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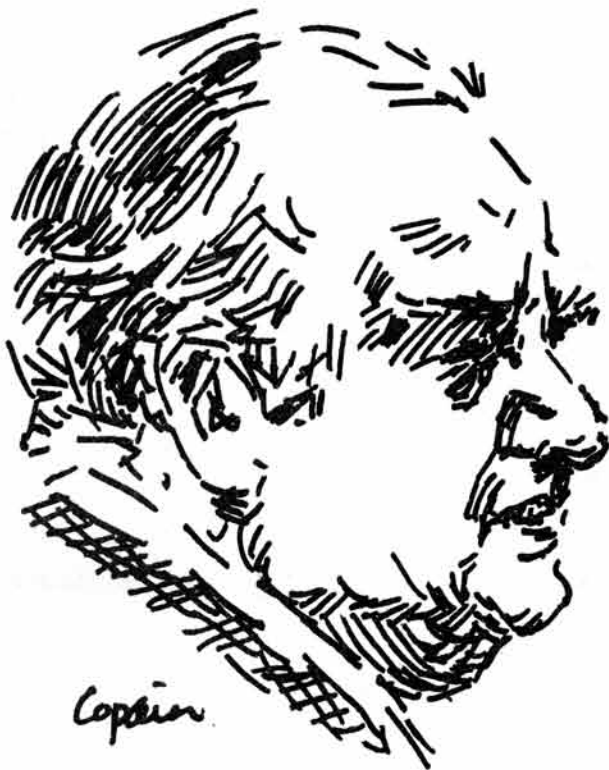
the Americas

Vol. 15, No. 24

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June 27, 1977

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Thousands Protest Antihomosexual Crusade

George Breitman

### **Where Healyites Really Found 'Stalin's Gangsters'**

## As the Belgrade Conference Opens

By Marilyn Vogt

Representatives of the thirty-five governments that signed the "Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe" in Helsinki in August 1975 opened a confab in Belgrade on June 16 in what was first conceived as a "preliminary meeting . . . to decide on the date, duration, agenda and modalities" of a later conference this year. The later conference is scheduled to check up on the observance of the commitments made in Helsinki.

It is now predicted by observers that the "preliminary meeting" may drag on for six weeks or even six months.

No progress in upholding human rights can be expected from the parley. Nonetheless, the Helsinki agreement, which included a section on respecting human rights and the fundamental freedoms, including freedom of thought, conscience, religion, and belief, did give fresh encouragement to political dissidents in the Soviet Union and the East European countries.

The full text was published in *Izvestia*. Learning in this way of the provisions signed by the Kremlin, people began to protest various violations.

Eleven militants in the movement for democratic rights, including Pyotr Grigorenko, took the initiative of organizing a center for this popular response. In May 1976 they set up the Committee to Supervise Compliance With the Helsinki Accords (Helsinki monitoring group) in Moscow.

The group undertook to check the observance of the provisions of the Helsinki agreement on human rights in the USSR, to solicit and distribute information documenting violations, and to promote the formation of similar groups in the Soviet Union and other signatory countries. This work met with considerable success.

In addition, under pressure from left-wing and trade-union forces in Western Europe, leaders of the Communist parties of Spain, France, Italy, and Britain felt forced to condemn violations of democratic rights in the Soviet Union and the East European countries. In turn, the Kremlin felt forced to release two prominent political prisoners, Leonid Plyushch and Vladimir Bukovsky.

So long as the main pressure on behalf of the dissidents came from leaders of Communist parties and representatives of CP-dominated trade unions, it was difficult for the Kremlin to justify imprisoning them as "agents of foreign reaction."

The situation changed when foreign

reaction in the shape of President Carter and the U.S. State Department began issuing demagogic declarations of "concern" over violations of human rights in the Soviet Union.

Stalin's heirs took this as a godsend. It facilitated the production of lying propaganda picturing the political dissidents as agents and spies of the CIA. They launched a crackdown.

On June 1, two weeks before the Belgrade meeting, they went so far as to charge one of the members of the Moscow Helsinki monitoring group, Jewish activist Anatoly Shcharansky, with treason, a capital offense.

The Shcharansky case is an important one. By all the norms of democracy it ought to be considered impartially at the Belgrade meeting. It follows from the nature of the charges that either Washington violated the Helsinki agreement by employing Shcharansky as a CIA agent, or Moscow did so by framing up a political dissident.

Up to now the Kremlin has presented no evidence that Shcharansky or any other dissident provided military secrets to the CIA.

The much publicized testimony of S. Lipavsky in the March 4 and May 8 issues of *Izvestia*, purporting to link dissidents with the CIA, contained no such evidence. Lipavsky described how dissidents met with foreign correspondents and with representatives of the U.S. government in

Moscow, talked with them and gave them uncensored writings.

Meanwhile arrests have proceeded on a wide scale. Dissident physicist Andrei Sakharov spoke in an interview, according to a June 5 Associated Press dispatch, of a broad new offensive in vast areas of the country with "many arrests" being made in the Baltic republics:

It's a very tense time now. In Moscow and in the provinces, a strong new wave of repressions is under way. We know for the most part what is happening in Moscow and the area nearby. The majority of those who are left from the Helsinki group are either arrested or under strong pressure.

Yet on June 1, the remaining members of the Helsinki monitoring group in Moscow courageously held a press conference in which they called for international support for those who have been arrested.

The Kremlin's latest move June 11, in which Robert Toth of the *Los Angeles Times* was seized and interrogated for thirteen hours, seems designed as a warning to foreign correspondents to stop accepting material from political dissidents.

It is part of the broader effort to stifle the political opposition and to close all the chinks through which they have managed to keep their sympathizers abroad informed of what is going on.

It was in this spirit that the Belgrade conference convened. Its first act on improving relations between Moscow and Washington was to bar reporters from the meetings.

The rulers of the two superpowers understand each other very well. What is most important to them is maintenance of the status quo. On that basis they are quite willing to seek a formula whereby observance of the Helsinki agreement means keeping silent about the strange way the other side upholds human rights. □

## The South Moluccan Protest

By Fred Murphy

Thousands of South Moluccans marched in a silent funeral procession through the streets of Assen in the Netherlands on June 15, protesting the deaths of six young South Moluccans at the hands of the Dutch army.

The youths were among thirteen South Moluccan nationalists who hijacked a train and took over a school in the northern Netherlands on May 23. They held fifty-one persons on the train and four teachers at the school hostage for almost three weeks, demanding that twenty-one South Moluccans imprisoned after a similar action in 1975 be released; and that a plane be provided to fly the released prisoners and themselves to an undis-

closed location outside the country.

The siege ended at dawn on June 11 when Dutch military forces mounted massive attacks on the train and the school. While several jet fighters buzzed the train, thirty Dutch marines launched smoke grenades and poured 7,000 rounds of machine-gun fire into the compartments where the nationalists were believed to be sleeping. Besides the six South Moluccans who were riddled with bullets, two hostages were also killed. There were no deaths in the attack on the school.

Negotiations between the government and the commandos had opened on June 3, when two well-known figures in the South Moluccan community were agreed upon as

mediators. At the time, the *New York Times* reported that Dutch officials "firmly denied . . . that military officers were pressing for the use of force."

But the government saw the mediators' only role as one of getting the nationalists to surrender. "Premier Joop den Uyl and his cabinet were hoping mediators . . . could convince the terrorists their position is hopeless, both 'for their demands and for the political aims they have in view,' a justice ministry spokesman said." (Associated Press, June 9.)

The basic aim of the 40,000 South Moluccans living in the Netherlands has long been to get the Dutch to pressure the Indonesian regime into granting independence to their homeland, the South Moluccan Islands.

Dutch imperialism once ruled the archipelago that is now Indonesia. After the national independence movement defeated the Dutch in 1949, the South Moluccans who had remained as loyal contingents in the colonial army were promised their own republic by the colonialists. The Dutch never observed their pledge, and the entire island chain has been ruled from Jakarta since 1950, with the Javanese being the dominant nationality.

Some young South Moluccan radicals have begun to recognize that it is a mistake to press for Dutch imperialist intervention in Indonesia. While noting that "Indonesia is an artificial country created by colonial powers," Noes Solisa, brother of one of the imprisoned nationalists, says that expecting Dutch assistance "is viewed as 'colonial thinking,' that the South Moluccan people have to start their own revolution." (Quoted in the *Washington Post*, June 1; *New York Times*, June 9.)

Negotiations between the commandos and the government broke down late in the evening on June 10. The attack came six hours later.

Premier Joop den Uyl justified the murderous assault in a national radio broadcast. He said that despite the possibility that innocent persons might die, "We did not see any other way and we could not and must not let the hijackers leave the country unpunished."

Although the commandos' spectacular action did bring some publicity to the situation of the South Moluccan people, and while the funeral protest was impressive, the main result has been an exacerbation of Dutch racism and a stepped-up police presence in the South Moluccan communities. The seven nationalists who survived face charges of kidnapping, carrying arms, and extortion, carrying a maximum sentence of eleven to sixteen years imprisonment.

"These methods proved fatal," a young South Moluccan told William Dozdiak of the *Washington Post*. "We must keep our culture alive while we try to get our country back. But I don't know what we can do right now." □

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Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Published in New York each Monday except the first in January and the third and fourth in August.

Application to mail at second-class postage rates is pending at New York, N.Y.

Editor: Joseph Hansen.

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Technical Staff: Paul Deveze, Ellen Fischer, Larry Ingram, Arthur Lobman, James M. Morgan. Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material stands on the program of the Fourth International.

Paris Office: Pierre Frank, 10 Impasse Guéméné, 75004, Paris, France.

To Subscribe: For one year send \$24 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail.

For airmail subscriptions in Europe: Write to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL. In Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 151, Glebe 2037. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 1663, Wellington.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Intercontinental Press is published by the 408 Printing and Publishing Corporation, 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Offices at 408 West Street, New York, N.Y.

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## The Real Victor Was Not Suárez

By Gerry Foley

Although the June 15 elections were held under conditions heavily favoring Premier Adolfo Suárez, who has presided over the job of putting a "democratic" face on capitalist dictatorship in Spain, his electoral coalition scraped together barely enough votes to avoid a clear defeat.

With about 95% of the vote counted, Suárez's Unión de Centro Democrático (UCD—Union of the Democratic Center) got only 165 seats out of 350, or 11 less than a majority. Moreover, the premier can be expected to have difficulty widening his coalition. The other "liberal" bourgeois alternative, the Christian Democrats, were left in a precarious position by the vote.

The core grouping of the Christian Democratic bloc, the Equipo Democristiano (Christian Democratic Team) of Ruiz Giménez and Gil Robles, got barely 1.0% of the vote and failed to get any seats. The only vote getters in the Christian Democratic bloc were bourgeois nationalist groups among the oppressed nationalities. Such a result does not provide a basis for a cohesive formation at the level of the Spanish state as a whole. And it does not seem likely that a government of Franco's heirs could depend on the votes of bourgeois nationalists based on sentiment opposed to a strongly centralized Spanish state.

A bloc with the Alianza Popular of Manuel Fraga Iribarne would, in the short run, at least, be politically disastrous for Suárez. This conservative wing of the Francoist "liberalizers" met disaster at the polls. The AP, including many former government dignitaries, had been expected to get the vote of the "silent majority," that is, the large sections of the Spanish people that were supposed to be disturbed by the weakening of the Francoist "stability."

However, Fraga's party, which called for "continuity in change," got only 8.2% of the vote, less than the Communist Party. And the openly fascistic Alianza Nacional got only about 1.0%. In all, the openly rightist parties were rejected by the overwhelming majority of Spanish voters.

The rightist threat in the election, which the Social Democrats and Stalinists played up to justify their "cautious" line, proved to be a phantom.

In the formal sense, Suárez's government does not depend on a parliamentary majority. Until a new constitution is adopted, he remains responsible to the king. He is, of course, assured of a majority in the Senate, where the representation



GONZALEZ: Scores big electoral gains.

system was most heavily weighted in a conservative direction and where forty-one members are appointed by the king.

However, the whole purpose of the elections from the standpoint of the government and the bourgeoisie it represents was to gain the appearance of a democratic mandate for Suárez's bonapartist rule. The premier has failed to achieve such a mandate. In fact, he ended up looking both like a crook and a loser. With 33.9% of the vote, the UCD got 47% of the seats in the lower house of parliament.

The extent of Suárez's defeat is indicated by the statement he made in an interview published in the June 12 issue of the Madrid daily *ABC*:

Unquestionably the results of the elections will have a decisive influence on whether or not I remain at the head of the government. It is true that in accordance with the present law, if it is not changed, I can remain as premier. But it is also true that I do not want to remain in this post if I fail to gain the necessary backing to govern effectively. I am taking part in these elections of my own free will, cognizant of the risk I am taking.

The real winner in the elections was the Partido Socialista Obrero Español

(PSOE—Spanish Socialist Workers Party, the main Social Democratic formation). It gained 28.5% of the vote, with about 95% of the total tabulated, and seemed to be gaining in the final ballot counts. This result is about 50% higher than had been expected at the beginning of the campaign.

The Partido Socialista Popular (PSP—People's Socialist Party) led by Tierno Galván, was credited with 4.3%. The PSP was in a bloc with several Social Democratic formations that refused to join any party organized on a countrywide scale. It claimed to stand to the left of the PSOE.

About 14% of the vote went to a wide spectrum of nationalist and regionalist parties and to the groups that claimed along with the PSP to stand to the left of the CP and the Social Democrats.

The surge of support for the PSOE prompted a CBS news broadcaster in New York to announce on the day of the elections that there was a danger of a victory by the "leftist" Socialist Workers Party that was opposed to U.S. military bases.

For the U.S. capitalist press, the PSOE had two faces. An article by correspondent Joe Gandelman in the June 13 *Christian Science Monitor* illustrated this view:

Various exchanges between . . . [PSOE leader Felipe] Gonzales and . . . [CP leader Santiago] Carrillo reflect challenges posed elsewhere to West European social democrats from within and without.

For instance, Britain's Labour Party recently became worried over radical Trotskyites who are infiltrating the party and seek to take over its machinery. Similarly, Portugal's Socialist Premier Mario Soares is concerned about his party's radicals, not to mention the pro-Moscow Portuguese Communist Party.

The PSOE's militant base includes hard-core Marxists. But the party needs support from the influential, wealthy Socialist International led by moderate West German Social Democrat Willy Brandt. . . .

Thus the Socialists' once fiery leadership has adopted a posture designed to hold both its Marxist militants and moderate socialists.

Further on in his article, Gandelman said:

Now, the PSOE leader says the Communists are "to the right of the PSOE" and the Communists are on the defensive.

The PSOE did take a position to the left of the CP on the question of U.S. bases. It opposed them, calling for a neutralist Spain. The CP, in keeping with the current *détente* line followed by all the West European CPs and not just the "Euro-Communist" ones, stressed that it could live with U.S. bases.

In his column in the June 19 *New York Times*, C.L. Sulzberger wrote:

Oddly enough, the Communists accept United States bases in Spain while objecting to NATO membership. Santiago Carrillo . . . told me the alliance was an expensive luxury but that United States bases effectively help maintain a

global strategic balance—until Washington and Moscow produce new relationships.

