postal service, the ferries, the harbors, trains, and bus traffic were brought to a standstill. Many newspapers did not appear, and many educational institutions joined the strike. At the Roskilde University Center, for example, the teachers and students left the center at the same time the workers walked off their jobs.

On the initiative of workers in Denmark's largest industrial installation, Burmeister and Wain's shipyard, more than 100,000 strikers gathered in front of the Christiansborg Folketing for the second time in as many days to say No to the civil compact. The chairman closed the B & W rally by saying: "What has happened in Christiansborg is that big capital has gone bankrupt. The reactionary majority are now saying that we should be the ones to pay for their mistakes. And this will continue if we don't replace our present society with a socialist society." □



# Unions Oppose Arms for Chilean Junta

By Tony Hodges

London

The National Executive Committee (NEC) of the British Labour party has decided to urge the Labour government of Harold Wilson to halt all arms sales to the Chilean military junta.

The NEC resolution, approved unanimously on May 22, is the culmination of weeks of protest activity throughout the labour movement following the government's announcement in April that existing contracts to supply war materials to Chile would be upheld. The government's action has been condemned in public by several Labour leaders, including Industry Minister Eric Heffer and Ron Hayward, general secretary of the Labour party, and it has sparked what the May 19 *Sunday Times* described as "the most serious political problem Harold Wilson's government has yet had to face." (See *Intercontinental Press*, May 27, p. 649.)

At issue are two Oberon-class submarines under construction at Scot Lithgow's yard at Greenock, two frigates planned to leave Yarrow shipyards on the Clyde in a few months, and thirty-nine jet engines to be serviced at Rolls-Royce's East Kilbride factory. The contract for the four warships is worth £70 million and is of considerable importance for the Chilean navy, which used its ships to bombard workers' districts and factories during the coup last September. The jet engines, which are to be overhauled at a cost of £30,000 each for the Chilean air force, power Chile's British-built Hunter jets, which were used during the coup to bomb the Moneda Palace and many factories and working-class areas, particularly the textile workers in the Yarur and Sumar textile plants in Santiago.

On May 5 more than 10,000 persons demonstrated against the continuing collaboration of the British government with the junta. The growth of a mass movement of opposition to the government's Chile policies worried many leaders of the Labour

party and the trade unions into taking further steps to urge that the government change course. These labour leaders were also aware that sentiment was building up in the trade-union movement to black work on arms destined for Chile. In fact, workers at Rolls-Royce in East Kilbride had been refusing since March to work on the eight engines already brought to Britain for servicing.

This unofficial action by the East Kilbride workers was followed on May 11 by a decision of the national committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) to order a nationwide blacking of war materials for Chile. The executive committee of the union was instructed "to bring all available pressure to bear on sponsored MPs and the government to stop immediately the delivery of warships and submarines to the junta." It declared that ships sent to Chile would "be used against our brothers and sisters in that country."

On May 14 the AUEW's executive committee voted to demand that the government intervene to stop the delivery of the warships to Chile; to arrange a meeting with the twenty-two Labour members of Parliament sponsored by the union to ask them to add their pressure; to instruct the union's 2,700 branches and 200 district committees to ban work on all war goods destined for Chile; and to raise the campaign with the other eighteen unions in the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (CSEU). The previous day, AUEW members walked off the frigate *Lynch*, one of the two ships under construction for the Chilean navy at Yarrow's on Clydeside.

On May 14, the Clyde District Committee of the CSEU, representing 120,000 trade unionists, voted to endorse the call of the AUEW national committee. And the same day, 300 students demonstrated at Hatfield Polytechnic when a spokesman for the junta, Gerado Zegers, visited the college. Zegers was forced to give up

plans to deliver a *projunta* speech.

The top leaders of the Labour party were forced by the groundswell of opposition to the government's stand to challenge Wilson and Callaghan. On May 19 the party's International Committee, in a meeting attended by Judith Hart, minister for overseas development, and Joan Lester, under secretary at the foreign office, voted unanimously to recommend to the NEC that all arms deals with Chile be halted immediately.

Two days later Wilson tried to cool opposition within the party by announcing that the servicing of Chile's jet engines by Rolls-Royce would be discontinued. He explained that this decision had been brought about by refusal of the workers to handle the engines. Wilson insisted, however, that the engines be returned to Chile and that the warships deal go ahead. Wilson clearly hoped that this partial retreat would calm the growing discontent in the party and the Chile solidarity movement.

The same day, 200 persons took part in a picket sponsored by the Chile Solidarity Campaign (CSC) outside a banquet held by the Chilean naval attaché in London to honour Chilean Naval Day.

On May 22 the Labour party NEC met. It voted unanimously to urge that the government cancel all arms sales to Chile, "whether contracted or not," and to approach the Trades Union Congress for joint sponsorship of a national demonstration on September 11, the anniversary of the coup.

These decisions give an added opportunity to the Chile solidarity movement to step up its campaign of independent mass demonstrations and blackings to force the labour bureaucrats presently installed in government to live up to the pledges they made in opposition and stop their complicity with the repression in Chile. □

### Helpful Advice Department

Billy Graham, a frequent director of White House prayer services during the Vietnam war, said he found the Nixon transcripts somewhat lacking in "moral tone," and that this made reading them "a profoundly disturbing and disappointing experience." The only way out of the Watergate dilemma, he said, is to "pray that the Congress, the courts, the President, and the news media will all be motivated by high purpose and will seek only what is morally right."

## After the Elections: What Next?

By Daniel Bensaid

[The following article appeared in the May 24 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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With the period of intense electoral activity barely past, it is important to keep a cool head and take our bearings with absolute clarity.

First, we must assess the importance for the future, apart from the electoral deceptions, of Mitterrand's vote total in the second round. Nearly 13 million ballots were cast in a vote that was seen, despite the efforts of the candidate to prevent it, as a class vote! That is, more than 49 percent of the votes cast. If elections are a distorted expression (at the expense of the workers) of the relationship of forces, this figure is enormous. Seeking to present himself as the candidate of all France, Mitterrand sought to avoid having the vote seen as a class vote. The fact, however, remains. The leaders of the Communist party and the Socialist party will draw from this an argument to use in consoling their troops, promising that the victory they just missed will be theirs next time.

We do not draw the same conclusion.

An authentic workers and peoples mobilization took place during this campaign, with huge meetings in Paris, Toulouse (40,000), Grenoble (40,000), Nantes (more than 20,000), Marseille, and Nancy. The upsurge of the left, which had never before attained such figures, reflects in its own way the rise in worker militancy. Above all it shows how far we have come, six years later, from the counter-coup that followed the general strike of May 1968, whose lessons have become clearer and gradually penetrated an entire working-class generation.

This growing movement cannot be halted, much less smashed, by an electoral defeat of some 300,000 votes out of the 27 million that were cast. It would be naive to expect the

working class to draw antielectoralist conclusions from this. What is certain, however, is that the working class has felt and measured its strength, has seen victory within its reach, and will not stop there. Mitterrand himself knows this. He has not headed for the cloakroom or the shelter of some retreat; he has said that the struggle continues—no truce, no let-up. That is not merely a loser's bravado.

The unprecedented vote for the left means that workers struggles will retain a political perspective. Mitterrand's campaign even attained one of its aims. It reintegrated the French CP into national political life and won acceptance for the idea of once again seeing Communist ministers. Given the strained, tense, if not explosive, economic and social situation, along with a regime that will have difficulty in establishing its equilibrium, Mitterrand and the leaders of the left are well aware that when push comes to shove they will be able to come forward as the saviors of society, the bourgeoisie's last card of national concord (as in Portugal). And they know that they will be in a much better position to do this than they were on the eve of the election campaign.

In short, it is not only the far left that doesn't think Giscard will be able to hold out for seven or even five years.

### A New Era?

It is quite important to assess the importance of the second significant event of the campaign: the fall of Gaullism.

We have described the irreversible mechanism that led to this fall. The Gaullist regime emerged on the basis of a workers defeat. Behind the ideology of participation, it sought to promote a policy of class collaborationism based on the effort to recruit and appeal to the workers directly, going over the heads of their organizations. But the movement regained its strength

and May 1968 consummated the break, breathing new life into the class struggle and bringing it to a higher level of activity than ever before. The political line of a mutual obligation between labor and capital was already no more than a degraded form of participationism. Following the death of its key personage and the blow its pretensions to popular support received from the decline at the polls in 1973, Gaullism could do no more than hang on, awaiting its agony. Chaban-Delmas's defeat is only the final chapter. It can in no way be attributed to his aristocratic bearing or phony maneuvers.

The deathblow was struck in 1968. What followed was inevitable and irreversible.

Today, Giscard finds himself at the head of a temporary, patchwork coalition. He is compelled to denounce the contradictions of a regime conceived by and for Gaullism. He must eliminate the threat of dead-end conflicts between the executive branch of government, which he represents, and an Assembly that risks falling back into its old divisions and returning to the game of changing alliances. To accomplish this, he would have to be able to base himself on a solid conservative party. All that he has, however, is a fragile electoral coalition that includes both hard-to-please reformers and a UDR [Union des Démocrates pour la République—Union of Democrats for the Republic, the major Gaullist party] that is not at all happy to be in the coalition.

He may put his shoulder to the task, but it is not so simple. *This is not 1945*: The electoral and political basis for a big bourgeois, Christian Democratic party, a party tinted with social humanism to pick up the populist vote, simply does not exist. *This is not the United States*: The existence of a powerful and organized workers movement will make it very difficult to put together a big liberal-conservative party based on populist electoral support.

Giscard built his campaign by presenting himself as the *protector* of threatened social layers, of all the small owners tempted by [Jean] Royer. He built his presidential majority by beginning with the fear of the *red menace*, the threat of collectivism. But now he has to govern—for the benefit of big business and, above all, at

the expense of those who elected him —through fear, using as bait some promises of a sprinkling of social reforms. His coalition is in a way the reflection of this social fragility.

It is easy to understand why the May 19 winners are not out thumping their chests but are instead trying to make it seem like a modest victory. They are *extremely uneasy*.

The only way out (and some people have already cast a sidelong glance in this direction and have brought it up) would be to smash the Union of the Left and reintegrate a section of the SP, the Left Radicals, and their electorate into a broader alliance. This is a perspective with little plausibility in a context of extreme social and political polarization, and in a situation in which the deepening of economic difficulties will leave Giscard little margin for a policy of class collaborationism based on substantial concessions.

The new era Giscard spoke of on the night of his electoral victory does not show any signs of being an era of great ambitions and vigorous policies on the part of the bourgeoisie, but instead an era of a *decadent conservative regime*. A transitional regime, which is what the new government will be, will be forced to make its way from a former majority that they still cannot do without to a new majority that is more of an electoral slogan than a reality.

## No Letup

For its part, the Union of the Left is going to continue the orientation it set for itself, notably by renewing parliamentary battles with a view to wearing down the new majority to force new legislative elections. This is a realistic perspective if you take into account the fact that a parliamentary majority, so much at variance with the presidential majority, is not immune to sudden reverses. It is true that Giscard has an immediate interest in not prolonging the period of instability and election campaigning that has held up a series of measures that are urgent from his point of view. However, he still must try to provide himself with a more solid parliamentary base as soon as the situation becomes more promising, at the eventual price of dissolving parliament.

And if a reversal of alliances is excluded, the stakes will be the nibbling away at the Gaullists' remains in the hope of someday broadening out the handful of surviving grouplets of the bourgeois center—those around Jeanneney, Pisani, and Marcihacy. If this is Giscard's perspective, it must be pointed out that the present extreme polarization hardly favors this broadening of alliances. It is significant that Servan-Schreiber, after mature reflection, swung over to the side he always leaned toward. Significant also is the fact that a few corporation heads and Gaullist figures rallied to Mitterrand but brought him no more than 1.5 to 2 percent of the vote, that is, less than the far left.

This confirms that rather than a shift of alliances, it is the Union of the Left as such, including the Communist ministers but no new bourgeois component, that can in the event of a crisis become the ultimate bourgeois solution. The dynamic of the election campaign only made clearer, by concession after concession, the Common Program's perspective of class collaborationism, a perspective that neither implies nor requires new alliances.

Giscard may try for a time to back up his social rhetoric by a few measures that are more spectacular than costly (lowering the voting age to nineteen?), but without going too far, so as not to encourage inflation, which has reached a level he already finds disquieting. In reality, the inflation will continue without decreasing unemployment. The set of working-class demands that were on the agenda before the election (a minimum salary of 1,500 francs [approximately US-\$310] a month, a forty-hour work-week) will again be pressed sharply.

But if these demands are to be won, the movements must not remain isolated or become fragmented. Instead they must be coordinated and generalized along the path indicated since December 6 by certain actions involving an entire region or branch of industry. Young people will not see themselves as represented by a president they did not elect—any more than workers will. If the elections failed, by a few thousand votes, to break through the logjam, it is still correct to begin to centralize the struggles with the perspective of a renewable general strike to attain satisfac-

tion of the workers demands. And since the elections have shown the strength of the workers and popular current, it is correct to concretize this power by strengthening and uniting the working-class organizations. Fusion and unification of the trade unions, with the right to form tendencies, are now on the order of the day.

Vanguard workers should begin to concretize this perspective, beginning with interunion meetings and regroupments on the rank-and-file level.

The proletariat will have an even greater need for powerful and united organizations, in view of the fact that behind Giscard is arrayed the entire classical far right, from former OAS [Organisation de l'Armée Secrète—Secret Army Organization] members to apprentice Nazis, and in view of the cheers given to the CFT [Confédération Française des Travailleurs—French Confederation of Workers (a semifascist group of thugs claiming to be a trade-union)] delegation at a Giscard meeting at Porte de Versailles [an area of southwest Paris]. The new regime, when faced with workers struggles, can be expected to remain faithful to the methods of those who stand behind it, and to equip itself with supplementary parapolice gangs. Workers self-defense must become a reality.

To propel these struggles forward while at the same time organizing the growing distrust of the maneuvers of Mitterrand and [Communist party General Secretary Georges] Marchais, building and developing a vanguard organization is more than ever necessary. From this standpoint, the election campaign has made a number of things clear. First of all, the unprecedented friendly reception and influence of the far left were reflected in the election results as well as the size of the meetings and the number of papers sold. However, the campaign also made clear the confusion of the far left and pointed toward important transformations. By its rejection of the [Charles] Piaget candidacy, and by its attitude to the campaign, the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party] appeared clearly as an organization that, while still divided, had crossed the threshold and become an appendage of the Union of the Left. The AJS/OCI [Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme/Organisation Communiste Internation-

aliste—Alliance of Youth for Socialism/Internationalist Communist Organization (Lambertists)] also called for a vote for the "first secretary of the SP" on the first round, closing their eyes to the presence of the Left Radicals [in the Union of the Left] and overlooking the fact that a year before they had denounced the maneuver of the bourgeois Mitterrand with the SFIO [Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière—French Section of the Workers International, the official name of the Socialist party] of Guy Mollet.

Some ultraleft currents around [the newspaper] *Libération* also called for a vote for Mitterrand on the first round, falling for the electoral mirage. *Lutte Ouvrière* [Workers Struggle], on the other hand, sank further into electoral sectarianism (by reject-

ing the Piaget candidacy and by carrying out a campaign that was more "populist" than revolutionary). And finally, Révolution! had the correct electoral slogans, but they were based on reasoning that opened the door to electoral opportunism of the worst sort, a point we shall return to in the future.

The Front Communiste Révolutionnaire arose and took shape around the Krivine candidacy. It is ready to play, in an even better fashion, a role that has been poorly filled since the dissolution of the Ligue Communiste [Communist League—former French section of the Fourth International]. The task is immense, but we will not be deterred. The election was only the beginning, not the end. □

railway colonies: "Large-scale eviction of families of striking railway employees from the staff quarters has become the talk of the town. . . . The railway authorities have pasted eviction notices on 353 staff quarters in various colonies. . . . Neighbours of the evicted families said police did not even allow them time to take out their belongings."

Wives of railway workers, according to the May 18 *Bombay Statesman Weekly*, demonstrated May 13 in Durgapur, West Bengal, to protest the beating of wives and children by the Central Reserve Police and the government's railway police. The resolution announcing the end of the strike, adopted in jail by George Fernandes and other rail unionists, noted that wives of railway workers had been "raped by the minions of law and order."

Despite the level of the repression and the government's efforts to blame the strikers for India's economic problems, the railway workers received considerable support from other sections of the working class. Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and other major industrial centers were paralyzed May 15 by a one-day general strike called in support of the railway workers. Among the organizations supporting the general strike call were the All-India Trade Union Congress, the Centre of Indian Trade Unions, the Hind Mazdoor Panchayat, the United Trade Union Congress, the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha.

The May 23 dispatch by Sharad Jhaveri noted: "Despite the government's censorship, several newspapers have reported that at many places the men of the Territorial Army refused to attack the workers."

On May 6, central trade union leaders and representatives of the Confederation of Central Government Employees and Workers issued a statement denouncing the use of armed force to break the strike, condemning the firing on railway workers in Malda, and appealing to their affiliates to extend "all manner of support" to the railway workers struggle.

The May 18 *Economic and Political Weekly* noted the overall economic situation that prompted such a show of militancy by the railway workers: "If despite the unrestrained use of the po-

## 'The Government Fought a Miniwar'

### Gandhi Breaks Indian Rail Strike

Speaking to a packed audience in the Socialist party headquarters in New Delhi May 27, a representative of one of the striking railway unions announced that the massive country-wide rail strike had been called off. "The government fought a miniwar," the unionist stated. "In a confrontation of that nature, the odds cannot but be against the workers."

The twenty-day strike was the longest railway strike in India's history. It ended only after the Gandhi regime unleashed one of the fiercest repressions against the labor movement in recent years. Between 30,000 and 50,000 railway workers were arrested during the strike, according to the May 29 *New York Times*. The regime invoked such emergency regulations as the Defence of India Rules (DIR) and the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA), charging that the railway strike threatened the economy with collapse.

After the ending of the strike, George Fernandes, the head of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation and of the Socialist party, and other unionists were released from jail.

The May 18 *Bombay Economic and Political Weekly* reported that three members of Parliament visited the

Tughlakabad railway colony in Delhi and found "the spectacle of a deserted town in war-time." "The entire male population of the colony," they said, "is in self-imposed exile, following attempts by the police to hunt out railway employees and take them to places of work at the point of the bayonet."

*Intercontinental Press* correspondent Sharad Jhaveri, writing from Jamnagar, Gujarat, May 23, reported: "The Gandhi government has let loose a veritable reign of terror and repression to suppress the fortnight-old countrywide general strike of railway workers. Thousands of railway employees have been arrested. They are being forcibly evicted from the railway colonies with the help of the army, Territorial Army, and special police forces. Drinking water from taps has been discontinued. Food distribution shops in the colonies have been closed, threatening the workers with starvation. The massive propaganda machine is working overnight to give distorted news of the strike."

The reign of terror, moreover, was not restricted to the striking railway workers, but extended to their families. The May 17 *New Delhi Hindustan Times* described the situation in the

lice, the railway workers have been able to keep the strike going for so many days, the reason is not that they were particularly well organised for the strike or that they have received any extraordinary support from the opposition parties. It is the desperate economic condition of the workers—the cumulative result of continuously and sharply raising prices, acute shortages of the basic necessities of life, and growing unemployment—which has made them unsuspectingly resilient and militant."

