



SADAT: Backs down in record time.

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**The Trial of Mustafa Dzhemilev**

# NEWS ANALYSIS

## The Frame-up of Abu Daoud

By Barry Sheppard

When France released Palestinian leader Abu Daoud January 11, rather than extradite him to West Germany or Israel, Washington and Bonn joined in the clamor from Tel Aviv charging Paris with having capitulated to "international terrorism."

Jimmy Carter said he was "deeply disturbed," Kissinger was "outraged," and the U.S. State Department was officially "dismayed." Israel temporarily recalled its ambassador to France. Zionists staged demonstrations in various cities and called for a boycott of France.

The American press in particular tried and convicted Daoud. The leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was portrayed as a well-known "international terrorist." It was taken for granted that he was guilty of "masterminding" the attack on the Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics in 1972. (All the participants in the Munich raid were killed, so Daoud could not be charged with having actually been there.)

The impact of this press campaign is indicated by letters from readers on the case printed by the *New York Times*, which contain flat assertions such as that Daoud is a "self-confessed principal" in the Munich attack. A group of Catholic professors wrote that he was the "mastermind of the murder of sleeping Israeli athletes."

Closer reading of the press attacks on Daoud, however, discloses no proof whatever linking the PLO leader to the Munich raid. The only "proof" discussed is allegedly in the hands of the West German police, but the content of this "proof" is not revealed.

Abu Daoud himself maintains his innocence. After his release from France he flew to Algeria and issued a statement January 15 expressing his willingness to go to West Germany to face trial on the charges. "I will go immediately. I would take the first plane," he said, if the West German authorities would guarantee his

protection. But Bonn refused to take up his offer.

A brief review of the facts of the case explodes the frame-up.

It began with an actual act of terrorism. On January 3, Mahmoud Ould Saleh, who had once served as PLO representative in France, was gunned down as he left the Paris bookstore he operated. The assassins escaped, but the murder had all the earmarks of an Israeli operation, similar to other killings of Palestinians the Israelis boast of off the record.

Daoud arrived in France a few days later as part of a high-ranking Palestinian delegation to Saleh's funeral. The French Foreign Ministry provided two guards for the Palestinians at their hotel. Daoud's presence was hardly a secret from the French government. He met with the French Director for Middle East Affairs on January 7. But that night he was arrested by the Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire (DST—Bureau of Internal Security), the French counterintelligence agency.

Apparently the DST higher-ups and the French government were not consulted before the arrests were made. "So who had had Abu Daoud arrested and why?" asks *Time* magazine of January 24. "The most plausible answer," they speculate, "was Israel, whose intelligence agents keep close watch on P.L.O. terrorists. By alerting friends in the DST to Abu Daoud's presence in France they could both embarrass Giscard for his pro-Arab policy and score another round against the Palestinians." The Israelis no doubt also saw the gambit as a means to take the spotlight off the murder of Saleh.

Bonn and Tel Aviv made requests for the extradition of Daoud. The Israelis had already pronounced him guilty, and any move by France to extradite him to Israel would have implicated Paris in what would have amounted to a legal lynching.

Bonn conveyed its request by telephone, and then foot-dragged on following up with the necessary formal legal moves. *Time* indicated Bonn's reasons for doing so: "Some [West German] legal experts questioned whether the evidence against Abu Daoud was sufficient to make an extradition request stand up and, at a trial, to obtain conviction. As one Foreign Ministry official noted, 'Just imagine what the international reaction against us would be if a German court were to declare Daoud innocent.'"



ABU DAUD

So much for the "proof" held by the West German cops. It is hardly surprising that Bonn has rejected Daoud's offer to stand trial in West Germany.

"When the French had still not received a diplomatic follow-up from the Germans by Monday night [January 10]," *Time* reported, "they began to get worried. Complained [French Interior Minister] Poniatowski: 'We're being had by the Germans.'" The next day Daoud was released.

French President Giscard d'Estaing has been attempting to strike a "neutral" posture in relation to the Mideast, hoping to further French imperialist interests in the area. He was forced to release Daoud and take the criticism, including that from the French press, or suffer damage in the Arab world. However, he did come out ahead on one score—the Daoud case took the heat off the French government for its failure to stop Israeli terrorism in France, such as the Saleh murder.

The whole affair is a classical case of turning the victim into the criminal and vice versa. A man who comes to Paris to demonstrate by his presence his opposition to a terrorist act is pilloried and convicted of terrorism by the press, with no proof, on charges originating with those who a few days before had gunned down a man in cold blood. □

### A Nuestros Lectores

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# Gilmore Execution— 'Obscene Charade'

When Gary Gilmore was executed by a firing squad in Utah January 17, people all over the world recoiled in horror. The editors of the London *Times* were in a distinct minority when they declared the following day that "the civilized world should not be outraged at the resumption of execution as such" in the United States.

The London *Sun* branded the whole proceeding as an "obscene charade."

A similar view was taken by the London *Evening Standard*, which noted that "the grisly circus . . . has been rendered the more garish and offensive because of the scale on which the American media operate."

Stockholm's *Svenska Dagbladet* said, "To the end there was a circuslike spectacle around the convicted murderer which was so horrible that it almost made the execution look less disgusting." The paper argued that "not only the laws of humanity but also the dignity of the nation demand that no more lives should be taken through executions."

The commercial aspect of the affair was taken up by the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, one of West Germany's most influential papers. "Once Gilmore's body is mutilated, his ashes strewn over the site of his crimes," it said, "the entertainment industry will begin its robbing of the corpse in books and movies."

In Copenhagen, the newspaper *Aktuelt* said, "The shots yesterday have done damage to the reputation of the United States around the world—and what a salute for the new president."

Outrage was also registered in the United States. "I thought the execution was horrendous, horrible, and disgusting," Michael Meeropol said.

Meeropol, whose parents—Julius and Ethel Rosenberg—were framed up during the McCarthyite witch-hunt of the 1950s on charges of stealing the "secret" of the atomic bomb for the Soviet Union, pointed out, "You can't undo a death sentence. In the case of my parents, that's obvious. If they were alive in 1962, they would have had a new trial.

"You can bet that after they get through executing these few whites, it's going to be Blacks, American Indians, and Chicanos, and it's going to be people on politically motivated frame-ups."

Under the headline "No more executions," the editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* wrote January 19: ". . . perhaps the shameful spectacle in Utah will give constructive pause to other states and to the national authorities. Do they really want an execution every week or so until the death-row cells are empty, only to be filled again? . . . is this what the country should be coming to in its third century?"

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## Egyptian Workers Say 'No' to New Price Hikes

By David Frankel

On January 17 the government of Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat announced increases in the price of food and other basic necessities in the misnamed People's Assembly, which acts as Sadat's rubber stamp. Barely two days later, Sadat unceremoniously reversed himself and rescinded the price increases.

Sadat was not moved by the plight of the masses, distressing as that is. In a country where the minimum wage is about \$40 a month at the official rate—less than a dollar a day in real terms—bottled gas used for cooking and heating was to go from \$1.60 to \$2.40. Other price increases decreed by the regime were equally brutal. The cost of flour went up 63%, while that of bread went up 50%. There were also sharp increases in the price of sugar, rice, soap, gasoline, cigarettes, and some textiles.

But if Sadat was unmoved by humanitarian considerations, his concern for his own position prompted a rapid retreat. On January 18 tens of thousands of outraged demonstrators stormed through Egypt's major cities in the biggest antigovernment protests since the overthrow of the monarchy in 1952.

Responding to Sadat's call for "struggle, resolution and sacrifice"—although not in the way Sadat intended—the protesters burned down police stations, smashed the antiquated and inadequate buses and trolley cars that provide public transportation, and attacked government shops.

Institutions identified with the government were singled out along with the top figures in the regime. In Alexandria, where the protests began, a beach house belonging to Vice-president Hosni Mubarak was burned, and in Cairo the headquarters of the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) was set afire. (The ASU remains the only legal political party in Egypt, despite the charade last November in which Sadat pretended to inaugurate a multiparty system within the framework of the ASU.)

Demonstrators were unable to reach Sadat's residence in Cairo, which was guarded by a Soviet-built tank. But in Aswan, where Sadat has another villa, triumphal arches erected for a visit by President Tito of Yugoslavia were burned. Tito decided that he was unable to make the trip. The official excuse was the death of Yugoslav Prime Minister Dzemal Bijedic in a plane crash January 18.

"In Liberation Square, in the heart of Cairo, beside the Hilton Hotel and the Arab League headquarters, the demonstrators moved toward a 10-foot poster of



Curfews were declared in Alexandria, Cairo, and Suez City. Protests occurred in nearly every major city.

President Sadat," a January 18 Reuters dispatch reported. "They hurled stones at the poster and eventually ripped it down, tore it to pieces and threw the scraps into a fountain."

When workers from the industrial center of Helwan, south of Cairo, attempted to march on the People's Assembly, the same dispatch reported, "All gates leading to the Assembly were locked with heavy chains. Public transport between Helwan and central Cairo was stopped, apparently to prevent workers from reaching the area. Streets leading to the Assembly were blocked by police."

The Helwan workers erected roadblocks and stoned cars that failed to slow down, while "at Shubra el-Kheima, an industrial suburb north of Cairo, workers staged sit-in strikes, halting production."

The anger of the masses was fueled by the glaring social inequality, which has been heightened by Sadat's policy of economic "liberalization." "Big American and German cars—symbols of wealth in

Egypt—were the favorite targets of rock throwers and arsonists," a dispatch from Cairo in the January 21 *New York Times* reported. Nightclubs frequented by wealthy playboys from Libya and Saudi Arabia were also wrecked.

Slogans chanted by the demonstrators reflected the sharp tensions between the ruling class and the masses. Referring to the recent marriage of Sadat's youngest daughter to the son of one of the richest families in the country, protesters chanted, "Your daughter is dressed in the latest fashions and we are 10 to a room," according to a January 19 dispatch by *Washington Post* correspondent Thomas W. Lippman.

As for Sadat himself, Lippman reported, crowds shouted, "You are living it up in Aswan while we have to eat stones."

Other slogans reported by Reuters were "Down with Sadat!" and "Nasser! Nasser! Nasser!" (The social reforms that Sadat is trying to take away were won by the masses during the period of Nasser's rule.)

One of the most popular chants was: "With blood and lives we will bring prices down." And this slogan—reminiscent of the chant of Palestinian protesters in Israel who shouted last March, "With spirit and blood we shall free Galilee!"—turned out to be prophetic.

Riot police using clubs, plastic shields, and tear-gas grenades were unable to control the crowds that had taken over the streets of Alexandria, Cairo, and Suez City. The police began to use their guns.

"Witnesses outside a police station set afire yesterday in Hadaik el-Kouba, east of Cairo, said that seven persons were killed when police fired into crowds," Sami Rizkallah reported in a January 19 Associated Press dispatch.

"A detachment of riot policemen also opened fire while battling a crowd near Al Azhar University, in Cairo's old quarter, and witnesses said a 10-year-old boy fell dead with a bullet in the chest."

All universities were ordered closed after the first day of the upsurge. Fuad Mohieddin, minister of state for parliamentary affairs, promised that the government was willing to make an "objective re-examination" of the price increases in order to "spare the working classes."

But the masses wanted action, not words. On January 19, the second day of the protests, Sadat ordered a curfew in Cairo, Alexandria, and Suez City. Riot police were given orders to shoot anyone found out of doors without a pass after the



4 p.m. curfew went into effect.

Nevertheless, the protests continued, with demonstrators battling police for hours after the curfew began. A new slogan was coined: "We are dying of hunger anyway so kill us, Sadat, with your bullets."

Army units were called in to help the police. Tanks and armored cars were stationed outside government buildings, banks, and state-owned newspapers. The following day, a dispatch from Cairo in the January 21 *New York Times* reported, "Soldiers armed with machine guns were stationed at strategic spots, with orders to shoot to kill rioters."

But in the meantime, Sadat had been forced to back down. The government announced January 19 that a "suspension" of the price increases had been approved "pending reconsideration."

According to Egyptian officials, at least sixty-five persons were killed in the clashes, hundreds more were reported wounded, and about 1,400 were said to have been arrested in Cairo and Alexandria alone.

The fact that the army had to be called into Cairo for the first time since 1952 is a measure of the impact this mass upsurge had on the Sadat regime. And Sadat, like the other Arab heads of state, proved once again that he is prepared to move with greater determination against his own people than against Israel.

Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres was quoted in the January 22 *New York Times* as saying "that Egypt had thinned out its forces facing Israel in Sinai to cope with rioters."

"... Mr. Peres said armored divisions and commando forces had been rushed to Aswan, Alexandria, Cairo and Suez after the outbreaks."

Of course, like all reactionary regimes faced with the opposition of the masses, the Egyptian government claimed that the protests were caused by a few troublemakers. Interior Minister Sayed Fahmi assured the public that "security forces have aborted an attempt to burn Cairo." Premier Mamdouh Salem accused the protesters of being "under the command of Communists."

Sadat and his crew know better. As Lippman commented in his January 19 dispatch, the eruption in Egypt "was exactly the reaction that the government had feared if it cut the subsidies that have held the price of these commodities to an artificially low level and enabled the country's impoverished masses to keep eating." (Emphasis added.)

Why did Sadat take a step that he knew was almost certain to provoke bitter opposition? The fact is that Sadat is being squeezed between the demands of the Egyptian masses and the demands of imperialism.

Egypt's foreign debt, currently estimated at \$12 billion, exceeds the country's annual

gross national product. Like most semicolonial countries, Egypt must continually borrow more money in order to pay the interest on its huge debt. This, in turn, drives the overall debt up even further, along with the interest that must be paid on it.

The huge Egyptian debt reflects the country's economic impasse. Agricultural production, which accounts for almost one-third of the gross national product, is stagnant, and possibly declining. This year's trade deficit is expected to exceed \$3.3 billion, and inflation is running at a rate of 35% or more each year.

Sadat has attempted to handle this dismal situation in two ways. In the long run, he promises the masses that foreign investment will bring new industries to Egypt and eventually develop the economy. He does not say why this should happen in Egypt when it has not happened anywhere else in Asia, Africa, or Latin America since the turn of the century. If the imperialists invest hundreds of millions of dollars, it is only to pump billions out of the country.

Up until now, however, Sadat's "open door" policy has failed to attract any substantial new investment. The imperialists have demanded that Sadat, in addition to all his other concessions, put through a change in currency regulations that would favor foreign investors. This would include a sharp devaluation of the Egyptian pound, a politically explosive move that would drive up prices of all imported goods—including food.

Sadat's short-term solution has been to keep the economy afloat through loans and foreign aid. In a dispatch from Cairo in the January 21 *Christian Science Monitor*, John K. Cooley noted that "since the 1973 war, sources here estimate the aid from Saudi Arabia, other Arab oil states, the United States, Japan, and other countries at close to \$5 billion."

But this has not led to any decrease in the pressure on Sadat. From the point of view of Egypt's creditors, the same steps that are required to attract investment are also required for the regime to pay back its debts. As *New York Times* correspondent Henry Tanner reported in a January 20 dispatch from Cairo:

Last spring, I.M.F. [International Monetary Fund] negotiators obtained from Cairo a promise that it would scale down its huge annual subsidies for basic food and would start adjusting the unrealistically high rate of the Egyptian pound in exchange for a loan from the fund. And that, in turn, would have signaled to Western investors that Egypt could now be trusted. . . .

This winter, again, negotiators from the fund came to Cairo with pleas for belt-tightening. Similar pressure from the United States was reported.

In essence, the imperialist investors, banks, and governments are demanding that Sadat prove his ability to crush the workers and peasants—otherwise, how can

they entrust their money to his regime?

The problem facing the imperialists is that the demands placed upon Sadat by their own economic imperatives are coming into conflict with the political stability of his government. The imperialists themselves understand the problem, but they have no solution to offer. The editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* voiced their concern January 21, saying:

A way out of Egypt's dilemma will not be easy to find. But Mr. Sadat is a persuasive man. It should help if he would make a fresh effort to explain the problem to his people—and to Egypt's creditors. For stability of the Eastern Mediterranean area might well be at stake.

It may be that Sadat's backers will now take some steps to shore up his weakened position. An article in the January 19 *New York Times*, quoting "Midwest commodity specialists," said that the demonstrations in Egypt were "expected to lead to vastly increased United States [wheat and flour] shipments in coming weeks."

However, at best such stopgap measures can only postpone further class confrontations. The Egyptian ruling class is well aware of this fact. As one minister commented before Sadat's decision to back down: "Restoring subsidies might restore calm, but it would delay the day of reckoning when we have to put our economy in order." □

### Carter Pardon 'a Real Sham'

On January 21 the White House announced that President Carter had acted to pardon those who had evaded or resisted the draft during the Vietnam war. About 4,000 draft evasion cases remain open. In addition, the pardon affects about half of the estimated 20,000 to 25,000 American exiles in Canada.

Left out of Carter's pardon were 10,115 Vietnam-era deserters who have never been discharged from the military, 90,000 deserters who have received less-than-honorable discharges, and hundreds of thousands of former GIs who were given less-than-honorable discharges for opposing the war, but who did not desert.

Commenting on the presidential pardon, Louise Ransom of the National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty said that "since draft resisters are essentially white, middle-class and well educated, and the military resisters [who deserted] are primarily disproportionately from the poor and minority groups, we feel that this is a very discriminatory pardon."

Jack Colhoun, coeditor of *Amex-Canada*, a magazine put out by American exiles in Canada, branded Carter's pardon "a real sham, sinister, almost Nixonesque."

Referring to Carter's promise to "act immediately and institute a study" about what to do about the deserters, Colhoun said, "It's the cheapest political trick in the book to have another study on the problem. We've had enough studies."

## Ten Days That Shook Peking

By Les Evans

In the early morning hours of January 16 the government in Peking moved to end ten days of mass demonstrations in the capital's Tien An Men Square that had increasingly challenged the authority of the regime.

At the height of the demonstrations, on the weekend of January 8-9, hundreds of thousands of persons participated, according to reports by Western observers.

A significant minority of the crowd openly raised demands for free speech, the right to elect their own leaders, the reinstatement of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the dropping of all charges against those arrested in the Tien An Men demonstration of April 1976, and the removal from party leadership of those responsible for suppressing that demonstration.

The current demonstrations provide the first indication of the profound and lasting impact of the April 1976 "Tien An Men incident" on Chinese politics, and can only be understood as a sequel to it. (See accompanying box.)

### The Masses Return to Tien An Men Square

Since the Tien An Men incident, Mao has died and those party leaders closest to him have been imprisoned—the so-called gang of four, headed by Mao's widow, Chiang Ch'ing. The new leadership, headed by party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, has moved sharply away from many of Mao's policies. It has promised a relaxation in the field of literature and art. It has embraced the slogan of the "Four Modernizations," and broadly hinted that material concessions to the masses will be forthcoming.

The anniversary of Chou's death on January 8 provided an opportunity for the masses to test the regime's intentions—and to make a show of force in support of their own demands.

The demonstrators in April had promised to return to Tien An Men. In a now-famous poem, written by one of those caught up in the final police assault and published in the official press as an example of "counterrevolutionary" activity, the protesters vowed:

*For the sake of genuine Marxism-  
Leninism  
We fear not shedding our blood and  
laying down our lives.  
The day modernization in four fields is  
realized,*



CHOU EN-LAI

*We will come back to offer  
Libations and sacrifices.*

On January 6, the crowds began to gather in Tien An Men Square, determined this time to lay their wreaths and read their poems without interference from the government. A measure of the extraordinary changes that have taken place since Mao's death—and above all of the weakness of Hua's government compared to the situation nine months ago—was the decision to avoid a confrontation with the demonstrators.

The government's tactic was two-fold. For a week prior to the anniversary of Chou's death an effusive press campaign sought to wrap Hua's regime in the mantle of Chou En-lai's prestige. A documentary film was issued under the title "Eternal Glory to Esteemed and Beloved Premier Chou En-lai."