While maintaining a basically class-collaborationist policy toward the Suárez government, the PSOE has made more of an effort than the CP to give an appearance of independence and readiness to stand up to the regime. The PSOE leadership has also been under more visible pressure from the ranks. For example, after the Atocha murders at the end of January,\* the Madrid branch of the party demanded that the PSOE representatives leave the committee of opposition parties negotiating with the government.

The PSOE did leave the negotiating committee prior to the opening of the election campaign in protest against the government's giving legal recognition to a right-wing split-off from the party. The PSOE-dominated union federation, the Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT—General Workers Union), moreover, called for a complete break from the government's vertical unions, in which the CP continues to work.

Despite its perspective of collaboration with Suárez, the PSOE seems to have emerged clearly in the elections as the main left alternative to the government.

#### Stalinist Belly-Crawling

It was aided in this by the default of the CP, which sought to avoid challenging Suárez. For example, in the June 13 *Pravda*, correspondent B. Kotov quoted Madrid leader Víctor Díaz Cardiel as stressing the CP's modest electoral aim:

The most important thing is to defend the gains already made, to assure that the elections can take place under normal conditions, not to allow them to be disrupted by the foes of democratic renewal, who are trying to destabilize the situation in the country by terrorist actions.

Carrillo's first reaction to the election results was to call for a national coalition including the Communist Party. In the June 17 issue of the Rome daily *Repubblica*, he was quoted as saying:

We ask to participate in the government. Even though the other parties and the institutions are opposed to this, I think it would be the most reasonable thing. The only other alternative would be a government of the UCD and the Socialists. If its program were acceptable, we would offer constructive opposition to such a government.

In fact, the CP leader even indicated that the UCD deserved the support it got:

The first thing that should be noted about the elections is the political collapse of the forces that identified themselves with the past forty years of dictatorship. This is the positive aspect of the results. In the second place, it seems that

the strongest group in the incoming parliament will be the center. This group gained from the role played by Premier Suárez in the transition and from the fact that although there are Francoists in its ranks it presented itself as a force for change.

The Communist Party received about 9% of the popular vote, somewhat less than had been expected at the start of the campaign. Obviously, its "modest" aims



SUAREZ: Disappointed by thin victory.

prevented it from gaining much credibility as a genuine alternative. Moreover, the CP's open sabotaging of the Basque amnesty struggle in mid-May probably cost it votes. The PSOE avoided coming out openly against the Basques.

In its June 17 issue, the Italian CP paper *l'Unità* carried an article by Giancarlo Pajetta indicating that the Spanish CP's main role had been to exert a positive influence on the government:

In the difficult process that led not only the democratic vanguard but also the men of the government, the regime, and the moderate groups to recognize the need for a deepgoing change without any traumas, the Spanish Communists have acted as a leading, and perhaps decisive, force.

Carrillo tried to explain the CP's "modest" score as follows:

The third phenomenon to be noted in the elections is the flood of votes for the PSOE. This party became the vehicle for many people who wanted to vote left but were still afraid of voting for us. . . . In a country still traumatized by forty years in which you could not even discuss the orders that came down, the fact that the king received the PSOE leader before the elections

gave this party an aura of respectability and made it appear a possible alternative in the present circumstances.

Undoubtedly, many people were afraid of voting for the CP, and it probably was difficult for the party to campaign in many rural areas. However, the PSOE won its victory in the big proletarian centers. It carried every major city in the country. And other formations that tried to appear more liberal than Suárez, while still respectable, failed to attract interest, as Carrillo himself lamented:

I am sorry about the failure of the Christian Democrats.

Suárez tried to appeal to left voters; the PSOE and the CP in particular helped him to do this. Both parties also helped him to get across the point that a defeat of the center would dangerously destabilize the situation in Spain. Thus, it seems clear that the PSOE vote was mainly one for radical change and a workers government and a vote against placing confidence in the ability of Francoist "liberalizers" like Suárez to dismantle the dictatorship and meet the demands of the masses.

#### Mounting Pressures

As occurred with the Portuguese SP in 1975, the PSOE seems likely in the immediate future to become the focus of contending currents in the working class and conflicting pressures emanating from the working class and from the bourgeoisie.

The most immediate question facing the PSOE leadership is whether it is going to make an open coalition with Suárez. González so far is playing notably harder to get than Carrillo.

If González accepts a coalition with the UCD, that would mean brazenly betraying the masses who voted for his party, who clearly wanted an alternative to Suárez. The PSOE leaders would pay a high price for that.

On the other hand, the Social Democratic leaders are firmly committed to maintaining capitalism and are just as anxious as the CP to uphold "stability." They want to win the confidence of the bourgeoisie, and do not want to unleash processes that they might not be able to control and that would lead to a polarization between working-class and bourgeois forces. Obviously, the best way to gain the bourgeoisie's confidence would be to come to Suárez's aid.

However, with the political and union line-up in Spain still so fluid and with the near certainty that the government is now going to have to take a sharp turn toward "austerity," the PSOE would lose its chance to consolidate a base if it moved too quickly toward an open coalition.

*Repubblica's* correspondent Saverio Tutino noted that immediately after the

\*See "Strikes Sweep Spain in Reply to Rightist Murder Squads," in *Intercontinental Press*, February 7, 1977, p. 104.

election Tierno Galván began to stress the need for an accord between Suárez and González. Tutino quoted Tierno Galván as saying: "There are Social Democrats in both [the UCD and PSOE]," and "such an alliance would bring stability to the country."

Tierno Galván's PSP, however, has little base in the workers movement, and it is not yet clear how much of the vote with which it is credited came from its bloc with minority nationality and regionalist formations that might find it more difficult to

accept a coalition with the rulers of the Spanish state.

The problem with all these schemes for assembling a majority behind a continuation of the Suárez government is that despite all the manipulation of the elections, the workers and minority nationalist parties seem to have gotten a majority of the popular vote. And the supporters of these parties are all raising demands incompatible with the survival of a strong, centralized bourgeois government in Spain.

In view of the relationship of forces indicated by the elections, it is going to be still harder for the leaders of these parties to explain to their followers why they must defer their hopes. Thus, despite the attempts of the capitalist press in Spain and elsewhere to present Suárez as the victor, it seems clear that the bourgeoisie has not emerged from this election politically strengthened. Instead, the tenuous grip the bourgeois politicians have kept on the situation in Spain has become still more precarious. □

## 300 Demonstrators Sentenced to Public Flogging

# Protests Across South Africa Commemorate Soweto Victims

By Ernest Harsch

Tens of thousands of Blacks have participated in rallies, demonstrations, and strikes throughout South Africa in commemoration of the June 16, 1976, Soweto student protests that led to a massive upsurge against the hated apartheid regime.

They turned out in defiance of heavy government repression, in which at least ten Blacks have been killed, many more wounded, and hundreds arrested.

The memorial actions were called by the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), which initiated many of the mass protests and strikes last year. To commemorate the hundreds of Blacks who were killed in the 1976 protests, the SSRC called a two-day strike, on June 16 and 17, of all Soweto high schools. It also appealed to Soweto's 320,000 workers, who commute daily to jobs in Johannesburg, to stay away from work.

In addition, leaflets issued by students in the Johannesburg and Pretoria areas called for a period of silence on June 16 from early in the morning until 9 a.m., the closing of all Soweto shops on June 16 and half of June 17, and the closing of all shebeens (beer halls) from June 13 to June 19.

According to a report in the June 11 international edition of the *Johannesburg Star*, "Black pupils who have called for two days of mourning for those who died in last June's riots—have stressed they do not want violence."

As in the past, the racist white minority regime responded to these calls for peaceful protests with brutal force. On June 10, SSRC President Sechaba Montsitsi and at least twenty-five other student leaders were arrested. On June 15, one day before the beginning of the memorial actions, roadblocks were set up at all exits from Soweto, as armored vehicles, vans, and

police cars began heavy patrols. Police using tear gas dispersed groups of students near three high schools. Maj. Gen. D.J. Kriel, the head of the riot police, warned that his men would not hesitate to shoot protesters.

The *Johannesburg World*, the largest circulation Black newspaper in South Africa, quoted witnesses as saying that on June 15 Philemon Tloane, a seventeen-year-old high-school student, was beaten to death by police dressed in camouflage uniforms. The police told reporters for the *World* who were at the scene, "Stay away. It's none of your business."

On the first day of the memorial protests, most Black schools in South Africa were shut down by the students. Although employers warned Black workers that they would not be paid for lost time, tens of thousands observed the SSRC strike call. According to figures released by companies in Johannesburg, the total of Black workers participating in the strike averaged around 40 percent.

While high schools were still vacant the next day, some of the striking workers reportedly returned to their jobs. Businesses claimed that the rate of absenteeism was about 20 percent.

Most of the memorial meetings in Black townships throughout the country were held as church services. In at least two cases in Soweto, police fired tear gas at the participants.

Robin Wright reported the reactions of demonstrators to these attacks in a June 16 dispatch to the *Washington Post*: "In Meadowlands sub-township [in Soweto], children stormed out of a church after the tear gas was thrown and marched on police vans and armored cars, singing the African nationalist anthem and raising clenched fists, the sign of black power."

Youths also set up roadblocks. Police

fired into the protesters, wounding at least nine of them. According to local newspaper reports, which neither the police nor the hospital would confirm, two of the Blacks died from their wounds.

The heaviest repression unleashed during the commemorative actions was in the Black townships of Kabah and Kwanobuhle outside Uitenhage, which is near the industrial city of Port Elizabeth. On June 16, two Blacks were shot after a group of demonstrators were arrested for holding illegal rallies.

Thousands of Blacks expressed their opposition to the apartheid regime by attacking symbols of white supremacy. They burned down more than a dozen government offices and shops in the two townships and clashed with police units. Police fired into the crowds of protesters, killing at least six Blacks. Three others also died during the unrest, the police claiming that two of them had been killed in one of the fires.

More than 300 Blacks in Kabah and Kwanobuhle were arrested in police raids late on June 17. They were taken before special courts, tried on the spot on charges of rioting, and sentenced to public floggings.

According to a June 17 dispatch in the *New York Times*, rising unemployment in the Uitenhage area may have been a factor contributing to the intensity of the protests there. Kabah and Kwanobuhle house about 40,000 Blacks who work in the Port Elizabeth auto plants, which have been severely hit by the current economic recession in South Africa. Port Elizabeth is known as "Little Detroit" because of the concentration of American-owned auto companies there.

During demonstrations in Mamelodi, a Black township ten miles north of Preto-

ria, a twenty-year-old Black youth was gunned down by an official of the Bantu Administration Board, which runs the township.

The Vorster regime, which tries to present Blacks with an image of white unity and strength, also took steps to halt memorial actions by white students in solidarity with the Black struggle. Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons James T. Kruger banned a rally at the all-white University of the Witwatersrand that was scheduled to be held at noon on June 16. He said that it was "not in the best interests" of stability for white students to express sympathy for Blacks.

The students held the rally anyway, planning to conclude it before noon, when the banning order was to come into effect. Clashes took place when racist white students attacked the rally, smashing crosses erected in memory of the Soweto martyrs, pouring gasoline over them, and setting them on fire.

After a year of stepped-up efforts to crush Black dissent, the June 16 memorial actions testify to the continued combativity of South Africa's Black population, especially its youth. They reaffirm the strength of the South African freedom struggle, which emerged on a massive scale during last year's protests.

The Soweto upsurge began with a demonstration of about 10,000 students on June 16, 1976, to protest a government ruling imposing the compulsory use of Afrikaans—the language of the majority Afrikaner section of the white population—in Black high schools.

The police bloodbath unleashed against the students ignited an unprecedented uprising in Black townships throughout the country, in which Blacks mobilized for their basic democratic rights and against the all-encompassing system of white supremacy known as apartheid. Under that system, South Africa's 22 million Blacks are kept in impoverished subservience, while the white ruling class rakes in superprofits.

The 1976 upsurge drew in all sectors of the Black population, which is composed of 18.6 million Africans, 746,000 Indians, and 2.4 million Coloureds, who are of mixed ancestry. It also inspired the active participation of the powerful Black working class, which carried out two general strikes, one that crippled Johannesburg in August and one that virtually paralyzed Johannesburg and Cape Town in September.

Although the Vorster regime was forced to make a few token concessions, such as dropping the Afrikaans-language ruling, its main response to the Black demands was to step up the repression.

More than 600 Blacks are known to have been killed by police, paramilitary forces, and white vigilantes during the 1976 protests. Thousands of Black leaders and activists were arrested, some of whom later

died in prison under torture. More than 3,000 Black youths were forced to flee into exile. The police were armed with new repressive laws and the military budget was increased.



KRUGER: Bans solidarity rally by white students at University of Witwatersrand.

Despite all these measures, Vorster was unable to stifle the Black resistance.

The student movement in Soweto has lost many of its leaders but it survives as an organized force and continues to wield considerable influence over the township's more than one million inhabitants. This was reflected in the February student demonstrations against the regime's discriminatory Bantu Education policy, and in the April protests against steep rent hikes, which the government was forced to postpone.

In fact, the regime's determination to press forward with its white-supremacist policies has only heightened the militancy of the Black population as a whole. Reporting from Soweto June 14, *New York Times* correspondent John F. Burns took note of this shifting mood. He said:

... as Soweto students prepare to mark the anniversary with a commemorative march that could precipitate new clashes, the black community is deeply divided as to whether it has all been worthwhile.

Some, led by practitioners of the old-style politics of amelioration, strongly oppose confrontation tactics, convinced that they bring bloodshed without tangible improvements. Others, taking their lead from the students, insist that only by challenging the Government can blacks hope to gain freedom.

Politically, the militants have gained the upper hand.

One indication of this was the resigna-

tion in early June of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council (UBC), a largely powerless advisory body set up by the regime and staffed by Blacks. All thirty-three members of the UBC resigned under pressure from the SSRC and Black adults, who had denounced them as government stooges.

In a June 15 dispatch from Soweto, *Washington Post* correspondent Robin Wright said:

The implications of this spreading discontent among blacks of all ages brings the possibility of wide-scale trouble ever closer. . . .

Dissidence among Soweto's adults could lead to what the government fears most: a labor boycott that would cripple this country's troubled economy.

The determination of the Black student movement to continue its active opposition to the Vorster regime's apartheid policies, particularly in the field of education, was expressed June 17 by Tromfomo Sono, who became the new president of the SSRC after Sechaba Montsitsi's arrest. A statement issued by Sono said that Black youths "are going to fight our main enemy—Bantu education—as long as it frustrates our educational aspirations."

This mood of militancy has also been reflected in the pages of the *Johannesburg World*, which has frequently counseled Black youths to exercise more "restraint." On June 19, the Black newspaper declared, "We say to the Government and the whites in general, your choice is simple. Either abandon all your privileges now and submit yourselves to majority rule in a nonracial society, or face certain destruction in the future." □

### Long Island Sludge Watch

An elaborate "early warning system"—employing ships, computers, a mobile laboratory, and a helicopter—has been devised for spotting sludge and debris off the south shore of Long Island, New York, this summer.

Last year, bathers were driven from the island's beaches on several occasions by raw and partially treated sewage, blobs of grease and oil, and assorted trash (see "New York's 'Mysterious Incursion of Sewage,'" *Intercontinental Press*, July 5, 1976, p. 1041).