The same conditions that forced the railway workers to launch their massive strike also affect other sections of the working class. As the May 11 *Economic and Political Weekly* noted: "The government was going to make an example of the railwaymen and expected the working class as a whole to take the government's handling of the railway strike as a warning." □

## Stalinists Discern 'Change' in Gandhi

By Sharad Jhaveri

Jamnagar

Since mid-1969, the pro-Moscow Communist party of India (CPI) has extended its support to Indira Gandhi's Congress government, portraying Gandhi as a representative of an allegedly progressive, antimonopoly, democratic wing of the Indian bourgeoisie.

But Gandhi's arrest of thousands of workers during the countrywide railway strike has exposed her government's true colors and hence forced the CPI to offer some verbal criticisms.

S. A. Dange, chairman of the CPI and general secretary of AITUC (All-India Trade Union Congress), the CPI's trade-union wing, told reporters in Delhi May 24 that the government had become adamant in its attitude towards labor and did not want a compromise in the strike. Following his announcement of that discovery, Dange observed that the government was abandoning the tradition of negotiating issues in dispute with strikers.

Dange warned the government that this was not the period of British rule, when workers leaders could be sent to the gallows. Workers, he said, could bring down governments, citing the British miners' strike as an example.

But true to his Stalinist perspective, he was quick to add that the time for such a political move had not yet arrived in India.

A special session of the central executive of the CPI was held in Delhi that day. It is reported to have been stormy, with heated discussion between pro-Congress and anti-Congress members of the executive. Some of them strongly criticized the attitude of Rajeshwar Rao, the secretary of the CPI, on the railway strike. They urged the party leadership to try to dispel the widespread impression among workers that the CPI is a supporter of Gandhi.

The meeting urged the government to end the rail strike "through a negotiated settlement without pre-conditions and without standing on any false sense of prestige." A resolution asked the government to declare in "clear and unambiguous terms" its acceptance of the six demands of the workers. It also demanded that an industrial wages commission be set up to evolve a "rational" wage structure for government-run industries.

Meanwhile, a meeting of the central trade-union leaders under Dange's chairmanship was deciding to support the railway strike and to condemn the government repression. The meeting, which was called at the request of the National Coordination Committee of the railway workers and attended by representatives of unions led by a number of different parties, appealed to the working class to collect funds for relief of the strikers.

But while this initiative was of help to the strikers, it cannot offset the damage done by the Stalinists with the myths they deliberately have spread about the "progressive" Gandhi government. □

## Hong Kong Rally Hits Skyrocketing Prices

By Sze Nei

Hong Kong

About 3,000 workers staged a rally at Victoria Park on May 5 to protest soaring prices. The rally was sponsored by the Anti-Inflation Action Committee and the May Day Workers

Commission. Various organizations, including student unions, supported it. This was the first public protest meeting of workers in Hong Kong since the upsurge of 1967 was defeated.

Some of the workers were reserved in their attitude toward the sponsors of the rally, who were mostly young workers and student activists. But the fact that they turned out indicated that the radicalization of the youth in Hong Kong has begun to affect other layers. It was likewise significant that these workers participated in an action that was not approved by the trade-union bureaucrats.

Both the Maoists of the ultraleft and the Kuomintang of the ultraright found the May 5 rally not to their liking. The ultrarightists attacked it as a noisy show put on by long-haired youth. The ultraleft sectarians refused to participate because of the involvement of Trotskyists of the Fourth International.

Student unions controlled by the die-hard Maoists scorned invitations to share the platform. Maoist trade-union bureaucrats warned members not to attend the rally but to continue with the "criticize Lin-Confucius" campaign.

Since 1970, skyrocketing prices have become an increasing burden to the working people. According to the *Economic Information & Agency Magazine*, published in Hong Kong, the cost of living rose 27 percent last year alone. In the first three months of 1974, the cost of living jumped 18 percent. The price of rice, the main staple in Hong Kong, rose from \$1.40 to \$2.40 a catty [a Hong Kong dollar is equal to US\$0.20; a catty is a little more than a pound].

A recession has also hit Hong Kong. Production is down in plastics and textiles, the main light industries. Many factories constructed through foreign investments have closed. Other sectors are stagnating. Around 120,000 workers, about 10 percent of the labor force, have been laid off.

At the rally, speakers representing seven different organizations and student unions addressed the crowd. Hong Kong's colonial government was charged with special responsibility for skyrocketing prices inasmuch as the government boosted taxes and the charges for public facilities. These were among the measures taken by British imperialism to bolster capitalism in Britain at the expense of the

working masses in Hong Kong.

One of the demands voiced by the speakers was the recovery of Hong Kong's money reserves held in England (37,000 million Hong Kong dollars) and use of these funds to alleviate the plight of the masses in Hong Kong.

A four-point resolution was adopted calling for control of prices, a sliding scale of wages, a minimum wage of 900 Hong Kong dollars, and the payment of unemployment benefits.

The hope was expressed that the

rally would mark the beginning of an intensive struggle in defense of the standard of living of the working class. Student representatives promised to back such a struggle to the utmost of their ability.

The rally received considerable publicity in the daily press and on radio and television. However, the Kuomintang journals slandered the organizers of the rally. As for the Maoist newspapers, they decided to follow a policy of silence and did not even mention the rally. □

## Reply to Appeal for Ukrainian Dissident

# Soviet Bureaucrats Circulate Slander of Moroz

By Anne Klein and George Saunders

An appeal to Soviet authorities on behalf of Ukrainian dissident Valentyn Moroz appeared recently in the Canadian press, sponsored by a Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz. Endorsed by dozens of university figures, it described the Moroz case as follows:

"We write this letter in response to reports that Valentyn Moroz, a 38-year-old Ukrainian historian, is in a critical state of health and is subjected to the harshest of treatment and conditions in Vladimir Prison. We express our concern that Moroz may not survive if such treatment is continued.

"Because we favour the relaxation of international tension and development of friendly relations between nations, and

"Because we believe that this is dependent on the recognition of the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family as the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

"We appeal to you to assure his well-being, to accord to him those human rights and fundamental freedoms that the world community has prescribed in numerous covenants and conventions, and release him on compassionate grounds."

The appeal gave the following background on his case:

"In November 1970 Valentyn Moroz was sentenced at a trial held in camera to 9 years imprisonment and 5 years exile for alleged 'anti-soviet propaganda and agitation' which consisted of writing 3 essays critical of the police terror and Russification policies in the Soviet Union. This was Moroz's second sentencing—he had already spent a four-year term in the sixties on similar charges. He is married and has two children.

"Since his imprisonment Moroz has been beaten, stabbed, and confined with the criminally insane. Reports since January 1974 indicate that he is confined to an isolation cell, where he is being pressured to recant. He is in extremely poor physical and mental condition and concerned circles in the Soviet Union have expressed fears that he may not survive present treatment. Pavel Litvinov, the recently expelled dissident, has stated that Moroz will begin a hunger strike 'until death' on the fourth anniversary of his arrest [June 1, 1970] if his conditions are not changed."

Readers were asked to sign this appeal and send it to the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa.

The embassy was sufficiently upset by this publicity to issue a special press release on May 8 entitled "How and for What Is V. Moroz Serving His Term?" Copies of the press release were sent to all the endorsers of

the ad. Usually the bureaucrats try to ignore such controversial political cases, rather than add to the publicity by commenting on them. The embassy's action showed how much pressure they feel from the large Ukrainian community in Canada.

The press release first claimed that "Moroz's 'tragic health condition' is invented." It then went on to the "gist of the matter," what Moroz is "guilty" of. The embassy's communiqué gave the following account, highlighted by a quote from an apparent confession by Moroz for which no source was given. (It was almost surely fabricated, for in all of his *samvydav* [unofficially circulated] writings, Moroz has never acknowledged any guilt in his opposition to the regime's policies.)

"Prisoner Moroz is qualified as a recidivist [repeated offender]. He committed for a second time the crime he had earlier been convicted of. In the early 1960's, V. Moroz, a Ukrainian, born in 1936, was teaching history at Teacher's Training Colleges in the Ukraine, first at Lutsk, then at Ivano-Frankovsk. His criminal activities began at that time. His aim was to abolish Soviet power in the Ukraine and to separate it from the USSR—by any means, including force.

"Moroz later described his illegal activities as follows: 'I used my business trips to Lutsk from Ivano-Frankovsk to supervise student practice for other purposes. I always brought with me anti-Soviet literature and distributed it among students and people I knew. I spoke to them about the need for the Ukraine to secede from the USSR and to become a bourgeois state. In these efforts, I said, we must count on the support of the Western countries and in the first place the USA, including military support.'"

Contrary to this fabrication, none of Moroz's numerous writings have called for the Ukraine to become a "bourgeois state." Readers may judge for themselves. Some of his most outstanding pieces are found in the book *Ferment in the Ukraine* (Crisis Press, 1973); a new collection of his writings is about to be published in Canada. And his final defiant statement at his 1970 trial is in *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition* (Monad, 1974).

In spite of this public record showing Moroz's real stand, the embassy

story stressed that Moroz was convicted for antisocialist and "anti-Soviet" ideas. Meeting and talking with people and having an officially unapproved book are the proof of his evil-doing.

"Meetings were held regularly at the flat of lecturer D. Ivashchenko. Students—would-be teachers—to whom society was going to entrust the education of children and teenagers were told there by Moroz to hate the Russians [!]. . . .

"V. Moroz's actions were fully covered by article 62-1 of the penal code of the Ukrainian Republic, which envisages as punishment the deprivation of freedom for a period of 6 months to 7 years for agitation and propaganda with a view to undermining the Soviet system and for spreading slander vilifying it.

"Moroz was exposed by many witnesses and by plenty of evidence. The criminal nature of the meetings at Lutsk was proved. It was found out that through go-betweens Moroz received negative film of an anti-Soviet book published in Munich—*The Deduction of Rights of the Ukraine*. It was issued by the so-called administration of the Chief Ukrainian Liberation Council (Prolog Publishing House) which, together with all the worst enemies of the USSR, dreams of 'freeing' the Ukraine from socialism and conducts subversive work.

"Moroz was sentenced to four years imprisonment. In the corrective labour camp he continued his former line. He contacted OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists] members who were serving their terms for different crimes, incited them to disobey and violated the regime of the corrective labour institution. At the same time Moroz invented a slanderous 'reportage' about the regulations in the colony and sent it to his accomplices abroad."

This is a reference to his brilliant essay "Report from the Beria Reservation," which may be found in *Ferment in the Ukraine*.

The press release concluded with an account of how Moroz came to be "qualified as a recidivist."

"On Sept. 1, 1969, Moroz was released and came to Ivano-Frankovsk. He did not try to find a job, however, but lived on the money sent through secret channels by anti-Soviet nationalist organisations from abroad. They

believed him to be a 'combat unit' operating in the 'communist den.' Moroz again set about forming and hammering together an anti-Soviet group. He visited Ukrainian cities [!], carried out agitation against the Soviet system and for secession, prepared and distributed subversive literature."

(What an unstable situation must exist in Ukraine under Brezhnev and Company if a single Ukrainian citizen "visiting Ukrainian cities" can be seriously regarded as a dangerous "combat unit" against whom the full might of the state must be brought to bear.)

"He was again tried, for a second time, under the same article 62 of the penal code of the Ukrainian Republic. This time, however, according to part 2 of the article Moroz, as a recidivist, was to get a more severe punishment. . . . The court found Moroz guilty and sentenced him to 9 years imprisonment."

At the end the embassy's press release waxed quite eloquent in explaining why the sentencing of Moroz "was

met with approval by the public in the Ukraine"—at least "according to reports carried in the Ukrainian press at that time."

"Separatist activity and preaching of national discord and chauvinism are deeply resented by Soviet people, who on every occasion show their pride that more than a hundred various nationalities live in accord in their country. The friendship of nations, which was not cultivated in pre-revolutionary Russia, has been gained in the hard and steadfast struggle of several generations of Soviet Society. It is not surprising, therefore, that encroachments on this gain are regarded here as a blasphemy."

No wonder that someone who tells people "to hate the Russians" is given such stern treatment. Of course, even the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa would be hard put to cite a case of any Russian Soviet citizen being brought to trial at any recent time for expressing hatred of Ukrainians. For some reason, that form of anti-Soviet chauvinism never shows up in the courts. □

## 'Special Program' of Deception

# Ottawa's Mistreatment of Chilean Refugees

By Jon Cole

[The following article is reprinted from *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto.]

\* \* \*

The government has tried to present itself as having a truly humanitarian approach to the problem of refugees from the Chilean military junta. Special teams of Immigration officials were sent to Santiago, and to other Latin American countries to which refugees had fled, supposedly with instructions to process applications quickly. Special relaxed rules were announced, to allow the victims of repression to come to Canada.

As an effort to aid refugees, however, the program has been a cynical deception practiced on the refugees and on Canadians who believed the government's pronouncements.

At least 14,000 refugees applied to

come to Canada. Well over 90 percent were rejected. The "special program" has now been cancelled, leaving thousands of refugees with no hope of getting in.

About 500 refugees have arrived in Canada from Chile—a far cry from the 11,000 Czechs and 3,000 Ugandans who were accepted under special refugee programs in recent years.

And those 500 are finding that the Immigration Department's hostility to them continues after they arrive. The government is making it very clear that refugees from Chile are not welcome here.

On May 3, I interviewed Jorge Acevedo (not his real name), who escaped into a foreign embassy in Chile and then made his way to Canada. Jorge described the situation that refugees from Chile find themselves in.

"The first thing that most Canadians don't realize," he said, "is that a large majority of the refugees have not been

given landed-immigrant status here. They are on special Minister's permits—temporary visas which let them stay supposedly until their applications for landed-immigrant status are decided on. These permits give them no civil rights and can be revoked at any time by the government.

"The government is delaying the applications for landed-immigrant status. Some people who applied last November, and earlier, still have had no reply."

The refugees, Jorge explained, are intimidated and frightened by this procedure. Their lives are extremely insecure—at any time they might find their permits withdrawn and have to begin again in another country.

"Many of the refugees want to help publicize the situation in Chile, to expose to Canadians and the world the brutality they experienced. They want to build support for those who are still under the junta's boot. But the Immigration authorities make it clear that they are under observation, that they have to 'behave' in order to be approved. For families, with children, this kind of intimidation is very powerful."

This intimidation follows the intimidation of the "security" clearance all refugees must pass through even before getting to Canada.

"When I applied to come here," Jorge said, "the Immigration Department asked many questions about my political views. Was I a Communist? Was anyone in my family a Communist? Was I a terrorist? What political activities was I involved in in Chile? Some more recent arrivals were asked detailed questions about their party, how it is organized, how it is financed, about any contacts they have in Chile.

"These questions are meant to keep people out. At the same time some of the people who have come here as refugees are not refugees at all. They are rightists, supporters of the junta. All they had to do was to denounce Allende to the Canadian officials and they were quickly passed through. These people were sent to infiltrate the Chilean movement abroad."

When it launched the "special program" for the Chile crisis, the government promised to provide economic aid to the refugees, and to aid them in settling here, in getting jobs and housing. I asked Jorge how this program was working.

"Really, it's not a serious program at all. When a refugee arrives, he or she gets \$10 a week. Children get \$5. The Immigration authorities give no assistance at all in finding housing. They will pay the first month's rent, but only to a maximum of \$170, and there are very few apartments for families that rent for that little in Toronto.

"The program for teaching English is just as bad. If you speak any English at all, you can't get the course. Women are discouraged from taking it—and women with children are not allowed to take it. And the course is meant not to make you fluent in English, but just to teach you enough to understand orders from a boss."

While enrolled in the English course, a refugee receives \$55 a week. This means that he must attempt to find work part-time, and there are few jobs available to people who speak no English, who have no papers, and who have only very tenuous legal status.

"The refugees include many very educated people," Jorge said. "Engineers, doctors, teachers, social workers, people with doctorates. These people, those who can find work, are washing dishes, working as cemetery guards, cleaning windows. The government seems to want to use the refugees as a source of cheap labor for menial jobs."

Those who are not able to get jobs have to survive on the government grants—a family of four receives a maximum of \$280 a month, if one is attending the language course.

But for the most recent arrivals the situation is far more desperate. There are no more language courses scheduled to open until September—and so not even the miserly \$55 a week is available. The refugees arrive without money, without jobs, without a knowledge of English—and in many cases in debt to the government, which treats their air fare as a loan.

"One case was particularly bad," Jorge reported. "There were some Brazilian families who had been living in exile in Chile. After the coup, they were lucky to escape to Panama. From there, they rapidly applied to come to Canada, but they got no reply. The situation became so intolerable in Panama, which is after all a military dictatorship, that they came to Canada without permits. These people received no government assistance

whatsoever. They had to depend on private charity in order to survive.

"Fortunately these families had some assistance from the churches, and from groups concerned with Latin America. These groups put pressure on the government. They organized a letter-writing campaign, winning support from many prominent Canadians. Finally, in May, three months after they arrived, the Brazilians were given Ministerial permits—they still have to wait for landed-immigrant status, even though they applied for it long ago in Panama. They still have no jobs, and no permanent place to live.

"Some other people, who haven't had any support like the Brazilians have, still don't have landed-immigrant status. I know one couple where the wife is forced to work as a go-go dancer in order to keep them alive."

The government's policy towards the refugees has divided many families.

"People had to escape from Chile without their families. There are many cases of men who left their wives behind, couples who left their children with friends, and of course people who were divided during the coup and were not able to find each other again.

"Now that the government has ended its special program for Chile, the refugees can get no help in contacting their families. And they have no means of bringing their families here if they do contact them."

This situation contrasts sharply with Sweden, where the government is making special efforts to locate and bring to Sweden the families of the refugees it has admitted.

I asked Jorge what he thought could be done about the situation of refugees from Chile.

"The refugees themselves are not able to do very much," he said. "We live with the danger that we might be deported if we speak up. What we need is support from Canadians. The truth about our situation has to be told. To judge by Canadian newspapers, you would think the crisis was over, that all the refugees are settled and happy. Canadians have to know what is really happening.

"The most important thing is to press for landed-immigrant status for all refugees. Without that, we are in an impossible situation. I think there should be a campaign to tell Canadians the truth, and to press the government to grant landed-immigrant status now." □



## Election Showed Increasing Polarization

By Sol Salby

[Because of close votes in a number of districts, it was not until May 29 that Billy Snedden, leader of the Australian Liberal party, conceded that the Liberal-Country party coalition had been defeated in the May 18 elections. Although the Australian Labor party (ALP) clearly outdistanced the opposition in its total vote, its majority in the House of Representatives will be between only five and seven, depending on the result in still undecided districts. In the previous parliament, its margin was nine seats. In the 60-seat Senate, the ALP will hold 30 or 31 seats, compared with 26 in the previous parliament.]

[The following analysis of the election is excerpted from the May 25 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney.]

\* \* \*

A marginal increase of 0.1 percent in Labor's share of the vote is the main outcome of the elections. As long as Labor remains in government, the expression of this result in terms of seats is only a secondary question.

Labor has been robbed of a large working majority by a gerrymander. Some of the seats in the country have less than 50,000 electors, while many city electorates that return Labor members have 80,000 electors and more. Further, because of the concentration of the working class in certain regions, Labor wins many seats with well over 65 percent of the vote. On the other hand, Liberal and Country party seats are usually won by much smaller margins.

This gerrymander should, of course, be condemned. As soon as possible the Labor government must amend the Electoral Act and eliminate this gross inequality.

It would be a mistake, however, to blame the result purely on the gerrymander. In many ways the results of the 1974 elections provided an insight into the sources of Labor support and the entire political process

June 10, 1974

in this country.