The other side of the government's preparations included the organization of large official contingents with approved slogans for mourning rallies in major cities.

Nevertheless, it was plain that while there was a large official presence at the

demonstrations in Peking, the demonstrations themselves were tolerated, not encouraged or sponsored by the government. In the middle of a nationwide press campaign to commemorate Chou's death, not a single member of the CCP central leadership addressed the crowds in Tien An Men Square or even made an appearance.

The press coverage of the demonstrations was also more than reserved. On January 8, Hsinhua carried a lengthy article attacking the "gang of four," and particularly former press chief Yao Wen-yuan, for suppressing the reports of the mourning activities for Chou En-lai at the time of his death. Under the title "How Yao Wen-yuan Sabotaged Publicity of Mass Mourning of Premier Chou En-lai," this article gave a highly detailed account of rallies for Chou that had taken place a year before. (It did not mention the Tien An Men demonstration.) It stated:

But these stirring scenes did not appear in the newspapers nor were they broadcast or carried on television. The sentiments and aspirations of the people were trampled upon. Was it that no reporters covered the news? In those days, like the people throughout the country, news workers were overwhelmed by great grief and wrote many reports on the mournful yet militant scenes. But, the vicious gang of four did not allow the reports to be printed in the press.

On the very day this article appeared, a crowd of hundreds of thousands of persons gathered once again in Tien An Men Square in honor of Chou En-lai. These demonstrations would continue for more than a week, numbering in the tens and even hundreds of thousands on workdays, which meant that the participants had to take off from their jobs to be there.

But "these stirring scenes" did not appear in the newspapers nor were they broadcast or carried on television. The entire ten-day protest rated exactly one paragraph in Hsinhua, dated January 9-10, in an article on "Diverse Activities Held in Peking and Other Parts of China in Solemn Commemoration of First Anniversary of Death of Premier Chou En-lai."

This scant mention gave no indication of the size of the demonstration. It stressed only the official themes: adulation for Chou, hatred for the "gang of four," and disciplined support for "the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua."

Was it that no reporters covered the news? No Chinese reporters did, or at any



rate their dispatches did not get past Yao Wen-yuan's replacement in the government's media offices. There were, however, a number of Western correspondents present, including Alain Jacob of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, Ross Munro of the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, and David Rogers of Reuters. Their eyewitness accounts reveal what Hua had to fear from the return of the masses to Tien An Men Square.

#### An Explosion of Wall Posters

On Thursday, January 6, Alain Jacob reports in the January 8 *Le Monde*, wall posters appeared for the first time in the center of Peking demanding the reinstatement of Teng Hsiao-p'ing in the party leadership. One of these declared:

"The gang of 'four' used the incidents of April 5, 1976, at Tien An Men Square to discredit Comrade Teng Hsiao-p'ing."

The same day, people began to bring wreaths and poems to Tien An Men Square for Chou's anniversary.

Were these posters the work of Teng's faction, seeking to embarrass the Hua leadership by a show of public support? Or was this the official leadership's way of easing their way to reincorporate Teng into the ruling group? Or was there still another explanation—did the participants in last April's demonstration regard Teng as a victim of Mao's dictatorship along with themselves and distrust the promises of any leadership that did not include him?

As the demonstrations grew in size, further demands were added to the first. Alain Jacob reports:

A huge demonstration began Saturday morning, January 8, on Tien An Men Square. It continued on Sunday, where it will probably reach its maximum size. More and more numerous, the contingents converged toward the main gate of the ancient Forbidden City, where there is still displayed a great portrait of Mao Tsetung. There they lay down immense bundles of flowers and funeral wreaths bearing inscriptions in memory of Chou En-lai, who died just a year ago. At the same time, a multitude of wall posters have appeared in the center of Peking, extolling the merits of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and calling for his return to power.

At quitting time [Saturday is a workday in China], this theme was taken up by slogans painted in characters one meter high on the fences at Tien An Men Square [erected around the construction site for Mao's mausoleum]. With the closing of the factories and offices the crowd became extremely dense in the whole center of the city, and probably reached a size of several hundred thousand persons, of whom a large percentage were spectators. [*Le Monde*, January 9-10, 1977.]

Some of the contingents were plainly organized under official auspices. One large group carried a giant banner which declared, "Premier Chou will live forever in our hearts." Many of the signs and wall paintings bearing official slogans or portraits were the work of elaborate crafts-



PEKING, April 5, 1976: Part of mass protest in Tien An Men Square.

## The Tien An Men Incident

Chou En-lai, China's premier from the inception of the People's Republic of China in 1949, died on January 8, 1976. He played a unique role in the hierarchy of Chinese Stalinism. He was the regime's "soft cop," who in contrast to Mao and the now-purged "gang of four" cultivated an image of fairness and reasonableness. In a system that lacked any institutionalized form of appeal from bureaucratic injustice, the court of last resort for workers or peasants who had been abused by local officials was a "letter to Premier Chou." Such entreaties occasionally resulted in relief from arbitrary penalties meted out on a local level.

Moreover, Chou was widely believed to oppose Mao's wage-freeze in the decade since the Cultural Revolution began in 1966, and to disagree with the obsessive thought-control campaigns of Mao and his lieutenants.

The masses hoped that Chou's call for the rapid industrialization of China at the Fourth National People's Congress in January 1975, known under the slogan of the "Four Modernizations," would result in a rise in their standard of living. When this slogan came under attack in the official press during Chou's last illness, and his protégé, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, was accused of abandoning "class struggle" (i.e., the priority Mao placed on ideological control of the masses by the party apparatus), Chou's popularity increased dramatically.

The Peking masses took the occasion of the annual Ching Ming festival in honor of the dead at the beginning of

April to gather in Tien An Men Square to bring wreaths and poems in Chou's memory. Mao's government responded by ordering police and the militia to remove the wreaths on April 5. A crowd of 100,000 demanded the return of the wreaths and the punishment of those who had denied them the right to conduct their mourning rites. A full-scale battle erupted between the demonstrators and the "forces of order," in which cars were overturned and burned, police agents and militiamen were beaten, and a military barracks was set on fire. Thousands of demonstrators were arrested and a number were beaten to death by the police. The government later announced two official executions of participants and the sentencing of several more to long terms at hard labor. It is not known how many people remain political prisoners for their part in the demonstration.

Two days after the demonstration, the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist party met and *unanimously* voted to condemn the Tien An Men demonstration as a "counter-revolutionary incident." At the same time, the Politburo accused Teng Hsiao-p'ing of inspiring the demonstration (though not of having organized it), and stripped him of all of his government and party posts. Teng was accused of seeking the "restoration of capitalism," and of being a Chinese "Imre Nagy," a reference to the Hungarian Stalinist leader who served briefly as premier during the 1956 workers rebellion.



manship and had clearly been prepared in advance.

Not so the many hand-lettered wall posters pasted up during the previous night. Many of these demanded that the government rescind the label "counterrevolutionary" from the Tien An Men demonstration of last April. One declared that the Tien An Men demonstration was an example of "the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie." A poem in one wall poster reported by Alain Jacob read:

*"The Ching Ming festival is  
unforgettable;  
On this square our blood flowed.  
Today the four pests have been  
eliminated.  
There must be justice for their  
victims.*

Another poster saluted "all those who participated valiantly in this episode [the Tien An Men demonstration last April] of the struggle against the four," and hailed "the martyrs who sacrificed their lives there."

Also on Saturday, posters appeared for the first time attacking "certain leading comrades" who were responsible along with the four purged lieutenants of Mao for the repression of the Tien An Men demonstration. This was a theme that would become more prominent as the demonstrations continued.

#### The Victims Must Be Avenged

Saturday was a crucial test of the government's readiness to move by force against dissenters in the crowds at Tien An Men Square. No arrests are known to have been made. Official contingents made no move to stop people from putting up wall posters, although the most radical were, by all accounts, pasted up at night under the protection of darkness. The only move the government made was to have the poster supporting Teng and the Tien An Men martyrs torn down during the night. But by early Sunday morning new ones took their place.

The absence of official speakers or ceremonies and the striking silence of the Chinese press seemed to indicate that Sunday, January 9, would be the last day of the gatherings, since Monday was a workday. Instead, tens of thousands jammed the square from early Monday morning. And the authors of the wall posters, gaining courage from the government's inaction, began to raise more radical demands. Even more significant, they began to show themselves, to give speeches to the crowds.

Alain Jacob describes the mood on that Monday morning, January 10:

A strange situation is continuing in Peking, heavy with uncertainty and which defies all logical explanation. At Tien An Men Square the

scene has not changed since Saturday. A giant flood of spectators passes without interruption, staring, on the one hand, at the heaps of flowers and wreaths—these are now arriving by the



HUA KUO-FENG

truckload—around Tien An Men Square, and on the other hand at the wall newspapers that cover almost the whole of the long fence that protects Mao Tsetung's future mausoleum.

One person photographs the cardboard figure of Chou En-lai. Another takes notes, carefully copying the poems in memory of the dead premier as well as the appeals for the return of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the criticisms of this or that personage prominent in the party or government.

By Monday morning, the new wall posters had begun to attack by name the surviving Politburo members regarded as most guilty for the crimes committed by the government at Tien An Men in April. According to a report in the January 11 *Le Monde*, one of these posters declared that "hundreds of millions" of persons were awaiting to see that those killed by the government at Tien An Men were "avenged." It named as guilty Peking's mayor, Wu Te, and commander of the Peking military region, Ch'en Hsi-lien.

These two were named in many of the wall posters. One accused Wu Te of "immorality" and said "the people of the capital cannot have confidence in him." It accused Ch'en Hsi-lien of having issued "cruel orders" in crushing the Tien An Men demonstration.

Wu and Ch'en are among the five highest ranking officials of the CCP today. They are outranked only by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, Defense Minister Yeh Chien-ying, and economic planner Li Hsien-nien.

Wu earned the hatred of many in China

by going on the radio on April 5 and ordering the Tien An Men demonstrators to disperse. He also oversaw the house-to-house interrogation conducted in the capital for a week afterward to ferret out and arrest activists in the demonstration. Ch'en is the commander of the troops that broke up the demonstration, killing an unknown number of persons.

This call for retribution goes beyond anything in the Tien An Men demonstration itself. It indicts by name a section of the central party leadership. It shows that Hua has been unsuccessful in trying to assuage popular hatred of the Mao regime by a purge limited to the "gang of four." Moreover, though Hua was not attacked by name, he also, as acting premier and as head of the secret police, bears equal responsibility with Wu and Ch'en for the government's crimes at Tien An Men.

It was small wonder that no member of the Politburo dared to appear before the crowds at Tien An Men to offer eulogies for Chou En-lai. What Hua must now decide is whether to throw Wu and Ch'en to the wolves despite the risk that would entail of bringing the wolves that much closer to his own door.

#### 'Would Chairman Hua Please Restore Popular Socialist Democracy'

Even more telling than the public defense of the Tien An Men demonstration and the indictment of specific party leaders was the appearance in the recent Peking demonstrations of open appeals for democratic rights for the Chinese masses. This also went beyond any of the demands known to have been raised in last April's actions.

By Monday night, impromptu orators in the square were delivering impassioned appeals for the institution of socialist democracy. Alain Jacob describes one of these in a dispatch in the January 12 *Le Monde*:

Very strange speeches were being heard on Tien An Men Square. Monday night a young man addressed the crowd. After being applauded for mentioning the name of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, he went on to speak of "freedom," of "democracy," and of the "rights of man." Smiles from the audience. That theme was not, as they say, "on the program." In fact, for the Peking workers who listened to the orator this vocabulary may have appeared to belong to another world. But who could have imagined, eight years ago, that this kind of language would be heard in public in the middle of the capital?

Still the government did not move against the dissenters. In the next few days the theme of socialist democracy became prominent in the wall posters as well. And not only the one-time wall posters. Ross Munro, in a January 12 dispatch from Peking in the *Toronto Globe and Mail* reported:

The appearance of a large collection of poems, collected during the antiradical [i.e., anti-Chiang

Ch'ing] demonstrations last April, raises the possibility that there are underground presses operating in Peking. The poems are mimeographed or printed in folio form, that is, as pages for a book.

This is the first report from China of the public circulation of printed "samizdat" literature.

On Thursday, January 13, the most radical posters to date appeared on the fences at Tien An Men Square. A Reuters dispatch from David Rogers in Peking described one of these:

One lengthy wall poster said that, following the purge of the so-called "Gang of Four" last October, the time was ripe to "restore popular socialist democracy" and give the people greater supervision over the leadership.

Signed by "a young person in Peking," it argued that the people were struggling to win democratic rights and that Teng was capable of representing the interests of the masses.

The poster asked the party leadership politely but definitely to institute sweeping reforms. Rogers cited the following sections of the text:

Would Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and the party Central Committee please realize the people's aspirations as soon as possible.

Would Chairman Hua and the party Central Committee please at the earliest date restore popular socialist democracy and freedom which has been snatched away by the Gang of Four. . . .

Would they please ensure that the masses have the right to express their political views and the right to exercise supervision over their leaders at all levels.

Rogers added:

The poster declared the people should have the right to select and dismiss China's officials and immediately fire "those leading comrades who have lost the confidence of the people."

It described last April's pro-Teng riots in Peking as the greatest mass movement since the founding of Communist China. With the suppression of the riots, democratic rights were trodden underfoot, the poster said.

Other posters pushed the date of the suppression of democratic rights much further into the past. One denounced "the evil wind that began to blow ten years ago" (*Le Monde*, January 14), that is, from the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, with its grotesque cult of Mao and its accompanying restrictions of the extremely limited cultural and political rights that had been permitted previously.

Alain Jacob reported in the January 15 *Le Monde* that there also appeared on Thursday, January 13, big-character posters signed by "groups of workers" demanding an extension of "democratic rights," including the right of the people "to choose its own leaders." He also reported that on Thursday the army intervened to take down some of the posters that most directly challenged the regime.

Jacob added:

There are new indications that the wall posters have not been greeted with serenity by the powers that be. Big official slogans have been pasted over some of them during the night, but these have been carefully peeled off in the morning by citizens who wanted to read what had been concealed. This Friday, January 14, a



TENG HSIAO-P'ING

scene attracted attention which confirmed the impression that the freedom of expression by way of the *tazibaos* [wall posters] is not completely unlimited. Under the immense portrait of Marx, mounted, with that of Engels, at the northeast corner of Tien An Men Square, military overcoats were stretched in a line to hide a large inscription in blue paint. The soldiers kept the crowd, silent and curious, at a distance from this undoubtedly sacrilegious graffiti.

#### Hua on the Defensive

By Friday, January 14, the size of the demonstrations began to decline and few new wall posters appeared. This pattern continued on Saturday. When the government became convinced that the ten days of what had come to be a massive free-speech movement were really over, it moved to tear down the remaining posters and restore order. At midnight on Saturday, state employees and troops of the People's Liberation Army entered the deserted square and by three in the morning the last evidence of this extraordinary outpouring of popular discontent had been removed.

The government had clearly decided to avoid at all costs a repeat of the direct confrontation with the crowds that took place last April. This strategy permitted it to get through the tumultuous week with-

out violence or arrests. But such a stance is untenable for any length of time for the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is a sign of the weakened state of the Peking high command that such an unprecedented challenge to its rule was permitted at all.

Definite demands have been raised: For the return to office of Teng Hsiao-p'ing; for the "reversal of the verdict" on the Tien An Men demonstration of last April; for the punishment of central party leaders responsible for suppressing that demonstration; and, more broadly, for the right of free speech and the right to select and control political leaders.

Teng may well be rehabilitated. His record as a Stalinist stalwart makes him personally no threat to the current leadership. Even on this count, however, his return to office as a concession to demands raised outside of the party hierarchy can only spur the fight to win further demands.

The other demands are, in ascending order, more and more difficult, and finally impossible for the Stalinist bureaucracy to grant and still maintain its rule as a privileged caste.

Hua himself did not come under attack in the ten days of ferment. But when he fails to grant the demands raised, he too will become a focus of opposition no less than Wu Te and Ch'en Hsi-lien.

Plainly not all, or even a majority, of the hundreds of thousands who gathered at Tien An Men in the second week of January viewed themselves as opponents of the regime. But a dynamic has been set in motion in which a conscious minority of workers, students, and revolutionary intellectuals have begun to formulate a program and to win a mass hearing for their ideas. This can only bode ill for the Stalinist rulers in Peking. □

#### Another Promise to Clean Up the Rhine

The European Economic Community and countries bordering the Rhine signed three treaties December 3 to clean up one of Europe's worst sewers, which also happens to be a source of drinking water for countries like Belgium and Holland.

The objective of the first treaty is to rid the river of chloride from the French government's potash mines in Alsace.

The second treaty aims at keeping chemical wastes dumped into the river at a "minimum."

The third provides for the EEC to join the International Commission for the Protection of the Rhine.

In what may have been intended as an entry for understatement of the year, the West German Association for Water Economy and Supply called the treaties "insufficient and not leading to the hope that the Rhine will get any cleaner."



## Eastern Europe—Simmering Unrest Over Totalitarian Rule

By Gerry Foley

The upsurge of open opposition to bureaucratic repression in Poland, the Soviet Union, and a number of other East European countries, as well as the jittery and inconsistent response of the bureaucracies to it, has begun to give the picture of a widespread crisis building up. The international press has started to pay considerable attention to this.

The well-informed West German weekly magazine *Der Spiegel*, for example, ran a banner headline on the cover of its January 17 issue, asking "What's Going on in the Eastern Bloc?" Its feature story on the situation in Eastern Europe pointed to a number of dramatic signs of instability.

### Provocation in Moscow

The atmosphere of crisis has been heightened by some moves by the bureaucracies that recall the buildup for the show trials of the 1930s and 1950s. The most ominous of these is the story planted by the Kremlin's journalistic troubleshooter Victor Louis in the London *Evening News* about a terrorist bombing of a Moscow subway train on January 8. Various reports estimated the number killed at up to twenty. In his account, Louis stressed that the train was full of children. He indicated the explosion might have been caused by "dissidents."

According to a January 10 dispatch from *Washington Post* correspondent Peter Osnos: "Louis said he thought the blast would produce 'a violent public reaction' in the Soviet Union comparable to the reaction in western countries against such terrorist groups as the Baader-Meinhoff gang in West Germany and the Symbionese Liberation Army in the United States."

A leading spokesman of the dissident movement in the Soviet Union, Andrei Sakharov, denounced the stories being spread about terrorist bombings as a provocation. In a January 14 statement, he said:

The authorities who want to suppress freedom of thought and reinforce totalitarianism cannot fight the dissidents on the basis of equal, open, and honest discussion. Since the moral authority of the dissidents continues to grow, despite the blows dealt them, the repressive organs resort more and more to criminal methods reminiscent not only of those of fascist Italy and Germany but also similar things that were done in our country in that period.

Sakharov cited some incidents that

appeared to be gangster-type violence by undercover police against dissidents, such as an assault on the poet Konstantin Bogatyrev last year by unknown assailants. The poet died a few months later as a result of his injuries.

A joint statement, also issued January 14, by the Committee to Supervise Compliance with the Helsinki Accords and the Russian chapter of Amnesty International said: "The application of the term 'dissident' to real or imaginary terrorists constitutes a provocation designed to compromise the dissidents in the Soviet Union."

### 'Enemy Agents' in Czechoslovakia

In Czechoslovakia, Josef Grohmann, a high official in the Dubcek government, was indicted in early January on charges of spying for Western intelligence services. The "normalized" government used this case to begin a campaign whipping up hysteria about the alleged activities of enemy agencies in the country.

At the same time, the Czechoslovak party press launched a violent denunciation of Charter 77, a new group that in early January presented a petition to the government protesting violations of the country's constitution. (See *Intercontinental Press*, January 24, p.41.)