The new system offers no assurance that such fouling will not be repeated, but Environmental Protection Agency officials hope that the time between fouling and cleaning can at least be shortened. They are spending an additional \$250,000 on the "sludge watch."

Residents have been urged to report heavy washups or fishkills by calling, toll-free, (800) 631-5316 in New York and (800) 272-1108 in New Jersey. Persons considering bathing on Nassau County beaches can see if the coast is clear by phoning (516) 535-4039.

## How the FBI and 'U.S. Labor Party' Tried to Disrupt Antinuclear Protest

By Fred Murphy

In the aftermath of the Watergate scandals and subsequent revelations of government spying, harassment, and disruption of the radical movement, quite a number of organizations on the American left have successfully sought the release of government documents proving that such actions were carried out.

Most often the documented offenses occurred several years prior to the release of the evidence. But government efforts to sabotage the new movement against nuclear power surfaced in early June, scarcely two months after they were initiated.

While hundreds of antinuclear activists were being held without bail in New Hampshire armories following the April 30 occupation of the Seabrook power plant construction site, attorneys for the Clamshell Alliance (which organized the protests) filed a lawsuit in federal court.

The suit charged New Hampshire Governor Meldrim Thomson and the state's attorney-general with violations of the demonstrators' civil rights. In the course of hearings on the suit, the New Hampshire state police were ordered to turn over a number of documents to the Clamshell Alliance that demonstrate the following:

- Information from an FBI informer was passed to the state police alleging that a "violent encounter" was being prepared.
- On several occasions prior to the demonstration, the state police were in contact with the "U.S. Labor Party," a bizarre right-wing sect that is rabidly pro-nuclear-power and notorious for physical assaults on radical organizations and activities.
- The state police—and probably Thomson himself—had copies of a right-wing spy bulletin reporting on plans for the Seabrook protest.

An April 8 "New Hampshire State Police Intelligence Report" (made available to the news media by the Clamshell Alliance) notes:

I received a telephone call from [deleted] of the Portsmouth [N.H.] office of the F.B.I. [deleted] related that the New York office of the F.B.I. had information from an informant that attended the March 26th meeting of the JULY FOURTH COALITION in New York City. The informant revealed that the Coalition endorsed the scheduled April 30th sit-in and encouraged their members to take part in the demonstration. He advised that the Coalition predicted a "violent encounter with the police" when the police

attempt to remove the demonstrators from the area.

This report was termed "an absolute lie" by Ted Glick of the People's Alliance (formerly the July Fourth Coalition). Glick told reporters from the New York *Village Voice* that at the March 26 meeting, "To the best of my knowledge, there was no specific mention of the Clamshell Alliance. Members were not encouraged to attend." (The organization did subsequently lend its support to the Seabrook actions.)

On April 12, New Hampshire Assistant Attorney-General Jim Kruse got a phone call from Rick Ennis, identified in the documents as a "member of the Security Staff" of the U.S. Labor Party (USLP) in New York. Ennis talked with Kruse for forty-five minutes. The same day, Detective Donald Buxton of the state police was instructed to contact two Labor Party members at the USLP's Boston office. On April 13 he went to Boston and met with Larry Sherman and Graham Lowry of the USLP.

Buxton filed a three-page report on his discussion with these "two very well informed gentlemen." They told him that "the planned demonstration on April 30, 1977 at the site of the Seabrook Nuclear Power Plant is nothing but a cover for terrorist activity."

... the method of penetration will be the same as recently used at a bloody anti-nuclear power plant demonstration in West Germany. ... The support for this terrorist group is based on the

east coast, and is essentially the same network which worked with the Fourth of July Bicentennial Committee, and is now working with the Clamshell Alliance. . . .

It is essential to their plans that a confrontation take place. They have publicly stated that the only way they will leave the site is if they are killed. . . .

Lowry and Sherman agreed to provide any further information they may learn of.

Attached please find publications, including intelligence reports, published by the U.S. Labor Party. . . .

Buxton was contacted by the Labor Party again—this time by Rick Ennis—on April 19. Ennis reported that a group called the New World Liberation Front had claimed credit for the bombing of a California power company, and that explosives had been discovered at the "Moderate Party Headquarters" in Gothenburg, Sweden. The NWLF, Ennis said, "is an advocate of free energy for everyone."

No matter that these alleged bombings had no connection whatsoever with the Clamshell Alliance; no matter that the "intelligence" on the antinuclear group's plans bore no relation to the truth. The reports were soon put to use by Governor Thomson and his mentor, right-wing publisher William Loeb, as ammunition in a violence-baiting smear campaign against the Seabrook protest.

Thomson was crude enough to repeat the USLP's "intelligence" almost verbatim. On April 27, the governor announced that protests would be "nothing but a cover for terrorist activity," adding that his office had been informed that once the occupation had begun, "they don't plan to leave alive."

Loeb's *Manchester Union-Leader* was apparently also provided with copies of the state police "intelligence reports." A front-page story in the April 29 edition said:

Law enforcement intelligence shows that the radical "July Fourth Coalition" held a meeting in New York City last month to endorse plans of the Clamshell Alliance to occupy the Seabrook site.

At that meeting, the coalition urged its

### Seabrook Foes Protest Carter's OK for Plant

One hundred persons representing twenty New England antinuclear organizations demonstrated June 18 outside the gates of the Seabrook nuclear plant construction site.

They were protesting a decision announced in Washington the previous day by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) approving the plant's cooling system, thus clearing the way for final approval of a construction permit by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. The permit had been withdrawn after a regional EPA ruling that the cooling system would be

harmful to marine life and a source of thermal pollution.

The twenty groups issued a statement calling the Carter administration's decision to OK the plant "a declaration of war against the natural environment and those who are dedicated to protecting it."

Another demonstration is planned for Government Center in Boston on June 27, and nationally coordinated protests have been set for August 6-9, the anniversary of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings.



members to take part in the site occupation and the group is reported to have predicted "a violent encounter with police." . . .

It could not be determined at this time if representatives of the New World Liberation Front (NWLF) will be on hand to participate in the Seabrook demonstration. The NWLF took credit for a bombing April 18 at a California facility owned by the Pacific Gas and Light Co.

Despite Loeb's and Thomson's efforts to frighten away participants with this scare campaign, 2,000 persons peacefully occupied the Seabrook construction site on April 30. Not one incident of physical violence on the part of any protester took place, nor was there a single report of property being damaged.

The onus for any violence was thus placed completely on the state police and National Guard, generating enough pressure to prevent the cops from attacking the demonstration. Even the arrests for trespassing proceeded peacefully. As a result, tremendous public sympathy was created for the protesters by the state's arbitrary detention of hundreds of them without bail, and the governor's slander operation came to naught.

Another item obtained through the lawsuit was a copy of the April 8 issue of *Information Digest*. According to a Clamshell Alliance spokesman, it was among the materials the Labor Party provided to the cops. Handwritten in the upper right-hand corner of the cover was "Gov. Thomson."

The publication had an article on "ANTINUCLEAR POWER: Reports on preparations for a demonstration and nuclear power plant takeover in New Hampshire. . . ." This consisted mainly of information about the Clamshell Alliance's history, composition, leadership, international support, and plans for the occupation—all of which was already public knowledge.

*Information Digest* is published by John and Louise Rees, two individuals with a history of activities as police spies and informers. The mimeographed bulletin was found by a New York State Assembly investigation in 1976 to be "serving as a clearing-house of information on the left for police departments, and forming an underground link among them."

Louise Rees is currently on the staff of Congressman Larry McDonald, a member of the national council of the extreme-right-wing John Birch Society. McDonald regularly enters selections from *Information Digest* into the *Congressional Record*; on April 19 he placed a summary of the *Digest's* article on the Clamshell Alliance in the record.

Material appearing in the right-wing spy bulletin or in McDonald's entries often parallels or tends to reflect the concerns of the FBI. In the case of one operation against the Socialist Workers Party, an FBI document having the same format, type faces, and writing style as *Informa-*

NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE POLICE		INTELLIGENCE REPORT	
NAME OF SUBJECT OR TITLE OF INCIDENT		EVALUATION OF SOURCE	CONFIDENTIAL
SEABROOK DEMONSTRATION		APR 11 2 47 PM '77 RELIABLE <input type="checkbox"/> UNRELIABLE <input type="checkbox"/> UNKNOWN <input type="checkbox"/>	
INFORMATION ACQUIRED BY:		NH STATE POLICE HEADQUARTERS	
		INVESTIGATION <input type="checkbox"/> DOCUMENTS <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> INFORMER <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
		NDOTRS. USE DAILY: CIU: DATE: 4-14-77	
On April 12, 1977, Captain Richard Campbell instructed me to make contact with Larry Sherman and Graham Lowry of the U. S. Labor Party at 120 Boylston Street, Room 230, Boston, Mass. 02116. The Captain informed me that Colonel Doyon wanted any information concerning the planned demonstration at Seabrook that the above two men may have. On the same date, I called Mr. Lowry and made an appointment for 2:00 P.M. on April 13, 1977. On April 13, 1977, I met with Larry Sherman 31 Monroe Terrace Dorchester, Mass. Tel. 617-436-6289 at the Labor Party Headquarters. A few minutes later we were joined by Graham Lowry 27 Moultrie Street Dorchester, Mass. Tel. 617-436-1129 These two very well informed gentlemen felt that the planned demonstration on April 30, 1977 at the site of the Seabrook Nuclear Power Plant is nothing but a cover for terrorist activity. Not all of the logistical details are known at this time, but the method of operation will be the same as recently used at a bloody anti-nuclear power plant demonstration in West Germany. The Seabrook site will be the major focal point of a coordinated national demonstration. There are a number of other demonstrations planned to coincide with Seabrook throughout the country, but it is felt by the national organizers that if Seabrook is stopped, all nuclear plants will be stopped. The support for this terrorist group is based on the east coast, and is essentially the same network which worked with the Fourth of July Bicentennial Committee, and is now working with the Clamshell Alliance. The number of participants is unknown; it is felt that they may get 5,000 recruits but they would like 20,000 or more. As of this time the recruitment is			
DRAFTED BY: JFC		SIGNED: Donald P. Reardon ID# 144 DATE: 4/14/77	
Page 1 of 1			

Photocopy of secret New Hampshire State Police "Intelligence Report" revealing role of "U.S. Labor Party" members as police informants.

*tion Digest* was brought to light. All this led Diane Rupp to ask in an article in the October 15, 1976, *Militant*, "Does McDonald prepare *Information Digest*? Or does the right-wing spy newsletter prepare McDonald? We can add another question. Does someone else—the FBI perhaps—prepare *Information Digest* and McDonald?"\*

Another interesting connection was noted in a June 6 Clamshell Alliance news release: "John Rees . . . presently works for Wackenhut Inc. Wackenhut is the third largest private international investigative and security organization in the U.S. and

recently was awarded a \$10 million contract from the Energy Research and Development Administration to guard nuclear plant sites."

The Clamshell Alliance lawsuit is continuing. Efforts are now being made by the group's attorneys to obtain twenty-one additional documents that are being withheld on the grounds that they would breach the lawyer-client relationship between Governor Thomson and the attorney-general.

But the information already revealed shows the close attention the American political police are paying to the new and growing movement against nuclear power. The whole episode provides a useful lesson for antinuclear activists, and a fresh example of the close links among the FBI, local and state police, and the extreme right wing. □

\* See "Who's behind Rep. Larry McDonald & his right-wing spies?" by Diane Rupp, *Militant*, October 15, 1976, page 23.

# Bhutto Agrees to Hold New Elections

In a concession to opposition forces, the regime of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto agreed June 14 to hold new general elections in Pakistan before the end of the year.

Bhutto's rigging of the last elections, held March 7, resulted in massive demonstrations and strikes throughout the country. The main opposition force, the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), demanded new elections, Bhutto's resignation, and the setting up of a caretaker administration to arrange new elections.

Bhutto responded to the mass upsurge, which in many instances escaped the control of the conservative PNA leadership, with brutal repression. Hundreds of demonstrators were gunned down, thousands arrested, and martial law was imposed in Karachi, Hyderabad, and Lahore.

At the same time, Bhutto sought to defuse the protests by drawing the PNA leadership into negotiations. After the latest round of talks began June 3, Bhutto released the last of the PNA leaders who were still in jail and agreed to free most of the arrested protesters. On June 7, martial law was lifted.

The rightist PNA leaders, who had earlier expressed concern over the growing independence of the mass mobilizations and labor actions, agreed to call a halt to all public rallies, marches, demonstrations, and antigovernment statements. They also dropped their demands for Bhutto's resig-

nation and the establishment of a caretaker regime.

Minister of Religious Affairs Maulana Kausar Niazi, who was acting as a spokesman for Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP), announced that a formal agreement with the PNA awaited approval of the "timing, machinery and paraphernalia of a new fair election." However, he

## Marked by Lively Debate

# Chinese Trotskyists Hold Convention

HONG KONG—The Chinese Revolutionary Communist party (the Chinese section of the Fourth International) held its Fourth Convention in mid-April. Sixteen delegates with voting rights and four others were present. One-third of the delegates were women, and nearly half were youths.

Observers included representatives of a minority that split in 1941, the Revolutionary Communist League of Japan, and the Socialist Workers party of Australia.

The delegates paid tribute to all Chinese comrades such as Comrade Liu Ka-liang, who sacrificed their lives in the cause of the movement, and those who are still being held in the prisons of the Maoist regime because of their revolutionary stand.

The convention also saluted Comrade Peng Shu-tse and Comrade Chen Pi-lan and all comrades in exile for their decades of devotion and contributions to the movement.

A report on the political situation in China and a balance sheet on the past political and organisational work of the party submitted by the outgoing leadership was adopted by a majority of 13 for and 3 abstentions.

A political program for China entitled "The Development of New China and Our Tasks" was unanimously adopted with some amendments after discussion.

The program states that the People's Republic of China is a bureaucratically deformed workers state and that the present bureaucratic regime is the main obstacle in China's march toward socialism.

It calls for a political revolution by the workers and peasants to overthrow the

added, the PPP and PNA had agreed in principle on new elections.

There was no announcement of how a "fair election" would be assured. A June 14 Associated Press dispatch from Rawalpindi reported, "Another unsettled question is the release of thousands of opposition supporters who the opposition contends are still in prison."

Commenting on the PNA leadership's concessions to Bhutto, a reporter said in the June 10 issue of the Lahore weekly *Viewpoint*, "The Opposition leaders may find it hard to sell to their followers here [Karachi] any settlement involving a whittling down of their three basic demands." □

bureaucratic caste, build a workers democratic regime based on soviets, assure democratic rights to the people, end the one-party dictatorship of the Chinese Communist party, and thus bring about an improvement in the standard of living.

The program points out that economic planning and management should be conducted according to the interests and will of the masses; agricultural production should be organized democratically and based on the will of the peasants.