The most significant result has been the polarisation. The lines were drawn very firmly in the elections: on one side the workers party, the ALP, and on the other side the parties of big business, the Liberal-Country party coalition. The voting in this election has more than in previous years been along class lines. In the industrial centres of Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth, Newcastle, Wollongong, and even Brisbane, the Labor vote increased. The minor parties, glamor personalities, and all other considerations were set aside.

Labor's vote went up in each of Labor's strongholds, a trend which did not take place in the 1972 elections. In working-class seats where the ALP already had more than 65 percent of the vote, further gains were made.

The miserable vote gained by all groups outside the Labor and Liberal-Country party teams serves as a further reminder of the polarisation of the electorate. Even with 61 other candidates standing against them, these two teams captured 91.56 percent of the vote in New South Wales. This polarisation extended to all parties, including the Communist party of Australia.

A by-product of this trend has been the abysmal performance of the two main minor parties: the Australia party and the Democratic Labor party. The Australia party, the "progressive" party of Australian capitalism, had its vote cut. Its hopes of winning a Senate seat were shattered. In a confrontation between Labor and Liberal, the Australia party was left on the sidelines.

Even more pleasing has been the demise of the DLP. The party contested House of Representatives seats only in Victoria and Western Australia, where it formed part of the National Alliance. But it was eliminated in the Senate vote as well. In the last parliament the DLP had five senators. In the new parliament it will have none. The DLP policies of red-baiting, emphasis on "defence," and general scare-

mongering have very little use in a period of official détente.

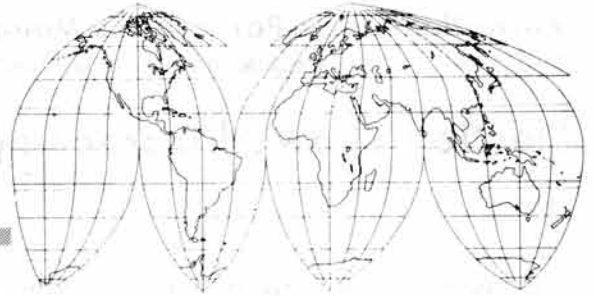
One Labor member who appears to have lost ground is David McKenzie in Diamond Valley. McKenzie incurred the wrath of the anti-abortion forces when he moved the Medical Practice Clarification Bill, liberalising abortion in the Australian Capital Territory. A campaign aimed specifically against him appears to have had some success. However, it should be noted that the Right to Life Association, whose headquarters are in Diamond Valley, could mount a massive campaign in only one seat. A less intensive campaign was directed in three other seats: La Trobe, Henty, and Isaacs. Tony Lamb, who seconded the abortion bill, has actually improved his majority considerably. Gloria Child improved the Labor vote in Henty to win it, and Labor could also win Isaacs from the Liberals.

The success of the anti-abortion forces in Diamond Valley is contrasted to the return of pro-abortionists elsewhere and is only a limited victory. The growth of the women's movement and the abortion rights campaign will more than counter the efforts of these reactionary forces.

The strong performance of Labor in New South Wales, where Labor gained 53.8 percent of the vote, puts the lie to the talk of "strikes lose votes for Labor." The federal secretary of the Federated Ironworkers Association, Laurie Short, has already suggested that industrial activity be curtailed. The fact is that there have been more strikes in NSW, particularly in the services industry, than any other state. A pre-election article in the *National Times* suggested that Labor would fare better in Melbourne than in Sydney because of the disparity in the incidence of strikes between the two cities. This was not the case. It can be safely concluded that the incidence of strikes did not hinder Labor's campaign. Any Labor leader looking for a scapegoat should look elsewhere.

Regardless of the final outcome, Labor clearly won the 1974 elections. Australian workers were given a choice between a working-class party and the parties of big business. They voted to retain Labor in office. Their support for Labor is unfortunately not going to be matched by any support from the Labor leadership for their demands. □

# AROUND THE WORLD



## Strike in Italy Protests Fascist Bomb Outrage

Italy's three major labor federations conducted a four-hour general strike May 29 to protest the murder of six persons by a fascist bomb.

The deaths occurred in Brescia May 28, when a hidden time bomb exploded during an antifascist rally. In addition to the six deaths, ninety-four persons were reported injured by the blast.

Massive rallies took place throughout the country during the May 29 strike. The state television estimated that 200,000 persons demonstrated in Milan, 100,000 in Rome, and 100,000 in Turin. In smaller cities, marches ranged from 10,000 to 50,000.

In several cities, police fired tear gas to protect local offices of the neofascist Italian Social Movement from attacks by angry demonstrators.

## Czechoslovakia Strengthens Police

A new law was passed by the Czechoslovak federal assembly April 24, giving the national security forces greater powers of repression. The national security forces—which include the secret police—are now empowered to intervene "in case of a serious danger and imminent violation of the public order" without first notifying the local authorities. This was justified by the necessity of more effectively struggling against "antisocial elements."

## Rumania-Portugal Ties

The Portuguese and Rumanian governments announced June 1 that they had agreed to reestablish diplomatic relations, which were broken off in 1949.

## Smith, Vorster Meet

Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith met with South African Prime Minister John Vorster May 29 in Pretoria, South Africa, for a "candid discussion" about the situation in southern Africa following the Lisbon coup. "It is not in our interests that there should be chaos in any neighboring country," Vorster told reporters in an obvious reference to Angola and Mozambique. He then added, apparently expecting to be believed: "But it is not for

us to prescribe what sort of rule there should be." "We do not meddle in the internal affairs of a neighboring country."

## Report Arrest of 50 ERP Members

According to a dispatch from Reuters, fifty members of the Argentine Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo (People's Revolutionary Army) were arrested May 21 in Tucuman province, some 650 miles north of Buenos Aires. The fifty were reportedly captured when 600 police stormed an ERP training camp.

A May 31 *New York Times* dispatch reported that as many as 300 people were arrested in continuing police operations in the area, but that all but five had been released.

The evening of May 30, more than forty guerrillas said to have identified themselves as members of the ERP occupied the northern town of Acheral. According to the *Times*, "One group occupied the railway station and the police headquarters after disarming three officers. Another contingent, armed with bazookas and heavy caliber machine guns, set up a blockade at the entrance to the town. A third group patrolled the main avenue and took over several bars.

"No casualties or damages were reported, and the guerrillas left town after an hour."

## Moscow Criticizes Japanese CP

The May issue of *Partiynaya Zhizn*, the publication of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party, accused the Japanese CP of holding "vengeful and nationalist positions." In particular, the article criticized the leaders of the Japanese CP for supporting the demand that the Soviet Union return the Kuril Islands to Japanese control, for refusing to invite a Soviet delegation to the Japanese party congress, and for criticizing the Soviet detente with the United States.

## Charge Plot Against Bhutan King

More than thirty persons have been arrested so far in the Himalayan kingdom of Bhutan in connection with an alleged plot to assassinate the eighteen-year-old king, Jigme Singhi Wangchuk, who was crowned June 2. The regime charged that "a large cache of arms, ammunition,

hand-grenades, and poison" was seized and that the alleged plotters were Tibetans who wanted to gain control of Bhutan. There was speculation that they wanted to use Bhutan as a staging area for operations against China.

## Renewed Fighting on Jolo

Philippine military sources and travelers from the south said June 1 that six government soldiers were killed and nineteen wounded in renewed fighting with Muslim rebels on Jolo, about thirty miles east of Jolo city, which was almost completely destroyed by government bombing in February. According to the sources, fighting has also spread to Siasi Island.

## Tito Keeps Busy

The tenth congress of the Yugoslav Communist party elected Josip Broz Tito as its lifetime president May 30. The vote was unanimous.

Two weeks earlier, the Federal Assembly, also unanimously, elected Tito president-for-life of Yugoslavia.

## China, Malaysia Establish Diplomatic Relations

The Malaysian regime has become the first member of the anti-Communist Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to establish full diplomatic relations with Peking. Malaysian Prime Minister Abdul Razak and Premier Chou En-lai signed the agreement May 31 in Peking. The Thai, Philippine, Singapore, and Indonesian regimes are the other four members of ASEAN, some of which have also made a few overtures to Peking.

The joint communique released after the signing stated that Peking considered all Chinese who became Malaysian citizens to have forfeited any claim to Chinese nationality and that Peking expected all Chinese citizens in Malaysia to abide by its laws.

Upon Razak's arrival in Peking May 28, the Chinese newspaper *Jenmin Jih Pao* praised the Malaysian people for having achieved "new successes in safeguarding national independence and sovereignty." Such declarations will presumably be used to undermine the morale of the remaining Maoist guerrillas in Malaysia.

Three days before Razak's arrival in

Peking, guerrillas blew up \$4.5 million worth of road-building equipment along a highway near the border with Thailand.

### U.S. Fighters to South Korea

The U. S. secretary of the air force announced May 24 that Washington would soon shift a squadron of F-4 Phantom fighter planes from Thailand to South Korea. The squadron will replace an equal number of older planes already based in South Korea.

### Giscard Orders End to Wiretaps

After his first cabinet meeting, French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing announced May 29 that he had ordered an end to wiretapping by the government "if it exists."

"France is a liberal country," Giscard declared, "and she must express that tendency even more strongly."

### Pnompenh Students Demonstrate

More than 1,500 students marched for three hours through downtown Pnompenh May 31 protesting against corruption in the puppet government and demanding the release of five student leaders who were among the sixty students and three teachers arrested March 26. The Lon Nol regime has released the others, but plans to try the five on charges of possessing Communist literature.

"The government is a dog," shouted student leaders over loudspeakers. "Youth must punish corruption" and "The government must solve the problem of rising prices," proclaimed banners carried on the march.

As the march passed the villa formerly occupied by the U.S. charge d'affaires, one student leader shouted: "American imperialists are responsible for everything that's going on in Cambodia."

The students dispersed after they rallied in front of the national police headquarters for half an hour. The police station was guarded by barbed-wire barricades and soldiers armed with automatic weapons.

### Military Left Out of Thai Cabinet

The new Thai cabinet that was sworn in by King Phumiphol Aduldet June 1 had no active military officers among its thirty members. The most conspicuous absence was the former defense minister, Air Marshal Dawee Chullasapya, an old colleague of the military dictators who were ousted in October by the mass student and worker mobilizations. The old cabinet and Premier Sanya Thammasak had resigned May 21, but Sanya agreed to return as premier and reconstitute a new cabinet.

### Greece-Turkey Tensions Rise

The Greek junta was reported to have put its military forces on alert May 29, immediately after the Turkish government announced that it had sent a research vessel and minesweepers and submarines into an area of the Aegean Sea claimed by both countries. The area is believed to possess large oil reserves.

### Rostropovich Arrives in London

Soviet cellist Mstislav Rostropovich arrived in London May 26 for a two-year visit that he called a "prolonged concert tour."

Rostropovich is a friend of exiled novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and has publicly defended him in the past. He has given only one concert in the Soviet Union in the last year.

### Baghdad Announces Plans to 'Crush' Kurdish Revolt

Iraqi Vice-President Saddam Hussein declared May 22 that Baghdad would "crush the senseless sedition" of the Kurdish national minority. Hussein has massed 60,000 troops, about three-quarters of the Iraqi army, in the foothills surrounding the mountainous region held by the Kurds. Open clashes with the central government began in March when leaders of the Kurdish Democratic party rejected as insufficient the autonomy proposal made by Baghdad.

### 8 Palestinians on Trial in Sudan

Eight members of the Palestinian guerrilla organization Black September went on trial in Khartoum June 1. All are charged with murder and face a possible death penalty.

The eight were arrested in March 1973 after they took over the Saudi Arabian Embassy in an effort to win release of Arab prisoners in other countries. Three hostages—two U.S. and one Belgian diplomat—were killed in the embassy.

### Oil Companies Report Taxes

The six largest multinational oil corporations in the United States reported net profits totaling \$6,700 million in 1973. Their U.S. federal income taxes came to a total of \$642 million.

### Lee Cracks Down on Press

The regime of Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew is preparing to enact the Newspaper and Printing Presses Bill, which gives the government greater control over Singapore's press. The bill requires newspapers to issue "management shares" that can be sold only to persons approved by the government. Progovernment interests

can thus buy the controlling shares in all Singapore newspapers.

One of the Chinese-language newspapers that the bill is directed against, *Nanyang*, was in the past accused of printing articles that were considered too favorable to Peking.

### Japanese Oil Companies Charged in Price-Fixing Conspiracy

The Tokyo high public prosecutor indicted the Petroleum Association of Japan, twelve oil companies, and seventeen senior oil executives May 28 on charges of conspiracy to fix prices and to control refinery production during 1973. Included among the twelve companies was Shell Oil. The indictments were the first major allegations of the Fair Trade Commission since 1953, when an "antimonopoly" law went into effect. Any of the companies that are found guilty face a fine of \$1,785.

The Japanese oil industry was charged with conspiring to raise prices five times in 1973, three of them before the oil embargo of the Arab-Persian Gulf states began. The companies were also charged with restricting oil production to reinforce price increases. The office of the public prosecutor said that it had uncovered evidence indicating the existence of a "study group" that decided the price rises.

The oil companies responded by claiming that they were acting under the guidance of the government's Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

### Luxembourg Premier Defeated

Luxembourg Premier Pierre Werner resigned May 27, one day after his Christian Social party was defeated in elections to parliament. It will have only 18 seats in the 59-member body.

The Socialist party won 17 seats and is expected to form a coalition with the liberal Democratic party, which holds 14.

### Brazilian Students Denounce New Ambassador to Portugal

A statement released at the end of May by some 1,000 Brazilian students at the Portuguese universities of Lisbon, Oporto, and Coimbra denounced the Brazilian government's choice of General Carlos Alberto de Fontoura as its new ambassador to Lisbon. Fontoura, who was assigned to the Lisbon Embassy before the April 25 coup, is the former head of the Brazilian National Intelligence Service. A close personal friend of the former director of the Portuguese secret police, Fontoura has played a major role in suppressing student actions and workers organization in Brazil. The statement issued by the students charged that he is "responsible for the deaths of several hundred students at the hands of the National Intelligence Service and the Center for Internal Security Operations."

## El Movimiento de Oposición en Ucrania

Por Oleh Ilnytskyj

[Esta es una traducción del artículo publicado en la edición de *Intercontinental Press* del 3 de junio, con el título de "The Opposition Movement in Ukraine". Está basado en un discurso dado el 7 de mayo en la Universidad de Harvard, como parte de un acto en defensa de Pyotr Grigorenko, disidente soviético preso desde 1969.]

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Frecuentemente, cuando se aborda por primera vez el tema de la disidencia soviética, se presupone casi automáticamente que estamos hablando del movimiento de disidencia ruso. Desde luego, no hay duda de que el movimiento ruso es muy importante; pero bajo ninguna circunstancia podemos considerar que es el único movimiento de disidencia que existe hoy en día en la Unión Soviética. Tampoco se le puede tomar, en este sentido, como representante del conjunto del movimiento por derechos civiles.

El movimiento de disidencia ruso rara vez se refiere a problemas específicos de otros grupos nacionales o repúblicas, y en el occidente este problema se discute con menos frecuencia todavía.

Por lo tanto, es significativo y muy apropiado que estemos recapacitando sobre la difícil situación de Pyotr Grigorenko, ya que con su preocupación por los tártaros de Crimea ha llamado la atención sobre el importante hecho de que el movimiento por los derechos humanos y civiles en la Unión Soviética incluye también injusticias y descontentos nacionales.

Con esto en mente, quisiera referirme específicamente al problema de la disidencia en la República de Ucrania.

Los primeros signos de disidencia en Ucrania en la era posterior a Stalin pueden rastrearse hasta 1959 y 1961, cuando veintisiete personas fueron enjuiciadas secretamente (y, por lo tanto, ilegalmente) — dos de ellas fueron ejecutadas y las demás recibieron condenas muy duras. Su crimen consistía

en que habían planeado pedir que la RSS de Ucrania se separara de la Unión Soviética, derecho garantizado para todas las repúblicas por el artículo 17 de la Constitución de la URSS.

También en 1961, siete hombres fueron arrestados, todos ellos de origen obrero o campesino, y enjuiciados ilegalmente (esto es, secretamente). Uno fue sentenciado a muerte, sentencia que luego fue conmutada por quince años de cárcel. Su objetivo era realizar propaganda pacífica (permitida por el artículo 125 de la Constitución) a favor de que la RSS de Ucrania se separara de la URSS.

Durante 1965-66, cuando el mundo se quedaba boquiabierto ante los juicios tramposos de Sinyavsky y Daniel, se llevaron a cabo muchas investigaciones en Ucrania. Cientos de personas fueron interrogadas y cuando menos veinte fueron arrestadas, juzgadas y recluidas en campos de trabajos forzados. Algunas de las personas que fueron arrestadas en el período de 1965-66 todavía están pagando sus condenas.

En enero de 1972, según el *New York Times* y otras fuentes periodísticas, cuando menos cien personas fueron arrestadas en Ucrania "bajo la sospecha de que realizaban actividad nacionalista", según dijo el *Times*. Se realizaron algunos juicios preparados y se otorgaron severas sentencias, algunas de hasta quince años de cárcel. De hecho, desde enero de 1972 ha habido una ola permanente de arrestos, sentencias inmisericordes y tratamientos inhumanos para los prisioneros.

No hay forma de hacer un cálculo aproximado de la cantidad de personas que han sido arrestadas y recluidas en las prisiones que se extienden a todo lo largo de la Unión Soviética o en los campos de trabajos forzados de Mordovia. Una fuente calculaba que los ucranianos constituyen entre el 60 y el 70% de los que están presos en esa república-cárcel. Pero es difícil dar cifras absolutas. De los miles de prisioneros que hay en Mordovia, al menos 300 son

conocidos de nombre. Los demás permanecen anónimos, ya que la mayoría de los juicios son secretos y por lo general ni siquiera a los parientes más cercanos se les comunican los arrestos ni las sentencias.

A dos hombres debemos mucha de la información con que contamos actualmente sobre los presos políticos ucranianos y sus ideas: Ivan Dzyuba, autor de *Internationalism or Russification?* [¿Internacionalismo o Rusificación?] (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, Londres, 1968), una crítica de la política soviética para las nacionalidades; y Vyacheslav Chornovil, compilador de informes de testigos presenciales de los juicios secretos de 1965-66. El informe de Chornovil fue publicado en occidente por McGraw-Hill con el nombre de *The Chornovil Papers* [Los Documentos de Chornovil]. Chornovil fue arrestado en 1967 a causa de este libro, y condenado a tres años de trabajos forzados. Fue liberado al cumplir la mitad de la condena, pero fue arrestado nuevamente en 1972 y sentenciado en febrero de 1973 a siete años de reclusión en un campo de trabajo y a cinco años de exilio. Recientemente fue transferido a una cárcel de régimen duro y está débil de salud.

Ivan Dzyuba fue arrestado en 1972 a causa de su libro; fue sentenciado a un total de diez años, entre cárcel y exilio. En noviembre de 1973 se supo que Dzyuba había sido liberado después de "confesar" su culpa y jurar que repudiaba su trabajo anterior. Se sabe que Dzyuba tiene tuberculosis, y es dudoso que su confesión haya sido voluntaria.

Otro preso conocido (desafortunadamente hay demasiados para mencionarlos aquí a todos), es Valentyn Moroz, un historiador que fue arrestado durante el período de 1965-66 y está cumpliendo una condena de catorce años en la prisión Vladimir, al oriente de Moscú. Moroz es uno de los disidentes más abiertos de Ucrania y autor de espíritu particularmente fogoso. Las últimas noticias que han llegado a occidente indican que comenzará una huelga de hambre el primero de julio (otras fuentes dicen que el primero de junio) que durará, dice él, hasta que su régimen carcelario sea mejorado o él sea transferido a un campo de trabajos forzados. Si no logra esto prefiere morir, ya que teme volverse loco. Las autori-

dades ponen drogas en su comida para inducirlo a la locura.