This group is loosely organized and has raised only the most elementary demands. Its leaders announced that they did not intend to oppose the regime but only to ask for observance of the legal norms. Nonetheless, it was reportedly the broadest grouping that has spoken out against bureaucratic repression since the 1968 movement for democratic reform was broken up and driven underground under the pressure of Soviet occupation. After a full-scale invasion and occupation of the country, when the reconsolidated bureaucratic regime remains almost universally hated, the reappearance of public dissent in Czechoslovakia apparently terrified both the local bureaucrats and the Kremlin.

While the Soviet press has avoided mention of dissident activity in East Germany or Poland, it took up the denunciations launched by the Kremlin's local clients against the Czechoslovak defenders of legality and civil liberties.

In the January 14 *Izvestia*, Prague correspondent G. Ustinov wrote an article in response to Charter 77, basing himself on the attack in the Czechoslovak CP organ *Rudé Právo*. He began:

For some days now the reactionary propagandists in the West have been heating up their perpetual campaign against socialist Czechoslovakia.

This time the basis is the so-called Charter 77, a statement placed in the Western press by a group of figures from the ranks of the defeated Czechoslovak bourgeoisie and the organizers of the counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Regarding the fabrication of this provocative outburst of noise, *Rudé Právo* said in an editorial that "reaction is trying to revive political corpses among the emigrés from the socialist countries and also among the remaining class enemies in the country, beginning with renegades and ending with criminals and antisocial elements. One of the forms taken by these attempts is the fabrication of all sorts of pamphlets, letters, and other vulgar slander."

Ustinov ended his article by noting that the Czechoslovak CP organ had stressed: "Czechoslovakia remains a firm link in the socialist commonwealth.

"The attempts of the reactionaries to galvanize the counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia are doomed to failure."

In the January 13 *Pravda*, apparently the same article from Czechoslovakia was summarized under the headline "*Rudé Právo* Exposes Provocateurs."

The Soviet press did not mention that both the Italian and Spanish Communist parties have issued statements against repression of the signers of Charter 77. Presumably, they would have to be included among the "reactionaries" said to be trying to "galvanize the counterrevolution."

Apparently, the Kremlin has decided that in the face of a new wave of dissent spreading throughout Eastern Europe, it has to draw a hard line immediately in Czechoslovakia, where it faced its greatest challenge in the last decade and was able to restore "order" only by a massive and prolonged military occupation. This has made the challenge of Charter 77 a key test.

The most powerful tensions, however, are in Poland, where the bureaucracy was thrown into retreat by the June 1976 workers' uprisings and by the development of a broad campaign against the victimization of the workers who participated in these actions. The Polish events have made a strong impact on the West European workers movement. The French CP, for example, has been forced to speak out in defense of the Polish workers, as well as of the Soviet dissidents imprisoned in mental hospitals. In its December 30 issue, *Le Monde* quoted the following statement made by Duhamel, a leading



official of the CP-led French trade-union federation, the CGT, in an interview published in the federation weekly:

We cannot accept the fact that for distributing leaflets hostile to the regime, people are imprisoned in places such as these clinics whose medical character is more than dubious.

Nor can we accept workers being sentenced to long prison terms for strike actions, as was the case a few months ago in Poland. The price increases that were at the origin of these strikes and which the government was forced to rescind, give us cause to question the role played—or not played—by the Polish unions. The refusal of these unions to provide the explanations we asked for can only add to our perplexity.

This, of course, is a totally hypocritical statement. The French CP union leaders cannot be unaware of the character of the Polish unions.

However, despite the self-serving motivations of Western CP leaders, such declarations tend to seriously undermine the political defenses of the Stalinist dictatorships, which claim to rule in the name of a "world Communist movement." Stalinist rulers cannot simply disregard such criticisms without the risk of leaving themselves completely naked politically before the masses. Thus, the hypocritical gestures of the Western CP leaderships help to defend antibureaucratic fighters in the East.

But in Poland the bureaucracy's very existence is threatened in an immediate way by the rise of a mass workers movement and the development of outspoken opposition to the dictatorship among intellectuals. Some of these, such as one of Poland's most prominent writers, Jerzy Andrzejewski, have begun to speak openly of the need for the workers to rule the economy and the society directly.

#### Rumors of Soviet Invasion

How great the tensions are in Poland is indicated by the widespread rumors that during the June rebellions, the Kremlin was planning an invasion along the lines of the 1968 occupation of Czechoslovakia. *Der Spiegel* reported some information about this in its January 17 issue:

In some districts in Czechoslovakia, reservists were called up. On the night after June 25, a truck driver in North Moravia was awakened by police and ordered to drive to a preestablished list of airports. There he found transport planes ready to take off. (There were forty in Prague alone.) The alarm was only rescinded forty-eight hours later.

In the German Democratic Republic, plans for an intervention in Poland were also worked out. Well-informed sources consider them "still current."

The pressure on the Polish opponents of the bureaucracy of a threatened Soviet intervention is evident. In an interview in the January 17 *Der Spiegel*, Jacek Kuron, who served long years in prison for his outspokenly left-wing opposition to the Stalinist system, said:

The antireform policy of the Polish state leadership involves the danger of a mass explosion. The only way the population can counter this danger is through self-organization.



SAKHAROV: Denounces Kremlin for branding dissidents as "terrorists."

Only through peaceful methods, demonstrations that do not disrupt the public order, through stubborn negotiation with the state power, can the population successfully impose its political will. . . . Also, this is the only way to block the danger of a mass explosion and thus of a Soviet intervention.

Kuron thought, nonetheless, that the Polish movement for democratic rights had better chances for success than the 1968 movement in Czechoslovakia:

I don't think that this case established permanent boundaries beyond which reform cannot go. In a situation such as the one in which we find ourselves, in a profound political, social, and economic crisis, a state that fails to carry out the necessary reforms will lose its ability to function. I think that Moscow also is clear about this.

The fact is that the Stalinist regime in Poland is extremely decayed. The ruling CP had no prestige to start with. The majority of the prewar cadres were murdered by Stalin. The present party was built up in subordination to the Soviet military forces during the war and under the Red Army occupation.

Poland also has had a longer experience of reform within the Stalinist system of rule than any country except Yugoslavia. It was disillusion with this that led Kuron himself, and his collaborator, Karol Modzelewski, to call in the mid-1960s for creating a completely different system based on direct rule by the workers.

In a dispatch from Warsaw January 15, *New York Times* correspondent Flora

Lewis described a "widespread atmosphere of cynicism and disbelief that makes the leaders worry so much about the occasional sparks from intellectuals in a country that seems all tinder."

#### A Telling Incident in Radom

The response of the Polish CP to this situation has been wavering and inconsistent, with unpredictable outbreaks of violence and sudden retreats. For example, the regime agreed to review the cases of the Radom workers sentenced to prison terms for their part in the June strikes.

However, in the courtroom, the January 17 *Der Spiegel* reported, a mob of plainclothes police attacked observers from the Polish Committee to Support Worker Victims of the Repression who had been allowed to attend. Physicist Miroslaw Chojceki was beaten up. The uniformed police did not come to his aid. One of the attackers screamed at Kuron: "Get out of Radom, you're selling out Poland to Radio Free Europe and the Jews."

*Der Spiegel* also noted: "The government paper *Zycie Warszawy* has tried to discredit the work of the committee as a 'monstrous confusion of utopian, Trotskyist, Social Democratic, and Christian Democratic elements,' also saying that a 'Zionist element' was involved."

In the *Der Spiegel* interview, Kuron interpreted this attack as an outburst by jittery secret police:

This apparatus developed in a state system in which it was largely uncontrollable. Now it feels itself threatened—by the exposures of the committee and, still more, by the increasing pressure of public opinion. . . .

Try to visualize this situation. An attorney was beaten up in his robes, eggs were flying in the courtroom, the judges had to take cover and found themselves obliged finally to suspend the proceedings.

The Polish government has reacted to the work of the Committee to Support Worker Victims by launching a cat-and-mouse game of police harassment against the personalities involved. The Czech government followed a similar course toward the Charter 77 group, although there it was combined with preparation for possible political trials.

However, in Poland, according to a January 15 dispatch from Flora Lewis, the CP "leadership has [now] decided to tackle its domestic dissidents by what it calls 'political means,' ruling out arrests, police harassment, and outright repression, according to high-level officials."

Some examples of what the Polish bureaucracy may consider "political methods" are pointed out in the January 13 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. One was a forged letter allegedly sent by the French section of the Fourth International to Dr. Edward Lipinski, a leader of the Committee to Support Worker Victims. (See box for the text of this falsification.) It

## Text of Letter Fabricated by Polish Secret Police

[The following is the text of the letter cooked up by the Polish secret police and attributed to the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), the French section of the Fourth International.

[The letter, which was circulated in mimeograph form in Poland at the end of December, was denounced by the Political Bureau of the LCR as a transparent forgery. (See LCR statement on the facing page.)

[We have taken the text from the January 13 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

From: Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire  
[French Section of the Fourth International]

10 Impasse Guéménée  
75004 PARIS

To: Committee for the Defense of Workers  
Prof. Dr. Edward Lipinski  
Ulica Rakowiecka 22a m 28  
Warsaw

It is with profound joy that we, as representatives of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, the only authentically revolutionary party in the world of labor, take the liberty of sending you this letter to inform you of our happiness at the formation of the Committee to Defend Workers that you lead. We

have always carried on an international campaign to mobilize support for the struggle of the Polish workers and we congratulate you for the results you personally, as well as the members of your Committee, have achieved. The members of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire have always spoken out vigorously against the repression in Poland, where the rights and liberties of the workers are trampled under foot by the Stalinist bureaucracy and where the economic austerity measures only add to this somber picture.

The fight against the bureaucracy means a daily fight for freedom for the workers, for their right to strike, for free and independent unions, for freedom of the press, and freedom of the workers organizations. And the revolutionists throughout the world stand ready to support you.

Having said this, we inform you that, as a token of our revolutionary solidarity, on October 12 we gave Mr. Jacek Kuron's representative the sum of 18,600 new francs [approximately US\$3,720], which was collected from our members and sympathizers. We expected to see this money distributed to the families of the oppressed and imprisoned workers, in accordance with the legislation in force. With the same intent, the sum of 500 new francs [about US\$100] was turned over for the most immediate needs of the members of the Committee.

On October 17, Mr. Adam Michnik

received 22,000 new francs [about US\$4,400] for similar purposes.

Receipts in the proper order and duly signed by the above-mentioned persons are in our possession.

Nonetheless, trustworthy persons have informed us that the communiqués published by the Committee have said nothing about the question of aid to the workers persecuted for strike actions. What is more, reports of the life of debauchery led by Mr. Michnik continue to give us the gravest concern. We find it unthinkable that our money might be used for unavowable purposes, contrary to those for which it was intended.

We would therefore request that you give this problem your consideration and offer us the clarification that is required. It goes without saying that any future aid depends on the answer we get.

So that the Stalinist bureaucrats will not be able to keep you from learning the content of this letter, we are sending copies to several of our sympathizers in Poland so that they can inform you of it.

*Down with Stalinist repression!*  
*Long Live the Fourth International!*

For the leaders of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire:

P. Rousset  
Paris, December 3, 1976

Dear comrade! Be so kind as to get in contact with Professor Edward Lipinski to find out if this letter reached him.

contains some particularly choice examples of the police imagination.

The January 17 *Der Spiegel* reports that a document attributed to Andrzejewski is circulating in Poland that calls for "full sexual freedom, including for homosexuals." Andrzejewski's response was that "one of the few freedoms that does not have to be fought for in Poland anymore is sexual freedom."

That is not true, as has been made clear in recent years by studies of the problems of high-school youth in *Polityka*, a weekly that is allowed a margin for criticism. Backward attitudes about sexuality remain deeply rooted, which is what apparently inspired the secret police to try to use them to arouse prejudices against Andrzejewski. But it is not likely that any such "political" methods will prove very effective against the movement for democratic rights.

The East German regime embarked on a repressive course in November, when it

stripped the poet Wolf Biermann of his citizenship. However, the response to this has been the first public protests against the policies of the regime since the 1953 East Berlin workers rebellion. The regime responded by stepping up its repression.

### Storm of Protest in Biermann Case

About twelve protesters against Biermann's expulsion are being held in prison, according to a January 13 statement by the German Committee for the Defense of Freedom and Socialism. These include the author Jurgen Fuchs and singers Christian Junert and Gerulf Pannach. Reportedly, however, no charges have yet been brought against them.

These repressive moves do not seem to have stopped the spread of opposition. In a dispatch in the January 12 *New York Times*, Craig R. Whitney said that a professor at the Franz Liszt Music Institute in Weimar, East Germany, told him:

"Conditions get worse all the time. None of my students knew who Wolf Biermann was until he was kicked out. Now he's a hero."

The East German authorities were furious at the publicity Biermann's views got in the West German media, in particular TV, which reaches much of their population. In this, they shared the outrage felt by the right-wing West German press and the capitalist politicians at the airing of his democratic and socialist opinions. Nonetheless, the only way the bureaucrats could find, apparently, to emphasize their displeasure was to take reprisals against the West German government. So, among other things, on January 11 they put a police guard around Bonn's mission in East Berlin to prevent people from applying for visas.

Such moves could be expected to reinforce the arguments of détente advocates in the West that the best way to favor "democratic evolution" in the East is to



avoid anything that makes the bureaucratic rulers feel politically insecure. They could also have the effect of restoring a touch of the siege mentality of the past that was helpful to the Stalinist bosses in consolidating and maintaining their hold.

However, on January 12, the cordon was suddenly removed from the West German mission. Ellen Lenz, correspondent of the *New York Times*, a paper that has close relations with the U.S. State Department, reported: "Some linked the sudden lifting of police controls to possible disapproval by the Soviet Union."

The Kremlin itself shows the same wavering policies as its client regimes.

The Soviet bureaucrats hope that a relaxation of tensions between them and the imperialist powers will enable the West European CPs to break out of the ghettos they were driven into during the cold war and win sufficient influence to help force the capitalists to accept long-term peaceful coexistence.

Repressive or threatening moves are the surest way of driving voters away from the CPs, which would also distress the leaders of these parties. Furthermore, the Kremlin faces the long-range problem of the growing revulsion of the masses of workers throughout the world against Stalinism. It paid a heavy price for the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Its attempts to force the big Western CPs to defend this action, even though in some cases it went as far as provoking splits, essentially failed. And this failure prepared the way for moves by the West European CPs to take their distance from the more embarrassing features of Moscow's policies.

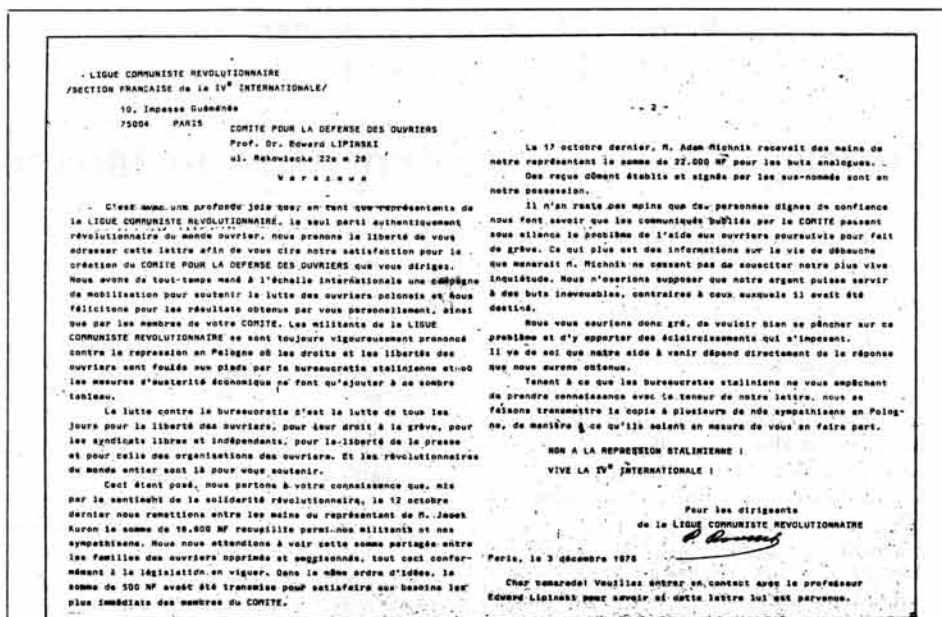
### Hunger Strikes in Soviet Camps

It is harder to judge how much resistance there is to bureaucratic dictatorship in the USSR. There are, however, indications of a rising wave of opposition.

Kronid Lyubarsky, a recently released dissident, has reported that a resistance movement has been operating for about two years in the labor camps and prisons. A January 21 Reuters dispatch from Moscow reported: "He said prisoners hold hunger strikes to mark an unofficial 'Political Prisoners Day' each Oct. 30, and had taken collective action against prison conditions."

When Vladimir Bukovsky was released and expelled from the Soviet Union in December, he reported that a hunger strike was in progress in Vladimir prison and called for international support for the participants. In the past the rise of resistance in the prison camps has marked the buildup of a general crisis. The strike at Vorkuta in 1953, for example, played a key role in forcing Stalin's heirs to resort to "de-Stalinization."

It has become clear that when representatives of mass working-class, socialist, and progressive public opinion throughout



Letter concocted by poison-pen specialists in Polish secret police. Rouge

## LCR Denounces Stalinist Forgery

[The following statement was issued January 13 by the Political Bureau of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist League). We have taken the text from the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* of the same date. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Caught with their hand in the cookie jar! We have caught the Polish police red-handed in a falsification. The document we have reprinted in this issue of *Rouge*, which was mimeographed on paper with a Dutch trademark, was sent about three weeks ago to various members of the Committee to Support Worker Victims of the Repression in Poland. It is a crude forgery, marked not only by errors in the French (although who doesn't make grammar mistakes?) but by the vices of a bureaucratic mentality.

This maneuver would be simply laughable if it had not been aimed at two activists in the Polish opposition, Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, in an attempt to blacken their reputations and discredit them in Poland. This, moreover, is not the first time the

the world speak out against Stalinist repression, they can force the bureaucratic bosses to retreat. Such protests strike at the bureaucracy's fundamental political defenses.

One of the most important factors in the consolidation of Stalinism was that most of the left either decided to go along with

Polish police have used such methods.

Three forged communiqués attributed to the Committee to Support Worker Victims have already been circulated, which tried to give the impression that the repression had been halted, that all the imprisoned workers had been released, and that those fired had been reinstated. Actually it was the contrary that was happening.

A forged letter purported to be from the writer Andrzejewski was circulated. It concerned sexual questions. Another letter turned up, purported to be from Lipinski, announcing that he had left the Committee. The English comrades of *International Socialism* were accorded the same honor as we. And finally, in a forged document supposed to come from the Polish Intellectuals Club in London, Adam Michnik was described as "an individual financed by a Jewish Masonic Lodge."

How low! But neither this campaign of forgeries, nor the intimidation constantly faced by the Committee's members has prevented the spread of the protest movement in Poland. For our part, we reaffirm our active and unconditional solidarity with the Committee to Support the Polish Workers.

the anti-Communism of its own bourgeoisie, or became convinced that its duty was to apologize for the Stalinist regimes. Clearly one of the main factors in the rapidly deepening crisis of the bureaucratic dictatorships is that those days are irrevocably coming to an end, and the bureaucrats more and more feel dangerously exposed. □



## Trotsky's Killer Reported Alive in Moscow

[We are publishing in full the following Reuters dispatch, which appeared in the January 17 issue of the *Washington Post* under the by-line of Chris Catlin. We have corrected obvious typographical errors.

[Some obscure aspects of the article should be noted. The source of the information is "two reporters" of unstated nationality who talked with the brother of the assassin. The date of the interview is not specified—the vague term "recently" is used. A curious fact is that the two unnamed reporters were not ordinary journalists. They were expert linguists. The brother, according to them, "speaks faultless Russian." They also spoke to him in Spanish and noted his Catalan accent.