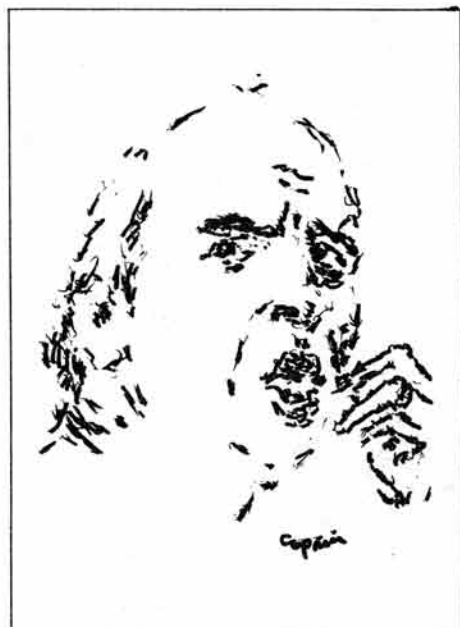
It also calls for the abolition of all bureaucratic privileges, the narrowing of wage differentials, the right of self-determination for the national minorities in China, and a proletarian international policy in foreign affairs.

Differences were discussed over the evaluation of the political situation in Hong Kong and the immediate needs of the party there. The formation of a tendency was announced.

After a lively debate on two draft resolutions submitted by the outgoing leadership, "The Political Situation in Hong Kong and Our Tasks" and "Present Organisational Tasks and Methods," the two documents were adopted, the former with a majority of 12 to 2 with 2 abstentions, and the latter with 11 for, 1 against, and 4 abstentions.

The tendency moved for adoption of its counterdocuments; they were voted down with 2 for, 8 against, and 4 abstentions. According to the tendency, the differences were over methods and not principles.

At the final session of the convention, an amended constitution of the party was unanimously adopted and a Central Committee was elected. □



BHUTTO: Pledges "fair" count at polls.

## An Appeal for Defense of Human Rights

[The following appeal appeared as an advertisement in the June 12-13 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. Among the more than seventy initial signers are: Michel Broué, Victor Fainberg, Roger Garaudy, Alain Krivine, Leonid Plyushch, Krzysztof Pomian, Maxime Rodinson, and Ilios Iana-kakis.

[Persons wishing to add their names to this appeal are asked to write to Joseph Kipnis, 180, rue de Charenton, 75012 Paris, France.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

It is to be feared that the governments involved in the Belgrade meeting, who are both judged and interested parties, may drop a coy veil over the violations of democratic rights in their own countries and in those countries whose governments are allied with them, and give each other good marks, as dictated by their economic and diplomatic interests.

That is why we believe it necessary, faced with the Belgrade of the governments, to present the facts about the violations of democratic rights. That is, violations of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights; of freedom of opinion, religion, expression; of the right to organize and demonstrate; of the right to a job, trade-union freedom, and the right to strike; of the right of free movement for persons and the right for ideas to circulate freely; and of the right of peoples to determine their own future.

In the countries of Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union, the defenders of human rights are waging a difficult struggle for such rights and have formed committees such as the Committee to Supervise Compliance with the Helsinki Accords among the various nationalities in the USSR, the Charter 77 group in Czechoslovakia, committees of solidarity with Charter 77 in other East European countries, the Polish Committee to Defend the Workers (KOR Komitet Obrony Robotników), and so on. These committees have frequently asked for support from working-class and democratic organizations in Western Europe. We want to commend these initiatives and express our complete solidarity with all those fighting for this cause and facing repressive blows.

Although repression in Western Europe is not now on the same scale as in East Europe, we think that it is just as essential to remain on the alert here against any attacks on democratic rights (such as political blacklisting in West Germany;

attacks on the rights of, and deportations of, foreigners living in France, and so on). And we demand democratic freedoms for all the citizens and peoples of Spain. In addition, we also point out the gravity of the repression in Turkey, a country to which the Helsinki accords also apply.

On the occasion of the Belgrade confer-

## Let Panama's Exiled Dissidents Return Home!



Susan Ellis/Militant

MIGUEL ANTONIO BERNAL: One of the many freedom fighters expelled by Torrijos.

[The following open letter was sent May 24 to Omar Torrijos, chief of state of Panama, by the Liga Socialista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Socialist League), sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Panama. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

This letter, which we are directing to you as head of the national government, is of a public nature, since its subject is of interest to the entire nation.

What is involved is the need for our country to hold a free and open national debate on the new canal treaty to be negotiated.

We think that the condition of exile imposed on individuals like Miguel Antonio Bernal, Alberto Quiroz Guardia, Diana Moran, Telma King, Federico Britton, and Jorge and David Turner—to name a few of

ence, we solemnly appeal to public opinion to mobilize to defend human rights in all of Europe. We propose forming a committee of working-class and democratic organizations, to take all the necessary steps toward this end.

In so doing, we wish to affirm our total solidarity with the victims of repression—often more severe—in the rest of the world, in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, and to assure the victims of repression in these areas that the struggle that is being waged in the countries that have signed the Helsinki Accords is an integral part of the worldwide fight for democratic rights. □

those who have distinguished themselves in the course of the history of the republic by their struggle to eradicate the colonial enclave and expel imperialism once and for all—will severely limit the scope of this debate while at the same time disarming the struggle for the aspirations of the Panamanian people. They are figures who at crucial moments were able to win the confidence of the popular masses, to raise the historic voice of opposition of our people in their struggle for control over the Canal Zone. No one, at this crucial time, can begrudge them the right to take their place, as always, in the front lines of battle. Still less can anyone denigrate their experience, gained in the course of an exemplary life devoted to the cause of our people despite persecution by imperialism and its allies.

The absence of these comrades at such key moments as the ones we are now living through can only aid the imperialists and their national allies in their aim of blocking any progress in the attainment of our objectives.

As participants in all the previous battles, the exiled comrades recognize the need to directly expose the maneuvers of the enemy to the people, so as to raise their level of consciousness and organization. In face of the tremendous need for a confrontation, the people require the presence of the exiled anti-imperialists to insure success in our struggle for total sovereignty and the expulsion of the American forces, who are utilizing our country to hold back any advance in the struggle of the Latin American peoples for freedom.

We socialists have taken up the historic demands of the Panamanian people, and we think that the presence of each and every one of our comrades is of vital importance to the attainment of these objectives.

To do this, we affirm the need for a *general amnesty* that would grant these militants, who today are in prolonged and painful exile, the right to struggle alongside the Panamanian people for full national sovereignty. □

## Mounting International Support for Polish Dissidents

By Gerry Foley

The Polish Stalinist regime is continuing to step up its repressive campaign against the fighters for democratic rights. However, it is still proceeding in a zigzag way, retreating as well as pushing ahead. The aim is to test the reaction of the masses in Poland and world public opinion, especially the international workers and socialist movement.

On June 8, the regime released Jan-Jozef Lipski, an elderly and widely respected leader of the Committee to Defend the Workers. At the same time, it pressed ahead with its campaign of intimidation against the workers and fighters for democratic rights.

The Warsaw weekly paper *Polityka*, for example, which functions as a sophisticated forum for the more "modernizing" elements of the bureaucracy, took up the campaign against the fighters for democratic rights after long avoiding the question.

Under domestic news briefs, the June 11 *Polityka* took note of a speech by Edward Gierk in Radom, the site of one of the most powerful workers' upsurges last June. Speaking to representatives of the official shop organizations, the CP general secretary said:

Our tasks are not easy. Therefore, more than ever we need well organized, productive, and competent work. We need the political and moral unity of the entire people.

Immediately below this was the report of a speech by Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz to a group of new members of the Communist Party. The premier attacked the fighters for democratic rights in the following terms:

A tiny group of political intriguers, hardened foes of socialism in Poland, who have come to specialize in trouble-making, demagogy, lying, and provocation, cannot upset our lives, weaken the unity of Poles, or diminish the products of our labor.

Prominent in the same issue of *Polityka* were two articles that: (1) tried to present a reasonable-sounding case for raising food prices; (2) sought to rebuff the protests of the fighters for democratic rights with more sophisticated methods than Jaroszewicz's epithets or singling out protesters with Jewish names as practiced by *Zycie Warszawy*, the capital's main daily.

The article on price policy was the lead story in the issue. It is worth noting that *Polityka* began an attack on the fighters



GIERK: "Our tasks are not easy."

for democratic rights and on the resistance to higher food prices at the same time. This move follows a report by Jaroszewicz to parliament in late May bemoaning the state of the economy. The premier stressed the excess of demand over supply for food products, particularly meat.

This economic imbalance has been caused by the bureaucracy's inability to either expand food production sufficiently or to restrict demand by setting higher prices. The planned price hike was hastily called off last June in the face of massive workers' revolts.

To maintain the bureaucratic system, the party bosses are trying to roll back both the economic and political gains of the Polish people. Both are directly and inseparably linked. The major political gain has been the ability of the Committee to Defend Worker Victims of the Repression Connected With the Events of June 25, 1976, to function without being suppressed outright.

In trying to move toward restoring the price increases, the bureaucrats are also taking a zigzag approach. In his article

entitled "Bearable and Effective Prices," economist Edmund Pietrzak both defended the government's policy of raising prices and reassured his readers by reminding them that the government had decided in July to raise prices only gradually. He said he thought the annual rise should not be more than 5 percent. Pietrzak's article was filled with soft soap as well as schemes for "mitigating" the price increases. But its upshot was clear enough. Food prices are going to go up.

The question of the movement for democratic rights was taken up by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, a journalist and member of parliament. He began by explaining why he had refused to answer a question about the "dissidents" put to him by a West German reporter.

I replied that anyone had a right to take an interest in the life of the Poles and express their personal opinion about various aspects of our reality. However, I wished that Western reporters who write about persons who for various reasons oppose the policy of the Polish People's Republic, and in some cases even violate our laws, would consider the fact that in our country there are, besides these individuals, thirty million Poles, including two and a half million party members.

I am distressed when I read that the true conscience of the people has finally come forward, namely Adam Michnik and a few of his friends. What about the rest? Them, they're not worth talking about, they have their heads in the sand, pushed down by hard-nosed, pragmatic Communists who think of nothing but how to hang on to power.

Not only were the "dissidents" insignificant according to Rakowski; by the very nature of their views no discussion with them was possible:

Michnik and Kuron are not citizens of People's Poland with whom I would discuss. Serious discussion of Polish affairs can only be conducted with those who accept the fundamental constitutional bases and concepts of development established by the main political forces operating in our country.

Rakowski concluded on the following note:

As for the present interest in Polish affairs in West Europe, I think that it would not do—looking at things realistically—to exaggerate the importance of the play that some of the mass media . . . are giving individuals or groups that, for various reasons, find themselves in conflict with our conception of developing Poland. Anyone who has the slightest knowledge of capitalist Europe or the United States knows that in those circles where regional or world

policy is really made what counts is the relationship of forces. . . .

I know at least a few hundred leading politicians in the West and I know that what really interests them is the industrial potential of Poland, our competitiveness, the character of our relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries, the views of the Polish leadership about détente, European cooperation, and so forth. They are not dreamers or hotheads. Obviously, they are not upset if there is chaos among the Communists, but they know very well the limitations of their possibilities. I have the impression that not all my countrymen realize this.

Rakowski obviously hoped that it would have a demoralizing effect on the opposition to point out that the Western governments are not interested in them, a fact that leading Polish fighters for democratic rights are apparently not unaware of. It has been the more isolated Russian dissidents who have expressed the greatest illusions about this.

However, Rakowski did not mention the problem of support for the democratic fighters by the workers and socialist movement, which is becoming the strongest political force in a number of West European countries.

In the June 8 *Le Monde*, exiled Polish historian and philosopher Krzysztof Pomian wrote:

Those who are fighting in Poland for recognition of the fundamental rights of the working class and human rights—the two are linked—expect the unions and the left parties to condemn the recent arrests, to demand the release of all the workers imprisoned and of all those who, with a spirit of self-sacrifice that can only be admired, have defended them. These forces should demonstrate their support for those who are still free, but whose freedom is threatened. "What goes for Italy goes for Poland," the Italian metalworkers said in a resolution adopted a few days ago by their union congress. That is true for France, and for other countries.

In its June 1 issue, *Le Monde* published an appeal by the Paris-based Committee of Solidarity with the Polish Workers, which was signed by such leading figures on the left as the Spanish writer Jorge Semprun, Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, and the entire editorial board of France's leading left intellectual magazine, *Les Temps Modernes*. The statement concluded:

We are proud, as friends of Poland, that in that country there are courageous persons who dare to struggle in difficult conditions for truth, for liberty, and for rights for an independent workers movement.

In Geneva on June 6, representatives of a committee formed by a broad spectrum of forces in the workers and socialist movement occupied the offices of Polish Airlines to protest the repression against the movement for democratic rights in Poland.

On June 14 in Paris, more than a thousand persons demonstrated in support

of the imprisoned Polish fighters. The action was called by the Committee of Solidarity with the Polish Workers. The French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* reported:

It was a very combative demonstration with many red banners. It raised such slogans as "Free the Imprisoned Polish Workers"; "Stalin-Gierek, No"; and "Real Powers for the Workers."

In recent months, the mass workers organizations in West Europe, including the major CPs, have been forced to take up the defense of the fighters for democratic

rights, such as those now in prison in Poland.

The leaders of the West European workers organizations, however bureaucratic, are not in a position so removed from the workers as Rakowski. They cannot just have "realistic" discussions with leading capitalist politicians, based on the existing "relationship of forces." They have to answer directly to the workers, who will not allow the rights of other workers to be suppressed in East Europe in the name of "socialism." □

## Statement by Hunger Strikers in Warsaw

[In May, with protests against the murder of a young fighter for democratic rights spreading throughout the country, the Polish Stalinist regime launched the most extensive wave of repression since the mass workers' rebellions in June 1976. Scores of persons have been arrested, and most of the leaders of the Committee to Defend the Workers have been jailed.

[Fifteen persons held a hunger strike from May 24 to May 31 in St. Martin's Church in Warsaw demanding the release of the workers still imprisoned as a result of the suppression of last June's revolts, as well as of the jailed fighters for democratic rights.

[The following statement by the hunger strikers was issued May 25 and appeared in the June 13 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. After the statement was made public, two workers, whose names are unknown, and the poet S. Baranczak joined the hunger strike.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

It has now been eleven months since Polish society, confronted by an arbitrary and unjust decision to increase prices, was rocked by a massive wave of demonstrations and protests. The demonstrators' stance paid off. The authorities canceled the increase.

However, right after this, many participants in the protests suffered heavy repression. In place of the much vaunted dialogue, an attempt was made to create a climate of fear.

We remember the numerous arrests, dismissals, assaults, and even torture during the interrogations; the trials conducted in an atmosphere contrary to the most elementary spirit of objectivity and justice; the campaigns of distortions and slander.

Finally, we remember the assaults and death threats against persons who came to the defense of those unjustly repressed.

The defense of the victims of the June events was the work of persons from

various milieus throughout Poland. The authorities were given petitions bearing thousands of signatures. A committee to aid the victims was organized spontaneously. The demand was raised for respecting the most elementary democratic rights.

These actions did not have the results hoped for. Many persons are still out of work, and five workers are still in prison. They are Czeslaw Chomiczki, Wieslaw Skrzypek, and Zygmunt Zdrowski from Radom, and Marek Majewski and Adam Zukowski, from Ursus.

In addition, in the last few weeks, several of those persons who showed the most self-sacrifice in aiding the prisoners and their families have been arrested. We have just learned that another trial of innocent people is being planned.