Moroz fue sentenciado por "realizar propaganda conducente a la separación de Ucrania de la URSS" y fue calificado de "nacionalista burgués". En su defensa, sin embargo, Moroz habló sobre el problema de la rusificación en Ucrania y de la situación desigual de la RSS de Ucrania dentro de la Unión Soviética. Declaró que no era ningún "nacionalista burgués" y que no quería para Ucrania ni la burguesía ni el nacionalismo, sino únicamente derechos iguales.

Las peticiones y ansiedades manifestadas por los disidentes ucranianos que he citado más arriba no son excepciones; más bien son una muestra representativa de los principales puntos que les preocupan. Los temas son esencialmente culturales; esto es, se refieren a la amenaza que existe sobre la herencia lingüística, histórica y artística de los ucranianos. El hecho de que un problema cultural se vuelva político, como cuando los disidentes piden la separación de la URSS, sólo refleja la desesperación que sienten muchos ucranianos ante el régimen autoritario que está destruyendo su cultura y su lengua y que está erradicando su historia, todo esto supuestamente en nombre del socialismo.

La separación de la Unión Soviética, hay que decirlo, es una posición extrema, considerada irreal, aunque deseable, por muchos disidentes. La mayoría de los disidentes, como Dzyuba y Chornovil, piden un retorno a los principios del marxismo y del leninismo, que sienten que han sido abandonados. El suyo es un llamado a frenar la marcha de la rusificación, que está ahogando a las repúblicas de la Unión Soviética, y a regresar a los verdaderos principios del internacionalismo marxista; a saber, la defensa de la libertad y la igualdad de todos los pueblos y una lucha contra el chovinismo, que en este caso es claramente ruso.

Para comprender la naturaleza del movimiento de disidencia ucraniano, es importante conocer sus antecedentes históricos. Tiene sus raíces en el período que siguió a la Revolución de Octubre.

Para Ucrania la revolución no fue sólo socialista, sino también fue una ocasión muy importante para recuperarse de siglos de opresión zarista; la que, entre muchas otras aberracio-

nes, había prohibido, en 1876, que se hablara el idioma ucraniano.

La revolución y los años inmediatamente posteriores fueron, por tanto, un importante período de renacimiento cultural como los ucranianos no habían visto otro en más de cien años. El período que va de la revolución a la última parte de los años veinte se conoce en la historia ucraniana como la época de la "ucranización", término que revela claramente la pobreza en la que había caído este país durante el zarismo y las esperanzas que tenía en el futuro.

A manera de ejemplo citaré algunas cifras: en 1926, 47% de la población era analfabeta; sólo el 41% del proletariado era ucraniano; únicamente el 19.5% de las instituciones de educación superior utilizaban el ucraniano como idioma para la enseñanza; solamente el 19.1% de los mineros hablaban ucraniano. Para fines de la década de los veinte habían cambiado los porcentajes: el analfabetismo cayó hasta el 4%, el porcentaje de proletariado ucraniano saltó hasta un 53% y las instituciones que utilizaban el ucraniano como idioma para la enseñanza aumentaron hasta llegar al 69%. Pero puede verse que la ucranización distaba mucho de ser completa cuando fue interrumpida por Stalin en los primeros años de la década de los treinta.

El objetivo de la ucranización era crear un socialismo que reparara el daño cultural que había sufrido Ucrania bajo la dominación zarista. Este renacimiento nacional y cultural fue impulsado por la concepción de Lenin de que el nacionalismo ruso había sido el opresor y destructor de otras nacionalidades. Tanto el XII Congreso del Partido (abril de 1923) como el Cuarto Pleno del Comité Central (junio de 1923), repudiaron el chovinismo ruso y ordenaron que todas las culturas minoritarias recibieran trato preferencial para desarrollar su lenguaje, literatura, arte e historia.

Lenin sostenía que el chovinismo ruso era una amenaza muy grande para el sistema soviético y que cualquier nacionalismo local, tanto en la cultura como en la política, era la reacción inevitable de los oprimidos. Señaló que el desarrollo de las culturas nacionales no era sólo necesario, sino que era imperativo, y que de ninguna manera ponía en peligro la creación de una sociedad socialista.

De hecho, en las primeras etapas de la revolución y durante el período de la guerra civil, los bolcheviques rusos consideraban que los otros grupos nacionales eran fuerzas progresivas, ya que eran una fuente de descontento con la dominación zarista, que los había discriminado continuamente.

La política de ucranización también se fortalecía con el principio del federalismo, principalmente con los derechos que concede la Constitución soviética a cada república para luchar contra cualquier tendencia centralizadora. Mikola Skrypnyk, comisario de educación de Ucrania desde 1927 y figura muy prominente de aquella época, dijo lo siguiente en 1924:

"Hay dos aspectos como fundamento de nuestra Constitución . . . Por encima de todo está el principio de la unión de todos los pueblos y de las repúblicas de la Unión en una sola fuerza . . . contra el capital mundial. Y en segundo lugar, lo que nuestra Unión ha dado en el área de la construcción del estado — una unión sobre el principio de la soberanía de cada pueblo, liberado del poder del capital . . . Dentro de los límites de la Constitución, cada república es soberana. Con profundo aborrecimiento, con desprecio, recordamos los viejos tiempos del imperio zarista. Para nosotros no hay un estado único, indivisible."

Otra persona activa de esta época (Zatonsk'kyj) dijo lo siguiente en marzo de 1921: "Es necesario distinguir en los hechos entre la centralización necesaria y el mero chovinismo ruso . . . Los camaradas deben sacarse de la cabeza la idea de que la federación soviética no es más que una federación rusa, porque el hecho importante no es que sea rusa, sino que es soviética."

Como se puede ver por la última cita, la meta de los comunistas ucranianos era la de asegurar que ningún grupo nacional tuviera superioridad sobre otro. Renunciar a toda aspiración de superioridad, decían los ucranianos, significaría renunciar a la rusificación. La meta era lograr una cultura verdaderamente internacional, que no estuviera identificada con ninguna nacionalidad, sino que sacara los elementos progresivos de todas.

Sin embargo, este punto de vista no fue el que prevaleció. A finales de la década de los treinta, la igualdad de las naciones fue abandonada y

se prefirió la forma de ser rusa.

La defensa que hizo Stalin de la dirección y superioridad rusas, fue en realidad un renacimiento, bajo la bandera soviética, de la anterior identificación entre dominio e intereses rusos. Stalin justificaba su preferencia por las instituciones y la cultura rusas con el argumento de que el desarrollo soviético, en términos marxistas, había sido superior al de Ucrania. En segundo lugar se decía que Rusia era una muestra única de la primera revolución socialista y la que había desarrollado el leninismo. El objetivo de este argumento era identificar a Rusia y las instituciones rusas con el marxismo y el dominio bolchevique y, concomitantemente, rechazar las demandas de una cultura ucraniana independiente. Para entonces ya estaba claro que el chovinismo ruso, que Lenin había condenado, no era un fenómeno capitalista transitorio, sino que estaba vivo y sano, disfrazado de marxismo.

Por lo tanto, cuando en los años treinta se inaugura el régimen de terror de Stalin, para Ucrania fue un problema no únicamente de purgas político-burocráticas, basadas en la ideología y el culto a la personalidad, sino que fue fundamentalmente un problema de purgas que golpeaban algo más esencial: la misma existencia nacional y cultural de Ucrania.

En 1933 fueron liquidados los comunistas y socialistas que se habían adherido a los principios del internacionalismo, y con ellos la política de ucranización. Escritores e intelectuales que estaban activos en la década de los veinte fueron exilados, asesinados o se suicidaron. En 1923-33, gracias al descuido de Stalin en la cosecha de granos, el hambre azotó a Ucrania y mató a 3 millones de personas.

Igualmente destructivo fue el que es conocido en la historia ucraniana como "el reino de terror de Postyshev", que también tuvo lugar en 1933. Postyshev era secretario del Comité Urbano del PCUS en Moscú. En enero de 1933 fue enviado a Ucrania ostensiblemente para corregir los errores en la cosecha de granos. En lugar de hacer esto, lanzó una campaña contra la cultura ucraniana. Acabó con dos famosos historiadores ucranianos, Matvij Javors'kyj y M. Hrushevskyj. Calificó de contrarrevolucionarios a casi todos los miembros de la Asociación Ucraniana del Instituto

Marx y Lenin. Y, según informa el mismo Postyshev, "en la Academia de Ciencias de la Universidad de Kiev fueron purgados 300 estudiantes". Pocos meses después de su llegada a Kharkiv, fue quitado por la noche el monumento al poeta comunista Ellan Blakytnyj, después de un supuesto accidente en el que fue dañado por un camión. Nunca lo volvieron a construir.

El punto culminante de las purgas en Ucrania fue quizás la creación de la Unión de Escritores Soviéticos (1932-34). Su nacimiento marca no sólo el fin de toda actividad literaria heterogénea, puesto que abolió todas las organizaciones literarias autónomas, sino que también tuvo el efecto de relegar toda la literatura ucraniana, y en general la que no fuera rusa, al nivel de literatura minoritaria. Anthony Adamovich, especialista en literatura bielorusa, lo describe de la siguiente manera: "La consecuencia de la concepción de una 'literatura soviética única y multinacional'—concepción respaldada por la autoridad de Gorki—cuando, bajo Stalin, se implementó en la Unión Soviética, fue la de despojar de su nivel nacional a todas las literaturas que no fueran rusas y reducirlas a la situación de literaturas provinciales. A la literatura rusa se le dió no sólo el papel central, sino también el de centralizadora en el complejo de la 'literatura multinacional' y todavía siguen refiriéndose a ella, tanto en occidente como en la Unión Soviética, como literatura soviética."

Esta revisión esquemática de los acontecimientos históricos, si bien es necesariamente incompleta, sí señala las principales diferencias que hay entre el movimiento de disidencia ruso y sus homólogos no rusos. Como puede verse por lo que señalé anteriormente, los disidentes ucranianos y de otras nacionalidades se enfrentan constantemente con el problema básico de supervivencia nacional y cultural—problema que no tienen los disidentes rusos, puesto que la suya es la cultura dominante y dominadora, no sólo en su propia república, sino también en la mayoría de las repúblicas de la Unión Soviética.

Desde tiempos de Stalin ha habido un programa para erradicar las diferencias nacionales y culturales, y sustituirlas por modelos rusos. Por ejemplo, el XXII Congreso del Par-

tido proclamó que "las naciones permanecerán juntas hasta que se logre una completa unidad." Esto no es sino la rusificación.

Dadas estas condiciones, los disidentes rusos están interesados en lo que podemos describir como el ámbito y extensión de su libertad. No tienen que alegar o preocuparse por su forma cultural: ésta es siempre rusa.

En este sentido, los disidentes ucranianos se enfrentan a un problema único, ya que están luchando por superar los obstáculos oficiales que se interponen al desarrollo natural de su cultura nacional y, a escala más amplia, de su país. En esta lucha, donde la cultura no se puede dar por sentada y casi siempre debe ser el tema de la discusión en lugar de ser simplemente el medio para esa discusión, los disidentes ucranianos son frecuentemente calumniados, como lo fue Moroz, calificándolos de "nacionalistas burgueses".

Ivan Dzyuba nos da la perspectiva del problema: "En la historia pasada y reciente puede verse que en Ucrania se puede calificar de 'nacionalista' a cualquiera que tuviera un sentido elemental de dignidad nacional, o a quien se preocupara por el destino de la cultura y el lenguaje ucranianos y, en general, a cualquier persona que por algún motivo no satisficiera a un chovinista ruso. . .".

Finalmente, hay que decir que después del período de Stalin, cuando comenzó el llamado deshielo, hubo un relajamiento de la rigidez stalinista y una cierta rehabilitación de escritores que habían sido condenados, exilados o asesinados. La rehabilitación nunca fue completa; muchos autores e intelectuales siguen sin publicarse o sin mencionarse actualmente.

Pero el deshielo dió origen a gran cantidad de escritores e intelectuales jóvenes que en Ucrania son conocidos con el nombre de *Shestydesjatnyky*, esto es, la gente de los '60. Pero aquí hay una terrible ironía: estos hombres y mujeres de los '60, estos productos del "deshielo", son hoy en día los dirigentes de la disidencia. Están madurando la recompensa del "deshielo"—pasando su vida en campos de concentración y en hospitales psiquiátricos. □

#### Gee, That's Strange

"Nixon-Ford Friendship Seems Strained"  
—headline in *New York Times*.

### Litvinov Describes 'Spectrum' of Views

By George Saunders

There are two extreme views that are particularly widespread among the Russian intelligentsia in the Soviet Union today. Such was the opening theme of a talk, in Russian, by the Soviet dissident Pavel Litvinov, who was recently forced to leave the USSR.

Litvinov, a grandson of the Old Bolshevik and Soviet foreign minister of the 1930s, Maxim Litvinov, was speaking in a rather small but crowded room at the Harvard Russian Research Center on May 8. The previous day he took part in a Boston rally in defense of Pyotr Grigorenko, the dissident Soviet general and genuine Leninist who has been held in psychiatric hospitals for five years because of his views.

One of the two common "extremisms" of which Litvinov spoke is the view that the whole course of Russian history, from the time of the Mongol yoke, has been a melancholy one of backwardness, despotic rule, and submissive acceptance by the masses. The USSR is doomed, in this view, to become a second- or third-rate power, like Italy or Greece, even though today it is one of the major powers.

The other extreme but popular view Litvinov described as the idea that Russia has a special destiny; its Orthodox religion is the only true one; its people have a uniquely high moral quality; and all of Russia's troubles have come from infection by the West.

This, of course, is the neo-Slavophile view that partly finds expression in Solzhenitsyn's recent *Letter to Soviet Leaders*. It holds non-Russians (Germans, Jews, etc.) responsible for the revolution and contends that if only the ideas of socialism and Marxism were abandoned, "Russia" would prosper.

In addition to these most widespread and, in Litvinov's opinion, incorrect ideas, there is a "whole spectrum of other viewpoints" in Russia. (He literally was discussing Russia, not the other republics or nationalities in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; later on in his remarks, he took up the question of the struggle by non-Russian nationalities to win or regain their national rights and to resist Russification.)

Litvinov referred to one important current of thought as "Marxist technocratic." According to this viewpoint, the regime has distorted true Marxism and the damage can be corrected only by means of *reform*. More efficient managers, more flexible officials, who do exist within the system today, should be allowed to take the helm. This would lead toward a more humane form of socialism, along the same

lines as the attempt in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

This reformist view, Litvinov felt, failed to take into account the rigidity of the upper echelons of the ruling apparatus.

Besides this reformist-Marxist view, Litvinov acknowledged the existence of a revolutionary, neo-Bolshevik view in dissident circles. Attempts have been made, he said, to form illegal circles, clandestine revolutionary parties. But in his opinion, the conditions of total secret police surveillance and the highly centralized, efficient system of control, require that any such organization be extremely tight-knit and secretive. This, to his mind, would inevitably result in the development of such authoritarian habits that if a party like that came to power, it would be ten times worse than the Bolshevik regime.

(Here, of course, Litvinov expresses another idea that is quite widespread, in both West and East. That is the oversimplified notion that the Bolshevik party, after taking power in 1917, moved in a straight line, inexorably and inevitably, to the bureaucratized despotism of Stalin that still survives under Stalin's heirs. But in fact, shows that the bureaucratic tendency headed by Stalin emerged as a partial counterrevolution (Thermidor) in conflict with the revolutionary tendency within the party, initially headed by Lenin himself (late 1922-early 1923) and represented most consistently by the Left Opposition; in a word, Stalinism is the opposite of genuine Leninism.)

Having discussed these different currents, Litvinov raised the question: What is the individual dissident to do in the present situation in the USSR? Thus he came to the movement for human rights that has emerged in the last several years.

While granting that it is small in numbers, he asserted that it had a lot of influence and carries out an important programmatic and moral role. First of all, by informing the whole world of the regime's repressive actions, it hinders the authorities and puts a restraint on them. That Solzhenitsyn was expelled rather than placed on trial for treason is an example of the effect of such publicity.

Second, the movement gives moral support to the regime's victims. When people are jailed, Litvinov rightly pointed out, it is important for them to know they are being supported. It helps them to hold out.

Litvinov further asserted that the democratic, or civil-rights, movement has affected the consciousness of broad layers — arousing forgotten feelings of sympathy for the oppressed, strengthening the at-

titude that legality should be observed and that people have the right to different opinions.

This is not so much a political struggle, Litvinov felt, as the laying of a moral basis without which social and political issues cannot be treated. Once freedom of speech, the press, and so on, are won, then a serious political struggle can develop, he felt, around social and economic questions. Without the possibility of full public discussion (*glasnost*), he regarded it as impossible even to identify and analyze accurately the real problems of society.

Litvinov stressed several times that it is impossible to predict the next turn of events, simply because of the extreme lack of information, resulting from the lack of open discussion. People keep their thoughts to themselves, steer clear of taboo subjects, fall into apathy, indifference, cynicism. This occurs at all levels, with the result that even the top leaders hardly know what is going on, or what they themselves will do next.

For example, he said, no one could have guessed a few years ago that the authorities would allow the large flow of Jewish emigration or permit so many dissidents to leave the country.

During the question period, Litvinov made a number of interesting points. He indicated that he did not think a transformation back to capitalism ("say, the American or Scandinavian path") was likely.

As an example of how the civil-rights movement exerts influence, he cited the radio stations in Western Europe to which masses of Soviet citizens listen, and which broadcast news of dissident activities and protests. (There was no discussion on the difficult point that these capitalist-controlled media do not broadcast left-wing, pro-Marxist, or neo-Bolshevik material from the dissident movement.)

A major point that Litvinov stressed was that civil-rights struggles and other struggles, such as that of the Crimean Tatars, had been going on in different parts of the USSR unknown to one another. The movement for the right of expression gave a voice to these struggles and made their participants aware of those in other areas.

In response to a question on the role of women in the movement, he said that in his opinion, the best activists were women (apparently having in mind such figures as Larissa Bogoraz and Natalya Gorbanevskaya). But the question of the position of women in Soviet society or of women's liberation generally had not yet been raised as an issue by the activist dissident women themselves.

Litvinov's personal commitment was above all to the defense of human rights; he was not particularly interested in various political programs that have emerged in the samizdat. On Solzhenitsyn's letter calling for a kind of Orthodox theocracy, Litvinov said that although to say so might sound rather sharp, it

seemed to him no better than the mystification and mythology of fascist Germany.

He expressed disagreements also with the perspective of "inner-party reform" and gradual democratization upheld by Roy

Medvedev, whose monumental work on Stalinism (*Let History Judge*) he found very valuable, though dully written. He felt that Medvedev's main theme is that, all in all, things are getting better and "we shouldn't rock the boat." That means

waiting for "more progressive" elements to emerge at the summits of the party-government machine. But in Litvinov's opinion the democratic movement cannot guide itself by what the small ruling group might or might not do. □

## Hawatmeh Proposes a 'Dialogue'

# Who Will Benefit From a Palestinian Ministate?

By Michel Warschawski

[In an interview published in the March 22 issue of the mass-circulation Israeli daily *Yediot Aharanoth*, a leading spokesman for the Palestinian resistance movement called on "progressive" Zionists to take part in a "democratic political dialogue" on the establishment of a Palestinian ministate in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, an area encompassing about 1,000 square miles.