[Chris Catlin states that the name of Trotsky's killer "is most probably Ramon Mercader. . . ." Why "probably"? Is the name of the brother "probably" Luis Mercader? If the two highly talented reporters actually talked with Luis Mercader what reason would they have to question the name of his infamous brother? Actually the identity of Trotsky's assassin was *proved* long ago.

[According to Catlin, Luis Mercader refused to answer whether his mother had been received by Stalin to be decorated with a medal for herself and her son in the assassination of Trotsky. Thus no new evidence is provided with regard to this long-rumored happening. Catlin says that this silence is "understandable," since "it could provide a new clue to the real reasons for the killing."

[But the real reasons were proved at the time of the assassination. In fact Trotsky himself had already explained in detail why Stalin was seeking his death.

[Catlin says that Ramón Mercader "refuses to meet reporters." Is this because of orders from the Kremlin? Catlin offers no information on this. What about Luis Mercader? Has the Kremlin approved his granting interviews to reporters? Again Catlin provides no information. In any case, Luis acts as if he were under orders not to speak about the assassination of Trotsky. Thus the article contains virtually no new information beyond the indirect evidence that Ramón Mercader is still alive. Most of the article consists of padding.

[Apparently the "two reporters" were able to discuss other topics with Luis Mercader. He dummed up only when the conversation started to "drift toward Trotsky's death." What other topics did the "two reporters" take up with Luis Mercader? These could possibly be of some interest. Why don't the "two reporters"

publish a full transcript of the tape of their interview—if a tape exists?]

\* \* \*

MOSCOW—He lives in seclusion at a secret Moscow address, drawing a Soviet pension and doing literary translation to keep his mind sharp.

With him is his wife, Rogelia, the Mexican woman he married after the assassination.

His name is most probably Ramon Mercader, but to many of his old friends he was Jacques Mornard, and to his victim he was Frank Jacson.

History knows him as the man who killed Leon Trotsky.

What little can be found out about his twilight existence in Moscow comes from his younger brother, Luis Mercader, who lectures at a Moscow radio communication institute. Even he is reluctant to talk.

"So much has been written about us, and much of it consists of fairy tales and rubbish," the younger Mercader complained recently to two reporters who called at his apartment.

It has been 16 years since Ramon left Mexico for Moscow after serving in full a 20-year prison sentence for murdering Stalin's arch enemy.

He has changed little in appearance, his brother Luis says, from the way he looks in a prison photograph from 1955, which showed him as a full-faced, bespectacled man who could pass unnoticed in any crowd.

Now 62, he has spent some of the time since his release in Czechoslovakia, but at present he lives mostly in Moscow.

He speaks Russian, but still makes mistakes, and his children are Soviet citizens.

Ramon Mercader has probably been interrogated and questioned as much as any other man alive. Psychiatrists alone spent 900 hours probing his personality after the murder.

He was interviewed once in Prague in the 1960s but would not talk about anything that happened before Aug. 20, 1940, the day he buried an ice axe in Trotsky's skull. In Moscow he refuses to meet reporters.

His brother Luis, who is nine years his junior, is just as cautious whenever the conversation starts to drift toward Trotsky's death.

He smiles and dodges the question when asked if it is true that their mother, Caridad, whom Western historians accuse of playing an important role in the assassination, was later received by Stalin

and decorated for herself and her son.

Luis puts the assassination down to what he calls a power struggle, and insists that Trotsky was no better morally than his opponents. "We were pawns," he says. "That is something you only realize later in life."

His silence on the question of his mother's reception by Stalin is understandable—it could provide a new clue to the real reasons for the killing.

Ramon Mercader testified that he was no more than a disillusioned Trotskyite who turned against his master. The same version was spread by the Stalinist press.

Western historians like Robert Conquest, one of the experts on the Stalin era, see the whole thing as a successful plot by the NKVD, Stalin's secret police.

They say the assassination was masterminded by a high NKVD officer known as Leonid Eitingon, who had been Caridad Mercader's lover since the civil war in Spain.

According to Conquest, Caridad Mercader and Eitingon both waited in cars near Trotsky's villa at Coyoacan, outside Mexico City, while Ramon Mercader went inside.

Ramon Mercader had gotten to know the exiled Bolshevik through his girl friend, an American Trotskyite called Sylvia Agelof.

He gained entrance to Trotsky's office that day on the pretense of showing him an article he had written. The ice pick was in his raincoat pocket.

But the blow, though struck by an experienced mountaineer used to handling a pick, was not immediately lethal. Trotsky let out a scream that the assassin

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later described as "prolonged and agonized."

Guards rushed in and seized Mercader. Trotsky was operated on, and survived until the following day.

Luis Mercader says he and his mother came to the Soviet Union in 1939 after the

Spanish Civil War.

He has been here ever since and speaks faultless Russian. But when he switches to Spanish there is a clear trace of Catalan in his accent, recalling his childhood in Barcelona, where he and Ramon were born.

Their mother, who knew as much as anybody about what really happened, died in Paris in 1975.

Her death left Ramon as the only surviving prime source of information. If what his brother says is true, he intends to take the full story with him to the grave. □

## Expulsion From GDR 'Absolutely Disgraceful'

# Biermann Case Stirs Ferment in French CP

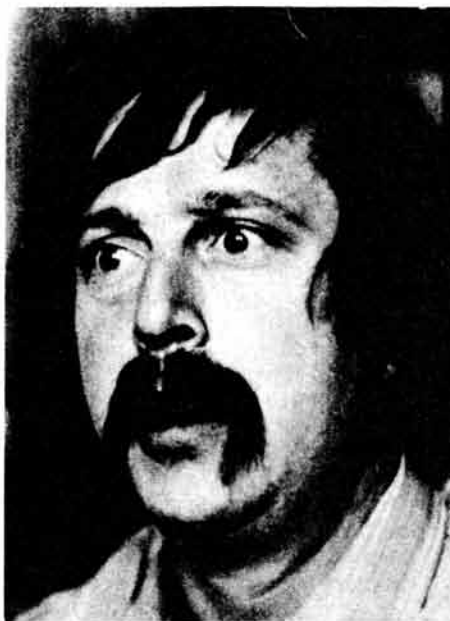
[In its December 10 issue, the Paris daily *Le Monde* published a guest editorial on the Wolf Biermann case by Raymond Jean, a writer, a member of the French Communist party, and a member of the France-Democratic Republic of Germany Friendship Society. The text of this editorial follows. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

In Chile, Wolf Biermann would surely have had his hands cut off and been murdered, like Victor Jara. In West Germany, as a Communist, he cannot hold any job in public service (anyway, he is not interested in this). As a "critical Communist" in the German Democratic Republic, he has been stripped of his citizenship and shut out of the country. Has some peculiar fate come to plague singers, composers, and musicians? Recently, in Moscow, Pyotr Starchik was committed to a psychiatric hospital—for the second time, too—because he had based several songs on the poems of Ossip Mandelstam and Marina Tsetaeva, and had performed them for friends.

In Prague, as we are all aware, four songwriters, singers, and musicians—Ivan Jirous, Pavel Zajicek, Svatopluk Karasek, and Vratislav Brabenec—all artists or students, have recently been sentenced to long prison terms for devoting themselves to pop music and organizing combos such as the "Plastic People." It is as if song were particularly unbearable for certain systems, perhaps because it is too associated with freedom, or with joy, or maybe just because it makes too much noise. Sadly, we sometimes find that this is true of political systems whose purpose is to prepare the way for a song-filled tomorrow.

In fact, the case of the composer Wolf Biermann is much more perplexing than the other such cases because of the fact that at the age of seventeen, he chose to go to East Germany, became a member of the Communist party, intended to remain one, and keeps repeating today that his choice was an irrevocable one. So, what fault do they see in his lieder and his guitar? Is it



Der Spiegel

BIERMANN

his singing about bureaucracy and Stalinist practices? Is it his singing for the socialism of freedom? Is it perhaps the label of "critical Communist," that he has pinned on himself that is what they really find intolerable?

If it is this label that they object to, they had better understand that tomorrow's Communists will all be critical-minded, if they are not yet today (that is the way Communists should be, by nature and definition). This is true inasmuch as the term now implies—every time freedom of expression, freedom of artistic or literary creation, or freedom pure and simple is in question—taking a hard look at all those things that must, without fail, be reexamined in the socialist countries. This is not because there are any Communists ignorant enough of history to believe that these questions have not been raised before, or that the unfolding of the political process that led to socialism in various countries did not involve, at this or that juncture,

restrictions on freedom demanded by the class struggle or a revolutionary transformation. Rather it is because it is no longer possible today to take a neutral position or keep silent about unacceptable practices, which, frozen and perpetuated by bureaucracy, have become habits and abuses, and which are completely unjustifiable and unacceptable in those countries where socialism has brought about countless positive changes. To denounce such practices whenever necessary—and to denounce them from within—that is surely what it means to be a critical-minded Communist.

This is what Wolf Biermann does. His staunch loyalty to socialism and to the German Democratic Republic has never been in doubt, and his political commitment is among the most exemplary. It is absolutely disgraceful that he has been deprived of his citizenship and shut out of his country by means of an underhanded maneuver that lacks even the virtue of frankness. I do not think it is sufficient just to say that in France, at a corresponding political stage, such a thing could not happen because the position of the French Communist party on such questions is becoming clearer every day. It is necessary to add that we totally disapprove of this where it has happened and as it has happened.

I say this with special firmness, since I have many friends in the German Democratic Republic. The university I belong to has a sister university there. Two of my books will be published next January by a large publishing firm in East Berlin. I recently had the honor and pleasure of welcoming to France Heinrich Keisch, general secretary of democratic Germany's Pen Club. I therefore feel a special obligation to add my voice to those of the German poets, artists, and professors who have protested this incident. It is time to start marking out what we want and what we do not want in socialism today and tomorrow by raising a "critical" alarm when necessary. I hope that Biermann will sing in the German Democratic Republic, like Joan Baez in America during the Vietnam War, like Theodorakis in free Greece, and Jara in the Chile of the People's Unity government. □



## Behind Gandhi's Call for Elections

By Ernest Harsch

One and a half years after the suppression of virtually all democratic rights in India, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has initiated a few cosmetic changes in the form of her dictatorial rule.

Demagogically proclaiming her "unshakable faith in the power of the people," Gandhi announced January 18 that parliamentary elections would be held in March. In an eight-minute national broadcast, she claimed that there had already been a "gradual easing" of the restrictions under the state of emergency. She quickly added, however, that the state of emergency itself had not been lifted.

Her announcement was the signal for a flood of praise from government officials throughout the country. The comments of Y.S. Parmar, the chief minister of the state of Himachal Pradesh, were typical. "This decision," he said, "has established beyond any shadow of doubt that Mrs. Gandhi has total commitment to democratic principles and unshakable faith in the supreme sovereign power of the people."

Gandhi's alleged "commitment to democratic principles" aside, her "relaxation" of the state of emergency and the calling of elections are little more than an attempt to give her authoritarian and repressive rule the appearance of democracy.

In an interview published in the November 1, 1976, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, an Indian Trotskyist predicted just such a shift in Gandhi's stance. He said that the regime might "stage an extremely rigged election," in which it would "permit the various parties to compete in the elections, but against a background of press censorship and of paralyzing their mass bases."

He concluded, "The pattern has been set. It will be the same system, but with a symbolic election."

It will be impossible for any party to wage an unhindered electoral campaign against Gandhi's ruling Congress party, even under a "relaxed" state of emergency. The press is still subject to censorship and many political prisoners still rot in Gandhi's jails. Moreover, the regime's wide powers of repression, including that of arbitrary arrest, can only have an intimidating effect on candidates and campaign activists.

Even if the state of emergency is formally lifted for the occasion, there will be little change. Many of the "temporary" repressive measures imposed under the state of emergency in June 1975 have since been written into law.

### George Fernandes Denounces 'Sham Elections'

Gandhi's call for elections has been denounced as a fraud by George Fernandes, a leader of the left wing of the Socialist party and one of the most prominent political prisoners in India.

In a letter from prison addressed to the National Committee of the SP, he said, "The emergency continues, the press stays muzzled, the radio, television and other media are used to sing glories of mother and son [Indira and Sanjay Gandhi], the sword of the Internal Security Act continues to hang over the heads of all political workers who may dare criticize her, and, as of today, activists of political parties continue to rot in jail."

In direct opposition to the SP's decision to participate in the elections, Fernandes called on all opposition parties to boycott the "sham elections" and "to deny Mrs. Gandhi the legitimacy she is trying to secure through illegitimate means."



GEORGE FERNANDES

A series of constitutional amendments adopted in December give Parliament (which is controlled by the Congress party) the power to pass any further amendments it wants without judicial review and to ban any vaguely defined "antinational" activities or organizations. It also bars lower courts from ruling on the constitutionality of such draconian measures as the Maintenance of Internal Security Act and the Defense of India Rules, empowers the central government to send troops into any of India's twenty-two states without the prior request of the state government, and gives the president the power to unilaterally amend the constitution at the prime minister's request.

In the November 11, 1976, *Washington Post*, correspondent John Saar quoted a constitutional lawyer's assessment of the amendments: "It's a permanent institutionalization of the emergency, . . . democratic in form, dictatorial in content."

On January 20, the regime announced that the censorship measures under the state of emergency were being lifted. But Gandhi is still armed with an ordinance

that permanently prohibits the publication of any "objectionable matter," including anything that is "defamatory" to the country's top officials.

Commenting on the announcement in the January 21 *New York Times*, correspondent William Borders said, "Apparently the new goal for the Indian press is to be self-control. . . ."

Another part of Gandhi's new stance has been to create the impression that many of the political prisoners arrested since June 1975 have been released. While a number of conservative opposition leaders, such as Morarji Desai, Asoka Mehta, L.K. Advani, and Pilloo Mody have been freed, thousands of lesser-known political prisoners have not.

In a January 5 letter to the *New York Times*, a political prisoner in Bombay described this operation. "A few opposition leaders," the prisoner wrote, "including members of Parliament, have been set free to create the impression of 'relaxation.' But the overwhelming majority of dissidents—estimated at around 65,000—are still in

custody in some 500 prisons under abominable conditions."

The Gandhi regime's tactic, the prisoner continued, "is to release one or two prisoners each day to bolster the claim that normal democratic conditions are being restored."

Since then, Gandhi has decided to step up the "relaxation" operation. It was announced January 20 that state authorities had been instructed to "expedite" the release of political prisoners. How many will benefit from this move remains to be seen.

One of the reasons for Gandhi's decision to call the elections is to refurbish her regime's "democratic" image internationally. She hinted as much in her broadcast when she said that the elections would "uphold the fair name of India as a land committed to the path of reconciliation, peace and progress."

Another factor that may have influenced Gandhi's decision has been the signs of rising unrest in recent months. There have been a number of mass protests against her policies of forced sterilization and of slashing workers' traditional year-end bonuses. Rising unemployment and an inflation rate of 22 percent could fuel even greater struggles in the near future.

By calling the elections, Gandhi may be seeking to defuse this discontent by diverting it into a carefully controlled and circumscribed electoral campaign. To pull the maneuver off, however, she requires the cooperation of at least some of the opposition parties to play the role of a shackled parliamentary opposition.

Her first significant overture toward the opposition parties came in a December 23 letter to Asoka Mehta, the president of the conservative Organisation Congress (Congress [O]). She told Mehta that "it would not be impossible to find solutions to the problems between opposition and Government." She also urged them to show "a genuine acceptance of the changes that have taken place" since June 1975.

To encourage such "acceptance," she has released from prison a number of top leaders of the Congress (O), as well as of the Hindu chauvinist organization Jan Sangh, the rightist Bharatiya Lok Dal (BLD—Indian People's party), and the Socialist party. The fact that the regime has the power to rearrest these same leaders any time it chooses could weigh heavily in their response to Gandhi's overture.

These four parties have already downplayed their call for an end to the state of emergency. And following Gandhi's announcement, Morarji Desai, a former deputy prime minister and now a central leader of the Congress (O), said, "I am sure this sudden declaration of an election will benefit not the Prime Minister but the nation, which is the only important thing." He then lamely added, "I hope it will be a fair election."

The leaders of the Congress (O), BLD, Jan Sangh, and Socialist party announced after Gandhi's speech that they would form a joint front to run in the elections.

An official of the Home Ministry has stated that "public meetings for normal political activity and electioneering purposes should be allowed freely." But to make it clear that the opposition parties would not be allowed to get out of hand, Gandhi said during her speech that only "legitimate" activities would be permitted. She also added that this applied to

"recognized parties," indicating that those parties not favored with this designation would face even more difficulties.

Gandhi's key warning, however, was not directed at the opposition parties, but at the masses, lest they misread the "relaxation" moves as permission to resume their struggles unhindered.

"May I remind you," she said, "that the emergency was proclaimed because the nation was far from normal. Now that it is being nursed to health, we must insure that there is no relapse." □

## Indian Workers Strike Against Bonus Cuts

By Pankaj Roy

NEW DELHI—The Gandhi regime's latest attack on the practice of paying bonuses to workers has resulted in widespread discontent and strikes in several important industrial centres in India.

The organised workers movement in India has always fought for the payment of bonuses as "deferred wages." After long struggles they won this demand. Both the Bonus Commission and the Supreme Court have recognised it as a "deferred wage."

The Bonus Act of 1965 provided for the payment of an obligatory minimum bonus of 4 percent, irrespective of a company's losses or profits. The regime raised this minimum to 8.33 percent in 1972. Industrial tribunals during the past three decades have taken the view—upheld by the Bonus Commission—that since regular wages of industrial workers are far below the level of a living wage, a sizeable lump payment was necessary every year to meet their expenses.

Gandhi's Bonus Act of 1975 wiped out all these gains of the working class in one stroke. It abolished the provision for a guaranteed minimum bonus. Last year the minimum bonus was slashed from 8.33 percent to 4 percent.

The Trotskyists of the Communist League of India, Indian section of the Fourth International, issued a brochure at the time warning that even this 4 percent would be slashed if the workers and the central trade unions did not resist this attack on their living standards. That has now happened.

The Gandhi regime has nullified many existing long-term bonus settlements. In the case of the bonus agreement between the Life Insurance Corporation and its employees, the regime went so far as to pass a special law in Parliament repudiating the settlement.

The regime now links the payment of bonuses with productivity and "allocable surpluses," which can be defined in such a way that many workers get no bonuses at all.

Despite the state of emergency and the

timidity of the central trade unions, considerable and widespread labor unrest has developed over the bonus issue.

A big textile workers strike began in Bombay October 15 and lasted until October 18. The strike was total in about thirty textile mills. Building up to the strike, a "bonus week" had been organised October 9-16. Because of the state of emergency, there were no mass meetings, speeches, or articles in the newspapers. Reports indicate that the initiative for the actions came from the workers. Local mill committees were formed.

Two state ministers failed in their efforts to halt the strikes, so the chief minister of Maharashtra stepped in to prevent the strikes from spreading.

Earlier, workers in West Bengal observed August 30 as a "bonus day." According to a report in the October 30 issue of the Bombay *Economic and Political Weekly*, the bonus movement in West Bengal was widespread. About 200,000 plantation workers participated in a token strike September 11. These protest actions have spread to almost all major industrial sectors in West Bengal. West Bengal's labor minister is reported to have advised employers to pay Puja (a West Bengal holiday) advance to employees in place of the bonus.

The labor minister in the state of Kerala was reported to have issued a similar directive to all employers to pay an Onam festival bonus to employees, regardless of the employers' profit level.

The Trotskyists of the Communist League of India have intervened in these ongoing struggles wherever they have some influence. They have issued a call for the formation of factory committees to coordinate workers' struggles to demand the repeal of Gandhi's new bonus laws, the restoration of a minimum bonus of 8.33 percent as a "deferred wage," and the opening of the employers' account books to the workers.