Under these circumstances, moved by a deep feeling of solidarity with the prisoners, we the undersigned once again demand the release of all the victims of the repression that followed June 1976, and of all those who came to their defense.

In face of the ineffectiveness of previous appeals and the gravity of the situation, we are accompanying our call with a week-long public hunger strike. For those of us who believe in God, this will be a kind of prayer. For all of us, it will be an appeal to society and to the government.

We have consciously chosen the hunger strike as a form of struggling nonviolently for law and justice, for dignity, against oppression. We have many forerunners in this type of struggle, from Mahatma Gandhi to the Reverend Martin Luther King to those fighters in the Spanish churches who fought against the dictatorship with hunger strikes, for liberty and democracy, to those who, oppressed because of their beliefs in different countries, have also undertaken this type of protest.

We are in particular solidarity with the victims of the repression who began a protest hunger strike on May 25. This form of protest and call to struggle seems to us to be the form best suited to drawing attention to the danger and profoundly amoral character of the violation and lack

of respect for human dignity, law and freedom, a lack of respect that affects all aspects of the nation's life.

We are asking T. Mazowiecki (editor in chief of the liberal Catholic monthly *Wiaz* [the Link]—Trans.) to be our representative, and we are submitting this statement through him to the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, to the church

officials, to the Committee to Defend the Workers, and to the public.

*B. Blajfer, L. Chomicka, D. Chomicka, B. Cywinski, J. Geresz, A. Hauke-Lowinski, Father Paulin, B. Torunczyk, H. Wujec.*

The following joined the hunger strike and signed this statement on the evening of May 25: *E. Kloc* and *O. Szechter*.

On May 26: *J. Szczesna*. □

## Proclaim Reformist Aims

# Mexican Stalinists Drop 'Leftist' Mask



Revista de Revistas

ARNOLDO MARTINEZ VERDUGO

At its Eighteenth Congress, held at the end of May, the Partido Comunista Mexicano (PCM—Mexican Communist Party) dropped the vaguely left-sounding rhetoric it had been using. Along with this shift, the Stalinist leadership adopted a notably less friendly attitude toward the Trotskyists of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). The PRT leaders had seen this turnabout coming for several weeks.

In an open letter addressed to the PCM congress, Ricardo Hernández and Manuel Aguilar Mora, members of the Political Bureau of the PRT, said:

In his report entitled "General Lines for the Political Preparation of the Eighteenth National

Congress of the PCM," Comrade Arnaldo Martínez Verdugo [General Secretary of the PCM] set forth a whole series of measures for improving the national economy.

Almost all of these measures could, in general, be acceptable. They could serve as demands around which to struggle in specific conjunctures. What is grave is that the illusion is created that there is in fact a solution to the economic crisis within the framework of capitalism. At the end of this little program, we find the following paragraph:

"These measures do not constitute a socialist program but rather one for democratic reconstruction of the national economy. It is designed to strengthen the national economy, to get the country out of the economic crisis, and to defend the interests of the blue- and white-collar workers and the peasants, who are the immense majority of the nation. Therefore, its edge is directed against the national and foreign monopolies and against the big capitalist landlords and it does not aim at abolishing the capitalist system or opposing the bourgeoisie as a whole."

Hernández and Aguilar Mora commented:

"This paragraph alone would be sufficient to characterize the PCM as reformist." Further on in their open letter, they noted: "There is no question of our misinterpreting some paragraph. The text is full of paragraphs such as the following":

The platform of economic demands and political reform is based on the search for a peaceful solution, of profound democratic and popular content, that can get the country out of its economic and political crisis with the least sacrifices.

Aguilar Mora and Hernández protested against the adoption by the PCM of a sectarian attitude toward the Trotskyists:

For some time, there has been discussion of uniting the left in a coalition that initially would take up the fight against rising prices. This coalition includes the PCM, the PMT [Partido Mexicano de Trabajo—Mexican Labor Party], the PPS (Gascón) [the Gascón faction of the Partido Popular Socialista, an old right-wing Stalinist front group that developed organizational independence], the PSR, and the electrical workers leader Rafael Galván. We asked to

participate in this coalition, but our request was vetoed by the PPS. This is what the comrades of the PCM leadership told us. . . .

Despite the fact that the PCM comrades have maintained the essential and correct position that it is necessary to unite the left, in fact they accepted the PPS's veto. So, we were not allowed to participate in the rally in the Cine Internacional against rising prices; thus there could be no electoral coalition with us in Baja California, and we were not even allowed to speak at the rally of the parties in Che Guevara hall in support of the recent formation of the Union of Workers of the Autonomous National University of Mexico. This last was the most incredible act of exclusionism, since they gave a privileged position to the PPS, which has no strength in this union, and they excluded an organization that plays a role in the union at the university.

Aguilar Mora and Hernández argued:

It is an error to accept such "us or them" blackmail. The response to such blackmail should be categorical and not tactical. The question of whether the PPS is more recruitable than we are should not affect the principle of striving to unite the maximum number of forces in mobilizations.

The PCM should have said to the PPS, who allied themselves with the butchers of the movement in 1968 [when the government with which the PPS was collaborating deliberately slaughtered hundreds of participants in a rally for democratic rights in Tlatelolco Square], it should have told them: "You do not have the right to exclude anyone, and still less those with whom we stood together on the same side of the barricades in 1968 and who were our allies in the presidential elections. If you ask us to choose between you and them, then you can go your way. At least that would have been our answer in a similar situation.

The open letter pointed out that it was against the CP's own material interests to sacrifice its relations with revolutionary activists for the sake of a fusion with right-wing Stalinists who have long been notorious as "left" stooges of the government:

We can draw a balance sheet from the most recent mobilizations in the Federal District. . . . It was not without reason that the Valley of Mexico Regional Leadership of the PCM favored the PRT in alliances, because in practical terms, there was no one else. Maybe you can't organize spectacular rallies with the PRT or impressive declarations of fusions, but *with us you can mobilize people*.

Aguilar Mora and Hernández explained why they felt justified in making an appeal to the PCM congress:

We cannot remain indifferent to the debate in the PCM. The current that comes out ahead will determine the PCM's orientation. It concerns us directly if the PCM votes to characterize the regime as one "carrying out reforms to head off problems," and if this leads the party to make alliances with sections of the bourgeoisie. It will be catastrophic if the PCM votes for "democratic restoration of the national economy." It also concerns us whether the congress votes to continue giving priority to an alliance with the

PPS over one with the PRT. . . . At the same time, we are worried that in correctly fighting to gain registration as a recognized party, the PCM is abandoning the revolutionary positions included in the program it adopted at its Sixteenth Congress.

We play a role in the debate in, and with, the PCM. . . . We are not an unimportant factor in this contest among positions. We want to influence the decisions of the PCM for the good of the movement, in which the PCM and the PRT are playing, together, a bigger and bigger role. What this congress decides is vital for the future of the movement in Mexico.

The open letter said that "one of the things that characterized the program of the Sixteenth Congress," which the PCM was now moving away from, "was its resounding denial of the possibility for recovery of Mexican capitalism." The appeal quoted the following passage from this program:

A revolutionary solution of the structural crisis requires historic steps in the development of Mexican society. *These are tasks that the bourgeoisie never accomplished and which none of its layers is now able to accomplish.*

The subordination of Mexico to imperialism has created a structural deformation. *All economic development in the country is conditioned by the fact that it is attached to the world imperialist system, as a complementary, subordinate, and exploited link. The struggle against imperialism, for ending the financial, commercial, and technological subordination of Mexico, is one of these tasks, a democratic and socialist task.* [Emphasis added by Aguilar Mora and Hernández.]

Elsewhere in their open letter, Hernández and Aguilar Mora point out that it is not enough to make general statements about the need for socialism. It is necessary "to fight for democratic demands, always linking them to the socialist needs of the struggle."

In the June 1 issue of its paper, *Bandera Socialista*, the PRT reported that it was a foregone conclusion that the PCM congress would ratify the rightward shift. It has not yet reported whether a political struggle took place at the congress, or what form it took.

In an article in the June 9 issue of *Inprecor*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly magazine published in Paris, Alfonso Ríos, a leader of the PRT, described the recent history of the PCM and its relations with the PRT:

The PCM is a party without a significant working-class base; hence, unlike its counterparts that are more strongly implanted in the working class in other countries, it was more sensitive to the pressures of the student movement in the 1960s. . . .

The evolution of the PCM has . . . been marked by an increasingly eclectic course which has obvious similarities to "Eurocommunism" but at the same time remains specifically Mexican. The relationship of forces between the PCM and the other organizations of the revolutionary left is less favorable to it than is the case in capitalist Europe. This explains the particularly fraternal relations the PCM has main-

tained since 1975 with the forces of the Fourth International in Mexico. In 1976 an electoral accord was reached with the Liga Socialista [which fused with the PRT in the same year], a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, to support Valentín Campa, an old worker militant, as a candidate for president. This was a great electoral success, with nearly 2 million votes for Campa. But it was undoubtedly the foundation of the PRT as the Mexican section of the Fourth International which was to exert an important influence on the attitude of the PCM.

The Mexican Communist Party had dwindled to grouplet size before the rise of the student movement. It was also quite discredited because of the openly class-collaborationist and treacherous role it played in the 1930s and 1940s. The PPS wing of Mexican Stalinism in particular has continued to lick the boots of bourgeois

governments even in their most repressive phases.

Clearly the PCM needed to associate itself for a time with uncompromised forces among the student and young worker activists. Now, apparently, the Stalinist leadership has decided that this phase has passed, especially since the government has offered an opening to the smaller parties that are willing to play the role of a loyal and insignificant opposition.

The return of the PCM to openly proclaiming a thoroughgoing Stalinist line can be expected to cause some problems for revolutionists in the mass movements in Mexico. Despite this turn, the PRT made it clear in an editorial in the June 1 *Bandera Socialista* that it intends to continue to try to carry out common work and activities with the PCM. □

## 'Labour Focus on Eastern Europe'

At the end of last December, sixty-five workers from Radom mailed a strongly worded complaint to Poland's chief public prosecutor, Lucjan Czubinski. All of the signers had been detained the previous June for participating in demonstrations and strikes against a 70 percent increase in food prices. They wrote, in part:

We declare that, when arrested after the incidents of 25th June, we have been beaten by the police. Each of us had to run at least once through the so-called path of health, i.e., a cordon of uniformed and plain-clothed police, who beat and kicked us. Every time we were transferred to another place, we were beaten while getting in and out of the police trucks. During the interrogation we were tortured, so that we would make a statement they wanted. In the Radom prison and when detained in the Radom police headquarters, we were beaten by the police and the prison warders.

We demand that those responsible should be punished.

The "Complaint by 65 Radom Workers" is part of a dossier of documents from Poland published in the new British magazine, *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*, a socialist defense bulletin on Eastern Europe and the USSR published every two months.

Recognizing the vital need for hard facts and undistorted reporting of dissident activities, the editors of the new journal pledge to give "those concerned about repression in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union a more comprehensive and regular source of information about events there." A special concern, they say, is to report developments from a socialist and working-class point of view.

Initial sponsors of the project are Tariq Ali, Edmund Baluka, Vladimir Derer, Tamara Deutscher, Ivan Hartel, Jan Kavan, Leonid Plyushch, and Hillel

Ticktin—several of whom contribute to the first number. Members of the bulletin staff consider themselves Marxists. Some are politically affiliated, some not.

In addition to the documents on Poland, other articles in the first issue include: "Charter 77—A New Stage," by Jiri Pelikan; a report on the musical "underground" in Czechoslovakia; and "The Case of Vladimir Borisov," in which the moving struggle of this young Russian worker is described by his friend and fellow dissident, Victor Fainberg.

Also, Gunther Minnerup probes the political motivations of the East German bureaucracy in "Why Was Biermann Expelled?" Staff writers Alix Holt and Barbara Brown review available literature on the position of women in Eastern Europe and the USSR.

Tapping the considerable strength of the British labor movement in the campaign against repression in Eastern Europe is another aim of *Labour Focus*. An impressive first step in that direction is the interview with Ernie Roberts, Assistant General Secretary of the 1.2 million-member Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (Engineering Section).

Among other subjects, Roberts comments favorably on the possibility of a British trade-union delegation visiting Poland to investigate the condition of workers imprisoned for protesting the food price increases.

*Labour Focus on Eastern Europe* hopes to be able to publish monthly by late this year. Subscription rates for nine issues are £2.70 in Britain and \$8.00 (surface) or \$12.00 (airmail) for North America. Correspondence may be addressed to: *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*, Bottom Flat, 116 Cazenove Road, London N16. □

## Small Lies From Big Liars

By George Breitman

The main activity of the Healyite "International Committee for the Fourth International" is a frenzied campaign to slander partisans and leaders of the real Fourth International as accomplices of the Soviet secret police (GPU). This campaign is conducted according to the principle developed by Hitler and Stalin that the bigger the lie, the better it works. That of course does not exclude the use of small lies too; in fact, they are indispensable as props to the big lie.

The "International Committee" has recently published a short book entitled *Stalin's Gangsters* by Leon Trotsky (London: New Park Publications, 1977. XVI+84 pages, £1.20). It is translated from a collection entitled *Los Gangsters de Stalin*, published in September 1940, a month after Trotsky was assassinated by a GPU agent (Editoriales America, Mexico City). This was a compilation of articles by Trotsky about an earlier GPU attempt to kill him, in May 1940.

The Healyites describe it as "Trotsky's last book" and "the one book Trotsky wrote against the GPU." Neither statement is accurate.

Although Trotsky wrote all the articles in *Los Gangsters de Stalin*, he did not put them together as a book or prepare them for publication in that form. That was done by Mexican comrades and friends after his death. He intended to prepare such a collection, but then it would have been a larger book, with additional articles on the subject overlooked by the 1940 editors in Mexico, and with the kind of preface he invariably wrote for compilations of his articles. His real "last book" was the unfinished biography *Stalin*, printed in 1941 with anti-Leninist interpolations by the editor and withheld from circulation until 1946 as a friendly gesture to Stalin by the American publisher.

The claim that *Los Gangsters de Stalin* was "the one book Trotsky wrote against the GPU" is the product more of dishonesty than of ignorance. The Healyites are well aware that Trotsky produced two books exposing the GPU in 1937, after the first two Moscow trials. One of these was the American book *The Case of Leon Trotsky*. The other was the French book *Les Crimes de Staline*, whose entire

contents have been translated as parts of the *Writings of Leon Trotsky* series published by Pathfinder Press. The "investigators" of the "International Committee," who never tire of boasting about their indefatigable research, will find copies of these books on sale in the Healyite bookstores in London and New York.

The Healyite foreword to *Stalin's Gangsters* explains its publication as follows:

In 1976, in the course of investigating the question of security in Trotsky's household, the International Committee of the Fourth International interviewed Robins and came across the book for the first time. It had never, he said, been published by the Socialist Workers Party of the United States. "Why hasn't Joseph Hansen [leader of the SWP] published the one book Trotsky wrote against the GPU? The SWP have published everything else he wrote."