[The proposal, made by Nayef Hawatmeh of the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP), calls to mind the "peaceful solution" outlined in United Nations Resolution 242.

[This resolution, jointly sponsored by Moscow and Washington, calls for Israeli withdrawal from the territory it occupied in 1967 in return for Palestinian recognition of the legitimacy of the Israeli state within its new borders. In the past, the leadership of the resistance movement has rejected all such "solutions" as attempts to liquidate the Palestinian struggle.

[The following article is from the May 24 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge*. Its author is a member of the Political Bureau of Matzpen-Marxist, an Israeli sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The October War shook the entire Arab region, affecting both the politics of the region's different regimes and the consciousness and mobilizations of the masses. The Israeli population and the Zionist regime have not been spared this upheaval, nor have the Arab Palestinian people or the

leadership of the resistance movement.

One of the most significant changes brought about by the October War is the new political line that has been adopted by a section of the Palestinian resistance. The interview given by Nayef Hawatmeh to an Israeli newspaper and his message to the Israeli people mark a turn whose importance no one can deny.

This is not the first time Hawatmeh has addressed Israeli Jews. In 1969 he sent an appeal to the anti-Zionist left in Israel, affirming both the necessity for a political discussion on the strategy for liberating Palestine and the urgent need for internationalist collaboration between Jewish and Arab revolutionaries.

Acting on the sincere belief that such an approach represented a significant step forward, our organization, Matzpen—the only anti-Zionist organization in Israel—decided to respond positively to the appeal from the leader of the PDFLP. For more than a year the positions of our two organizations and articles polemicizing against the political line of each organization were published in our press, that of the PDFLP, and the international press.

The September 1970 defeat [of the Palestinian resistance in the Jordanian civil war] and a definite change in the PDFLP's political line put an end both to this discussion and to the possibilities of joint revolutionary political work involving the PDFLP and Matzpen.

Now, however, following the October War, Hawatmeh has reopened the dialogue, but with other aims. The leader of the PDFLP launched his 1969 appeal in the name of proletarian internationalism and revolution-

ary anti-Zionism. Today, Hawatmeh speaks in the name of capitulation, the "peaceful solution," and the liquidation of the Palestinian question. Nor is it with the anti-Zionist militants of Matzpen that he is seeking a path of common struggle. Today he is seeking a dialogue with two well-known Zionist leaders, [Arie] Eliav [former secretary-general of the Israeli Labor party] and [Itshak] Ben Aharon [former secretary-general of the Histadrut], both of whom belong to the Labor party of Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan.

In the eyes of "left Zionists," such an appeal represents a great step forward: recognition of the "fact of Israel's existence" and a dialogue with representatives of the leading Israeli party—and this from those who appear to be part of the left wing of the Palestinian resistance. In reality, it is a significant step—but a step backward.

In the past, the PDFLP had inscribed on its banner the need for a relentless struggle to regain the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, that is, the right of all Palestinians to regain every part of Palestine. In opposition to the dominant currents in the resistance movement, the PDFLP understood that the destruction of the Zionist state—the precondition for the Palestinian people regaining their rights—required both a revolutionary struggle by the workers of the entire region against imperialism and the Arab bourgeoisie, the objective allies of the Zionist regime, and the mobilization of the Jewish workers under an internationalist perspective. In this sense, the PDFLP was the vanguard of the Palestinian resistance.



In the interview he gave to the Israeli newspaper, Hawatmeh showed that today he is in the vanguard of capitulation. He no longer calls for revolutionary struggle but for political "realism," that is, de facto recognition of Zionism and the legitimization of some of its conquests.

Far from calling for the continuation of the revolutionary struggle against Zionism, he offers the Zionist state a plan for liquidating the Palestinian cause: a puppet state that would supposedly coexist with an Israeli state whose legitimacy would be given de facto recognition by the leadership of the resistance. Far from denouncing Kissinger's "peaceful solution," a solution aimed at stabilizing imperialist domination as well as the Zionist regime and the bourgeois Arab regimes in the region, Hawatmeh supports this solution in the name of "realism." Far from appealing to the Jewish workers in Israel and making them understand that until the Palestinians have regained their legitimate national rights—that is, until the Zionist regime is destroyed—they will have no peace and will be condemned to a permanent war against the Arab masses, Hawatmeh addresses himself to the Zionist leaders and offers to barter the Palestinian struggle in exchange for a ministate.

When Hawatmeh says that Eliav and Ben Aharon are doing more for the Jewish masses than Golda Meir and Dayan, he is deceiving the Palestinian masses as well as the Israeli Jewish masses, for there can be no "progressive Zionism." The entire history of the Zionist movement proves that the role of the "Zionist left" has been to justify colonization and its crimes with the vocabulary of progressivism. You cannot be a part of the left and provide a cover for a colonial movement. In this sense, the "Zionist left" that the leader of the PDFLP has addressed has committed a double crime: participation in the Zionist movement and deception of the Jewish masses by leading them to believe that there can be a Zionist innocent of any crime, a Zionist state that is not permanently at war, and a liberal colonization that would meet no resistance.

Hawatmeh has given his seal of approval to this deliberate deception by calling it a policy of "realism." In so doing, he has betrayed the Palestin-

ian cause and deceived the Israeli Jewish workers, for there can be no peace as long as the Zionist state continues to exist. And while the leadership of the Palestinian resistance is today prepared to capitulate, the Arab masses will regain their course and continue the struggle for the liberation of the Palestinian Arab people.

Hawatmeh's "realism" refers to the present social and political reality: that of Kissinger, Golda Meir, and Anwar Sadat. It is not the realism of the oppressed classes in the Arab region, the realism that will determine the course of history. These two realities are contradictory: The revolutionary one represents the interests of the region's working masses; the other is reactionary and defends the imperialist, colonialist, and bourgeois order. Hawatmeh has chosen the latter.

We, the revolutionary militants of Matzpen-Marxist, will continue to struggle, with no concessions, against

the Zionist regime and the present leadership of the resistance movement for the full realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people. We will continue to reject the "peaceful solution," which is aimed at stabilizing the imperialist order in the Arab region. We will continue to seek the path of dialogue and common struggle between Jewish and Arab revolutionaries.

We wish to make it clear to Palestinian militants that while Hawatmeh has been able to find a response to his capitulationist proposals inside the Zionist movement, we will do everything in our power to destroy the illusions he has created. The revolutionary Marxist militants in Israel have not been duped. Despite Hawatmeh and the other capitulators, we will continue to struggle for the genuine liberation of the Palestinian Arab people, for the victory of the Arab socialist revolution. □

## Husband of Slain SLA Member Interviewed

### The Political Evolution of Angela Atwood

By Barry Sheppard

[The following article is reprinted from the June 7 issue of *The Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist weekly published in New York.]

\* \* \*

Bloomington, Indiana

Gary Atwood, whose wife, Angela, was among the six people murdered in the brutal FBI-police attack on the hideout of suspected members of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) in Los Angeles, is currently a student at Indiana University here. He is a member of the Bloomington Young Socialist Alliance.

I had the opportunity to discuss the evolution of his own and his wife's political ideas in an interview on May 25. Gary also knew Bill and Emily Harris, two other alleged members of the SLA, who are now being sought by the police.

The FBI has engaged in a sustained campaign of harassment against Gary for the past three months. Their aim

is to intimidate him and to discredit the YSA, despite the well-known fact that the YSA is opposed to the tactics of individual terror imputed to the SLA.

Parts of Gary's school records have been released to the press. The FBI even went so far as to call Gary's father at his place of work, a crude attempt to have his father fired.

Gary Atwood and Angela De Angelis were students at Indiana University in 1969 when Gary first met Bill Harris. Harris had been a soldier in Vietnam, and when he returned, convinced that the war was wrong, he joined the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

"When I met Bill in 1969, he was a member of the VVAW on campus," Gary explained. "Our first political conversations were concerning his experiences that summer in the demonstrations at the Democratic Party convention in Chicago.

"I knew Emily only slightly. She lived in Chicago and would come down to visit Bill. I understood she was involved in a women's liberation

group there."

At about that time, Gary met Angela, who was taking a course in the theater department along with Bill. "Angela was not politically involved in the least," Gary said. "But she would listen to the conversations that Bill and I would have about the war.

"When the Cambodia invasion occurred in May 1970, and the Kent State students were murdered, we participated in the demonstrations. We started reading *Ramparts* magazine. Bill became interested in the Black Panther Party, and in addition to the war, our conversations included discussions of the Panthers' 10-point program, the trial of Panther leader Huey Newton, and the police murder of Bobby Hutton.

"Angela began to take a stand on her own on these questions. She was working as a student-teacher at Ben Davis High School in Indianapolis. She discussed with her class the ideas of the Black Panthers, and was reprimanded by the school authorities.

After the Kent State murders, she wore a black armband to class and was asked to remove it. This led finally to Angela's writing a letter to the principal and other school authorities, denouncing them."

Bill Harris was involved in supporting a professor at IU who was fired for his radical views. Bill and another veteran friend tried to join the Veterans of Foreign Wars, with an idea of staging a "guerrilla theater" protest.

"Being in theater, he was thinking along lines of utilizing it in such ways," Gary said. However, this never occurred. In June, Bill and Emily Harris took an extended trip to North Africa.

Gary had begun to read some works of Marx and Lenin, although without any particular commitment at that time.

"The Harrises came back in December," Gary recalls. "Bill decided to go to graduate school. Emily moved back to Chicago, and Bill moved in with Angela and me, as we had an extra room.

"About that time, I had begun to deal with the Army, because I knew my number would soon be called in the new lottery system. I had decided that I would not go into the Army, and was working on a statement of my views that I felt would be in line with a recent decision broadening the

definition of a conscientious objector.

"We had many discussions about what I should do. Bill's position was that under no circumstances should I go. It didn't occur to any of us that the best course would be to go into the Army and present my antiwar views there.

"At the same time, Angela was beginning to become conscious of sexist oppression and used to get into arguments with Bill, because she felt he didn't treat her as an equal. She also read Engels on the family, which put Bill somewhat on the defensive. Bill never read very much in Marxist works, at that point.

"Bill was angered by the ferocious stepped-up bombing in Vietnam and continued to follow the war closely.

"In March, I had to take my pre-induction physical. We decided that I would try to get out by explaining an injury to my right ear. But I was classified as OK to be drafted.

"Shortly after the physical, I finished my statement applying for conscientious objector status. We had further discussions. My father visited us and also joined the argument. I had made the decision that my first choice was conscientious objector status. If I didn't get it, I would choose either prison or go to Canada.

"Angela was for going to Canada, but Bill was opposed, feeling that would be a cop-out. He said I could organize in prison. My father was opposed to applying for CO status at all, and thought that prison was more honorable.

"We had all wanted to go to the April 24, 1971, and subsequent May Day antiwar actions in Washington. For some reason I don't remember, only Bill went.

"At about this time, Bill began reading the *Guardian*, but didn't associate with any group. I continued to study Marx."

Angela and Gary were married in May. Right after they were married, Gary heard from his draft board that he had been granted CO status.

During that school year, Gary had taken two courses in Russian literature. With his characteristic thoroughness, he decided that he had to understand the political and social background to the literature, and this led him to read Trotsky's *Literature and Revolution*, which made a positive impression on him.

From this, he read Gorky, and Gorky's letters to Lenin led him to read more of the Bolshevik leader. At the same time, Angela's reading of Engels led him to read that Marxist master also.

From this reading, he found himself supporting the Bolsheviks. "I used to have arguments with Bill about the Bolsheviks," Gary told me. "Bill knew very little about the Russian revolution. He took a course on the Cuban revolution and read Guevara and Debray. At this time, he began to discuss ideas of 'armed struggle.' He passed on Guevara's books and Debray's to me; I read the former but never got to the latter until later.

"I was still interested in the Bolsheviks and talked to Bill about Trotsky. He hadn't read any Trotsky, and only a little Lenin. He never studied Lenin.

"That summer Emily came to Bloomington, and the Harrises moved in next door to us. Emily was beginning to radicalize, and she and Angela had discussions on women's liberation. I was somewhat backward on this, and Bill accepted it more quickly than I did.

"There was a group of gay people who lived upstairs, and they would have discussions with us about the discrimination gays suffer. Bill, although not gay, became involved in supporting a picket against a bar that discriminated against gay people."

Gary had decided to quit school that June and take his alternative service in the San Francisco Bay Area. He and Angela moved there, while the Harrises stayed in Bloomington.

Gary began working in a neighborhood community center as his alternative service, and Angela got a job at the Bank of America. She also was taking a "free university" course in Marxism. The teacher's position apparently was that Marx was outdated, and this led to arguments between Gary and Angela about Marx. Personal problems grew between them, and they separated for a time.

Gary and Angela got back together at the end of the summer, and in the fall, the Harrises came to the Bay Area and lived with them. Over the summer, Bill had worked with the Angela Davis defense committee in Bloomington. Gary and Angela moved to Berkeley, while the Harrises remained in Oakland.

Angela got a job as a waitress, and this led her into union and strike activ-

ities, as a strike was then in progress. All members of the union had picket duty. "Angela had worked for her father in the Teamsters union office in Paterson, N.J.," Gary explained, "and she was an efficient organizer."

"Together with the Harrises we also began to do some work in support of the farm workers. Bill had a job with a private mail delivery service, and he began to go to union meetings. Our discussion then began to include union matters."

After the terrorist action carried out by Black September at the Olympic games in Munich, they had an argument. Gary characterized the action as politically unwise and as "terrorist." Bill thought that while he had reservations, it was a generally positive action that should be characterized as "armed propaganda" and not "terrorist." Bill said such actions were a means of calling attention to the plight of the Palestinians.

"I couldn't convince him," Gary said, "that my disagreement with this action did not mean that I did not support the Palestinians. Bill kept classifying me as a 'petty-bourgeois intellectual.'"

"I would refer to lessons of the past, to the regressive line of past terrorist movements, and kept trying to get him to read Lenin. He would answer that I was an 'intellectual.'" Angela didn't participate in this discussion, but Emily was opposed to the Black September action.

For a time, Gary worked in a private school in Chinatown. This led him to learn more about China and to read Mao. Bill had gone to some classes given by the Venceremos Brigade and showed Gary some of their literature.

Later, Bill began to attack Trotsky with arguments he got from Maoist sources. He said that all of the Marxists, in which he included Stalin and Mao, were OK, except Trotsky.

"Bill kept pushing more and more the concept of 'armed propaganda' and 'armed struggle.' Angela was adamantly opposed to these ideas. Bill was developing a concept of 'praxis' as against 'theory.'"

"Discussion of union questions was dropped," Gary continued. "On the question of Trotsky, my position at that time was that Trotsky and Mao had many similarities. I also agreed with Bill that a 'strategy of armed struggle' was applicable to the colonial countries. But our discussions became

more heated.

"I decided that I would go back to Indiana University to complete some school requirements, and then come back to Berkeley to continue my studies. Angela wanted to stay in Berkeley, to continue her union work and her participation in a women's liberation organization.

"I came back to Bloomington in August of last year and never saw my wife or the Harrises again. When I arrived on campus, two farm workers in California had just been killed. I was angry and went to a farm workers meeting on campus. There I met some members of the Young Socialist Alliance for the first time.

"I went to some YSA classes, especially one on the coup in Chile. The coup had had a big effect on me. These educationals were very timely for me, for they were about revolutionary strategy. They related to many of the things I had been arguing about with Bill Harris.

"I also took a class in Marxism at the university, and two YSA members were in it. The three of us tended to dominate discussion in the class, and this also brought me closer to the YSA. I began to read, under encouragement of the YSA, more of the works of Trotsky, and others, such as James P. Cannon.

"Angela and the Harrises talked to me by telephone, and we corresponded. They were working with prisoners in defense of Popeye Jackson, a leader of an organization of former prisoners, who was facing frame-up charges. Angela was also continuing her activity in women's liberation groups.

"Angela and I agreed we did not want to get back together. I still heard from her and from Bill after that. When I told Bill I was going to YSA classes, he told me that the YSA was a case of the blind leading the blind. In retrospect, this comment tragically applies to the SLA.

"From what I could tell, Angela and the Harrises had joined with some people I didn't know in a sort of 'encounter group' where they discussed personal and political problems.

"I began reading *The Militant* as well as the *Guardian*, although I preferred *The Militant*. I had also read Trotsky's *Transitional Program* by this time.

"I continued to have discussions with

YSA members about armed struggle. I still was trying to find some place for a 'strategy of armed struggle' that would somehow complement the *Transitional Program*. Over time, the YSA convinced me of the Marxist position on this question, against individual terrorism or any attempt to substitute the actions of a small group for mass action."

Through these discussions, Gary became aware that the debate between Leninism and petty-bourgeois "urban guerrillaism" was international in scope and embraced wide layers who had been inspired by the revolutionary victory in Cuba.

"In the meantime," Gary continued, "the rhetoric of Angela and Bill began to escalate. In August they had sent me a pamphlet called *Politics and Guns* that had a 'pick up the gun' line.

"As the fall went on, I became more and more opposed to her and Bill's ideas on 'armed propaganda' and actions by isolated groups. So our polemics became even more heated.

"The rhetoric of Angela's letters was very similar in tone to those Patty Hearst has sent to Stephen Weed. I decided I didn't want to go back to Berkeley in December.

"I had received leaflets they were putting out, espousing the line of the gun. My last big argument with them was over Christmas, by telephone. I discussed the leaflets they had been sending me.

"By that time I knew about the tragic experience of the ERP in Argentina and had been convinced by the YSA on individual terrorism. I tried to talk to Angela and Bill about Trotsky and Stalin, but it was like talking to a brick wall. They knew none of the history.

"On the question of 'armed propaganda,' I explained how futile their ideas were. I told them of past historical experience where people who had attempted to put such concepts into practice inevitably ended in failure. The actions of such groups in the past had only ended up jeopardizing the whole left.

"At that point, Angela hung up on me. I received one more letter from her in January, full of invective, charging I was a 'sellout.'"

Working more closely with the YSA in January, Gary decided to join the revolutionary socialist movement in February of this year. □

## The SALT Talks—A Cover for Nuclear Arms Race

By Dick Roberts

For some time the question of the balance of nuclear power between the United States and the Soviet Union has seemed to play a secondary role in world politics. Attention to the arms race declined in the U.S. press, especially following the Washington-Moscow détente in early 1972. Even when President Nixon took the world to the brink of nuclear holocaust during the October War in the Arab East last fall, many did not take the threat seriously.

Recently signs of disagreement between Washington and Moscow policy makers have appeared, and they have been picked up by certain U.S. politicians as possible items for electioneering.

When Henry Kissinger visited Moscow in late March, he promised to bring back a "conceptual breakthrough" on nuclear policy. He evidently did not succeed. "The United States and the Soviet Union failed to come even remotely close to an agreement to limit nuclear warheads in their Moscow talks, raising great doubts about the chances of concluding such an accord at a summit conference this summer," the *Washington Post* reported March 29.

A flurry of criticisms has appeared in the Soviet press. The May 9 issue of the daily military newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* featured an attack on the Pentagon by Gen. Viktor G. Kulikov, Soviet chief of staff. "In the main capitalist countries," Kulikov said, "the process of material preparation for a new war, of accumulating and perfecting the quality of weapons, and first of all nuclear ones, continues and has even intensified. Lately, certain leaders of the Pentagon have engaged in investigating 'acceptable' variations for waging nuclear-rocket warfare."