November 27, 1976



# How Havana Viewed the War in Angola

Based on numerous interviews conducted in Cuba, Colombian author Gabriel García Márquez has written an extensive account of the Cuban involvement in the Angolan civil war. The official Cuban news agency, Prensa Latina, published it in full and distributed several large extracts January 9. The *Washington Post* ran a translation of part of García Márquez's account in its January 10-12 issues.

According to the *Washington Post*, "His article is, in effect, the first Cuban-authorized version of the Angolan civil war."

It is also of interest because it makes public for the first time some of Washington's hidden moves to block Cuban participation in the civil war. According to García Márquez, these included the Ford administration's threat to bombard the airport in Georgetown, Guyana, if Cuban troop planes continued to be allowed to refuel there en route to Angola.

In outlining the background to Cuba's involvement, García Márquez noted Havana's earlier aid to freedom fighters in Africa, particularly Che Guevara's guerrilla activities in the Congo (now Zaïre) from April to December 1965. "Cuba's act of solidarity with Angola was far from a casual or impulsive act," García Márquez said, "but rather the end result of a continuous policy toward Africa by the Cuban revolution."

Contacts between the Cuban leadership and one of the three main Angolan liberation groups, the MPLA,<sup>1</sup> began as early as August 1965, according to García Márquez. The following year, MPLA leader (and now the president of Angola) Agostinho Neto visited Cuba. A number of Angolans also studied in Cuba, including the present finance minister and the head of the military academy.

Echoing similar characterizations that have appeared in the Cuban press, García Márquez termed the MPLA "Angola's oldest liberation movement and the only one with a broad popular base. . . . It offered a social, political and economic program that suited the country's conditions. . . ."

During the collapse of Portugal's colonial empire in 1974 and 1975, the MPLA and the two other major nationalist groups, the FNLA and UNITA,<sup>2</sup> began a bloody factional struggle for power. The

MPLA, García Márquez wrote, was "in the weakest military position" of the three groups.

"In May 1975, as the Portuguese were getting ready to pull out of their African colonies, Cuban Commandant Flavio Bravo met Agostinho Neto in Brazzaville [in the Congo Republic], and Neto requested help with shipment of arms and asked about the possibility of further specific aid. As a result, Commandant Raúl Díaz Argüelles led a civilian Cuban delegation to Luanda three months later. Neto was more precise. . . . He asked Cuba to send instructors to open and run four military training camps. . . ."

"Only on July 16, 1975, when Cuba had received the first aid request from the MPLA, did Castro ask Portugal's Col. Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho . . . to arrange Portuguese permission for Cuban aid to Angola. During that visit to Havana, Carvalho promised to see to it, but his answer had not yet arrived." Thus when the Cuban instructors arrived in Angola in October "they docked without anyone's permission—but also without anyone's opposition."

Following the South African intervention in the civil war against the MPLA in late October, Havana decided to step up its aid to the MPLA, with the dispatch of large numbers of Cuban troops and arms. García Márquez summarized some of the political factors that influenced that decision:

"The possibility that the United States might intervene openly, rather than through the mercenaries and South Africa as it had been doing for some time, was obviously one of the most disturbing unknowns. But a rapid analysis suggested that at least Washington would think twice about doing so:

"It had just freed itself from the morass of Vietnam and the Watergate scandal. It had a President no one had elected. The CIA was under fire in Congress and low-rated by public opinion. The United States needed to avoid seeming—not only in the eyes of African countries, but especially in the eyes of American blacks—to ally itself with racist South Africa. Beyond all this it was in the midst of an election campaign in its Bicentennial year.

"Furthermore, Cuba was sure it could count on solidarity and material aid from the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, although it was also aware of the implications its action might hold for

Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

the policy of peaceful coexistence and international detente.

"It was a decision of irreversible consequences, too large and complex to be resolved in 24 hours. Nonetheless, the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba had only 24 hours to decide, and it decided without flinching, in a large, calm meeting on Nov. 5. Far from what has so often been said, it was an independent and sovereign act of Cuba. Only after the decision was made, not before, was the Soviet Union informed."

The stepped-up aid to the MPLA began November 7 when 650 special forces, under the direct command of the Cuban Ministry of the Interior, were sent to Angola on an old Bristol Britania turboprop plane. Other units soon followed. The planes stopped in the Barbados islands for refueling.

García Márquez described Washington's attempts to sabotage Havana's aid operation:

"The United States noted the Britanias' weak point: their range.

"When Washington got the Barbados to bar refueling stops, the Cubans set up a transatlantic flight from Holguin, at the eastern end of Cuba, to the island of Sal, in Cape Verde." But "to avoid endangering defenseless Cape Verde," Havana soon attempted an intermediate solution by making a stop in Guyana.

In a classic example of gunboat diplomacy, Washington again intervened: ". . . Texaco, which holds the fuel contract in Guyana, refused to sell the fuel. Cuba tried to resolve this by sending a shipload of gasoline to Guyana, but through some incomprehensible accident the fuel was contaminated with water and dirt.

"Despite these bitter setbacks, the government of Guyana was firm in its solidarity toward the Cubans until the ambassador of the United States personally threatened it with the bombardment and destruction of the airport at Georgetown."

Despite these obstacles, the Cubans made 101 flights to Angola by the end of the war.

Cuban troopships were also subject to American harassment. García Márquez wrote that they "were the target of all sorts of provocations by North American destroyers, which followed them for days on end, and by war planes that buzzed them and photographed them."

"Cuban aid," García Márquez said, "reached such a level that at one point there were 15 Cuban ships on the high seas bound for Luanda." In addition, the MPLA had a squadron of Soviet MIG-17s with Cuban pilots, but it was held in reserve to be used only in the defense of Luanda itself.

García Márquez also described in glowing terms Castro's intense interest in the progress of the campaign in Angola:

"Fidel Castro himself was keeping up to date on the smallest details of the war. He

1. Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

2. Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (Angolan National Liberation Front) and União

Solidarity With Lebanese and Palestinian Masses!



Washington Post

[The following statement was issued December 21 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. We have taken the text from the January 13 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat.]

\* \* \*

For years American imperialism has been waging a determined military and political struggle against the Palestinian resistance with the aim of eliminating the major obstacle the resistance represents on the road to the imperialist reorganization of the Arab region. This counterrevolutionary undertaking was carried through in Jordan in 1970-71 by Hashemite reaction. In Lebanon, last base of independent action of the Palestinian fighters, the combined efforts of the Zionist army, the bourgeois army, and the reactionary Lebanese militias all failed between 1969 and 1975. It was then that American imperialism resorted to the hand that had been extended to it by the ruling Baathist regime in Damascus. This regime, after forging a close alliance with the Hashemite monarchy beginning in spring 1975, proposed the following deal to U.S. imperialism: Syrian repression of the Palestinian resistance and the Lebanese left in exchange for American acceptance of Syrian hegemony in Lebanon and American promises to work for a political settlement of the Arab-Zionist conflict that would preserve the interests of the Baathist regime.

The Syrian attempt suffered two successive defeats in March and June 1976. Each

attempt was broken by the rising movement of the Lebanese and Palestinian masses assembled in a united front. The compromise between the Baathist regime and the alliance of the bourgeois Palestinian leadership and the Egyptian-Saudi axis then became inevitable. The Syrian offensive in the Lebanese mountains in September-October 1976 was waged in preparation for a compromise, with the aim of acquiring a position of strength. The Riyadh accords, concluded in October 1976 between the Egyptian, Saudi, Kuwaiti, Syrian, and Lebanese ruling classes and the Palestinian leadership, are the expression of this compromise: the Syrian occupation of Lebanon was approved and legitimized on condition that it preserve the traditional conservative leadership of the Palestinian resistance while further pressuring this leadership in its rightward evolution. The Syrian army was officially charged with strangling the living forces of the Palestinian resistance and with muzzling the Lebanese masses in preparation for an Arab-Israeli political settlement which the Arab ruling classes are trying to obtain under conditions that would soothe their political fears. It is this double operation that is now under way in the Arab East.

The Fourth International, hailing its Lebanese section, which paid for its participation in the fight of the Lebanese and Palestinian masses with the martyrdom of five of its comrades, commits itself to actively supporting the struggle of these masses for the achievement of these objectives:

Immediate withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon!

Total freedom of action for the Palestinian fighters!

Complete democratic rights for the Lebanese masses!

It is now more evident than ever that the only road to the salvation of the Palestinian resistance and the Arab revolution is the extension of the struggle to the whole of the Arab masses against the closing of ranks of Arab reaction.

Down with the conspiracy of Arab reaction, Zionism, and imperialism!

Long live the resistance of the Lebanese and Palestinian masses!

Long live the Arab socialist revolution!

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was at the sendoff for each troop ship, and before it sailed he would call together the combat units in the theater at the Cabana [Hotel]. He sought out the commanders of the special forces battalion that went on the first flight, and drove them to the steps of the plane in his Soviet-made jeep. It is probable that then and in every one of the other farewells, Castro had to hide an envy for those going off to a war he could not be in.

"By then, there was not a spot on the map of Angola that he could not identify, not a quirk of the land that he did not know by heart. So intensely and meticulously did he follow the war that he could cite any statistic of Angola as if he were talking about Cuba. He spoke of Angola's cities, its customs and its people as if he had lived there all his life."

The Cuban alliance with the MPLA forces was not without its difficulties, however. Garcia Márquez said that Angola's "cultural backwardness left by half a millenium of soulless colonialism . . . posed the greatest obstacle to a decisive integration between the Cuban troops and the armed people of Angola. . . ."

"At first, the black Africans, conditioned by generations of resentment against the Portuguese, were hostile to the white Cubans."

According to Garcia Márquez, the Cuban press had not published any mention of Havana's participation in the war for security reasons. But, on December 22, "at the closing of the party congress, Cuba gave its first official indication that it had troops in Angola."

"After mid-March," Garcia Márquez wrote, "the South African troops began their retreat. . . ."

"On April 1, at 9:15 a.m., the advance of the MPLA troops under the command of Cuban commandant Leopoldo Cintras Frias arrived at the dam at Raucana, next to the chicken-wire fence marking the frontier with Namibia. An hour and a quarter later the South African governor of Namibia, . . . accompanied by two of his officers, asked permission to cross the border to begin talks with the MPLA.

"Commandant Cintras Frias received them in a wooden shed in the 10-yard-wide neutral strip between the two countries, and the two groups gathered around a large dining table. . . ."

"Agreement took only two hours to reach. . . ."

Following the MPLA victory in the civil war, Castro and Neto met in Conakry, Guinea, to discuss a program for the withdrawal of Cuban troops. "They decided that the withdrawal would be gradual but that as many Cubans as needed would remain in Angola as long as needed to build a modern and strong army, able to guarantee the future internal security and independence of the country without outside help. . . ." □





Delegates voting at sixteenth annual convention of Young Socialist Alliance.

Bruce Marcus/Militant

## Set Campaign to Get U.S. Out of Southern Africa

# 700 Attend American Young Socialists Convention

By David Russell

Two major campaigns were approved by the delegates at the sixteenth annual convention of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the American Trotskyist youth organization, held in Chicago December 31-January 2.

It was agreed that a drive to get the U.S. out of southern Africa would be initiated, and that the YSA would bring to the campuses and high schools the perspective of a fighting feminist movement that can turn back the growing attacks on the rights of women.

Cathy Sedwick, who reported to the convention on the freedom struggle in southern Africa, said at a news conference January 1, "We believe the 26 million college and high school students in the United States can initiate a movement like the antiwar movement that forced the government out of Vietnam."

In her report, Sedwick noted that American imperialism "is one of the major props of the white-minority regime" in South Africa. She pointed to the call by the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) for actions across the country on March 25-26 to protest Washington's aid to the apartheid regime, saying that this is "an important first step toward building the nationwide movement needed to get the U.S. out of southern Africa."

Exiled South African poet Dennis Brutus, who spoke at the convention rally, said of these actions: "I hope you will commit yourselves, wherever you are, to so massive and so impressive a demonstration of solidarity that this too—like your

legal battle [against government spying]—will be a turning point in the struggle against racism, exploitation, and imperialism everywhere."

Tsietsi Mashinini, the former president of the Soweto Students Representative Council, sent a tape-recorded message from London to the convention. The exiled South African freedom fighter also stressed the importance of the March 25-26 protests. He said:

I would like to take this time to send greetings to the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Your convention is an important gathering of students, because just as students in Soweto played a role in sparking mass struggles this summer in South Africa, militant students in the United States have played and can play such a role in America.

South Africa is key to the international situation and to the freedom of Black people the world over. It is your responsibility as revolutionary students in America to build a movement in solidarity with the struggle of South African Blacks and against U.S. complicity with the bloodthirsty, barbaric South African regime.

When I return to America this spring to tour the country, I hope to find you all supporting the national demonstrations called by NSCAR for March 25-26.

Long live the South African revolution! Long live the Young Socialist Alliance! A luta continua! [The struggle continues!]

Greetings from Trotskyist groups abroad were brought in person by Natascha López of the Puerto Rican Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (Internationalist Workers League); Motoko Kurokawa of the Japanese Communist Youth; and Serge

Morin of the Canadian Young Socialists /Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

Trotskyist groups in Australia, Hong Kong, France, Iceland, Canada, and New Zealand sent greetings.

In one of the main reports to the convention, Nancy Brown, YSA women's liberation director and editor of the monthly *Young Socialist* newspaper, described recent attacks on women's rights in the United States. She noted that "1976 wasn't a good year for women."

Brown listed some of the reasons. "The Equal Rights Amendment [to the U.S. constitution] was defeated in four states. Legal abortion came under attack. Child-care centers were shut down. Affirmative-action programs were slashed. And maternity rights for working women and Social Security benefits for divorced women were struck down by the Supreme Court."

Growing numbers of women are being caught in the "Catch-22" situation created by capitalism. "It's almost impossible to get a good job because affirmative-action programs are being axed. If we have an unwanted pregnancy, it's harder and harder for us to get abortions.

"Then after we're literally forced into motherhood," Brown continued, "we can't get maternity benefits. And then we can't get child care because all the funds have been slashed."

Pointing to the women's rights meetings planned around the January 22 anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court decision

legalizing abortion, and the activities that will take place around International Women's Day on March 8, Brown said: "Women on the high school and college campuses can set an example of how to organize a response to the attacks on women's rights and show the way forward for the women's liberation movement."

In addition to these two central campaigns, YSA chapters will continue their work in defense of frame-up victims, against the death penalty, and against the cutbacks in education. They will continue to back minority admissions programs that improve educational opportunities for Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans. And the YSA will continue to support school desegregation struggles and trade-union struggles such as the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign to democratize the United Steelworkers union.

The work of the YSA over the past year was reflected in the composition of the convention. Of the 700 persons attending, 116 were from oppressed minorities—more than 16 percent of the total. Blacks alone made up 11 percent of the convention, and 45 percent of those in attendance were women.

Chuck Petrin, who was elected YSA national organizational secretary, reported that the YSA now has 800 members. This was a drop in membership from the last convention. Since that time, many YSA members who were also in the Socialist Workers party left the YSA to devote their energies to building the SWP. This was linked to a decision by the YSA to concentrate all of its forces on the campuses and high schools.

This division of labor between the YSA and the SWP was not organized without some initial confusion and problems, but, as Petrin explained, "it worked." More than 500 of the YSA's members are now students, compared to 300 at the last convention.

The convention voted to put fifteen Young Socialist teams on the road during the period of March through May in order to introduce the ideas of socialism to schools where the YSA has no chapters. During the past two years, Petrin reported, such YSA teams have sold and distributed tens of thousands of pieces of literature and recruited 400 new members to the socialist movement.

Rick Berman, the YSA's national organizational secretary during 1976, was elected national chairperson by the convention, and Cathy Sedwick was elected YSA national secretary. □

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## British Student Conference Meets in London

# Stalinists Side With Tories on Key Issues

By Skip Ball

LONDON—The December 10-13 national conference of the 800,000-member National Union of Students (NUS) met in the shadow of Britain's economic crisis and the failure of the traditional leadership of the working class to lead a fight against its effects.

The fact that austerity measures are being imposed by a Labour government has helped fuel the rise amongst students of the Federation of Conservative Students (FCS), financed by the Conservative party. The "Broad Left"—a coalition of Stalinists and left Social Democrats—held an absolute majority in the NUS for almost eight years. But its influence in British student politics has gradually been worn away by the FCS.

Three years ago, the FCS brought 12 delegates out of about 600 to the NUS conference. At the most recent gathering, they claimed to have 150, although they carried more delegates in conference votes. The Broad Left had less than a third of the 700 delegates.

Because the Broad Left has been unwilling to do more than encourage students to support the programme of trade-union bureaucrats and Labour Members of Parliament grouped around the *Tribune*,<sup>1</sup> the FCS has met some success in portraying their party as the answer to Labour's attacks on education. This, of course, has required glossing over the fact that every Labour government cut in social spending—each of which has singled out higher education for a large share<sup>2</sup>—has been met by the Conservatives with choruses of "more," and "not enough."

The failure of the Broad Left to involve students in an active defense of their right to an education has come in face of growing attacks on that right by the Labour government.

The Ministry of Education met the massive wave of student protests in May and June of last year with an announcement July 5 that student fees were going up to £650 for home and overseas students alike. The fees had previously been £265 and £416 respectively.<sup>3</sup> The government

reduced the increase for home students the week before the recent NUS conference, setting the level at £500, still a massive rise.

In a series of speeches on education in November and December, leading government figures, including Prime Minister James Callaghan himself, indicated they are in favour of a "rationalisation" of education to better suit the needs of industry. Although the government has yet to make any moves to implement these proposals, the December 10 London *Times Higher Education Supplement* reported that the government's main obstacle is its own cuts.

The response of the FCS to these cutbacks has been to call for the NUS to return to the days before 1969 when a constitutional ban on taking up political issues in the organisation was in force. In the November issue of their paper *Free Press*, the FCS call for an NUS which merely "formulates policy on national issues affecting students" for discussion with the government. "We must shift to a more apolitical presentation of the student case," the FCS argue.

Although in the past the Broad Left have stressed that their assumption of NUS leadership in 1969 was what paved the way to NUS taking political stances and doubling in size, they now appear to be heading the Tory call for an apolitical union.

At the NUS conference, scheduled debates on Southern Africa and on overseas students were dropped from the agenda by Broad Left and Tory votes. Debate instead focused on the financial collapse of NUS's discount travel and printing companies.

Besides joining forces to remove Southern Africa from the agenda, the Stalinist-Tory alliance gave a standing ovation to a call by the executive to back the Northern Ireland "peace women," although no debate on this question was provided for. Once again it was asserted that the demand for "Troops out now!" would lead to a bloodbath in Northern Ireland and that no one in the six counties wanted the troops removed.

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, who was proposed as a guest speaker to the conference, was denied the opportunity to counter the executive's lies when the motion to hear her was rejected 230 to 216. Both Tories and Stalinists opposed inviting her to speak. □

1. The paper of the Labour party left.

2. See *Intercontinental Press*, June 21, 1976, p. 971.

3. The increase to apparently equal levels is deceptive. Few British students pay fees themselves, these being paid by the government. Sixty-five percent of overseas students have to pay their own way, however.



### Testimony of an Argentine Torture Victim

María del Socorro Alonso's case is unique because she "survived to tell her story and is still willing to risk her life to denounce her experience," states the introduction to the nine-page testimony of a twenty-five-year-old Argentine woman imprisoned in Villa Devoto prison in Buenos Aires. "Otherwise, the story is now commonplace amongst Argentina's estimated 15,000 to 20,000 political prisoners, especially those suspected of guerrilla involvement."

Del Socorro gave the testimony on October 1, 1976. She had been arrested, along with Guillermo Oscar Segalli, on August 8 by two heavily armed men in civilian dress.