In preparing this edition for publication, other evidence came to light that Trotsky's writings against the GPU had been prevented from reaching English readers. While the small Mexican Trotskyist organization managed to print *Los Gangsters de Stalin* within a month of Trotsky's death, the SWP—then the largest section of the Fourth International—has never published it to this day. . . .

What is more, comparing the American translation with the original Spanish, small but possibly significant discrepancies have emerged (see pp 2-3 of this edition). . . .

The last paragraph refers to the American translation of "Stalin Seeks My Death," the opening article in the collection.

Since the second paragraph above promises "other evidence," one must seek in the first paragraph for initial evidence (that English readers were prevented from reading Trotsky's writings against the GPU). But the only evidence there is that it took the "International Committee" until 1976 to come across a book in New York that has been in various London libraries since 1940. Other than that we are offered only an assertion and a question by Harold Robins, an ex-SWP member in New York, who has devoted his sunset years to the Healyite slander campaign.

As for the "other" "evidence" (in the second paragraph) it consists only of another assertion, this time by the authors of the Healyite foreword, that the SWP has never published *Los Gangsters* to this day. But even ten assertions by ten different people do not necessarily constitute evidence if they are not supported by some facts.

This brings us to the question of why Joseph Hansen, a key target of the big lie,

and the SWP have not published *Los Gangsters*. The not at all subtle insinuation is that Hansen and the SWP blocked its publication because, as GPU accomplices, they didn't want people reading what Trotsky had written about the GPU.

But the real reason that Hansen and the SWP didn't publish it was that it had already been published in English, by Pathfinder Press. More than two-thirds of *Los Gangsters* was printed in the first edition of *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1939-40)*, published in 1969, where it was reprinted from U.S. periodicals of 1940 and 1941. And the entire *Los Gangsters* collection was supplied in the second edition of *Writings (39-40)*, including the material translated into English for the first time from *Los Gangsters*, plus other Trotsky articles about the May attempt that were not included in the Mexican book. The *Los Gangsters* articles amount to one-fifth of *Writings (39-40)*, and they are all there, annotated and indexed (unlike the Healyite book).

Can this be a case of ignorance on the part of the "International Committee's" intrepid but not too bright sleuths? Absolutely not. *Because their edition of Trotsky's articles is lifted straight from Writings (39-40)*. They did not even bother to retranslate from the Spanish the articles newly translated in *Writings (39-40)*, which were copyrighted in 1973.

In the bourgeois publishing world, unauthorized use of copyrighted material is called piracy. But piracy ranks as a relatively insignificant peccadillo alongside the breach of revolutionary morality displayed when the Healyites "borrow" material from a book on sale for several years and at the same time accuse the publishers of that book of having "prevented [it] from reaching English readers," all in the interest of covering up GPU assassinations, etc. It would also be difficult to find a greater display of cynical contempt than the Healyites have shown toward their readers in this episode.

Continuing now with the third paragraph of the Healyite foreword quoted above, about "small but possibly significant discrepancies" between the Mexican edition and the Pathfinder translation, we see a more cautious formulation but must not forget that it is introduced as part of their "other" "evidence." At issue here are four words on page 2 and four lines on page 3 of the Healyite book that were in the Mexican edition and not in the translation of Trotsky's article "Stalin Seeks My Death," which first appeared in *Fourth International*, August 1941, and is reprinted in *Writings (39-40)*.

Every editor and publisher knows about the problem of words, phrases and even paragraphs accidentally lost or overlooked in the transformation of a manuscript into a book. Eternal vigilance is required in this area, and even then is not always rewarded with complete success. As an

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George Breitman is a coeditor of the *Writings of Leon Trotsky* series published by Pathfinder Press.



example we can point to page 57 of this Healyite book where, when the editors were lifting a passage from *Writings (39-40)*, page 305, they omitted twenty words. Since there can be no rational motive for doing this deliberately, we assume it happened inadvertently. Healyites dare not make such assumptions for fear of being denounced and expelled as accomplices of the accomplices.

It so happens that Pathfinder Press still has the original Russian manuscript of "Stalin Seeks My Death" (also available at

the open section of Harvard's Trotsky archives) and therefore we can explain what happened thirty-seven years ago. Trotsky wrote this article on June 8, 1940, two weeks after the May attempt on his life, but he did not submit it to anyone for publication at that time.

Then in August he revised his article without changing the June 8 date: he deleted two of the four disputed words on the Healyite page 2 and the four lines on page 3, and then he added more than six printed pages. This expanded version was

the one he sent out for publication. The Mexican edition, prepared hastily, unfortunately used the earlier and shorter version. (Editors of Trotsky's writings who do more than lift them are well aware of the fact that many of his articles exist in "earlier" and "later" versions not only in manuscript but also in printed form. There are no fewer than four versions by Trotsky of "Stalin Seeks My Death" at Harvard.)

Why do big liars bother with small lies and crooked insinuations? The answer is, do they have an alternative? □

## Demonstrations in Rome, Milan, Florence

# Italy—Women Renew Fight for Abortion

By Anna Libéra

[The following article appeared in the June 11-12 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

ROME—Following the vote in the Senate on June 7, the secularist parties decided to present the abortion bill in the Chamber of Deputies. This decision was arrived at during a meeting between the Italian Communist Party, the Italian Socialist Party, Proletarian Democracy, and the Republican Party. So the debate will resume, and will probably continue until early 1978.

The women's movement throughout Italy was quick to respond after the Senate's disgraceful vote (see *Intercontinental Press*, June 20, 1977, p. 698). Meetings, discussions, leaflet distributions, and spontaneous demonstrations took place. The response was broad and united, bringing together all sections of the movement—from the various feminist groups to the women of the UDI (Unione Donne Italiane—Italian Women's Union), an organization close to the Communist Party.

The breadth of the response shows how crucial an issue the abortion question is for the mass of women. A significant example of this reaction is what happened in Florence and Modena, where women workers from several factories spontaneously walked off the job to participate in protest sit-ins in the centers of these two cities.

On Thursday evening [June 9], several thousand women took part in a united-front demonstration in Milan, while in Modena, Livorno, Turin, Trieste, and Reggio di Calabria, leaflet distributions



L'Espresso

"For Shame!" Banner protests Senate vote that killed bill to liberalize abortions.

and sit-ins were held to protest. But this is only the beginning. In the face of such a display of contempt by the legislators, everyone agrees that the masses of women must be mobilized in action.

Apart from these demonstrations of women's outrage, how have the different sections of the movement reacted to a vote that struck a blow against the interests of women? The first meetings that have been held make it possible to assess the responses.

The first reaction was widespread self-criticism. For nearly a year, the fight for abortion had been left up to the political parties, which were more concerned with their political wheeling and dealing than with what happens to women. During the

meeting on Thursday at the women's center in Rome, an activist explained:

"The truth is that this is a huge defeat for us, and we are right to feel guilty, because we gave up the fight for abortion."

A realization that the vote had wiped out three years of bitter struggles by women was reflected in all the remarks:

"We left the waging of our struggle to the parties and institutions. We were sure of getting a law passed that, even though hedged in with restrictions, would no longer penalize women forced to have an abortion." "We were already thinking in terms of the problem of enforcing the law, of health facilities and the advice centers, as though we had already won the right to abortion."

Other women stressed the need for the movement to assume its responsibilities as a political movement in its own right so that it could not be "used." The vote against the abortion law is the most recent example of the way the women's movement has been exploited and then betrayed. One lesson seems to have been absorbed by everyone—to get what they want, women must make their weight felt by fighting and mobilizing.

All contributions to the discussion stressed the importance of organizing a united counterattack. The women have not forgotten that their massive mobilizations last April helped to bring down the Christian Democratic government of Premier Moro. Today, women are ready to take to the streets again, by tens of thousands, to protest against a vote that is part and parcel of the Christian Democrats' policy of rolling back the gains of the mass movement. The demonstration yesterday evening [June 10] in Rome was just the first step in this direction. □

### 4. Avanguardia Operaia's Long-Shot Bet

By Anna Libéra

[Continued from last week]

Student activists go up to the podium wearing elaborate peacock-feather headgear, let go of balloons, and declare, "We are all metropolitan Indians."

Young activists come to talk about the "youth circles," and women activists criticize the organization's activity from the standpoint of their integration into the women's movement.

By itself, this description of Avanguardia Operaia's [Workers Vanguard] recent congress—even if you characterize it as "unconventional," as the comrades of *L'Etincelle* recently did—does not explain the problems confronting this organization, like the Italian revolutionary left as a whole, and the failure of the congress to provide solutions.

If the crisis AO is going through has taken a less striking form than in the case of Lotta Continua [the Struggle Continues], or less radical than in the PdUP [Partito d'Unità Proletaria—Party of Proletarian Unity], it is no less acute, as shown by its congress. The crisis has been reflected in the departure of a third of the membership, the loss of a parliamentary representative (Corvisieri), the drop in sales of the paper (to around 7,000 to 8,000), the lack of participation by the student and youth membership in the recent mass upsurge.

If Corvisieri, in the corridors at the congress, was delighted to see "AO's true soul," expressed through the women and young people, and by all the highly spontaneous criticisms of the organization's orientation, and sometimes of the organization itself, he seems not to have heard the "other soul" being expressed by many worker cadres from large plants.

These comrades criticized AO's tailing of the trade-union left, its failure to put forward a political alternative in the mass movement, and warned against the "movement-itis" that seemed to predominate at the congress. "The party must intervene in all the mass movements that spring up, but must not lose sight of the central problem: a defeat for the working class would be a defeat for all of the movements as well."

Apart from the lack of a political program corresponding to the present situation, the congress brought out the fact that the organization has these two "souls," as a consequence of the way it has developed, and the way a whole series of political turns have been implemented. Like the rest of the Italian far left, AO was created in

1968 out of an ultraleft scheme for building a new workers movement alongside the reformist organizations, which was concretized in the formation of the rank-and-file unity committees (CUB).

Beginning in 1972-73, AO implemented a series of organizational turns, which were ratified by its Fourth Congress in 1974. That congress affirmed the need to concentrate on political work in the trade unions—the CUB being presented as structures composed of vanguard worker activists who were AO sympathizers—and on the tactic of struggle and unity with the reformists.

This turn was not accompanied by a self-critical balance sheet of past activity; on the contrary, the new line was presented as a continuation of the old, thus depriving the organization of its memory, and leaving it open to all kinds of backlash.

The empirical self-examination that had been set in motion on the level of the top leadership—but which, given the organization's mode of functioning, had not filtered down to the ranks—in the absence of a programmatic framework, led to the practice of tail-ending the "trade-union left" in the plants. The leadership of AO had clearly understood the need to recruit hundreds of left trade-union cadres in order to build a viable revolutionary force in the working class. However, since it was incapable of offering them an alternative political framework to that of the reformists, it tended to subordinate AO to their continual vacillations with respect to the bureaucracy.

The projected fusion with the PdUP was part of the same concern—to create a sufficiently strong alternative pole—but it suffered from the same limitation: underestimation of the ranks. The congress's twists and turns notwithstanding, the political report that was given introduced a series of self-criticisms, and tried to outline a *policy* for the coming period, rather than a program.

The first area of self-criticism concerned the tendency to economism. The organization had developed by concentrating on immediate struggles in the plants, without being able to set goals that could link these struggles to the central political questions. The consequences of this became obvious in the aftermath of June 20, when all struggles posed the problem of a "political framework."

Rejecting the PdUP's reformism, the report tried to lay out a transitional course. "We must explain clearly that proposing

an opposition economic program means that the opposition's coherence does not come from its advancing an overall economic plan, but from its adherence to a political class line, which, through achieving a series of goals, can succeed in modifying the class relationship of forces in a positive way. Achieving our immediate goals must inevitably come into conflict with the existing political context. Winning these objectives cannot enable us to put a coherent alternative economic plan into operation, but rather to open up the way for modifying the political framework, thus making it possible to talk in general terms about carrying out an alternative economic policy."

The second area concerned the political openings and the slogan of a "government of the left parties." While the report criticized the purely "institutional" character that AO gave to this slogan during the elections, it nonetheless preserved its "ultimatum" character as conceived by AO. A "government of the left parties" means a government of the PCI [Partito Comunista Italiano—Italian Communist party], PSI [Partito Socialista Italiano—Italian Socialist party], and the revolutionary left, based on a revolutionary program. The report drew the conclusion that in view of the present weakness of the revolutionary left, it would be difficult to differentiate this perspective from that of the "historic compromise." Thus, it should be seen as a long-term strategic goal.

The report concluded by saying that, of course, there is an immediate problem of political openings. "The political expression of the tendency of the working class to pose the question of governmental power is confused at present. Although there is some disillusion with the PCI, this tendency is reflected on the political and organizational level in adherence to the Communist party. . . . We must therefore view the road to a government of the left parties (whose driving force is the struggle of the masses) as a nonlinear process. This process will be reflected in experiences of political turns which may be confused or negative. In order to determine the 'nature' of these turns, we cannot rely wholly or mainly on the governmental formulas in which they will find their concrete expression. We will need to rely above all on other factors, such as the relationship of class forces, which will give rise to these turns, on the programmatic content which will characterize them, and the fields and goals of struggle that they will make possible, even 'objectively.'"

These lengthy quotations clearly demonstrate the contradictory nature of the turn. While, on the one hand, there is an attempt to go beyond economism precisely by means of a transitional approach, this approach is one-sided and limited to economic demands, without putting these demands in the context of the indispensa-

ble political openings. On the other hand, the immediate attitude toward the "political framework" creates all kinds of openings for opportunist support to governments combining reformist and bourgeois parties.

It was a long-shot bet that Avanguardia Operaia made at this congress. It was betting that it could be the medium for reconstituting the future revolutionary party of the working class. To carry it off,

## 5. The GCR Draws an Initial Balance Sheet

As part of the general trend toward self-examination on the part of the far left that began in the wake of June 20, the Italian revolutionary Marxists (Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari—Revolutionary Communist Groups, Italian section of the Fourth International), who recently held their congress, have decided to engage in a self-critical evaluation of their own past.

"Revolutionary Marxists must recognize that they themselves have not succeeded in making a decisive contribution to the building of a revolutionary party in Italy, nor in building an organization as strong and influential as other sections of the Fourth International in southern Europe," they write in their self-critical balance sheet. They point out several phases of errors and difficulties in building their organization.

1. *A self-criticism of the 1968-69 crisis.* "In abbreviated fashion," our comrades write, "we can say that we understood only belatedly that, in view of the political context that began to take shape around 1966 or 1967, fairly broad forces would be set in motion outside the organizational framework and the sphere of hegemony of the traditional parties. In particular, we underestimated the possibility that this development could occur among sections of the working class, and we were slow to realize that important mass mobilizations, though with a largely student composition, might develop through the initiative of newly formed movements and groups."

As a result of these analytical errors, which led them to underestimate the need for an independent organization, the Italian revolutionary Marxists waited too long to discontinue their entry tactic in the traditional organizations. Because of this, they lost the majority of their membership, and by the end of 1969, were in an extremely weakened condition for rebuilding their organization.