This pronouncement followed by a few days Senator Edward Kennedy's visit to Moscow, where Kennedy got the red-carpet treatment. Moscow "set him up in a dacha and a Kremlin airplane, filmed his whole visit, and

attached a top Brezhnev aide as his conversational escort," the May 10 *Washington Post* reported. Kennedy came back with the promise that there could be a U.S.-Soviet accord to ban underground tests of nuclear weapons as early as the proposed June summit.

Beneath these somewhat superficial developments is the complex question of the real nuclear balance of terror between the two world superpowers. A closer look at U.S. nuclear policy helps to shed light both on the danger of nuclear war that continues to face humanity and on the limitations of the U.S.-Soviet détente, which is billed in some circles as a way of supposedly eliminating the nuclear-war danger.

### SALT I

In November 1969 the first round of "Strategic Arms Limitation Talks" (SALT I) between the United States and the Soviet Union opened in Helsinki. They continued for thirty months and in May 1972, at the Moscow Nixon-Brezhnev summit, accords were signed.

No operations of the U.S. and Soviet governments are shrouded in more secrecy. "Most international negotiation is conducted behind a veil, but superpower talks on weaponry are particularly sensitive to light," wrote John Newhouse, an expert on U.S. foreign policy, in *Cold Dawn: The Story of Salt* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1973). Newhouse, formerly a senior fellow of the Brookings Institution, believes that weapons diplomacy was one of the factors leading to concentration of executive powers in the Nixon administration. "The celebrated bureaucracy, erected by Nixon and Kissinger to strengthen their hold on national-security matters works at an exhausting pace to prepare and hold open options for presidential decision. But it is not often consulted on what the President and his chief adviser ultimately decide to

do. It has no access to the President himself and must rely for guidance on what Kissinger tells it. . . ."

According to Newhouse the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff were kept in the dark on initial SALT developments.

Why did Washington and Moscow enter into these highly secretive negotiations in the first place? The answer cannot yet be definitively known but Newhouse's opinion is rather weighty. He stresses two factors:

"The talks were launched, not from a common impulse to reduce armaments, but from a mutual need to solemnize the parity principle—or, put differently, to establish an acceptance by each side of the other's ability to inflict unacceptable retribution in response to nuclear attack."

And, "For all kinds of reasons traceable to internal politics, foreign policy, and competing defense priorities, both great powers want to stabilize spending on arms."

Newhouse also reveals that Washington did not view Moscow's 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia as an impediment to SALT. Four days after that invasion, the Johnson administration put together its formal SALT presentation.

"The decisive turn in Soviet policy and in Soviet-American relations came in the early months of 1971," wrote Marshall D. Shulman, the Columbia University Sovietologist. "It was then that Brezhnev took personal charge of relations with the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, and of the Soviet position in the SALT negotiations. A channel of confidential communications was opened between Brezhnev and Nixon, which was to lead to the May 1971 agreement that broke the impasse in SALT. Vietnam was, in its own dialectical way, beginning to wind down." (*Foreign Affairs*, October 1973.) Thus Moscow's willingness to toast Nixon while U.S. bombs poured down in Vietnam, along with Washington's acceptance of the Kremlin's grip on Eastern Europe, made it possible for the SALT representatives to reach a tentative and temporary agreement on nuclear arms limitations. Nixon signed it in Moscow in May 1972 at the heralded summit.

The underlying reasoning of the SALT I accords has been appropriately nicknamed by its opponents, MAD, "mutual assured destruction." If one side has enough nuclear power to ab-

sorb a "first strike" by the other side and retaliate with devastating force, the other side will not attack.

SALT I consequently put limits on defensive weapons. If one side were to attempt to completely safeguard its cities, that could be interpreted as an abrogation of MAD, a preparation for a first strike. An agreement for an indefinite period of time restricted defensive antiballistic missiles to 200 on each side.

SALT I also put a five-year ceiling on the number of offensive missile



SCHLESINGER: Wants ability to destroy more than "just cities or industrial centers."

launchers that could be built, giving each side the potential land and sea power to destroy the other several times over. The United States was permitted 1,000 land-based launchers and 710 sea-based launchers. The Soviet Union was allowed 1,410 land-based launchers if it built up to 950 sea-based ones.

The reason launchers were selected rather than missiles is the virtual impossibility of detecting how many missiles are hidden away, while the satellites can easily photograph how many launching pads and submarine missile ports there are. The Soviet Union was permitted a higher potential ceiling because at the time of the agreement Soviet offensive missile technology lagged behind the United States.

## SALT II

The SALT I agreements, consequently, not only did not in any way "disarm" the opposing sides, they virtually necessitated from the military standpoint an escalation of the race to develop offensive nuclear missile technology. Here the race centers around MIRVs, "multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles." These are the part of the missile containing nuclear warheads that can be aimed at individual targets once the missile arrives over a target area. A single missile can carry several MIRVs and is more accurate if it carries more than one warhead.

The United States is far ahead in this race. As of March 1974, U. S. war secretary James Schlesinger disclosed that the U. S. total of nuclear weapons deliverable by air, sea, and land is 7,940 compared to 2,600 for the Soviet Union. The United States plans to have about 10,000 MIRVs on its 1,710 missiles by the time the temporary five-year SALT I accord runs out in 1977.

Moscow did not test its first MIRV until August 1973. Political jingoists have made much out of the event as supposed evidence of the proverbial Moscow conspiracy, but the development of a Soviet MIRV was not only anticipated by SALT I, it was guaranteed by that treaty. Worth noting was the response of the *New York Times* editors to the Soviet MIRV test, August 18, 1973: "The only thing unexpected about the announcement was its timing," they said. "For several years the big question among American strategists has been, not whether the Russians would develop MIRV's but why it was taking them so long. The United States made its first flight tests of MIRV's in 1968; nearly 600 of these sophisticated warheads are already deployed on land-based Minuteman III missiles and Poseidon submarines."

The *Times* editors also noted that "At their summit meeting in Washington last June [1973], President Nixon and Soviet Communist party leader Brezhnev set the goal of achieving by the end of next year a permanent agreement limiting offensive arms. Both sides envisaged curbs on MIRV's as a desirable—indeed, necessary—component of such a new treaty."

The technicalities are being worked out in SALT II, which opened in Geneva in November 1972, and has continued off and on since then.

Meanwhile there have also been new developments in the U. S. nuclear arsenal and Pentagon policy. These have been associated with the name of the war secretary, but they were in the works before Schlesinger took office. U. S. war experts began to ask themselves, Couldn't a "limited" nuclear war be conducted after all? Suppose a first strike were aimed at a few military targets, would the other side necessarily plunge the world into suicide in retaliation? MAD was called into question.

By December 1973 Schlesinger was publicly asking for weapons that could strike at certain Soviet military targets rather than "just cities or industrial centers," according to the December 1 *Washington Post*.

Juan Cameron described Schlesinger's policies in the December issue of *Fortune* magazine: "As Schlesinger figures it, the Russians will need at least seven more years to rid such complex weapons [as MIRVs] of bugs, and then build a combat-ready force of them. But in the years after that, the overall balance between the two countries could turn against us. . . ."

"Schlesinger hopes to avoid any such eventuality by concentrating on new weapons whose development can be speeded or slowed according to the U. S. S. R.'s success at perfecting its own new nuclear hardware. At the top of this 'menu of options,' as he calls it, is the Trident submarine. Faster, quieter, and twice as large as our present nuclear-missile subs, the \$1-billion [milliard] Trident—i.e., \$1-billion per vessel—would carry twenty-four MIRVed missiles capable of traveling 6,000 miles, about twice the range of our Polaris and Poseidon missiles. Thus a Trident could use most of the world's oceans as a launching pad, and an enemy would face an almost insuperable problem of detection. Schlesinger also supports development of the \$42-million B-1 bomber to replace our dwindling fleet of B-52's."

In fact Congress has already approved both the Trident and B-1 programs and they are well under way. *New York Times* reporter John W.

Finney described the predictable show of opposition by liberal Democrats when the war bill passed Congress last September. "The annual Senate debate on the defense budget had been billed by the Democrats as the great battle over spending priorities," Finney wrote September 30. "It turned into more of a rout, proving once again that when it comes to weapons, Congress was neither willing nor prepared to challenge the judgment of the military or the President. . . ."

"Almost routinely, and usually before a virtually vacant Senate chamber, a Democratic Senator would call up an amendment to kill or cut this or that multi-billion-dollar weapons program. Just as routinely his amendment would be rejected. 'Nobody is listening,' complained one Democratic Senator . . . a comment that could apply to his liberal colleagues as well as the Senate as a whole."

*Business Week* magazine reported August 11, 1973, that "the Navy intends initially to build 10 complete Tridents at a cost of some \$13-billion—'give or take a billion,' says Rear Admiral R. Y. Kaufman, the Navy's Trident program coordinator. Long-range, however, the Navy hopes to expand its Trident fleet possibly to 25 to 30 submarines, at a cost of \$30-billion or more."

In a joint hearing of two Senate Foreign Relations subcommittees April 4, 1974, Schlesinger said that Washington needed "greater flexibility" in its nuclear arsenal.

"By flexibility, the Administration seems to mean all or some of the following elements," explained *New York Times* strategic policy expert Leslie H. Gelb: "Ability to strike at a variety of targets other than Soviet cities, programmed computer plans for targeting, plans to fire different numbers of missiles, command and control procedures to make sure orders are carried out, missiles that can survive a Soviet first strike and missiles with increased accuracy and yield."

Schlesinger told the senators that the retargeting part of the new plan had, in large part, already been carried out.

Some Democrats once again made a show of distancing themselves from these projects. Senator Stuart Symington, Democrat of Missouri, said that these policies "lower the nuclear threshold and increase the probability of

war." Senator Edmund Muskie, Democrat of Maine, said that the moves were making nuclear weapons "more usable, more respectable."

But these remarks are purely for public consumption to gull voters. The Senate might just as well not meet on imperialist war-policy measures at all. These are secretly worked out by the experts in the Pentagon and other bureaucracies (the State Department, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the National Security Council, the three military services). They are rubber-stamped by Congress.

The Kremlin's criticism of Schlesinger is of the same stripe as the liberal "criticism." As a cover for its own secret dealings with Washington, Moscow is forced to make a show of opposition to U. S. military policies. The Kremlin pretends, along with its followers around the world, that there are "lesser evil" sectors in the imperialist ruling class. It publicly caters to liberal Democrats like Kennedy and attacks Schlesinger in the press.\*

That's for the record. In secret, Moscow's experts deal with Schlesinger's staff and they probably know more about the U. S. military than most senators. If SALT II is actually bogged down on military questions, these are likely to concern the intricacies and not the plans of the Pentagon to build new and more sophisticated weapons—something the Pentagon has been routinely doing since its inception.

It is also possible that SALT II might be blocked for completely different reasons. For example, Washington may be delaying it in order to put further pressure on Moscow for a settlement in the Arab East acceptable to the imperialists. In any event, it is a certainty that the October war, with its passing threat of a nuclear show-

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\*One of the Stalinists' favorite targets is Washington Democrat Henry Jackson (see *Intercontinental Press*, May 13, p. 600). Interestingly, Jackson is an avowed advocate of cuts in missile strength. "I believe that strategic forces on both sides are larger than they need to be. . . . I propose that we invite the Soviets to consider a SALT II agreement in which each side would be limited to 800 ICBMs and to no more than 560 submarine-launched missiles, equivalent to 35 missile-firing submarines of the Poseidon type," he said recently. (*Congressional Record*, April 23, p. S6066.)

down, had a big influence on the military strategists on both sides.

## World War III

Washington's plans for nuclear world war go well beyond the MIRV, Trident, and B-1 programs that have already been mentioned. In an article entitled "Visions of the next war," the April 22 issue of *Newsweek* indicated some of the possibilities. "To an American public spiritually drained by a decade of inconclusive fighting in Vietnam," *Newsweek* declared, "the idea of a 'next war' in the not-too-distant future seems unthinkable. Yet the Defense Department is now planning to spend a mind-numbing trillion [million million] dollars over the next ten years getting ready—just in case—for its next military involvement. A quarter of that will go for developing and buying new and more deadly weapons."

*Newsweek* suggests the following cleaned-up scenario. (Of course, the Soviet Union attacks first; everyone knows the United States would do no such thing.)

"It is sometime in the early 1980s. The President sits tensely at his command console in the underground Situation Room at Fort Richie, Maryland. The Soviet Union, in a 48-hour blitzkrieg attack, has seized West Berlin. One thousand Allied soldiers have been killed. Now, the Kremlin has turned the wounded and POW's over to West Germany—and notified the United States that as far as it is concerned, the episode is dead. The President demands that the Soviets withdraw. The Kremlin refuses. The President is determined to impress on the Russian leaders that he means business—that they are risking nuclear war. He orders up a television picture of a hydroelectric plant in a remote Russian region. Satisfied that a mini-nuke blast there will cause minimal civilian casualties, he sends out the signal to launch a single ICBM. Then, on a TV screen in front of him, he watches as the hydroelectric plant is destroyed."

"Impossible?" *Newsweek* asks. "Not at all. By the 1980s, the U. S. will have a network of stationary communications satellites, relay space stations and the Survsatcom (Survivable Satellite Communications) system ca-

pable of beaming back live television pictures to the President from any corner of the globe."

*Newsweek* describes the next stage beyond MIRV. "\$20 million is being budgeted this year for a conceptual study of the next breakthrough step — MARV's (warheads with propulsion systems giving them the ability to maneuver during re-entry)."

Work is also under way on a new "Missile System X." According to the March 9 *Business Week*, "M-X involves adding more power to the first-stage engine of today's Minuteman-III, refining the rocket propulsion of its second and third stages, equipping its multiple warheads with a new inertial guidance system, and perhaps even increasing the number of warheads it carries from three to six." Boeing, Honeywell, Rockwell International, Thiokol, and Hercules are all already involved in this project, according to *Business Week*.

The military strategists sometimes pretend that their permanent quest for more sophisticated weaponry is designed to undercut the danger of accidental war. But this is false and patently impossible, a point the experts themselves occasionally admit in soberer moments. Fred Charles Iklé, a former Rand Corporation specialist, recently appointed by Nixon to head the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, wrote in the January 1973 *Foreign Affairs*: "Nobody can predict that the fatal accident or unauthorized act will never happen. The hazard is too elusive. It is inherent not only in the ineradicable possibility of technical defects, but also in the inevitable vulnerability to human error of all command and operational procedures. . . . So exceedingly complex are modern weapons systems, both in their internal mechanisms and in their intricate interactions, that it seems doubtful whether any group of experts could ever ferret out every unintended ramification, discover every lurking danger."

Iklé gives an example. "Drastic shortcomings in the Defense Department's worldwide communications came to the attention of a congressional subcommittee after the Israeli attack in 1967 on the American ship *Liberty*. At the beginning of the Six-Day War, the Joint Chiefs of Staff decided to order the *Liberty* into safer waters. Over a period of 13 hours prior to

the Israeli attack, they sent their order in at least four messages. Two of the messages were misrouted to the Philippines and one of these was thence sent to the National Security Agency in Maryland, there merely to be filed. Another message was routed over two paths to be doubly sure; in the first path it was lost in a relay station, in the second delayed until many hours after the attack. This failure in emergency communications occurred under almost perfect conditions: no facilities had been disabled, there was no enemy jamming, and no restrictions on the use of available communication modes had been imposed."

Washington's drive to perfect its weaponry and to expand its military power is as "ineradicable" a consequence of imperialism as the danger of accidental nuclear war is an ineradicable consequence of the imperialist military system. The protection and extension of worldwide investments requires a global police force, and in the nuclear age, confronted by postcapitalist societies, this means a global *nuclear force*. The concept of "limited war" is deeply rooted in the realities of the world class struggle and is a key aspect of the détente itself.

Washington has learned in Korea, in Southeast Asia, in the Arab East and elsewhere that it can conduct a limited war if necessary in its attempts to counter the tide of world revolution. "War by proxy," in which the United States and the Soviet Union both contribute weapons to each side, is not a figment of the Pentagon's imagination. That is what happened in Southeast Asia for over a decade.

Moscow's deliberately restricted doling out of military aid to Hanoi while the United States mounted the most massive attack in history was crucial to the ability of three successive administrations in Washington to stabilize the dictatorship in Saigon at such bloody cost. It convinced the White House that détente with Moscow served, not hindered, the cause of world counterrevolution.

The October War was also a "war by proxy." But in this case it nearly became unlimited. Nixon was ready to push the nuclear button.

Again, the facts are shrouded in secrecy. A Congressional subcommittee attempting to investigate the reasons

for Nixon's military mobilization was persuaded by the White House that such an investigation jeopardized national interests.

Nevertheless, this much is known: Washington and Moscow were in continual contact throughout the crisis. Henry Kissinger had been in Moscow directly before Nixon's decision to alert global U.S. forces for a massive military intervention in the Arab East.

Nadav Safran, an Arab East specialist at Harvard, speculates that in Moscow "Kissinger agreed to have the fighting stop before the Israelis utterly defeated the Egyptians, but he insisted upon, and obtained in exchange, Soviet, and ostensibly Arab, agreement to the negotiation clause. . . ."

"As Kissinger left for home by way of Tel Aviv, the Soviets learned that fighting was continuing beyond the ceasefire deadline and that the Israelis had completed the encirclement of the Egyptian III Corps. . . ."

"The Soviets suspected at this point either that Kissinger had deceived them, or that the United States was unable to control Israel." (*Foreign Affairs*, January 1974.)

Whether Safran's speculation is correct or not, it suggests the fundamental fallacy of the Kremlin's rationale for détente. The détente cannot eliminate the world class struggle. The imperialist status quo cannot be imposed on oppressed peoples and nations. In fact the October war was inevitable, as even the Israeli government, which seemed to have been "caught by surprise," was ultimately forced to admit.

But when a war breaks out that draws in the superpowers, there can be no guarantee that it will remain limited. Neither Washington nor Moscow can in the last analysis control all the forces involved. Surely this is the most important lesson of the October war.

Consequently détente not only cannot protect humanity from nuclear war, it tends to increase the danger of nuclear war because it fosters and, indeed, it is founded on, the illusory concept of "limited war." Moscow's covert invitation to Washington to continue to exercise its counterrevolutionary police roles, provided only that these do not infringe on Soviet "spheres of influence," in effect helps pave the way to nuclear war. □

## Kim Il Sung's Thoughts on 'Reunifying' Fire and Water

Reviewed by George Johnson

Among the many other virtues attributed to him by the North Korean press, Kim Il Sung is described as a formidable theoretician. His supposed intellectual brilliance has inspired the epithet "the Sun of the Nation."

Outside North Korea, admiration of the "Respected and Beloved Leader" is not quite so monolithic, but Kim does have his followers, despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that his complete works are not generally accessible in translation. We can only welcome, then, the publication in English of *For the Independent, Peaceful Reunification of the Country*, which should make it possible to study in more detail Kim's contributions to the Marxist theory of the state.

This book, a collection of Kim's writings and speeches on Korean reunification, reveals that Kim has made some remarkable theoretical innovations, which unfortunately depart rather far from Marxism and would properly be termed revisionist. Kim holds, for example, that it is possible to create a unified Korean state incorporating the social systems of both the workers state in the north and the bourgeois state in the south. In 1972 he said:

"Some foreign journalists say there are two opposite poles in Korea—north Korea's communist system and south Korea's capitalist system—and these two poles cannot be integrated. . . .

"It is possible that a country may have different political systems. . . . We consider that even after the country is reunified the present social systems in the north and the south may continue as they are, and people who have different beliefs may live together in Korea. What is needed here is mutual trust and respect."

Kim holds that these two different

social systems are to be governed by "a unified central government embracing representatives of people of all classes and strata, through free north-south general elections to be held in a democratic way."