"We were put against the wall and searched, and then a patrol car was called by police radio," she said. "Four patrol cars appeared with a total of sixteen persons, who got out and began to hit us with their weapons and kick us."

The two were taken to a police station where they were beaten again. Then they were blindfolded and driven to an area where there were many persons.

"I heard them giving names and addresses. They said we were in an 'Army Command,' and we heard them talk among themselves using ranks such as 'Major' and 'Lieutenant,'" Socorro reported.

They made her take off her clothes and took her into a room with several other women.

"You could hear screeches and shouts; lots of people were stretched out on the floor; some were being brought in or out and you could hear that they were being beaten. . . . I peered through the cloth covering my eyes and saw that the people were tied hand and foot, people of different ages, young people and others of up to fifty years of age.

"The guard told us that he was a 'Captain' who was going to execute us."

Further threats and beating followed until Socorro was taken to make a "declaration."

"The shock treatment then began," she said. "When I tried to shout, I felt that I was strangling and that shocks covered my entire body. They applied shocks to my breasts, knees, elbows, and ankles while asking me where the weapons were and telling me that they were going to take my parents to a barracks in Campo de Mayo."

Campo de Mayo is Argentina's main military base. It is currently being used as a concentration camp for political prisoners.



ARGENTINE DICTATOR VIDELA

"They stopped the 'machine' and asked for the names of my parents and brother, how long they had been in the PRT [Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers party], and if one of my brothers-in-law had traveled to Tucumán. . . . They knew that a nephew had lived in my house and told me that he was being held as a hostage, and that they had been in my house and had burned my father's orthopedic leg."

After a second session of electric shocks, Socorro reported, "I returned to the room with the other detainees where I had been. My legs felt hard and my left arm didn't have any feeling left. I was hemorrhaging. . . . I asked the guard to help me; I was carried and kicked to the floor. I'm not sure whether I fainted or not, but I slept and woke up the next day at 7 o'clock when the guard changed. . . . I realized that I had a very high fever."

Beatings, electric shocks, and sexual assault were alternated with new interrogations, Socorro reported. When she insisted she could not give the information they were asking for ("I don't know where any weapons are"), an army major told her, "But, my child, everyone talks here; if not, we do them in. All of the people are in the

same boat you are, grown-ups and children, and they speak when they are told to."

Finally, she passed out from the torture. After she was revived, she was told to get up and dress. When she was unable to, she was carried along the passageway "back towards where we had just come from. We returned to the torture chamber as if nothing had happened. As before, they began to undress me, shouting that they had just given me the treatment. . . . They hit me in the kidneys because they couldn't get me to talk. I think there were three men at that time, but I couldn't be sure due to the fact that they changed their voices."

Socorro was tortured over and over again on the following days. She began to suffer epileptic seizures and fainting spells.

Commenting that "the tortures were of all kinds," she described the situation of some other prisoners:

- "During the following nights you could hear death screams in one of the 'tubes' in front of mine. A compañera told me that it was a man who had heart trouble and wasn't receiving medical attention because he didn't want to talk. A girl told me that it was her husband whose last name was Carranza. They told her that he was dead. She didn't know where her one-year-old son was. She was two months pregnant but supposed that, due to the hemorrhaging, she had lost the child."

- "We heard about a girl who was blinded in one eye. An eighty-nine-year-old man vomited constantly due to an ulcer. A woman said a man grabbed her while she was taking a bath and had an orgasm on her leg. She had been very badly tortured."

Finally, as arbitrarily as she had been arrested, María del Socorro Alonso was taken one morning to be fingerprinted, had her blindfold removed, and was put into the jail truck for transport to Villa Devoto prison. □

### South African Regime Praises Police, Promises Peace and Human Dignity

President Nicolaas Diederichs outlined the South African government's legislative program January 21, promising a course "that will secure peace and insure human dignity and opportunities for all."

But when it came to the struggle of the Black masses for human dignity, Diederichs commended the regime's police for having displayed "the utmost restraint" during the recent rebellions in the Black townships.

"It is to the credit of the South African police that they have maintained law and order at all times, to the benefit of all," Diederichs said. "May the message be brought home to everyone that violence offers no solution."

More than 400 unarmed demonstrators—according to the government's own figures—were killed by police during the mass protests that began in Soweto last year.

# Capitalism Fouls Things Up



## Puzzling Fishkill Off Florida Keys

Thousands of dead fish and turtles have been found floating in the Gulf of Mexico off the Florida Keys; but what caused their deaths is a mystery, according to an account in the December 21 *New York Post*.

The fishkill covered a 150-square-mile area about twenty to twenty-five miles northeast of Key West.

A state marine representative said: "There seems to be a large variety of fish—kingfish, tarpon, grouper, both bottom-feeding and top-feeding fish."

Water samples and some dead fish were flown to a Natural Resources Department laboratory in St. Petersburg for analysis. The results have not yet been reported in the press.

### Legitimate Suspicion

More than 1,150 birds were found dead in a New Jersey cornfield early in January. Officials said they did not know what had killed the birds, but suspected corn they had eaten had been contaminated by poison.

Fred Ferrigno of the New Jersey Division of Fish, Game and Shellfisheries said 544 redwinged blackbirds, 304 doves, 284 purple grackles, six cardinals, three black ducks, and a few cowbirds, woodcocks, quail, red-tailed hawks, and blue jays died.

### 3 Million Birds Destroyed

State agriculture officials succeeded in destroying three million blackbirds in a single spray attack on a south-central Kentucky roost, according to the January 15 *New York Post*.

The chemical, which was doused on the roosting birds, made their feathers incapable of repelling water. A long cold rain soaked them to the skin. Freezing weather did the rest.

Only about 2,000 starlings, grackles, cowbirds, and redwinged blackbirds survived the spraying operation, the first scheduled this year in Kentucky.

More than thirty million blackbirds migrate annually to Kentucky for the winter.

### Fuel Oil in the Seine

A Polish coal carrier collided with a

convoy of French fuel barges December 20, spilling as much as 58,800 gallons of oil into the Seine River between Le Havre and Rouen.

One of the barges sank. The freighter, the *Tobrouk*, was damaged slightly, but no injuries were reported.

Efforts were made to disperse the slick by dumping chemicals into the river.

### Oil Spill Averted in N.Y. Harbor

Clean-up technicians in New York Harbor snapped to attention January 13 when a small leak was discovered in the 875-foot *Harmonic*, a Liberian-registered super-tanker carrying twenty-five million gallons of heavy crude oil. The tanker was bound for an Exxon refinery in Linden, New Jersey.

Barges began to pump out the cargo, and containment booms were brought to the ship's anchorage in Gravesend Bay. However, the booms were not used because of the rapid tide and high winds.

Later the Coast Guard claimed that the leakage had stopped with only fifty gallons lost.

### For Kerosene Tasters

Communities in the state of New York that get their drinking water from the Hudson River were alerted by the Health Department January 11 to be on the alert for kerosene.

A tanker-barge carrying 18,000 gallons of aviation fuel was apparently punctured by ice and developed a leak.

"Booms to contain the oil were strung around the ship when it reached Glenmont," the Associated Press reported. "It was not known how much kerosene leaked out before that."

### St. Lawrence Dangerously Polluted

Fish with high levels of the toxic chemicals Mirex and PCBs have been discovered in the St. Lawrence River near Massena, New York.

As reported in the January 6 *New York Post*, the State Environmental Conservation Department found a smallmouth bass

with nearly three times the federal limit of Mirex, and another smallmouth with three times the acceptable level of PCBs.

Peter A. Berle, a commissioner of the department, was quoted as saying:

"I think there is no question that, from the data we have, accumulations of Mirex are high. Clearly, this is something the Health Department and we will have to work on."

The *Albany Times-Union* was of the opinion that the situation might lead to a ban on possession of smallmouth bass and white perch taken from the river.

### Lake Michigan 'a Giant Toilet'

In a suit filed by the states of Illinois and Michigan, the city of Milwaukee was charged January 11 by Joseph V. Karanganis, special assistant state attorney general, with having "literally constructed . . . a giant toilet" by dumping raw sewage into Lake Michigan.

Karanganis said that the sewage carried "tremendous potential for disease" that Chicagoans might contract by swimming in the lake.

He claimed that Milwaukee's two sewage treatment plants were "grossly inadequate" to handle the city's sewage. Lake currents carry the raw sewage both north and south, polluting beaches in Illinois and Michigan.

In addition, Karanganis said, the sewage had created "a dramatic and insidious change" in the lake.

### Trichinosis From Hamburger

Trichinosis has increased markedly in the United States, according to a government warning. Trichinosis is a parasitic disease usually associated with inadequately cooked pork products.

However, the latest report shows that hamburger, not pork, appears to be associated with a number of cases.

The cause is the presence of pork. This could come from carelessness in meat shops, or from the deliberate addition of pork scraps to hamburger.

The 285 cases of trichinosis reported in 1975 were nearly 2.5 times higher than the mean number of cases recorded during the previous five years.



# Selections From the Left



"Ergatike Pale" (*Workers Struggle*), weekly paper serving the interests of the working people. Published in Athens.

On December 14, Evangelo Mallios, a former secret police agent accused of torturing political prisoners under the dictatorship, was assassinated in Athens. After this incident, wall paintings appeared hailing the execution of Mallios. They were signed the "November 17 Group." The name refers to the date of the suppression of the mass student and worker uprising that began at the Polytechnic University in Athens in mid-November 1973.

Responsibility for the assassination in December 1975 of the CIA Greek office head Richard Welsh was also claimed in the name of the "November 17 Group." As a result of these two assassinations, the question of terrorism has become a political issue in Greece.

In its January 1 issue, *Ergatike Pale* publishes a special centerspread by D. Loustas arguing against individual terrorism as a method of revolutionary struggle.

Loustas writes that individual terrorism stands in diametrical opposition to the mass struggle against capitalism that Marxists call for.

"Individual terrorism shifts from the real social goals of the mass movement to a symbolic objective, which it chooses deliberately. It denies the mass struggle, which is preparing to drive a burning stake into the eye of the cyclops, and is content to throw burning splinters at the monster.

"We saw many examples of such ineffectual actions during the seven years of the dictatorship under the colonels. But all these acts of individual terrorism put together were only harmless splinters in comparison to the burning stake that the Polytechnic rebellion thrust into the eye of the junta."

## rouge

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

In the December 30 and 31 issues of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, the French Communist party's leading intellectual, Jean Elleinstein, wrote articles on Khrushchev's 1956 secret speech. He included criticisms of the way the French CP responded to the revelations at the time, such as denying that the speech had actually been made.

The party leadership's response to this was hardly more frank and honest than its

reaction to Khrushchev's embarrassing revelations. In headlines in its January 14 issue, *Rouge* summed up the wiggling of the CP leadership:

"The French CP and the Khrushchev Report—Twenty Years Later. December 14 on TV: 'We Didn't Know,' [CP leader] Kanapa said. December 30 *l'Humanité* Attacks Elleinstein: 'We Didn't Know.' Yesterday the CP Political Bureau Issues a Communiqué: 'We Knew But We Couldn't Say.'"

In the same issue of *Rouge*, Trotskyist leader Alain Krivine commented on the French CP's belated avowals in an editorial entitled "The Confession":

"We had to wait twenty-one years to get this confession. At last they have stopped talking about the 'report attributed to Comrade Khrushchev,' they admit that they knew about it, and that they lied to the party ranks and thus to the working class.

"Up till now the French CP leadership was willing to criticize others for their Stalinism as long as this did not oblige them to talk about their own past and present. Georges Marchais even told the Central Committee that the French CP had gotten off unscathed. Everyone remembers Jean Kanapa's statements on television [on December 14, 1976] when, without any shame, the best-informed person in the CP said that he had not known about Stalin's crimes.

"Today everyone is asked about the CP leadership's 'sincerity,' about the worth of its democratic statements. The Political Bureau's communiqué is rather eloquent in this regard. First it does not acknowledge the responsibility of the party leadership as such, but, by a dubious procedure, indirectly puts the blame on four members of the delegation of whom two are dead. Secondly, the document includes no self-criticism. Everything is justified by 'the conditions of the time.' Finally, it does not explain why scarcely two months ago, *l'Humanité* [the party's central organ] made an official reply to Elleinstein's criticisms that was a lie. That is, they did this at the very moment when, hand on heart, they have been telling us that this time of crimes and falsehoods was over."

Krivine concluded: "Under the pressure of its electoral base and its governmental ambitions, the French CP is continuing its slow evolution toward greater autonomy from the . . . Soviet Communist party. But on this question of Stalinism, there can be no halfway measures. The credibility of socialism in France requires a total condemnation of the Stalinist system root and branch and the putting forward of a plan for reorganizing society that will assure real freedom for the workers. And the only guarantee that a workers party can give in

this respect is to show today, in its day-to-day practice, what it means by workers democracy."



"October," weekly newspaper of the Marxist-Leninist Movements. Published in Helsinki, Finland.

The January 7 issue includes a letter by leading Finnish Trotskyist Pekka Haapakoski answering a charge that Trotskyists would serve as a fifth column of "social-imperialism" in the event of a war between Finland and the USSR. There is also a long article by the author of this charge responding to Haapakoski. Such a public exchange is a rarity in the press of groups that follow the Peking line as closely as do these Finnish Maoists.

Haapakoski writes: "In issue No. 30, 1976, of *Lokakuu*, a letter signed I.L. was published under the headline: 'Trotskyists Support Soviet Attack on Finland.' The writer referred to a conversation he had with a 'Finnish Trotskyist leader' . . .

"The argument was built up on an alleged statement—'I would really support a Soviet attack on Finland'—that was never made. On this basis, he says that the Trotskyist leader didn't bother to hide his intentions. In this leader's opinion, allegedly, the social imperialists had a right to invade Finland and presumably every other country."

"As Marxists," Haapakoski says in reply, "our first task in analyzing these two states and the relations between them is to assess their class nature. With respect to Finland, this task is easy. It is an imperialist country ruled by the bourgeoisie. With this ruling class, we have no common interests. As long as that is the case, we reject, with total consistency, any 'defense of the fatherland' at the side of our own bourgeoisie. Regardless of any war situation, regardless of who attacked and who was attacked, regardless of the nature of the attack, we agitate for the workers to turn their guns on their own bourgeoisie."

Therefore, Haapakoski says, if Finland became involved in an imperialist operation against the USSR, as it was in 1939 and in World War II, Trotskyists would not side with the Finnish bourgeoisie in defense of the country against the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, Haapakoski continued, the Trotskyists were opposed to any interference by the Soviet bureaucracy in the affairs of the Finnish working class or the working class in any other country. In the event that the Kremlin launched a war to block a revolutionary workers upsurge

from spreading to Eastern Europe, including Finland, Trotskyists would call for resistance.

In his answer, I.L. writes that Haapakoski's letter is an example of the way Trotskyist influence always serves to "split and sabotage anti-imperialist movements." He claims that fundamentally Haapakoski is trying to avoid taking a clear position toward the USSR as an imperialist power. Since the Soviet Union is imperialist in character, I.L. concludes, any attacks by it on Finland would be imperialist aggression, toward which only one attitude was possible, and anything else was confusionism at best.

## LIBERATION COURIER

*The official organ of the International Association of Filipino Patriots. Published monthly in Oakland, California.*

The first issue, dated December 1976, reports the formation of the International Association of Filipino Patriots (IAFP), which was founded at a conference in Toronto on October 31, 1976. Among the participants at the conference were representatives of the Progressive Filipinos of Québec, the Committee for Filipino-Canadian Understanding, and the International Support Committee, Philippines.

The magazine reports that "the IAFP will conduct educational and informational work to acquaint people throughout the world, particularly the American public, about conditions in the Philippines, the degree of U.S. complicity and responsibility in the country and the progress of the popular resistance."

## was tun

*"What Is To Be Done," weekly paper of the International Marxist Group. Published in Frankfurt, West Germany.*

After the protest of 30,000 persons November 13 in Brokdorf, West Germany, against the building of an atomic power plant there, a debate has arisen over how to build the movement against unsafe development of nuclear energy. Hamburg is the biggest city in the region where the atomic plants are to be concentrated. In the January 13 issue, a correspondent from this city took up the dispute.

"The [new] demonstration that has been planned at the Brokdorf building site can and must become a new high point in the struggle against atom plants. Unfortunately, it seems that not everyone in the Hamburg Initiative Group against the Atomic Power Plant . . . wants to see such a success. In particular, some comrades from the Kommunistische Bund [KB—Communist League, a Maoist group] and members of the KPD-RF [another Maoist group] have concentrated on sectarian infighting. . . .

"The strength of the Citizens Initiative Group lies above all in the fact that since it has a common concrete goal of struggle, it unites a broad spectrum of currents and individuals behind actions, and so it can carry out genuine mass actions. . . .

"This strength of the Citizens Initiative is also its weakness, because the common basis is very thin, and in the last analysis, is limited to the demand 'No atom plant in Brokdorf or anywhere else.'"

"The KB exploits this weakness . . . to propose a 'unification' in its own familiar style. It starts from the correct premise that stopping the plant in Brokdorf will not long block the atomic energy policy of the capitalists and the state. From this, the KB draws the false conclusion that it is not so important to orient the struggle around the building site, but rather to 'broaden the movement,' to politicalize it and direct it against the state's general approach."

In Hamburg, where the KB is a rather large group, it has been trying to turn the Citizens Initiative into a "political" movement by taking organizational control.

"The result of this method is always the same. The KB has 'united' a political movement behind itself, and can continue its operation without giving up the appearance of unity in action. In the case of the Brokdorf Initiative Group, this process is absolutely deadly. In Hamburg, the Brokdorf Initiative Group has long been a real example of unity in action. The KB is doing its best to reverse this positive development. . . .

"It is an illusion to believe that the movement against the atomic plant in Brokdorf can be broadened primarily through political propaganda. Such an illusion, furthermore, is dangerous, since it will end up splitting those who are ready to participate in the fight against the atomic plant in Brokdorf, but are not conscious of the political implications of their struggle. . . .

"The KB is raising an entirely false alternative—'a site occupation or a movement.' It says the concrete action at the building site has only a secondary importance. . . . The contrary is the case. The coalition of various political currents in a concrete action where they can acquire experience and recognize their errors . . . is what will make it possible to take up more far-reaching objectives. . . .

"The KPD-RF, and along with it a circle of unorganized leftists, have reacted against the KB's policy, understandably, but in the wrong way. . . . The KPD-RF and their allies want to 'unite' the movement in their own way by . . . leading a virtual military assault on the site."

In contrast to the approach of both Maoist groups, *Was Tun's* correspondent called for developing more democratic organization in the movement and improving its capacity to reach out and involve more people in action.

## NEISTI

*"Spark," published monthly in Reykjavik, Iceland, by the Revolutionary Communist League, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.*

The December 4 issue of *Morgunblaðidh*, a major Icelandic daily, carried the following heading: "Trotskyists Side With the Bosses." This was the heading over an article on the recent congress of the Icelandic union federation. It was based on an assertion by Edhvardh Sigurdhsson, a union leader representing the Althydhubandalag (People's Alliance, a party of Stalinist origin). What prompted the attack on the Trotskyists was that, at the union federation congress, they put forward a resolution calling for proportional representation in leading bodies.

In its December 15 issue, *Neisti* responds: "It is true that the League called for proportional representation. We have expressed this point of view in this paper and published a detailed article explaining our reasons in the November issue. We can give only a few examples here: What kind of democracy is it when, in accordance with the present rules, . . . a slate that gets 49 percent does not get a single representative in the leadership? There is another reason why our propaganda for proportional representation has gained scant support so far.

"The political parties have done away with competition by dividing up the national and local executives among themselves: 'If you vote for my county board, I'll vote for yours, and we'll divvy up the rest like buddies.' In this way, they cover up their peaceful coexistence in the labor movement. Proportional representation would mean that there would have to be political struggle. There would have to be different policies behind different slates and these policies would have to be discussed. . . .