2. *A difficult reconstruction with no clear choices.* "If the main cause of our setback can be found in the 1968-69 crisis, this does not mean that there are no grounds for self-criticism with respect to the reconstruction phase as well," our comrades explain. They point out that, once the priority areas of concentration

AO must find a way to both neutralize the centrifugal forces that emerged at the congress and counteract the "ultraleft" currents, as well as work out an overall political orientation, which it still lacks and which would enable it to recruit from the trade-union left. Finally, it must reconstitute a leadership torn apart by clique rivalry and cut off from the organization, at the very moment when "history is breathing down its neck."

had been determined, there was great delay in implementing these decisions.

In addition, they paid insufficient attention to the important developments within the far left. Finally, our comrades admit having made an error that lasted throughout this period. They aimed, despite their extreme weakness, at "building a big-scale organization, capable of intervening in all sectors on a national scale, and of not having tried to achieve a larger concentration of our forces in priority areas of work, and in those areas where there were greater opportunities, even if this meant that for a whole period we would be mainly a local and sectoral organization."

Apart from the serious delays that these errors caused in terms of establishing a revolutionary Marxist organization, they also involved not insignificant internal problems. Among these were a strong feeling of demoralization and a certain resignation in face of the existing relationship of forces within the revolutionary left, as well as discussions that were often distorted by the weakness of implantation in the working class and that led to a series of splits, whether organized or not, during 1975.

But these weaknesses should not overshadow the real progress made in those areas where the choice of priorities was really applied. In Turin, for example, by implementing the decision to concentrate on building the section in this working-class stronghold, our comrades were able, through a policy of unity in action and discussion with the far left, to permanently change the relationship of forces in their favor, to the point of becoming a recognized political force in the city.

The GCR congress, held recently, was the scene of an important political debate over the orientation of the organization. An agreement was reached on the analysis of the political situation that emerged in the wake of June 20. The document adopted by this congress points to the seriousness of the economic situation, which cannot be overcome in the short run.

"The crisis," the report states, "will continue to cause additional breaches in the social fabric and a redistribution of incomes. . . . The endemic contradiction

of employment will be revealed, hitting young people and women the hardest. Such a dynamic, if it is not counteracted by political initiatives, can lead to differentiations: (a) between workers in 'safe' plants and workers in plants hit by the crisis; (b) between working-class layers in sectors which have different dynamics; (c) between workers in large industrial complexes and workers in small enterprises or 'peripheral' sectors; (d) between workers who, for various reasons, have more opportunities to defend what they have won over the last few years and workers who are more driven to seek individual solutions (overtime, moonlighting, part-time work). The danger for the Italian working class in the medium term lies in the combination of these structural tendencies, created by the economic crisis, and the paralyzing consequences of the opportunist line of the PCI, PSI and the union leaderships."

The primary task in such a situation is to mobilize a response to the policy of the Andreotti government and the measures that it has implemented and hopes to implement. This battle must be waged around defense of the sliding scale of wages, which implies abrogation of the measures already adopted, as well as rejection of the measures that the government and the employers have put on the agenda.

For our comrades, the report continues, the question of the government may come up again, even in the short run, inasmuch as a new wave of struggles would be a blow to Andreotti's policy and would help bring about his downfall. Thus, the formula of a PSI-PCI government remains current, even if it cannot be the center of a political campaign right now, as was the case in the campaign leading up to June 20.

The motion passed by a majority at the congress concretizes the axes of intervention: "The concretization of this orientation now requires more than ever the development of activity independent of the bureaucratic leaderships, inside and outside the trade-union structures, and of the goals established by the union. The basic tools for this are the *coordinamenti* (groupings of vanguard activists, whether belonging to parties or not, within a particular plant.—A.L.), or similar bodies that group together vanguard workers with the aim of mass intervention. The formation of the *coordinamenti* must take place on the basis of strengthening the ties between the vanguard and the masses; it thus implies ongoing work of implantation in the shops, which is one of the necessary conditions for renewed perspectives of general struggle.

"At the same time, and precisely because they are involved in this task, the *coordinamenti* must play a role in helping the vanguard to mature, and in concrete political confrontation, as well as in a role

of predetermining and complementing work in the unions, whose goal should be to build, without inclinations to self-proclamation, a working-class antibureaucratic tendency."

The minority tendency, which was formed around the time of the congress and which got twenty-five percent of the vote, considered that the organization had never made a thorough balance sheet of its past; that, during the crisis beginning with the events of 1968-69, it had underestimated the reformist parties' capacity for recovery; that, in the work of the coordinamenti, it had given in to ultraleft pressures while underestimating the importance of

building a trade-union tendency; that, during the mobilizations for the renewal of the collective work agreements in 1975-76, and during the election campaign, it had adopted a position of tail-ending Lotta Continua.

Over and above the tasks outlined at their congress, the revolutionary Marxists must take part in the discussion that is being conducted today by the Italian revolutionary left. This discussion, which is relevant to the entire European far left, should make it possible, after a long period of domination by the Maoists, to gain a hearing for the answers put forward by revolutionary Marxists.

## 6. Women and the Revolutionary Organizations

"A few years ago, the revolutionary left was my whole life. But not any more. This party isn't doing anything for me."

"In my area of mass work, in the women's group at my job, I was involved in activity where I could express my opinions. This is something I haven't been able to do in the party."

The speakers were women delegates at the Avanguardia Operaia congress, during a session for women only. A few months earlier, feminists in the PdUP had left the organization.

"Dear comrades, we are leaving you," they wrote. "What we have to do now is to apply the rich political lessons we learned in the abortion struggle . . . to our search for a new totality. We are looking for it in the 'being' of the women's movement, not in the 'ought-to-be' of the party. We reaffirm the wholly political character of our choice and activity. This is the only way that we can fully shoulder our responsibilities as women in capitalist society. . . ."

One month before, at the Lotta Continua congress, women who had made a regular indictment of "machismo" in their organization refused representation on the leadership bodies and withdrew into the women's movement.

The relations between the women's movement and the organizations of the revolutionary left, and, by extension, between feminist activists and the political organizations they belong to, have been marked by conflict from the start. Despite all the subsequent self-criticism of Lotta Continua, the attitudes of many women activists remain strongly affected by the incident at the December 6, 1975, women's liberation demonstration in Rome, where Lotta Continua marshals attacked the women's contingent to pull out members of their organization. Due to the lack of understanding on the part of the left organizations, therefore, many women activists saw activity in the women's movement and revolutionary political

activity as mutually exclusive, rather than complementary, from the beginning.

This has been reflected in two points of view. One is the rejection of "politics" in the name of feminism. The other consists of struggling within these organizations, for while they are belatedly coming to realize the importance of the women's liberation struggle, they would otherwise tend to delegate responsibility for it to their women members.

"In this party, the men see the woman question as something to be tacked on to the end of the program," complained one AO delegate at the women's meeting mentioned above. And, in front of the congress, Luigi Vinci tried to respond to this objection on the part of the women: "Since we have no concrete social model to refer to, we have to settle for listening to what the women comrades say." Similarly, during one of the numerous collective contributions made by women delegates to the congress, one obviously exasperated worker called out from the back of the room: "But I do the dishes and take care of the children in my house. What more do you want?"

A few programmatic demands, a minimal sharing of domestic tasks—that is what understanding of the women's struggle seems to amount to. "Half the world rejects halfway politics," was the *Manifesto's* ironic headline the following day.

A deep division between the struggles of women and the overall political struggles had arisen during the last election campaign. For nearly a year, with their massive mobilizations for the right to abortion, in the hundreds of feminist collectives that had sprung up in the neighborhoods, women became the "protagonists," and their struggles had a big impact on the general political climate. All political battles in the spring of 1976 were centered around the question of abortion; it even brought about the fall of the Moro government.

This convergence between the goals of the women's struggle and politics with a capital "P" was to be shattered with the opening of the election campaign. Economic problems and the "political framework" took center stage, the abortion question and women's liberation once more became mere electoral issues among any number of others. And this was equally as true for the reformist parties and the revolutionary left as for the bourgeois parties. Women once more became an asset to electoral slates—although, to be sure, there were more of them than in previous elections.

It was a return to traditional politics, which the women, through their collective activity, had hoped to uproot.

The women's movement refused to be associated with this campaign, and rejected Democrazia Proletaria's [Proletarian Democracy] offer to run candidates on its slate. The feminists in the PdUP publicly refused to campaign for their party. In the name of a "new style of politics," they refused to make their voices heard at this crucial moment. "Women's obligations are those they set for themselves," they argued, to justify their withdrawal into personal life, the "personal" being presented as political in its own right. "The discovery of the 'personal' as a historical and material, and therefore political, dimension of women's lives is a sign of the reversal of the traditional analysis, which, centering on women's role in the family, allowed the capitalist class to render this role more efficient for its purposes," explained the women members of the PdUP in their letter of resignation.

The "personal is political" approach stems from the need to overcome the gap between these two aspects of life, which is felt to be more and more unbearable once the *existing* situation is no longer accepted as *natural*. It is a gap that seems all the wider once the illusion is shattered that it is possible to reach an equilibrium between them through a voluntarist commitment, an illusion bolstered by the prospect of decisive confrontations that are always presented as being just around the corner. The political stalemate created after June 20 could only make the gap between the personal and political seem still wider.

But the "personal is political" approach fosters a deepgoing illusion: the illusion that it is possible to at once begin living new kinds of human relations in the women's movement and the left organizations, foreshadowing the ideal socialist society. If the women's movement has reestablished one truth in the workers movement, ossified as it is by decades of reformist domination, it is that structural changes by themselves will not be enough to change human relations. It has also pointed out—and ever broader sectors of the workers movement are now becoming aware of it—that neither the parties nor the mass organizations can put off all questions until after the revolution, and

that from now on a battle must be fought to change human relations and behavior.

But this battle to transform human relations can only be fought in the context of the broadest struggle to overturn the structures, a struggle that will lay the foundations for a new society.

Illusory, this retreat into the "personal" sphere—and thoroughly reformist, too. It is in keeping with the logic of fighting for

crumbs and totally compatible with the politics of the PCI, as a woman CP member wrote in *Rinascita* with respect to the feminist movement: "There are no longer any 'frontiers' to cross. Instead, what we have to do is transform this society—day by day and institution by institution. By transforming society, we will transform daily life and ourselves as well." □

## Interview With a Nicaraguan Revolutionary

# How I Came to Be a Trotskyist

[The following interview was granted by Fausto Amador, a former participant in the guerrilla struggle in Nicaragua. We have taken the text from the June 20 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a revolutionary-socialist news magazine published fortnightly in New York. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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*Question. I understand that you have gone through several different political phases on your road toward Trotskyism and the Fourth International, including a period in which you were involved in the guerrilla movement in the 1960s and were a strong supporter of Guevarism and the Cuban line of the period. What was your first political experience before that? Did you have any political background before you became involved in guerrilla war?*

*Answer.* I first became involved in politics at the age of eighteen as a student leader in the Instituto Nacional Ramírez Goyena in Managua. The fact that my brother, Carlos Fonseca Amador, was a national leader played a big role in my becoming interested in politics and had a great influence on my political development. Nonetheless, my first involvement was entirely independent of him since throughout the year 1965-66 he was either out of the country or in prison.

In my early work as a student leader, I did not yet have any clear Marxist orientation. But very quickly my contact with students of very modest means and with very poor sections of the population convinced me that socialism was the only way to change the economic conditions.

*Q. In what year did you become active in the student movement?*

A. It was in 1964. At that time I not only started to be active in the student movement but began to work in a left party called the Partido de Movilización Republi-

cana [PMR—Republican Mobilization Party]. This group was built as a popular front for the elections that were to be held some time in the future.

The main left groups that participated in the PMR were the Partido Socialista Nicaragüense [Nicaraguan Socialist Party, the CP] and the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional [Sandinista National Liberation Front, a guerrilla organization named for the leader of the resistance to the renewed U.S. Marine occupation in the late 1920s and early 1930s, which set the stage for the Somoza dictatorship].

When I was in the PMR, I worked in organizing neighborhood committees. I was very active in these committees, along with Roberto Amaya, a very valuable comrade who was murdered by the Somoza regime in 1967 when we were both in the FSLN. In this work, we managed to organize about 300 persons in the thirteen local committees we succeeded in forming. We held a great number of meetings in poor neighborhoods. We did canvassing to find out about the conditions in these areas. We started up various struggles. This was my first active participation in the mass movement.

*Q. Was it usual for students to work in neighborhood committees?*

A. Yes. Nonetheless, this activity had nothing to do with the student movement. It was a form of political work that oriented me more toward the movement of the poor masses than toward the student movement. In the student field, we organized several nationwide strikes and began an attempt to form a national student federation.

Let's say that the battles we engaged in in the student movement were quite different from our political work in the struggles of the poor masses. We fought a long time to keep the student center at the Instituto Nacional Ramírez Goyena from being given a definite political character,

from becoming controlled by a left group. We thought that it would be much better to keep the student movement independent and not have it linked to any political party.

*Q. What made you believe it was necessary to join in the armed struggle, in the guerrilla movement, after this experience?*

A. During that period I came into contact with my brother, who was living in the underground. I should make clear that from the beginning I strongly opposed the guerrilla strategy as a revolutionary political method. However, my brother convinced me that I should fight for this position inside the FSLN and not outside it. This seemed reasonable because I had already had plenty of clashes with the union bureaucracy of the Partido Socialista Nicaragüense. They had prevented me many times from speaking at the union hall. And so, I felt the need for an alternative to reformism. And the only group that was really opposing reformism, capitulation, and class collaboration in my country was the Frente Sandinista.

*Q. What was the program of the Frente Sandinista?*

A. That was very difficult to say at the time because there was no written program, there was no such thing as congresses or democratic meetings. What is more, the national leadership was hand-picked by the leaders themselves, who had assumed the leading role as the organization developed.

In this period, the FSLN proclaimed the need for a deepgoing agrarian reform and for freeing our country from the claws of American imperialism. It identified with the traditions of all the anti-imperialist struggles that have been waged in Nicaragua since the time of Benjamín Celedón in 1909, to Augusto César Sandino in the 1930s, up to the present day. It considered itself to be fighting for a socialist revolution against the Somoza dictatorship.

I joined the Frente Sandinista after it had been virtually wiped out in 1963-64. My first contacts with the Frente Sandinista were in 1965. But it was not until 1966 that it began to organize a new guerrilla movement that was to go into action in the following period.

*Q. Did the Frente Sandinista believe at the time that it was possible to participate in any of the reformist-led movements or that there was any way to participate in the politics except through armed struggle?*

A. The answer to that question is rather complicated. The youth who had come to make up the Frente Sandinista represented a whole radicalized layer that had come to the conclusion that the only way to destroy

the Somoza dictatorship was through armed struggle. But it was more complicated than that. They were strongly influenced by the Second Declaration of Havana.

The fundamental thing that this group of leaders who formed the Frente Sandinista had come to understand was that the task of ousting the Somoza regime was bound up inextricably with responding to the social and economic demands of the poorest sections of the population. So, they saw that socialist revolution and the struggle against the Somoza regime were intimately linked.

However, from the outset the Frente Sandinista saw guerrilla warfare as the only method for pursuing its program. There was an attempt in 1964 to form a legal party that would fight for the Sandinista program in the framework of legality. But this project was short-lived, since those who wanted to organize such a party were jailed. In these circumstances, my brother Carlos made up his mind that in view of the repression and the dictatorship, the only possible way for overthrowing the Somoza regime was through an insurrectionary struggle.