A single army is to represent both these antagonistic social systems. Kim

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*For the Independent, Peaceful Reunification of the Country*, by Kim Il Sung. Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1973. 236 pp. no price listed.

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said, in 1960, concerning his proposal to reduce the armed forces to 100,000 or fewer in each part of Korea: "In our country an army 200,000 strong will be enough to discharge the duty of national defence." These two armed forces, which fought a bitter war from 1950 to 1953, are now capable, according to Kim, of jointly discharging "the duty of national defence!"

While Friedrich Engels never managed to win the title "Sun of the Nation," or even "Respected and Beloved Leader," his observations on the nature of the state have generally enjoyed a certain respect among Marxists. These observations were markedly different from Kim's. Engels, it will be recalled, described the state as an organization of the exploiting classes for the purpose of "forcibly keeping the exploited classes in the condition of oppression corresponding with the given mode of production (slavery, serfdom, wage-labour)." (*Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970, p. 73.)

Another Marxist of some renown, V.I. Lenin, had some things to say about how to distinguish different types of states. Paraphrasing Engels, he wrote that "every state in which



private ownership of the land and means of production exists, in which capital dominates, however democratic it may be, is a capitalist state, a machine used by the capitalists to keep the working class and poor peasants in subjection. . . ." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 29, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965, p. 485.)

By this definition, South Korea is clearly a capitalist state. In North Korea, on the other hand, private ownership of land was abolished after World War II. Private ownership of the means of production was ended after the Korean War.

Before proclaiming that the armies of the South Korean capitalist state and North Korean workers state have common interests to defend, Kim might have paused to consider the traditional Marxist view that the social systems on which these two armies are based are hostile to each other and therefore cannot be represented by a single state—not even if both sides show "mutual trust and respect."

These "chief instruments of state power," as Lenin termed the army and police, are no more compatible than fire and water, as the Korean saying has it. Kim Il Sung has surely heard this saying; the North Korean press might even claim he first expressed it. But, as it applies to politics, he certainly doesn't understand it.

Moreover, Kim's offer to form an "all-class" national coalition government specifically includes the "progressive" bourgeoisie. This holds the danger that some section of the South Korean bourgeoisie, or imperialism, might try to use this foothold to attempt to restore capitalism in North Korea. Kim's consistent attempts to find a "progressive" role for elements of the bourgeoisie can also confuse the workers in both Korean states about the role of the bourgeoisie.



Kim's eagerness to come to terms with South Korea also leads him to deny that the puppet state is capitalist: "We do not regard south Korea as a capitalist society in the true sense of the word. . . . We can say that south Korean society is no more than a society which is just starting to take the road of capitalism, or is inclined to capitalism, or is being influenced by capitalism, or believes in capitalism, or something like that." Inspired by such precision and clarity, *People's Korea* (April 15, 1974) says Kim "gives complete answers to the new complex questions arising not only in the socialist camp but also in the capitalist world."

One wonders what such South Korean capitalists as Lee Byung Chul, Chung Ju Young, Chun Jung Hwon, and others would reply if told that their profits are not the product of a capitalist system but rather of capitalist "belief," capitalist "influence," or even capitalist "inclination." South Korean workers might also have reason to doubt these "complete answers to the new complex questions."

Kim's confusion about the class nature of the South Korean state is in fact a means of defending the continued existence of capitalism in the South. Kim writes that "the reunification of our homeland will be achieved easily by the united efforts of the socialist forces in the northern half of the Republic and the patriotic, democratic forces in south Korea." And just who does Kim consider to be a "patriotic, democratic" personage?

For instance, there is Kim Dae Jung, the former presidential candidate of the bourgeois New Democratic party, who was later kidnapped by South Korean political police in Tokyo. He was described by Kim Il Sung as one of "plenty of responsible patriots who have the overwhelming support of the people." (*Guardian*, September 5, 1973.)

It is possible, in Kim's view, for such capitalist politicians as Kim Dae Jung to help "overthrow the fascist military dictatorship in order to establish a progressive social system, thus developing south Korean society democratically." And what is the name of this "progressive" social system that capitalist politicians are to help establish? Kim stops short of giving it a name—but if politicians like Kim Dae



KIM: "Sun of the Nation" sheds little light on Marxist theory of the state.

Jung have their way, it will be capitalist.

However, it is not really necessary to establish a new, "progressive" social system in South Korea for Kim to think that "peaceful reunification" is possible. Those old standbys, "mutual trust and respect," are enough to ensure that "the present social systems in the north and the south may continue as they are." Even if the

South is under the leadership of Park Chung Hee? Kim answers Yes: "We can join hands even with those now in power in south Korea if they stop betraying the nation by conspiring with the foreign aggressors, stop repressing the people, and join in the struggle for independent, peaceful reunification of the country."

Or, to put it another way, wolves will be charming dinner guests when they pull their claws, become vegetarians, and learn the social graces.

Kim's offer of "peaceful reunification" is a promise to the South Korean bourgeoisie, and its U.S. and Japanese masters, that Kim will work to prevent any anticapitalist struggles in the South. In return, he hopes, the wolves will leave him in peace in the North.

Kim's policy of "peaceful reunification" is only the application in Korea of the worldwide Stalinist policy of "peaceful coexistence" between imperialism and the workers states. If Nixon can exchange toasts with Brezhnev and Mao, after all, why cannot Park Chung Hee and Kim Il Sung also get along?

"Peaceful coexistence" of two hostile social systems in Korea, however, is no more possible than is "peaceful coexistence" of hostile social systems on a world scale. Kim's policies are aimed at maintaining the status quo, and stand in the way of Korean reunification, rather than facilitating it. □

## Yugoslavia Publishes 'Revolution Betrayed'

Leon Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed* has been published in Yugoslavia as the sixth volume in an edition of Trotsky's works published by the Oktober Kersovani publishing house in Rijeka. A report in the May 1 issue of the British paper *Red Weekly* noted that the first volume of the series appeared in the spring of 1972 and that the series was edited by Predrag Vranicki, rector of the University of Zagreb since 1972 and a member of the editorial board of *Praxis*, a philosophical journal that has been attacked by hard-liners in the Yugoslav Communist party.

In a long introduction to the first volume of the series, Vranicki gave an account of Trotsky's political life

and work, including the formation of the Fourth International. Vranicki said that "Trotsky was a Marxist and a revolutionary to the end of his life" and that "the Stalinist charges against him and the Left Opposition . . . [are] most perfidious and unscrupulous insinuations." Vranicki concluded that Stalin's actions were a grave blow to the development of the socialist movement in Europe.

When the first volume of the series was published, it became an immediate best-seller and was on the "top ten" listing published in the Zagreb *Vjesnik*. When *The Revolution Betrayed* appeared, it received a favorable review in the semiofficial journal *Nase Teme*. □

## May Day Manifesto of Argentine PST

[The following May Day Manifesto was issued by the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). It was published in the May 3 issue of the party's weekly *Avanzada Socialista*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Worker activists and revolutionaries have the chance to attend three rallies on May Day.

One has been called by the government, organized by [Labor] Minister Otero, and supported by the Juventud Peronista [JP—Peronist Youth]: the "Celebration of Labor and National Unity." It will be blessed by Caggiano and protected by Villar and Margaride's police. The ads and posters already indicate what will be expected from those at the Plaza de Mayo [site of the "Celebration"]: to shout, "We are with you, General."

The second is the rally called by the Communist party, the party that at one time was with the gorillas, and until March 11 [1973, date of the presidential elections that brought the Peronists to office], accused Perón of being "fascist," only to become pro-Perón after March 11. This is the party that defended and continues to defend the line of the "peaceful road," which brought on the defeat of the Chilean working class. At that rally there will be some criticisms of the government, but it also will conclude with shouts of "We are with you, General."

If you want to be honest with yourself, you cannot attend either of these rallies. First, because you are not "with" the Social Pact and the wage freeze. Second, because if you seek—in spite of that—to attend the Plaza de Mayo rally with the aim of "changing its content," as the Juventud Peronista and some left currents do, you will only repeat your error of August 31 [date of a 1973 mass rally organized by José Rucci, then the lead-

er of the CGT], when you acted as the stooge of the union bureaucracy. In addition, you will be committing an act of political provocation, because Perón has the right to "celebrate" the proletarian holiday in his probourgeois, probureaucrat way.

If you are not "with the General," the only constructive, nonprovocative, and nonopportunist way to show it is by coming to the only workers, socialist, and internationalist rally that will be held: the one called by our party, the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores.

### The 'Peaceful Road' Is Violent Road to Reaction and Fascism

Chile was the great triumph for the Communist party: the triumph of the Popular Unity in office. For years we Trotskyists had denounced the counterrevolutionary Stalinist positions on the "peaceful road," the "revolution by stages," and "popular frontism." Those concepts chained the working class to the politics of the bourgeoisie. They doomed it to the role of "pressuring" its bourgeois ally and led it to defeat.

In Chile the debate was tested by events. Stalinist reformism greeted the experience as the concretization of its old aspiration. Although not sharing their enthusiasm, revolutionaries around the world fixed our attention on our Chilean brothers and were infected with the great expectations awakened by this experience during the last few years. It was reformism's great opportunity to demonstrate the superiority of this heralded "road."

We did not stop warning the working class against this ill-fated policy, which recommended that the masses have confidence in a bourgeois front, sweetened the "progressive" character of the national bourgeoisie, counseled prudence to avoid frightening these allies, exalted the armed forces as patriots upholding society's institutions, braked the revolutionary aspirations of the masses, and impeded their organization and arming, which they

claimed would be provocative. A policy, in the final analysis, that systematically paved the way for handing over the Chilean proletariat to their military hangmen. A policy that criminally squandered the heroism of the masses and betrayed the interests of the proletariat. A policy that succeeded in thwarting one of the deepest revolutionary processes in the Americas and made possible the victory of the gorillas who today drown Chile in blood.

The same policy and the same debate have also come up in Uruguay. A huge general strike with fifteen-day factory occupations—undoubtedly one of the biggest workers mobilizations in Latin America—was given up by the Stalinist leadership, who had confidence in a progressive nationalist sector of the Uruguayan armed forces. Such confidence was shared by the guerrilla groups. As in Chile, they were incapable of providing a revolutionary alternative and ended up capitulating to bourgeois nationalism. They had confidence in precisely those who buried all semblance of bourgeois legality and who today "progressively" are conquering our brothers.

### Revolution Is Exploding All Over the Globe

Today, this policy is revealed to be incorrigibly counterrevolutionary. We are witnessing a period of upsurge of the world revolution. Its most visible signs are found in the process of "Latin Americanization" of the developed countries, which are beginning to experience the social explosions that until recently were exclusively our endowment.

In the old world the crisis has been simmering on a low flame; the increase in oil prices is making it flare up. While inflation soars and production goes down, workers struggles grow. Strikers bring down the conservative government of England, and the military itself comes forward to do it in Portugal, in view of the chaos that the colonial war has provoked within the country. Strikes, collapsing governments, and an increasingly divided bourgeoisie is the new face of old Europe. The era of the insoluble crisis of the imperialist bourgeoisies has begun. Watergate and the Nixon affair show that the process is not

strictly European; it is worldwide.

The colonial world is experiencing violent shake-ups that have repercussions in the imperialist centers. Portugal is the latest demonstration of that. Vietnam, the great detonator of the Yankee crisis, that is, the crisis of the world imperialist system, was the predecessor of the African revolutions. The Middle East and its oil were the spark that ignited the crisis of the big capitalist countries.

To this picture must be added the democratic struggle of the peoples of the workers states to throw off the yoke of their bureaucracies. That struggle at times begins in the form of protests by intellectual or student sectors. It is the expression of a profound revolution embracing the entire society, which inevitably will involve the working class and generate a broad process of mobilization to reconquer socialist democracy in the workers states. An evidence of that is the recent episode involving the Russian writer Solzhenitsyn. Although not a revolutionary, in his works he made important allegations against the Soviet bureaucracy and in favor of democracy, and he was expelled from the country.

The bureaucracies of the USSR and China need to silence any opposition voice in order to carry out unimpeded their counterrevolutionary pact with North American imperialism and other policies. The only aim of the Nixon-Mao-Brezhnev pact is to benefit the national interests of its signers by curbing the worldwide revolutionary process. Its first and most dramatic application has been the Paris accords that the Vietnamese revolutionaries were forced to sign. The inadequacy of Chinese and Soviet aid and the pressure of these countries for "peace" imposed accords that did not expel the Yankee aggressors nor liquidate the Saigon puppet government.

In this international context the revolutionary movement is cutting a path, breaking away from reformist and capitulationist influences. For this the development of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist parties is indispensable. Such parties must join together in the Trotskyist Fourth International, the embryo of the only party of the world revolution.

This same choice between reform and revolution faces us in Argentina,

where we undeniably form part of that world revolution.

### **Balance Sheet of One Year of Peronist Rule**

The Peronist government took office under very favorable political and economic conditions. For one thing, the military dictatorship and the social sectors supporting it agreed to yield governmental power. Specifically, the oligarchy and imperialism gave Perón their approval. For another, the working class, which had been fighting the dictatorship with semi-insurreccional mobilizations like the Cordobazo, offered Perón the broadest electoral support. That was accompanied by a profound confidence about what lay ahead. To this must be added the international economic situation, which permitted some sectors of the ruling class to export at a great advantage. That reinforced their political support to the government. Given these conditions, Perón could sum up his program in one sentence: go slower than Allende; or, better yet, go slower than his first government. Now, let's see where this has led.

### **Nothing Has Changed Fundamentally**

During this year the oligarchy did not lose a single hectare, imperialism not a single monopoly, the bureaucracy not a single soft job. Beyond that, they strengthened their control over the country and the workers.

Bunge and Born did not return a single cent of the money they amassed in their fifty years of exploitation. On the contrary, they are preparing to take over management of the State Enterprises Corporation.

Ford, FIAT, and General Motors did not give up a dollar of what they had piled up for twenty years. On the contrary, they are rewarded with preferential prices, juicy exports, and more superprofits.

Standard Electric did not lose the Sheraton Hotel, nor did they construct a children's hospital on the site as the JP announced they would. On the contrary, they did not get the punishment they deserved.

Miguel, Otero, and Company [secretary general of the "62 Organizations" and labor minister, respective-

ly] were not penalized. Instead they were rewarded with ministries, government posts, and a new Trade-Union Law.

The chiefs of repression during the military dictatorship exchanged the decree-laws for the reformed Penal Code, and, with several Chejólans added to their list of victims, they retained their posts and influence.

And, to complete this picture, the wage-freeze policy has been inherited by the new government under the pompous name of the Social Pact.

### **Anti-Imperialist Foreign Policy?**

Not even in the arena of foreign policy—where the Communists and the Peronist youth agree with Balbín, Alende, and Sueldo [bourgeois politicians], and praise the government—has the regime adopted really anti-imperialist measures. Of course, we all support the opening of diplomatic and commercial relations with Cuba and Russia, but we should not misunderstand their political significance.

Breaking the ideological barriers to permit commerce with all countries of the world was initiated under Lanusse. He embraced Allende and sent emissaries to China. Perón has taken one more step in this policy. But can we call it anti-imperialist?

Those steps were taken at the same time that the worldwide struggle of the masses forced the Yankees to reach an understanding with the bureaucracy: the Nixon-Mao-Brezhnev pact. Then it stopped being a crime to sell wheat to China. How could it be a crime after Nixon had tea with Mao? And it was at tea time that our oligarchy and bourgeois nationalists got up their nerve.

They were not alone: Even the dictator Bordaberry got up the courage to sell 40 percent of Uruguayan wool to the socialist countries. The jackal Franco was more "anti-imperialist" than the Argentine government when he negotiated with Cuba. Franco negotiated while the United States prohibited it; Argentina waited until the blockade had been broken and even the Pope was sending bishops to talk with Castro.

The Argentine government has defended the interests of the national and imperialist bosses. Thus the owners of Ford, Chrysler, and General Motors pressured the government of

the United States so that it would permit the opening up of the virgin market represented by Cuba and the socialist world.

We are not ignorant of the fact that there are frictions and pressures accompanying these negotiations, such as the well-known incident between [Foreign Minister] Gelbard and Mr. Schultz, the North American chargé d'affaires. But that cannot be confused with a true anti-imperialist policy, which begins by destroying the fundamental bases of the domination—expropriating the imperialist enterprises, and nationalizing banking and foreign trade. Such a policy would break colonial treaties and ties with the OAS [Organization of American States] and would propose a Federation of Latin American Workers States. Perón had done none of this. Thus we do not hesitate to assert that these meaningful anti-imperialist tasks can be accomplished only when the working class takes power in our countries.

The Peronist government had the opportunity to adopt an anti-imperialist stance when the Chilean military coup took place. Our party demanded a break in diplomatic relations. Perón not only did not do that. In addition, he refused to grant asylum to the refugees who were fleeing the military's fury, and he extended a credit of ten million pesos to the junta.

## Peronist Government Entering a New Period

Nonetheless, the Peronist regime is entering a new period in the series of changes governed by the tempo of mass struggles, which began with the Cordobazo and modified national life to its very roots. From a directly imperialist government they passed to an oligarchic one, and now, to one where the bourgeoisie is represented by the CGE [Confederación General Económica, the national employers organization] and the union bureaucracy.

The upsurge of the masses shows the other side of the coin: the retreat of imperialism without giving up its privileges and monopolies. On the institutional level, this was reflected in a reversal: The government run by the armed forces, and supported by

the parties of the Hora del Pueblo [the Peronist-led electoral bloc in last year's elections] and others, became a government of these parties (with their parliament, their Perón-Balbin agreement, etc.), supported by the armed forces.

## Defend and Deepen Democratic Process

Perón and Balbin think that this democratic process, which began with the Cordobazo, can be stopped at its present level. To achieve this objective they plan to take advantage of the juridical-institutional mechanism of constitutional reform, through which they are trying to guarantee stability to the current bourgeois front and



PERON: Slower than Allende, slower than his own first term.

share the government between themselves.

On the other side, the CP warns about the imminent danger of a "fascist coup" through which imperialism plans to regain its foothold.

Perón and Balbin in their optimism do not take into account that all the factors stabilizing the regime are transitory, and even now are shifting. The political credit that the working class extended to the government is diminishing. The workers have not stopped struggling for their economic demands and these are bringing them

rapidly toward a confrontation with the government.

This has been particularly clear among the bank workers. They were fired under the Law on Redundancy, which bears the signatures of Perón and Gelbard, and then, for good measure, they were repressed by the police of the "people's government."

Nor should anyone be fooled by the favorable economic situation for our exports. That cannot be the basis for any sustained progress. Since the world market is dominated by the imperialist powers, a simple agreement or order by them can modify the prices and the conditions, as is happening this very minute with the doubling of oil prices.

That makes Perón and Balbin's dream of a long economic, social, and political stability very unlikely at present, given the fact that no fundamental steps have been taken. The most probable perspective is that of an inescapable crisis. But does that mean that the imperialist "fascist coup" is imminent? Concretely, is the Navarrazo [February 1974 coup that ousted the elected Córdoba provincial governor Obregón Cano] the prelude to that coup?

There is no question that Peronist bourgeois nationalism is historically threatened with the danger of a reactionary coup. But it goes farther: Almost all our country's formally democratic governments—from Yrigoyen to Illia—were brought down by force. Perón, in 1955, and similar Latin American governments (Arbenz, Getulio Vargas, Paz Estenssoro, Goulart, etc.), fell in the same way and for the same reason: By hobbling and impeding the mobilization of the workers and people, they handed over power to imperialism.