"The conservatives, the Althydhubandalag, and other parties look with disfavor on the idea of proportional representation because it would mean upsets and even storms in their cozy nest. So, the representatives of the conservatives, the Althydhubandalag, and the Social Democrats fought with equal determination against the proposal that was put forward. . . .

"The tactic the conservatives once used was to propose that proportional representation be imposed by the national legislature. . . . But once they got into the national leadership, there was no further hint of this.

"We are going to continue our propaganda and struggle for political discussion in the unions. . . . And who is it, after all, Edhvardh, who is blocking with the conservatives here?"



# AROUND THE WORLD



## **Kurdish Rebels Executed in Iraq**

The International League for Human Rights charged January 14 that the Iraqi regime has executed 230 Kurdish rebels who returned to the country from refugee camps in Iran after a law promising them amnesty was passed. As many as 30,000 other Kurds who returned were put into concentration camps, according to a statement by the rights group.

Hundreds of thousands of Kurds fled into Iran after their rebellion for national autonomy in Iraq was crushed in 1975. But the Iranian regime, which has a restive Kurdish population of its own, used the amnesty law passed in Iraq as a pretext for the forcible expulsion of most of the refugees who were still in the country.

Those Iraqi Kurds who have not been executed or put into concentration camps have undergone other forms of oppression, the league statement charged. The Baghdad regime is attempting to eliminate as a distinct ethnic group the 2.5 million Kurds under its rule. In some historically Kurdish areas, for example, the Kurdish language has been forbidden in primary schools, although Kurdish is formally an official language in Iraq along with Arabic.

## **Thai Junta Shuts Down Newspaper**

The *Daily News*, Thailand's second largest newspaper, was closed down by police January 2 for printing articles critical of Interior Minister Samak Sundaravej. It was banned for an indefinite period and was the third newspaper shut down by the military regime in two weeks.

## **List of Missing Persons Grows Longer in Chile**

The Chilean Catholic Church has added twenty more names to its list of missing persons who have been "detained or kidnapped" since the September 1973 military coup. In a brief filed with the Chilean Supreme Court January 17, Episcopal Vicar Christian Precht said that the twenty persons had disappeared during the last four months of 1976. The church's list now contains 435 names. According to relatives of missing persons, the actual number is about 1,000.

Precht charged in the brief that "the disappearance or kidnapping of persons has become a tragically habitual occurrence in our country in recent years."

"Likewise," he added, "the discovery of

mutilated and unidentifiable bodies has become more and more frequent."

According to other church sources, about thirty unrecognizable bodies have been found in rivers and irrigation ditches since May. Many of them had their fingers cut off and arms tied with wire.

## **Italian Chamber of Deputies Passes Bill to Legalize Abortion**

On January 21 the lower house of the Italian legislature passed a bill that would legalize abortion. The bill, passed over bitter objections from the Catholic Church and the governing Christian Democratic party, is expected to be passed by the Senate as well, after which it would become law.

It would permit women over age sixteen to decide to terminate pregnancies during the first ninety days, and to have the operation free of charge under Italy's national health service.

## **French Newspaper Workers Stage National Strike**

For the fifteenth time in two years, newspaper workers in France called a national strike January 21. No newspapers appeared on the streets of Paris and many papers in the provinces were also shut down. Several thousand newspaper workers held a march in Paris. The strike was called to protest the arrest of nine unionists during another strike earlier in the week.

One of the factors behind the frequent newspaper strikes is rising unemployment, which has hit newspaper workers particularly hard. Although the national unemployment rate stands at 5 percent, it has risen to 14 percent among newspaper workers in the Paris area. This is due in part to the introduction of automation by a number of newspapers.

## **Virgil Tanase Expelled from Romania**

The name of Virgil Tanase, a Romanian novelist, has been added to the growing list of Eastern European artists and intellectuals who have been expelled from their countries for their nonconformist views. Tanase arrived in Paris in early January after the Romanian regime gave him a passport and warned him to leave. His wife and child have not yet been allowed to accompany him in exile.

In 1972, Tanase's novel, *Portrait of a*

*Man with a Scythe in a Marine Landscape*, was accepted for publication in Bucharest, but was cancelled at the last moment. "What upset the authorities," he said, "was not the content but the style." The novel was smuggled out of the country and published in Paris in October 1976. It was nominated for the Prix Medecis, which is given annually for the best foreign novel.

Tanase also had a job offer by a major provincial publishing house vetoed by the secret police and saw his production of Gogol's "Wedding" squelched by an inspector from the Culture Ministry.

Bucharest's expulsion of Tanase followed an interview he gave to the French literary weekly *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, in which he described his own situation and the restrictions on Romanian intellectuals in general.

## **Leningrad Police Disrupt 'Anti-Soviet' Art Show**

Oskar Rabin and other nonconformist artists were arrested January 16 in an attempt by authorities to halt an unofficial art exhibition in Leningrad. The show had been scheduled to coincide with the opening in London January 18 of an exhibition of nonconformist Soviet art at the Institute of Contemporary Arts.

Rabin said that he and his son were picked up as they left their apartment in Moscow to go to the event. They were released a few hours later. Other artists were arrested upon their arrival in Leningrad and sent back to Moscow. The Leningrad police also questioned local participants in the exhibition and warned them that the show was both illegal and "anti-Soviet."

## **Israel's Booming Arms Sales**

Since 1973, Israel has greatly increased its sales of arms abroad. Although much of the country's arms dealings are shrouded in secrecy and censorship, a number of countries have been cited in foreign press reports as customers, including Iran, South Africa, Taiwan, the United States, Honduras, Guatemala, Bolivia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico, and Nicaragua.

Its arms sales expanded fivefold between 1973 and 1976, when they totaled about \$320 million. Israel hopes to sell \$400 million worth of arms in 1977.

Among the weapons it offers are the Uzi

submachine gun, the Galil assault rifle, the Gabriel sea-to-sea missile, the Shafrir air-to-air missile, and the sophisticated Kfir jet fighter.

In some cases, the arms sales involve the reexport of American parts and technology. The Kfir jet, for instance, contains an engine manufactured by General Electric. One Israeli military official hinted that the use of military equipment from the United States, which is Israel's prime arms supplier, had the tacit approval of the American arms merchants. He said that "we never got an official complaint from an American firm that we are using their technology against their wishes."

### Wage Freeze and Higher Taxes Announced in Jamaica

Little more than a month after Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley won a sweeping victory in the island's general elections, he announced a new austerity program, including higher taxes and a six-month freeze on wages and prices.

In a three-hour speech to Parliament January 19, he also announced a large increase in gasoline prices, cuts in government salaries, and stringent foreign exchange controls.

In addition, he said that the Jamaican regime would seek diplomatic relations with Moscow and trade with members of the Moscow-dominated Comecon.

### 'NucleClean'

The Radiation Protection Corp. of Livermore, California, is marketing a suit called "NucleClean," which supposedly protects the wearer against secondary fallout from a nuclear explosion or atomic power plant accident. According to a report in the February issue of *Progressive*, it costs \$16.50 and is described by the manufacturer as "a really super garment."

### Smith Executes 8 Freedom Fighters

Eight Zimbabwean freedom fighters were hanged by the racist regime of Ian Smith January 17.

According to a government statement, the executed activists "were found guilty of acts of urban terrorism and sabotage." During their trials, the eight admitted being members or officials of the African

National Council, which is fighting for Black majority rule.

The executions were carried out despite pleas for clemency by wives and mothers of the men. It was the first time authorities have confirmed any hangings since the regime issued an edict last year banning information of executions.

### Transkei Refugees Housed in Disease-Ridden Camps

About 50,000 Xhosa refugees are living in squalid camps near Queenstown, more than 300 miles south of Johannesburg. According to sources in the camps, they are threatened with epidemics of measles and other diseases. As of January 16, at least 111 are known to have become ill and died.

The refugees left the Transkei, one of ten African reservations in South Africa, when it was declared "independent" by the apartheid regime October 26. Had they remained there, they would have been declared "citizens" of the Transkei, losing even more rights in the rest of South Africa.

### Israelis Force-Feed Arab Prisoners

Jailers at Israel's maximum-security prison in Ashkelon are force-feeding 370 Palestinians held there in an attempt to break a hunger strike. The strike began December 10 to back up demands for improvements in prison conditions and for recognition as prisoners of war. Most of the prisoners at Ashkelon are serving life sentences after being convicted by Israeli military courts for resisting the Zionist occupation of Palestine.

Overcrowding, poor food, inadequate medical attention, infrequent family visits, and lack of exercise are among the complaints of the prisoners. These complaints have been backed up by the International Red Cross mission in Israel.

Gaza City Mayor Rashid a-Shawa was allowed to inspect the prison as well. "The conditions are terrible," Shawa said. "They are kept 16 men to a cell and are locked up 22 hours a day. They sleep on the floor and have few winter clothes."

Wives, sisters, and mothers of the prisoners demonstrated in Gaza December 28 to demand visits with the prisoners, but they were dispersed by Israeli troops.

The regime has tried to cover up the protest for fear that it will spread to other prisons. Meanwhile, the torture of forced feeding is continuing.

### 215 Shows of Restraint

Washington deployed its military forces abroad for political purposes at least 215 times between 1945 and 1975, according to a study released by the Brookings Institution January 2. The authors of the study, Barry M. Blechman and Steven S. Kaplan, only listed those incidents in which Washington sought to pressure a foreign government and did not include cases of drawn-out military intervention, such as the Korean and Vietnam wars.

The positioning of naval forces off the coasts of other countries accounted for about 80 percent of the sabre-rattling actions. One of the cases was the placing of a U.S. naval task force off the coast of Brazil in 1964 in support of the military coup against the regime of João Goulart.

Nuclear forces were deployed in a threatening manner at least thirty-three times, mostly in the 1940s and 1950s. The latest instance of a nuclear threat cited in the study was the worldwide nuclear alert Washington ordered during the October 1973 war in the Middle East.

The *Wall Street Journal*, in a January 7 editorial, concluded from this study of American gunboat diplomacy that "the U.S. has been well intentioned and, for a major world power, rather restrained."

### Senility? Or Understandable Reaction?

A California judicial panel is seeking to disqualify an 82-year-old member of the state Supreme Court on the ground that he is senile and unable to perform his duties.

Among other things, Justice Marshall F. McComb was accused of wearing "pig earrings" in the state office building where the Supreme Court is located, and also at a public meeting at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco. In addition he was accused of brandishing a nightstick at the San Francisco airport.

According to the January 8 *New York Times*, "A long list of misbehaviors was reported by the commission. These included: being asleep at the bench during oral arguments, or reading a magazine; disturbing proceedings by doing physical exercises and counting cadence in a monotone; walking out of weekly conferences that he described as 'talk, talk, talk; squawk, squawk, squawk; yak, yak, yak.'"

Unfortunately there was no report as to whether the judge's opinion of the conferences was accurate, or whether his behavior was justified by the type of arguments he had to listen to. Of course, the venerable judge's failure to wear pig earrings while seated at the bench does show a certain inconsistency. But inconsistency does not equal senility.



Stevenson/Los Angeles Times



## The Trial of Mustafa Dzhemilev

[The following account of Mustafa Dzhemilev's trial appeared in the Soviet Union in issue No. 40 of the Russian-language underground journal *A Chronicle of Current Events*.

[The chronicle also included a lengthy account of the numerous postponements of the trial "because the judge had suddenly become ill," because of a "quarantine" suddenly declared in Dzhemilev's cell area, and other such pretexts. The authorities waited from September 1975 until April 1976 in hopes that Dzhemilev would become too weak from his hunger strike to appear at the trial.

[The translation is by Marilyn Vogt.]

\* \* \*

Mustafa Dzhemilev (Abdulzhemil) was born in November 1943. At the time of the deportation [of the entire Crimean Tatar population] in May 1944, his family—his mother with the four children (his father was at the front)—were hauled off to Uzbekistan. In 1966, because of his participation in the national movement, Mustafa was expelled from the third course of the Tashkent Irrigation Institute and drafted into the army. He declared that, since he did not enjoy the rights of a citizen, he was refusing to go into the army. He was sentenced to one and one-half years imprisonment.

After his release, Dzhemilev continued to play an active role in the Crimean Tatar movement. He became involved in the human rights movement, and, in May 1969, joined the Initiative Group. In September [1969] he was arrested. In January 1970, he was tried with Ilya Gabai under Article 190-1<sup>1</sup> in Tashkent and sentenced to a three-year term. Not long ago, a book about this trial—*Six Days*—appeared in samizdat.

On May 13, 1974, before the thirtieth anniversary of the deportation [of the Crimean Tatar people], Mustafa was arrested on a false charge and held for fifteen days. As a result of a hunger strike, Dzhemilev was released early, but after a month, he was called up for military duty. Being ill, he refused to go, and on June 22,

he was arrested and sentenced to one year in a labor camp.

In Omsk camp 16/3, a new case was prepared against Mustafa under Article 190-1, and three days before he was to be released, new charges were brought against him.

In September the investigation was completed, and the case was turned over to the Omsk Regional Court. . . .

### The Judicial Proceedings (April 14-15, 1976)

The presiding judge at the trial was Yu. I. Anosov (Presiding Judge of the Regional Court); people's assessors [the jury] were Kolobov and Mechnik; the Public Prosecutor, Kalutsky; defense advocate, Shveisky.

\* \* \*

The courtroom was packed full beforehand with people who had been admitted through the back door. Mustafa's relatives and friends waited in the vestibule for the trial to begin. At 10 a.m., they were told that there was no more room in the courtroom and that only his closest relatives would be allowed inside: Mustafa's mother Makhsture Mustafaeva, his sister Vafie Khairova, and his brothers Asan and Anafa Dzhemilev.

The twelve people who remained in the corridor continued to insist on their right to be present at an open trial. The militia, some in civilian clothes, began to push them, forcefully shoving them away. At that point, [Andrei] Sakharov hit one militiaman and his wife, Elena Bonner, struck the face of another who was wearing civilian clothes. (He turned out to be the court commandant.)

The Sakharovs were hauled off to the police station. There, a report of the case was written up and statements were entered into the record. A.D. Sakharov presented a written apology to the militiaman, while noting the illegality of all the events surrounding the trial, and particularly the actions of the militia.

(One of the "civilians" said to Crimean Tatars in the street: "At night we will talk with you in another way—with a long knife.")

\* \* \*

At the beginning of the trial, the defense advocate filed three requests:

1. That twelve more witnesses be summoned, including several people who had corresponded with Dzhemilev and whose letters had been made a part of the case.

(These letters made it through the camp censor but were later confiscated from Mustafa.) He was requesting that some of the witnesses be called because of the unreliability of the testimony of "the key prosecution witness" Dvoryansky.

2. Make an inquiry at the labor camp as to Dvoryansky's own case.

3. Ask the investigation division of the prosecutor's office to explain the problem of the missing pages from the criminal case. (An inquiry about the missing pages had already been made by the court at an earlier time, but the prosecutor had replied then that the pages removed concerned only Dvoryansky.)

Dzhemilev also requested that fifteen additional witnesses be summoned (part of them were from the advocate's list), and asked for a clarification as to whether or not this was a closed trial: "If this is an open trial, then why was the courtroom packed in advance while my relatives and friends are still in the street?"

The judge answered that the trial was open, that he did not know who was in the courtroom and how they got there and that if anyone was not allowed inside, it was only because there was no room.

Vasfie said: "We were let in according to our passports and, then, only four of us."

The judge: "This is not my concern; but I will see to it that you are removed from the courtroom if you are disagreeable and noisy."

The charges against Dzhemilev were: first, that he spread slanderous fabrications while serving a term of corrective labor in camp 16/3 in Omsk—in conversations with the prisoner Dvoryansky, he spread slanderous fabrications that Crimean Tatars do not enjoy full and equal rights in the USSR; and second, that he wrote and distributed (or had prepared for distribution) slanderous documents as follows:

1. A letter to an acquaintance, Ilmi Ametov, containing criticism of a journal article about Crimean Tatars (the letter had passed through the camp censors).

2. A draft of the "Declaration of Principles of the Crimean Tatar Movement." The Russian (in Arabic letters), Tatar, and English texts of the Declaration were considered three separate documents in the indictment.

Also used as evidence were letters and greeting cards received by Dzhemilev in the camp, in which the indictment perceived a nationalist spirit that was, allegedly, a product of the addressee's influence.

\* \* \*

In the beginning, the relatives got a good look at Mustafa. He had turned dark and had a bandaged neck (furunculosis);<sup>2</sup>

2. A bacterial disease characterized by the presence of many boils.

1. Article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code states that "the systematic dissemination" of "deliberate fabrications discrediting the Soviet political and social system, by word of mouth or in writing shall be punishable by up to three years imprisonment or by a term of up to one year in a corrective labor camp or by a fine of up to 100 rubles."

it was painful for him to speak and even to breathe. At times he tried to stand.

During the short recess, a broad-shouldered guard stood directly in front of Mustafa. His mother and brothers requested that the guard move away a little. The response was angry shouts from "the public" and a statement from the captain, head of the guards: "The guard is my responsibility and he will remain where he is. And you, there, be quiet or else when the trial starts up again, we will have you removed."

\* \* \*

The judge decided to begin the questioning with the defendant, but Dzhemilev refused to be the first to testify.

Vladimir Dvoryansky was called to testify. He is twenty-six years old, and (in 1973) had received a ten-year sentence for murdering in a fight someone who had insulted his sister. He was confined in a camp near Barnaul.<sup>3</sup> There he lodged a written complaint on the poor treatment and asked to be transferred to Uzbekistan because of his health (he has only one lung). As a result, he ended up in Omsk. Here, "things were made easier" for him by classifying him as disabled (while the work load was increased); he again complained and was sent to the special punishment cell. All of this was set forth in his written "Depositions" of February 11, 1975, later passed to the outside world and attached to the case at the request of the advocate. In his "Depositions," Dvoryansky related in detail how KGB agents and camp personnel had recruited him to make false testimony against Dzhemilev.

At the trial, Dvoryansky immediately repudiated the testimony he had given during the investigation, stating that it was forced from him by threats. Under pressure from the investigator and agents of the "the [repressive] organs," he had signed prepared texts, and he wrote the "handwritten" statements of May 15 and 16 when he was already in the isolation cell. (The latter statement served as the official grounds for instituting the case.)

"The first statement is dated the 15th," said the judge. "But you were not placed in the isolation cell until May 16."

Dvoryansky repeated that he wrote the statement demanded of him in the SHIZO.<sup>4</sup>

Over the more than three-hour-long period that Dvoryansky was questioned, the judge and prosecutor tried unsuccessfully to convince him to revert to his previous testimony.

"I am speaking freely," Dvoryansky said at the trial. "Five people sat there, three in

## Mustafa Dzhemilev: Political Prisoner



DZHEMILEV

Mustafa Dzhemilev is the most prominent Crimean Tatar political prisoner in the Soviet Union. His case began to receive worldwide publicity after he

went on a hunger strike in June 1975. The hunger strike was to protest new charges fabricated against him by the Stalinist authorities just three days before his third term of imprisonment was due to end in Omsk, Siberia.

Dzhemilev continued his hunger strike for ten months, ending it in April 1976. That month, he was finally brought before the court in Omsk where, weighing only seventy-seven pounds, he was convicted of the trumped-up charges.

Dzhemilev's "guilt" consisted of his opposition to the national oppression of the Crimean Tatar people and his attempts to expose this oppression.

"Insofar as *in my opinion* the nationalities problem exists, I have worked out my thoughts on it," Dzhemilev said at his trial. And he wrote down what he thought. His writings on the subject were considered by the court to be "anti-Soviet fabrications."

"I believe that the nationalities problem has not been resolved even today. And my opinion is only my opinion, and not a crime," Dzhemilev stated. The judge disagreed—to hold such an opinion constituted a crime against the state.