On the other hand, the pressure and democratic struggles of the masses after the rise of Perón combined advances and retreats. One integral sector of the government (the union bureaucracy is exactly that), in a pact with the right wing of the cabinet, tried to respond to the masses with the Navarrazo and profascist coups. The Villazo [recent successful strike by metalworkers in Villa Constitución] has been the most recent big workers' response to that offensive.

But neither the historic danger that menaces all bourgeois nationalist gov-

ernments nor the present exacerbation of the struggle between the masses and the right wing justifies the CP's prediction of an imminent CIA coup. That is crying wolf. The government remains stable, in part because the fundamental line of imperialism, the oligarchy, and the native bourgeoisie is to support it.

Our party has a principled position with regard to democratic conquests: They belong to the masses and should be defended unconditionally. In spite of the fact that this is not our government, we do not waver in proclaiming that we will be in the front lines when danger approaches, in the struggle to preserve the present government against a coup, because we recognize only the masses' right to install and overthrow governments.

By taking this position, we are not doing anything different than we did in 1955. At that time the Federación Bonaerense del Partido Socialista de la Revolución Nacional [Buenos Aires Federation of the Socialist Party of National Revolution]—the name of our party then—was the only one that warned in advance and called for a struggle against the gorilla coup.

Meanwhile, fighting with the masses to defend and deepen their conquests, we will not waver in combating the most reactionary sectors of the government and the government as a whole, as they try to cut back the conquests.

### **For Political Independence of the Working Class**

Three roads are open to the Argentine revolutionary vanguard. One is proposed by the Juventud Peronista and the Communist party. Another, similar to the first, is proposed by the guerrillas. We propose a completely different, third road—the political independence of the working class.

For forty years the CP has come to us saying that the governments of the "good" bosses will begin building socialism, that what is needed is to find and support them. For twenty years, since the Unión Democrática [Democratic Union—pro-Yankee popular front that opposed Perón's bourgeois nationalist program], the CP has found and supported them in the camp of antiworker, antipopular, antinational gorillism. For a little less than

one year now, they have joined the Juventud Peronista in asking the Peronist bosses for socialism, although without breaking with their past friends. The CP and the JP together are desperately looking for the new leader to follow Perón among the Cámporas, the Alfonsíns, the Alendes, and others who aspire to ride a new populism. The important thing for them seems to be that the mass movement not become independent, not follow its own course, but that it continue in its allegiance to Perón. In summary, they propose a new Argentine version of the Chilean popular-front experiment.

Equally incorrect is the road the guerrillas propose. The guerrillas are like the populists, who try to force the working class to take a passive role and simply support capitalist leaders. But the guerrillas put armed organizations whose social base is in student and petty-bourgeois milieus in the place of capitalist leaders.

The guerrillas and the populists share a common underestimation of the masses. They believe that their role can be filled by a leader or by a handful of fighters.

Thus the guerrillas always stand aside from the big mass movements, which, when they arise, take them by surprise. The biggest urban semi-insurrection in our history—the Cordobazo—exploded while the guerrillas were training in the countryside. And the advice that the guerrillas gave to the Córdoba workers was that they should not confront the repressive forces, because they were not sufficiently equipped. Not only did they not foresee an urban semi-insurrection like the Cordobazo; it was made against the guerrillas' suggestions and advice.

This same disorientation, born of that underestimation of the masses, was repeated with the Villazo. Again the working class demonstrated that no one can replace it as protagonist of history. For their part, the guerrillas demonstrated that their "armed road" is not appropriate for "insertion into the masses," an objective that pre-occupies them so much since the recognized failure of focoism.

But the guerrillas are not merely disoriented. Their ill-planned actions create a double danger for the workers. The first is an immediate, direct one: The regime always takes advan-

tage of those actions as an excuse to act against the workers. The most recent example was the guerrilla assault on the Azul barracks, which the government used to get the Penal Code approved. The other danger is still more serious: The guerrillas become brakemen of the mass initiatives. Like the populists, they relegate the masses to the role of spectators instead of calling them into organized, independent political action.

Populism is the common feature that unites the guerrillas with the CP, as is shown in the FAS [Frente Antimperialista y por el Socialismo—Anti-imperialist and Socialist Front], which, it is worth mentioning, is a popular frontist proposal, open to the "progressive" sector of the bourgeoisie.

The working class's big problem is that its political independence is compromised. It does not have an organization or a line of its own in the political arena. In the union arena, its independence is subordinated to the bureaucracy and in the political arena, to Perón. The struggle against the bureaucracy to obtain rank-and-file control over the union is much more advanced than the struggle to obtain political independence.

Only our party speaks of the necessity for the latter and intervenes in all arenas in defense of the political self-determination of the labor movement. In union elections we propose that the workers movement should have its own candidates (for which we throw open our slates, proposing class unity along the lines of the Tosco-Jaime formula). This is an example of our meaningful defense of class independence for the workers, which is a life-and-death issue for them.

### **For a Coordinating Committee of Antimanagement, Antibureaucratic Forces in Workers Movement**

The struggle to defend and broaden democratic rights won by the masses centers today on the fight against the bureaucracy. To uproot it from its control of the CGT and the unions is essential to transforming these organizations into true weapons for the mobilization of the workers against the Social Pact, the wage freeze, the

firings, and exploitation in general.

Regaining control over the unions, currently dominated by a bureaucracy that indirectly ties them to management and the state, will be a first step toward political independence for the workers movement.

The current struggles demonstrate that there are possibilities for a mass movement uniting all antimanagerment, antibureaucratic forces to be born and to develop. We saw this possibility in the recent plenum of the Comisiones Internas [plant committees] at Acindar, Metcon, and Marathon in Villa Constitución. With the exception of the JTP [Juventud Trabajadora Peronista — Peronist Worker Youth], all forces that agree on those objectives gathered there.

At the plenum it was decided to form coordinating committees by zone to support all struggles, to demand wage increases and present other economic demands, and to fight for union democracy throughout the country. The PST proposed the formation of a national antimanagerment, anti-bureaucrat coordinating committee then and there.

There were two forces against that: the JTP, which announced publicly that it would not attend the plenum; and the Communist party, which attended to oppose it from within. It is no accident that the same forces that are political agents of bourgeois populism appear here, opposed to the working class developing independent union organizations.

For their part, the guerrillas, in-laws of the CP by virtue of their common marriage to populism, played no significant role; as always in these important actions in which the working class is protagonist, they had no adequate answers.

In contrast to all this, our party was and will be the one to do most for the formation of such a national coordinating committee to unify struggles and regain control of the unions. This is because the PST will conduct a serious defense of the working class's union and political independence.

The development of this coordinating committee is the most important and pressing task for worker and revolutionary activists. It will undoubtedly be the tool that will enable the working class as a whole to win its most urgent demands.

## Our Revolutionary Workers and Socialist Party

The winning of workers democracy and political independence are the two main tasks. To accomplish them, all worker and socialist activists must be part of the same organization — a revolutionary party.

Activists isolated in different sections of a factory can do very little against management. Only if they are united in a plant committee, for example, can they manage to lead all their compañeros in a unified struggle. The party is made up of the best activists emerging from the mass movement. There it is rooted, learns, discusses, and orients the masses — providing an answer and a line on all their problems.

This party is the only one that can recapitulate, enrich, and transmit all the experience and theoretical and political tradition of the struggles of the world working class, the synthesis of which is Marxism-Leninism-Trotskyism. The party teaches the working class the need to struggle for its political independence and to organize the revolutionary vanguard party to take power and create a workers and popular government. With such a government the working class will advance toward the socialist society through the continuous mobilization of the masses. It is precisely the lack of this political revolutionary vanguard organization in a world ripe for socialist revolution that we see most dramatically today.

In our country there are revolutionary fighters who do not understand this necessity to join a revolutionary party, which fights at the head of the masses. That is the price of long years of Peronist populism, which has made them forget not only the masses' struggle for political independence, but even the need for their own political parties as vanguard elements. Thus, they disperse themselves within a bourgeois movement with the argument, "That is where the masses are." This converts them into accomplices in tying the masses to the cart of the bosses and the bureaucracy.

Nor do the guerrillas and the sectarians see the necessity to form this revolutionary party. They are not familiar with the mass movement and deprecate the power of its mobiliza-

tions. They believe that the revolution will not be made by the masses but by a small elite group. Thus, their organizations are caricatures of a revolutionary party and become closed groups that jump from sectarianism to opportunism.

We are building the revolutionary party — against populist opportunism and reformism, against union and political bureaucracies, and against guerrillaism and elitist sectarianism.

The PST is the party needed to destroy capitalism here, and the Trotskyist Fourth International is the international party.

\* \* \*

## Join Us in Fighting for These Goals

Against the Social Pact, the 13 percent [the wage increase granted by Perón with the Social Pact; prices are expected to have risen by 24 percent by the end of the year, however], and the wage freeze. For a minimum [monthly] wage of 250,000 pesos [US\$250], to be adjusted automatically every two months to the cost of living. Reopen the parity commissions [where democratically elected labor delegates challenge the bosses' representatives on questions of wages and working conditions].

Against rising prices. Abolish commercial secrecy. For workers control of production and the accounts.

Against the oligarchy and imperialism. For the expropriation without compensation of all plantations and the resettlement of farmlands. Expropriate all monopolies without compensation and nationalize them under workers control. Nationalize all banking, finance companies, and insurance companies.

Against the new Law on Redundancy. Rehire all workers fired at IME [Industrias Mecánicas del Estado, state-owned automobile enterprises], Banco Nación, and other state and provincial government departments.

For solving the housing problem by expropriating all luxury housing and uninhabited land and turning them over free of charge to those without homes. Turn over all rented quarters to those who are living there. Develop a plan for housing construction under workers control, with the units to be

paid for monthly at a maximum of 10 percent of one's salary.

Against profits in public health care. Nationalize all laboratories and private clinics under workers control. For free health care and medicine for the entire population.

Against the Penal Code reform and Article 48. End the repression of activists and their organizations. Free all political prisoners. End torture. Disarm the goon squads. Investigate and punish those responsible for all the massacres and attempted violence that have taken place.

Against the closing down of periodicals. Repeal the decrees that closed *El Mundo*, *Militancia*, and *El Descamisado*. For freedom of the press and expression.

Against the Trade-Union Law. For a national coordinating committee of all antimanagerial, antibureaucratic forces to organize in solidarity with the workers at Villa Constitución and with all workers and people's fights. For a congress of democratically elected delegates of the rank and file of the CGT to elect a new leadership for the labor federation and the unions that will put those organizations at the service of the ranks. For new leaders and the return to the factories of all the current leaders for a period of at least two years.

Against the decree that prohibits the sale of contraceptives. For the right of women to control their own bodies and the right of the family to decide how many children they want. For equality of men and women on the job, in wages, and before the law. For free, legal abortion and sex education. Create free, twenty-four-hour childcare facilities.

Against the Peronist-Radical university law and the restoration of the "De La Torre" in secondary schools.

— Defend all conquests of the student movement. For rectors and deans supported by the students.

— For the right of students to elect their own administrators and determine their own programs of study.

— For student control of the universities and secondary schools.

— For student solidarity with the struggles of workers here and around the world against imperialism and exploitation.

— For socialist education in a socialist Argentina.

Against any coups. Defend and

deepen the democratic rights won through worker and popular mobilizations.

Against the new populism advocated by the Juventud Peronista and the Communist party. Against guerrilla actions isolated from the masses. For the political independence of the working class.

For the construction of a revolutionary Marxist party of the working class in our country.

Against any capitalist government. For a workers and popular government and a socialist Argentina.

For breaking relations with the OAS. Break agreements that tie us to imperialism.

— Solidarity with the peoples of Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, and Paraguay who are fighting against their pro-Yankee dictatorships.

— Unconditional defense of socialist Cuba. For a Federation of Social-

ist Republics of Latin America.

— Solidarity with the people of Vietnam and all colonial peoples who are fighting imperialism and exploitation.

— Support to the Arab peoples who are fighting Zionism and imperialism.

— Solidarity with the European workers who are mobilizing against their imperialist bosses.

Against the counterrevolutionary Nixon-Mao-Brezhnev pact. Against peaceful coexistence with imperialism and the exploiters.

— Solidarity and support to those struggling to regain socialist democracy in the USSR, China, and the other workers states.

— For proletarian internationalism. For a Marxist party of the world revolution. For the strengthening of the Fourth International. □

## Petition in Britain for Dzyuba and Chornovil

[The following petition is being circulated in Britain by the Committee to Defend Ivan Dzyuba and Vyacheslav Chornovil, 83 Gregory Crescent, Eltham, London SE9, England.

[The committee has also published a pamphlet, *Ukraine: Unrest and Repression*, by Andrea Martin, which is available from the same address for £0.15.]

\* \* \*

Issue number 26 of the *Chronicle of Current Events* reported that there were massive arrests of oppositionists in the Soviet Union, and especially in the Ukrainian SSR, during the early part of 1972 in an attempt by the KGB to crush the samizdat, samvydav literature. Among those who were arrested were two Ukrainian socialists, Ivan Dzyuba and Vyacheslav Chornovil.

Ivan Dzyuba, former editor of the State Publishing House of Ukraine, was arrested in September 1965, for allegedly sending the diary of the deceased poet Vasyl Symonenko to the West. He was released because he was suffering from tuberculosis. He is the author of the book *Internationalism or Russification?*, a Leninist critique of the present nationalities policies of the Soviet Union. Despite the fact that

he is suffering from acute tuberculosis, he was sentenced in March 1973 to five years imprisonment.\*

Vyacheslav Chornovil, former member of the editorial board of the Komsomol newspaper *Moloda Gvardia*, was arrested in July 1966 for refusing to testify at a closed trial. He was sentenced to three months imprisonment. Arrested again in August 1967, he was sentenced to three years imprisonment in November 1967. The sentence was later reduced to eighteen months. He is most noted for *The Chornovil Papers*, a collection of documents which exposes the secret trials of 1965-66. Chornovil was sentenced to seven years imprisonment and five years exile in February 1973.

Both these writers have made it clear that their opposition to the current policies of the Soviet government is based on an attempt to apply a Marxist-Leninist critique to these policies. They represent part of the recent emergence of articulate socialist oppositionists within the Soviet Union who have brought into ques-

\*On November 9, 1973, the official organ of the Ukrainian Writers Union, *Literaturna Ukraina*, printed a proclamation by Ivan Dzyuba. In the introduction, it was stated that he was released after preparing a statement of recantation. (Note by the committee.)

tion the economic, social and cultural policies of the Soviet government. Their call for socialist democracy has gained support among the workers, students and intellectuals. The Soviet government has reacted to this by willfully distorting and forcefully suppressing any manifestation of oppositional activity and thought.

Recognising that Ivan Dzyuba and Vyacheslav Chornovil are only two of those oppositionists recently arrested and tried for their socialist con-

victions, we, the undersigned, socialists and trade-unionists:

1. Condemn the arrests of Vyacheslav Chornovil and of other political prisoners.

2. Demand their immediate release.

3. Condemn the fact that Dzyuba's release was conditional on a recantation.

4. Support all those struggling for the implementation of democratic rights and civil liberties in the Soviet Union. □

## Soviet Dissident's Appeal for Moroz

[The following statement in defense of Valentyn Moroz was issued by Tatyana Khodorovich in April 1974. Khodorovich was one of the founding members of the Initiative Group in Defense of Human Rights in the USSR in May 1969. A linguist by profession, Khodorovich lost her position at the Russian Language Institute in April 1971 for signing the Initiative Group's appeal to the United Nations Human Rights Commission, in which the signers spoke out against political repression in the Soviet Union.

[Over the past few years, Khodorovich has issued numerous statements in defense of arrested dissidents, one of which was a long article on Leonid Plyushch, who is now in extremely serious condition in a mental hospital. Khodorovich has also been active recently in circulating the recently revived *Chronicle of Current Events*, the samizdat journal. In May, Khodorovich and two other dissidents—Sergei Kovalov, a biologist; and Tatyana Velikanova, a mathematician—delivered *Chronicle* Numbers 28, 29, and 30 to foreign correspondents in Moscow, thus openly taking responsibility for the journal.

[The document on Moroz was received from the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners. The translation for *Intercontinental Press* is by Marilyn Vogt.]

\* \* \*

"I can't hold out any longer!"

These are the words of an inmate in the Vladimir convict prison, Valentyn Moroz—a spiritually strong and courageous man.

"I can't hold out any longer . . ."

Valentyn Moroz, a historian by profession and formerly an instructor at the Lutsk Pedagogical Institute of the Ukrainian SSR, was arrested for the second time in June 1970 and for the second time convicted under Article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ("Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda").

V. Moroz received a savage sentence—thirteen years deprivation of freedom; of these, *six years in prison*—for the books and articles he had written! Here is a list of his works that have been declared criminal: 1) "A Report from the Beria Reserve"<sup>1</sup>; 2) an article, "Among the Snows"—on the inconsistent and unprincipled conduct of Ivan Dzyuba<sup>2</sup>; 3) an article that addressed itself to the Belorussian [SSR] poetess Yevdoky Los, whose poetry V. Moroz criticized for lacking the spirit of national self-affirmation. The author of the article spoke out against the Russification of Belorussia.

Valentyn Moroz was sent to Vladimir prison to serve his sentence. There he was placed in a cell with

1. This work was written by Moroz in Dubrovlag prison camp, where he served a four-year sentence after his first arrest in 1965. Moroz was sent to an investigation isolator at Lefortova prison in 1967 in connection with his having written this work; however, his sentence was not lengthened because of it.—*IP*

2. "Among the Snows" appears in *Report from the Beria Reserve*, a collection of Moroz's writings. Moroz has expressed agreement with Dzyuba in his opposition to Russification and with Dzyuba's ideas as presented in *Internationalism or Russification?*, a Marxist critique of Russification. In "Among the Snows" Moroz criticizes a tactical move made by Dzyuba in a 1970 statement to the Ukrainian Writers Union.

two criminal sadists. For a long time they did not let V. Moroz sleep at all, taking turns keeping watch by his cot.

All his wife's requests that her husband be transferred were to no avail. "He is with his own kind," they declared to her.

And on one occasion, V. Moroz, tormented by sleeplessness, was nearly killed by his cellmates, who slashed his abdomen with a knife. The prison officials were forced to send V. Moroz to a hospital. Immediately after his release from the hospital [1972] V. Moroz was taken to Kiev to serve as a witness in a case against so-called Ukrainian nationalists. Upon failing to obtain any testimony from him, the KGB organs sent him back to Vladimir prison.

After persistent requests by his wife, V. Moroz was transferred to a solitary confinement cell. He is still there and is now in a state of extreme physical and nervous exhaustion. He is close to death.

When his wife visited him on October 9, 1973, Valentyn Moroz begged her to petition for a modification of the form of punishment—for his early transfer from prison to a camp. Their meeting was extremely grim. The usually very even-tempered and tranquil Valentyn Moroz was not at all himself. Suffering from intense nervous strain and exceedingly short-tempered, close to hysterics, he reproached his wife for not making sufficient efforts to ease his lot. He pleaded and at the same time demanded that she do something to save him, to save his life.

"I can't hold out any longer!"

The philosopher Kant said that there were two things that moved him to inexpressible awe: the starry sky above and the moral law of man.

I am writing these lines in the hope that this awesome law—the moral law of good in man—triumphs and the evil falls away.

But it will fall away only when the unyielding and calm voice of the good resounds from many people.

So let every one of us find this good within ourselves, and let this voice resound—the voice of good against evil—and I believe the evil will fall away.

Valentyn Moroz will not perish!  
Moscow, April 3, 1974

T. Khodorovich