He was declared guilty of "anti-Soviet activity" and sentenced to his fourth prison term—two and one-half years in a strict-regime forced labor camp.

civilian clothes and two from the camp. They showed me a photo of my father and daughter and said, 'You have a long term to serve and you will never be able to see them again.' I was totally in their hands."

The judge: "And you believe you are not in their hands now? Perjury gets you two years."

Dvoryansky: "Now I am telling the truth; I gave false testimony before, under pressure."

Prosecutor: "But there is a Prosecutor's office in the camp. Did you complain to it that you were being blackmailed?"

Dvoryansky: "The Prosecutor's office told me that if I decided to repudiate my testimony, I would be better off committing suicide."

Dvoryansky said that he himself, in the "Depositions," described the February 11 conversation and himself saw to it that it got to the outside world. (At this point, Dzhemilev interrupted Dvoryansky and said that he was the one who got the "Depositions" to the outside world.)

In addition to the threats, as Dvoryansky said, they also got to him by

using bribes—they promised a transfer to Uzbekistan, early release, and placement in a university.

After he was questioned Dvoryansky was taken away, although the advocate had requested that he be allowed to remain in the courtroom.

The witness Sokolov, questioned next, testified that he had not been acquainted with Dzhemilev but had known Dvoryansky well at Barnaul. There he had not been interested in politics; he did not read. But after becoming acquainted with Dzhemilev, Dvoryansky began to do a lot of reading and some writing. (Dvoryansky summarized the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin "in an anti-Soviet spirit." This issue may have been raised even during the time Dvoryansky was being questioned.) After meeting Dzhemilev, Dvoryansky "talked all kinds of rubbish" in the barracks and had anti-Soviet conversations.

Mustafa questioned Sokolov about his previous testimony, from which it followed that Sokolov had spied on Dvoryansky and had turned over some of his notes to

3. Barnaul is a Siberian city about 400 miles southeast of Omsk.

4. SHIZO is a special punishment cell in a forced labor camp.



the camp administration.

Dzhemilev: "What does this mean; that it is your responsibility to collect what has been written and turn it in?"

Sokolov: "What are you talking about? What are you saying? That I am an informer?! I simply took things and passed them on. Why are you tormenting me? I am already soaked with sweat."

From a question of the advocate, it became clear that soon after giving testimony at the investigation, Sokolov was released from camp to the "free settlement." (He still had two years of a twelve-year sentence to serve.)

The prisoner Fedotov, who was some sort of assignment officer in the camp, testified that Mustafa, upon his arrival at the camp, had been assigned to be his assistant, but that he had soon rejected this work, saying his conscience would not allow it. It didn't matter because the officials will not let a "political" hold such a post anyway.

The next two witnesses were members of the camp security force, who were among those who conducted a search of Dzhemilev's work room on May 14, 1975. They did not read the papers that were confiscated, part of which were not written in Russian.

In response to the prosecutor's question about whether Dzhemilev had denied that those were his papers, they said: "No, he only requested that they be numbered and an inventory made. But we said: 'Why? While you are right here we are going to hand all of them over to the administrative supervisor.'"

Advocate: "Where was the record of the search compiled?"

Witness: "We wrote it up at the headquarters."

The advocate's question as to whether the witness knew correct procedure for conducting a search was stricken from the record by the judge.<sup>5</sup>

These two witnesses, as distinguished from the previous ones, remained in the courtroom.

The testimony of Dzhemilev's former work supervisor was read. (He died before the trial.) Markov described Dzhemilev in a positive manner. He testified that on May 14, they [the camp security force] had suggested that he [Markov] leave the room during the search; upon returning, he saw a heap of papers, the contents of which he did not know.

5. According to Soviet law, the police agents conducting a search must make an inventory of confiscated materials on the spot and this must be signed by the person being searched before the materials are removed from the premises.

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The judge moved to the questioning of the defendant. The judge often interrupted Dzhemilev (particularly when he said that organs of the KGB had specially prepared a new case against him), and demanded that explanations be confined to materials in the indictment, the testimony of Dvoryansky at the investigation, and the documents.

Mustafa commented on some of the concrete information allegedly gleaned by Dvoryansky from conversations with him. "Dzhemilev was linked with Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn, and Grigorenko—former Whiteguardists."<sup>6</sup>

Dzhemilev: "At the time of the Whiteguardists, Grigorenko was eight years old, and Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn were even younger."

Dzhemilev praised Gasprinsky and his anti-Soviet and anti-Russian views."

Dzhemilev: "Gasprinsky (a Crimean Tatar writer and educator, who translated a great deal of Russian literature) died in 1914."

The judge asked: "Why did you not testify at the preliminary investigation and declare to the investigator Guselnikova that the testimony of Dvoryansky was false? The investigation would have taken this up."

Dzhemilev: "I consider Guselnikova to be on the whole a criminal element."

Prosecutor: "I have known Guselnikova for fifteen years and can vouch for her."

Judge: "No such vouching is necessary. We will not be debating this question."

Answering one of the fundamental points of the charge—"fantasies about the existence of a nationality problem," Mustafa said: "This question arose when all our people were evicted in 1944."

Judge: "There is no nationalities problem in our country. And in 1944, the whole world was applauding the victorious processions of the Red Army."

Dzhemilev: "The victorious procession did not prevent the deportation of the Crimean Tatar people who had done their share toward this victory."

Judge: "But, indeed, you know the reasons for the 1944 Decree!"

Advocate: "I consider a discussion of this Decree to be inappropriate. In 1956, the deportation was recognized as an injustice and was condemned."

Dzhemilev: "The nationalities problem in our country has always been considered resolved, and those who disagree have been kept isolated. But it was acknowledged in 1956 that a wholesale charge against an entire people is unjust, and thus it was admitted that the problem had existed. Then the open surveillance was removed and it was declared that *now* the problem had really been resolved. But in 1967, a new Decree was issued about the

6. Whiteguardists were the opponents of the Bolshevik revolution of October 1917 who organized counterrevolutionary armies.

Crimean Tatars—that means that from 1956 to 1967, the problem had continued to exist. I believe that the problem has not yet been resolved even today, and my opinion is only my opinion and not a crime. For me, a Crimean Tatar, the problem will remain until we return to our native land."

Judge: "The problem was resolved long ago. Look: the witnesses you requested we summon (he reads the names and addresses)—all of them are from Crimea."

Dzhemilev: "If they were called to testify, they would relate how many years they have left no stone unturned, have suffered untold hardships, lived without passports, how they were driven out. So, all our nation cannot return to Crimea."

Judge: "Look at me for example: I am not given a passport to live in Moscow. And to live in Omsk, many have left no stone unturned. Norms exist! But this is not a nationalities problem."

On the Declaration that was confiscated from him, Dzhemilev explained that this was a rough copy, a draft, an unfinished exposition of his views. "Insofar as *in my opinion* the nationalities problem exists, I have worked out my thoughts on it." He said that it was not three documents, but one, in different languages. Inaccuracies of translation accounted for the variations in the texts which had caused the indictment to speak of three different documents.

At the trial, Dzhemilev managed to demonstrate that the translator (who was in the courtroom) took his Tatar text for Turkish because he had used the Latin alphabet rather than the officially accepted Russian [Cyrillic] alphabet. The meanings of some words in these generally very closely-related languages are totally different, and Dzhemilev cited examples of mistakes in the translation. The translation into English he did himself for practice in the language, he said.

One of the articles of the Declaration says that the Crimean Tatar national movement must act within the framework of Soviet law, and in line with this, that in the event the government rejects the just solution to the problem, one has a right to appeal to international organizations. Dzhemilev confirmed that he believes that if the Soviet Union has signed a Declaration of Human Rights and international agreements, then one can demand these be implemented.

The judge again said that the nationalities problem in the Soviet Union has been solved, and if the government does not find it necessary to accept one decision or another, this is not a matter for discussion in any international organizations. To appeal to them means to slander our system, he said. This is our internal affair and we cannot allow anyone to interfere. "We do not recognize every international treaty."

Dzhemilev: "This article refers to the

treaties which our government has signed."

Examining yet another principle of the Crimean Tatar national movement noted in the Declaration, that "a person may take part in the movement regardless of the individual's political views or place of residence," the judge asked, "Does this mean that both communists and fascists can take part?"

Dzhemilev: "Why such extremes? Of course, some conditions may have to be made. But this was not the final text."

Prosecutor: "You state that this was only a draft. Did you intend to finalize and distribute this document?"

Dzhemilev answered that if he had finished the text and had thought everything through, then possibly he would have shown it to others. Responding to the lawyer's question, Dzhemilev said that no one in the camp had read the Declaration or could have read it; even the Russian text was written with Arabic letters.

Mustafa, in a letter to Ametov, had called an article by B. Gafarov a lie.

Judge: "This article was published by the Science publishing house. You are defaming an official Soviet institution."

Dzhemilev: "The article said that most Crimean Tatars live in Crimea. However, according to our data, in 1967-68—after the [1967] Decree—twelve thousand [Crimean Tatar] people came to the Crimea but the number allowed to remain was . . ."

Judge: "What kind of data do you have? Only government organs can keep statistics. Who gave you the right to collect statistical data?"

Dzhemilev: "In any case, this is not prohibited and is not a crime."

Judge: "Private individuals are not allowed to conduct a census."

Interrupting Dzhemilev, the judge told him several times that he had not been given a chance to testify in order to make agitational speeches. In response to one such remark, Mustafa said: "And who would I be agitating here? The public is all yours; all I have here is four of my relatives."

Judge: "I don't know this public. They came here on their own."

At the beginning of the April 15 session, the advocate and the defendant filed a new request. The advocate asked, first, that Dvoryansky's letter of July 13, 1975 to Alim Muzafarov be attached to the case. In it, Dvoryansky reported the arrest and hunger strike of Dzhemilev, and in addition he wrote that documents exist which show that the case was fabricated.

The second request was to inquire through Dvoryansky's reader's record card at the library of the corrective labor camp in Barnaul to establish that, while still there, he had read those books about which he, according to the charges, made reprehensible remarks under Dzhemilev's influence. The advocate also asked that Dvoryansky's notes from his personal case

## 'This Trial Was Nothing But an Act of Vengeance'

[The following appeal from Mustafa Dzhemilev's mother appeared in issue No. 40 of *A Chronicle of Current Events*, the underground publication of the Soviet dissident movement.]

\* \* \*

To Women of the World:

My son Mustafa Dzhemilev has been sentenced for the fifth time. The first time, without any trial, he was sentenced with all our Crimean Tatar people to expulsion from his homeland.

Since he was very young, Mustafa has

dreamed with his people of returning to the land of his forefathers. To this, he has devoted his entire life. I was at the trial in Omsk and I, myself, saw that all the charges and the whole trial had been built on lies and that the sole purpose of the trial was to punish my son for loving his people.

This trial was nothing but an act of vengeance.

Help me save my son!

*Makhsture Mustafaeva-Dzhemileva*  
Uzbek SSR  
Syr-Darinsk Province  
City of Gulistan  
16 October Street

be consulted. (Evidently, those which were turned over by Sokolov to the camp administration.)

Dzhemilev requested that the following be called as witnesses: 1. The prisoner Sergeev, who, according to Sokolov, heard anti-Soviet statements from Dvoryansky aroused by his association with Dzhemilev. 2. Postgraduate student of philological sciences Basyr Gavarov; professor Rashid Muzafarov; writer Eshrefa Shamil-zade; all of whom would give testimony on the situation of the language and literature of Crimean Tatars, because he, Dzhemilev, was being charged with slander in connection with these issues. 3. Reshat and Zera Dzhemilev, Aishe Seitmuratova and Remza Ablav, and Gulnar Seidalieva, to give testimony on passports to Crimea. "You need not go far for these witnesses," Mustafa said. "They are here."

The request regarding Dvoryansky's letter was granted; the rest, the court denied. It was said that the very existence of scholars and writers who were Crimean Tatar proved that there was no discrimination.

In the speech for the prosecution, the prosecutor Kalutsky said that Dvoryansky had given accurate depositions in the preliminary investigation, but that Dzhemilev had worked on him and therefore in court he denied his previous testimony, thus slandering the investigatory organs and the supervising prosecutor. The prosecutor called Dzhemilev an amoral person, an inveterate and incorrigible criminal. He refuted Dzhemilev's assertion that the text of the Declaration was not final by using the following argument:

"A point on membership in the organization was included there, and this is something spoken of only in the final stage. That means this document is in its final form and ready for distribution."

Dzhemilev called for the unity of all Tatars who earlier lived in Crimea, including the fascists [the prosecutor continued];

in the text, he did not make the stipulations he spoke of in court. He had called for a protest campaign to be organized and for outside interference in our internal affairs, i.e., for insubordination and a struggle against Soviet power.

Dzhemilev declared unjust the actions of the Soviet government in 1944 when the entire world was hailing the victories of the Soviet people.

The prosecutor demanded three years imprisonment under strict regime for Dzhemilev.

In addition, he demanded that criminal proceedings be instituted against Dvoryansky for perjury.

Advocate Shveisky in his defense statement said that when considering the case, one must inevitably speak about the national question. This problem is especially important for our multinational country, he said, and the way it is resolved must strengthen friendship between peoples. He, a lawyer, would not try to defend the views of his client because he would then appear to share them, which he did not. But he could not uphold the point of view of the indictment, for he would not want to appear as a second prosecutor.

He said he saw his task as analyzing only the legal side of the case, to establish whether the facts proved the charge of spreading knowingly false fabrications defaming the Soviet system. The charge that Dzhemilev spread these fabrications by word of mouth was supported only by the testimony of Dvoryansky, in which slanderous statements of Dzhemilev were mentioned only in a general way, without being made concrete.

The advocate expressed the conviction that Dvoryansky's renunciation of his former testimony was sincere. But objectively, he said, all of Dvoryansky's testimony—in the courtroom and in the preliminary investigation—must be thrown out as unreliable because the contradictions within it must be examined,



and the methods of the investigation must be checked.

The documents written by Dzhemilev had not been distributed, he said. This was readily apparent from the form in which they appeared. The advocate rejected the indictment's version that Dzhemilev wrote the documents in "code" to conceal the crime. For the investigation, he argued it would not be difficult to translate and read the text, but this form precluded random distribution. Dzhemilev's explanation that the existing text was not intended for distribution had not been refuted.

The advocate quoted the published article which said that criticism of governmental legislation is not a crime under Article 190-1. Dzhemilev can have an incorrect opinion as to whether or not the Crimean Tatar problem has been solved, but it is still his opinion and not a fabrication. He said that it could result from various factors; for example, because, long isolated, Dzhemilev did not know the real situation.

As for the letter to Ametov—that was a simple polemic against a journal article.

In October, the advocate pointed out, the court had sent the case for further examination in view of the incompleteness of the investigation and the insufficient evidence. No new facts were brought to light, however. Dzhemilev's actions did not constitute a crime. The advocate said he considered the charges unproven and asked the court to deliver a verdict of not guilty.

#### Dzhemilev's Final Statement

"My fate is linked with the fate of my people, deported in 1944."

The judge interrupted: "We are not discussing this now."

The judge interrupted Mustafa again when he was trying to talk about his previous trials and their connections with the present one.

Asan shouted from the courtroom: "This is his final plea. Why are you interrupting him?"

The judge ordered Asan to leave and two militia personnel headed toward him. Asan's expulsion provoked an indignant outburst outside the courtroom. As before, order was restored through brute force.

When, because of the commotion, Mustafa's speech was halted, Vasfie said in Tatar: "These are our friends. The loudest voice is 'shaker' (i.e., 'sakhar' in Russian [the meaning of both being sugar, the Russian root of Sakharov's name—translator])." The judge ordered her out "for inciting," but she categorically refused to leave. She was dragged from the courtroom and, at that point, Sakharov again struck one of the security guards.

Mustafa's mother left the courtroom on her own in tears. She shouted in Russian and Tatar: "Murderers! You won't even let my son make his final plea. He's been on a

hunger strike for ten months, he can hardly speak, and you keep interrupting him."

The judge declared a fifteen-minute recess, during which time everyone in the vestibule was shoved out into the street. Sakharov and Bonner (who before this was taken away to the courthouse's militia room) were hauled to the police station. There a doctor, who examined Bonner at her insistence, attested to the presence of bruises.

After the recess, the judge again warned Dzhemilev, "Don't start agitating."

Mustafa answered: "Who would I agitate? My brother is the only one in the courtroom." (Vasfie and Asan were not allowed back into the courtroom and Mustafa's mother was in no condition to be there.)

Dzhemilev continued: "I did not want to participate in this trial because the sentence had been decided beforehand, irrespective of the evidence. But later I decided to take part in the trial so no one could say that I had indirectly admitted my guilt, having no arguments to refute the charges.

"The charges were constructed around Dvoryansky's testimony. He, here, has repudiated his testimony as having been signed as a result of blackmail and threats. It would seem that a case should be instituted and an investigation undertaken so that such actions will not be permitted with relation to other prisoners. But for this, integrity and civic courage are needed."

The judge: "You are insulting the prosecutor."

Dzhemilev: "But the prosecutor insulted me. Has this no significance?"

The judge: "No one insulted you. I warn you that you will be deprived of the right to make your statement."

Dzhemilev: "We have a tendency to exaggerate the role of the individual in history. Reprisals are being taken against me on the assumption that I play a special role in the movement. It is true that the prosecutor has depicted me as a lone individual, making it appear that no movement of any sort exists. But others will take my place, and maybe they will proceed in a more correct way than I have.

"During the entire time of my confinement [since the new arrest in June, 1975], I conducted a hunger strike. I went to such an extreme so that reprisals like this would not be repeated against others.

"I do not expect humanism from this court. I do not need humanism, only justice."

The verdict of the court echoed the indictment in all its parts, including charging him with three "Declarations." As evidence, it was added that the list of fifteen witnesses proposed by Dzhemilev included Tatars currently living in Crimea. Dzhemilev's guilt was said to be proven by Dvoryansky's depositions during the investigation. His repudiation of this testim-

ony was declared false and refuted by the interrogation he had undergone, and by testimony of other witnesses and of the defendant.

Dzhemilev, the verdict stated, having been convicted three times, has not started on the road to correction.

The court sentenced Dzhemilev to two and one-half years confinement in a strict regime corrective labor camp.

The court delivered at the same time a separate decision to institute a case against Dvoryansky for "perjury."

\* \* \*

On that same day, Mustafa's relatives (all of them together) were granted a visit. Before the visit, they spoke with the assistant warden of the prison, Radchenko, about Mustafa ending his hunger strike, if he would, in fact, agree to do so. Radchenko promised a medical examination, proper diet, a quiet cell, and delivery of parcels at all times, including the juices necessary for ending a hunger strike.

The meeting was conducted through a double-glass partition. The relatives told Mustafa that all his friends, among them Grigorenko's family and Sakharov's family, were appealing to him to cease his hunger strike. Everything possible had been done to publicize the case. Ending the hunger strike would work in favor of his appeal. His mother, particularly, tried to persuade Mustafa, for herself and in the name of his sick father.

Mustafa agreed to end his hunger strike.

The warden Surov confirmed Radchenko's promise to place Dzhemilev in a cell by himself or in a cell with "quiet old men"—whichever he chose—and not in an ordinary cell with "common criminals, where all manner of excesses can happen."

At the end of April, a package containing juices which E.G. Bonner had sent to Mustafa was returned to her stamped, "Returned. You are not a relative." (Such a restriction is not stipulated by law and was unprecedented.)

There is the danger that if the sentence is upheld by the court of appeals, Dzhemilev may renew his hunger strike. □

#### Demonstrator Killed in Madrid

Antonio Ruiz García, a nineteen-year-old student protester, was shot dead in Madrid January 23 as riot police attacked a demonstration of 8,000 demanding amnesty for political prisoners. The police, swinging clubs and firing rubber bullets into the crowd, drove the protesters from street to street in the downtown section of the city.

Spanish officials claimed that Ruiz García had been killed by unknown assailants, and said that police had begun an "investigation."