*Q. Were you involved in the operations of the guerrilla units?*

A. The answer to that is also rather complicated. My involvement in the Frente was bound up with my relationship with my brother.

However, the whole program of mass action that I proposed to Carlos ran into total opposition from all the students in the Frente Sandinista and from all the leaders, with the exception of Carlos himself, who did sympathize to a certain extent with this plan of political action. However, in view of the general opposition, it could not be carried out.

In these circumstances, Carlos assigned me to organize the shoe repairers union that was influenced by some Frente activists. But my lack of trade-union experience and confusion about the connection between union activity, a nonexistent party, and an organization planning guerrilla actions made this work quite ineffective.

*Q. Did you participate in guerrilla actions to any extent?*

A. A time came when it seemed necessary to form guerrilla units, since the Somoza regime was carrying out a campaign of violent repression. In these conditions, discussion inside the Frente Sandinista stopped. The Somoza regime threw all its power against us, and we had to defend ourselves. All the political work I had been doing before had to be abandoned. Everyone I had contacts with or relations with or who had confidence in me in the mass movement was forced into

silence. Our supporters were called on to limit themselves to aiding our activity, to providing houses, helping with transport, taking care of comrades, and all the rest.

From mid-1966 to mid-1967, all our



SANDINO: Fought invasion by marines.

activity was concentrated on defense against the repression, underground activity, and work with guerrilla operational units.

*Q. From what you say, it seems that one of the major bases of the Frente Sandinista was the student movement. Was that the case?*

A. Yes, the Frente's main source of recruits was the student movement. And when these students came into the organization, they brought to bear an additional pressure for continuing the guerrilla line.

*Q. I understand from what you told me earlier that you also spent some time in Cuba after your experience in the Frente Sandinista. Why did you go to Cuba?*

A. In 1967, a guerrilla group was formed in the mountains while I was working with the guerrilla units in the cities. The guerrilla front in the mountains was brutally crushed by the repressive forces of the regime, and we had to pull the central command back to the city. I took part personally in the operation to rescue the central command of the Frente Sandinista and transfer it to a more secure location in the city.

*Q. Is it easier to hide out in the cities than in the mountains?*

A. At this time, our security was much better than it was later. The regime gradually got over its surprise and began

to come down hard on us. The group in the mountains of Pancasán had made a series of tactical errors, so that its existence no sooner became known than one of the main units was completely wiped out. With this unit gone, the other was left without any practical possibility for continuing military operations.

*Q. And then, as you told me before, you went to Cuba. Was that related to your moving to the city?*

A. The comrades who came back into the city from the mountains immediately took over the command, which had been in the hands of those of us who were working there. They came back with a series of proposals for wreaking revenge on the regime. Our position at the time was that we should wait, reorganize, and resume the kind of political work we had been doing.

In these circumstances, my presence in the city and in the country itself became inconvenient for many elements, and I was given foreign assignments, such as purchasing equipment. I went abroad, and I advised the group of comrades who had been closest to me, Roberto Amaya in particular, to come with me, because the situation was going to get very difficult. The others were going to start carrying out desperate actions and were going to be hit very hard by the regime.

A few months after I left, a torturer by the name of Sergeant Gonzalo Lacayo was shot, and the regime responded immediately with a sweeping repression. Almost all the leaders of the urban guerrilla forces were captured. Many cadres were brutally murdered. During this time, I was out of the country, assigned to military training in Cuba.

*Q. How long did you stay in Cuba?*

A. I was there for almost two years—from January 1968 to about July 1969.

*Q. And did your experience in Cuba strengthen or weaken your attitude toward the guerrilla concept of overthrowing the regime in Nicaragua?*

A. My experience in Cuba was a traumatic one in my political development. I was not prepared politically for the Cuban experience. My conceptions about socialism were purely theoretical, and the growing bureaucratization of Cuba in the period I was there threw me off balance. I swung back and forth between a revulsion at the bureaucratic methods I witnessed and accepting them as necessary. During the entire time I was in Cuba I was unable to get a clear understanding of this phenomenon.

I could sum up the political conclusion I drew from my experience in Cuba very simply. It was a rather pragmatic one because of my lack of political education. I

said: "Cuba and the countries like it are a thousand times preferable to the capitalist states in which we live, but this is not the kind of socialism I started out to fight for."

Since I had no political alternative there, I was in a difficult situation. As for guerrilla warfare, the situation in Cuba made me see that this method was a fatal and pernicious one and that it had to be fought against. Some differences that had arisen in the Frente led to my beginning to fight inside the organization in Cuba against this line, although not in a very systematic way.

Because of the fairly secret type of training I was undergoing, I was virtually cut off from the rest of the Sandinistas in Cuba. But it was obvious, and I made it known when I got back to Nicaragua, that I had ceased to be active in the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional.

*Q. What did you do when you returned to Nicaragua?*

A. When I started to get ready to return to Nicaragua, I realized that I had to be able to come back to some kind of legal existence in order to find new political alternatives and to think over and decide more fundamentally what I was going to do, what political course I was going to follow in the future. In that period, I was rather strongly inclined to Maoism, but China's foreign policy gave me serious problems.

In this situation, I managed to get in touch with my father, and discussed the question with him. He is a personal friend of the dictator and has managed his property for twenty-five years. He told me that he could easily get permission for me to return to a legal existence and secure a guarantee of my complete physical safety. It was under these conditions that I returned to Nicaragua.

*Q. On your return to Nicaragua, were you required to make any public statements to gain your legal status, or was it just a tacit understanding?*

A. This matter should be totally clear. When I returned, there was no condition on the part of the regime that I make any kind of statement. There was just an agreement between my father and the Somoza regime to let me return to the country legally and live there legally for some time. There was an implication that I could not remain there for very long.

However, when I got back, and the newspapers learned of my arrival, dozens of journalists invaded my home. My father's opinion, of course, was that I should not make any statement to the press, or that at least I should make the briefest one possible. And in a certain sense, I believe I should have followed his advice.

Moreover, this was just after a week-long

period of interrogation, without torture, to which I had been subjected. Obviously I could tell the interrogators nothing because I had been out of the country for two years. I did not have the slightest knowledge of the situation of the Frente Sandinista, and all the comrades that I could recognize were either in prison or dead.

In these circumstances, I wondered if I should not make an open, public break with the Frente Sandinista, explaining my reasons to everyone, and not just quietly stop being active in it. The grounds for this were clear. Many of those I had brought into the Frente Sandinista were dead, had been tortured, seen their families destroyed, or were in prison, and I believed that I bore a heavy responsibility toward those that I had recruited to explain publicly why I was leaving the Frente. So, I agreed to give an interview to the press.

As regards the action of the Frente Sandinista, I said clearly that this was an absurd, pointless battle behind the back of the masses, that no one had any idea what it was doing. I presented a number of positions I continue to hold.

About Cuba, I said that there were a lot of things going on there that I did not know how to characterize politically—I did not get into anything as exotic as the class nature of the Cuban state—but that they did not jibe with the kind of socialism I was fighting for. On the other hand, I said that the situation in Cuba was a thousand times better than the kind of oppression in my country, and I remained dedicated to my revolutionary principles.

As for what I thought about the guerrillas, I said frankly that my opinion was that they should return to mass action. I said that I thought this was perfectly possible inasmuch as a national campaign for the release of the political prisoners and legalization of the Frente Sandinista had a certain potential for success. In these circumstances, I called on the comrades to study the problems of revolution more deeply and to reconsider what political course they should follow. I think this was the right position. And I think today that I can repeat this appeal to them to change their political course, because this is the correct thing to do.

At one point, a journalist asked me a very specific question, which was the key one in the interview, whether I thought that if my brother turned himself in he would be treated in the same way I was. My answer was yes. In view of the rather deep friendship between Somoza and my father, I thought that this was possible at the time. Later the situation sharpened to such an extent that it was no longer so. In fact, he was murdered by government troops November 8, 1976, in the northern mountains of Nicaragua.

*Q. This would not have affected other members of the Frente Sandinista, would it?*

A. I don't think so. I think that other members of the Frente Sandinista would have been treated differently. I don't remember exactly how I answered this question about other members. But I do recall clearly that I said that it was perfectly possible that the guerrillas could return to legal life by turning themselves in to the police if after a long process of political struggle and under the supervision of international bodies they got assurances that their lives would not be in danger.

What grounds did I have for saying that? I based myself on similar processes that had already occurred in other countries, specifically Venezuela. But the answer that I gave to this question has caused me the worst problems right up to the present day.

*Q. Why did this reply cause you so many problems?*

A. There are two reasons. I was perfectly aware that the bourgeois media were going to present my statements in their own way. This is why I said that I would only make a statement if they assured me that the press conference would be broadcast over the radio. What I said did come across over the radio. But in the press, naturally, it was quite another matter. Every paper played up my news conference in a way that best suited its own purpose.

The opposition press raised a big hue and cry, saying "Fausto Amador, a man in search of the truth." It said that I was against the socialist countries as well as against capitalism and that I was a man who was still seeking the truth, and significantly, that I was still anti-Somoza.

On the other hand, the Somoza press said: "Poor boy, he wrecked his home. He left his wife. His little girl hardly recognizes him. And now he is appealing to the guerrillas not to let the same thing happen to them."

At the same time, the regime and the official radio station started picking out parts of what I said, which sounded terrible out of context. They made it seem as if what I had said was "I appeal to my comrades to please come back and apply themselves to their studies."

Of course, what I said about studying was in the context of studying the problem of how to make the revolution. They tried to play up what I said as if I was calling on the guerrillas to study in the universities.

*Q. So, do you think that the interview had a positive or a negative effect on what you wanted to propose?*

A. In fact, I think giving this interview was a very grave political error, since I had no control over the way they were going to use what I said, taking some

things totally out of context. The regime exploited this opportunity to the hilt, carrying out a massive propaganda operation. Once this started happening, I had already given the interview, and there was no way I could control the way they used what I said.

Obviously, this whole business seriously discredited me in the eyes of those closest to the Frente. They did not understand most of what I said, which was correct. Today many people say the same sort of things. But at that time, in 1969, very few were talking in such terms.

*Q. You say that the interview had the opposite result from what you intended. Did it also turn your former comrades against you? Make them consider you a traitor or something like that?*

A. That, in fact, is what happened. Prior to this, I was already in a tiny minority that opposed the guerrilla course, while engaging in the work of the organization. When I made my statements, all my comrades began to consider me a traitor to the Frente Sandinista.

Carlos, who was jailed around that time in Costa Rica, said that he no longer considered me his brother. But at the same time, he called on me to return to the organization, which shows, obviously, that he did not consider me a traitor, since you could hardly call on a traitor to come back into the Frente. Nonetheless, in the general context, the results of the interview were disastrous.

The consequences of this political error continued to affect me throughout that period, and they still do. Many layers that have radicalized or come into left activity in the last two to four years don't know exactly how this incident came about. The only thing they know about is the old tale of betrayal. They don't really know what it was all about. And so this story continues to cause me a certain amount of trouble.

*Q. You left Nicaragua after a few weeks, didn't you? And then you went to Europe.*

A. That's right. I left very shortly after giving that interview and settling some personal problems with my wife, who had remarried while I was out of the country. I went to London, and while I was there, I studied English and came around the left.

My idea of studying obviously involved studying questions that have to do with making the revolution, because I still don't have any academic degree to show for all the time I was in Europe.

In London I had a rather ticklish problem. I attended a little Christmas party given by the Nicaraguan embassy. The Nicaraguan students in London asked me to say a few words. And so I gave a little speech denouncing the regime, denouncing imperialism, denouncing the corruption.

The ambassador tried to shut me up. But I wouldn't let anybody do that. Then they tried to throw me out of the embassy. A huge ruckus started up in the place. They made such a fuss that a few minutes later the ambassador died of a heart attack.

In these rather delicate circumstances, I left London and went to France to study French, and later I went to Belgium.

*Q. It was in Belgium, then, that you first came in contact with the Trotskyists and the Fourth International?*

A. My first contact with Trotskyism was reading Leon Trotsky, especially his *Revolution Betrayed*. Reading this book was the most important experience in my political development because it enabled me to sort out all the ideas that had been buzzing around in a chaotic way in my mind.

In Belgium, I got into direct contact with members of the Fourth International, but at the same time another thing happened that caused me quite a few problems. My family offered to buy me a car. In order to avoid paying taxes on it, and without my knowing for certain what they were doing, they had me named cultural attaché at the Nicaraguan embassy in Belgium. This appointment was a pure formality. My name was mud in the embassy and it still is to this day. The whole purpose of it was to be able to live more easily in Belgium—more peacefully and with guarantees of a certain type. And so I accepted this diplomatic post, when I was appointed to it.

I thought that this was not a very important matter. I was not a member of any political party. I was a totally isolated individual. And so I thought taking this purely honorary post would not have any repercussions. This was a second big error, but it was one that could be rectified more easily.

*Q. Do you mean that your appointment to the post of cultural attaché did not require you to make any speeches, any formal statements or promises, or attend any meetings in the name of the embassy in Belgium?*

A. There was no such obligation whatever at any time. What is more, my relations with the Nicaraguan embassy remained exactly the same as before. I was persona non grata in the embassy. Moreover, when the Belgian government asked me for a curriculum vitae, I said that I had been the editor of a revolutionary paper. In the entire time I was in Belgium, the embassy never asked me to do anything.

*Q. How was it finally that you lost your post as cultural attaché?*

A. While I held this post, I came into contact with members of the Fourth

International. I took part in conferences, in study groups, and in seminars given by the Communist League in France.

Everyone knew I was a cultural attaché but they all also knew what the circumstances were and regarded it as kind of joke. When I would come into meetings, many comrades used to say: "How is our cultural attaché, today?" This was a way of kidding around.

Naturally we all understood the need for getting out from under this title as soon as possible. But this had to be done in a politically useful way.

An armed clash occurred in Nicaragua, in which it appeared that my brother had been killed. I had a close contact with a leading Trotskyist comrade. He advised me to talk to a trade unionist who had ties with the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs [LRT, Revolutionary Workers League, Belgian section of the Fourth International]. This person arranged for me to speak at a press conference given by the Russell Tribunal Against War Crimes in Vietnam, which had widened its scope to take up the question of war crimes in Latin America.

This conference was attended by a great number of journalists from several parts of the world. I formally resigned my post, and in a speech that lasted more than half an hour, I denounced the government's robberies and the role of the imperialists. I pointed to the regime's problems. I declared my revolutionary convictions.

*Q. When did this press conference take place?*

A. It was toward the end of 1973.

*Q. What was the result of this giving up your post and attacking the Somoza regime? Did it mean that you would be unable to return to Nicaragua under the conditions that you had first tried to arrange when you came back from Cuba?*

A. My resignation created rather serious problems. In giving up this post, I immediately lost my legal status in Belgium and had to apply for admittance to the country as a political refugee. Immediately after the press conference, I went to the Office of the High Commission for War Refugees, where they gave me all the necessary documents. And for the rest of the time I was in Belgium my status was that of a political refugee. I thought this was likely to create certain problems about my returning to Nicaragua.

Later on, my father told me that I had been an idiot—which he repeats every time I see him—because he had managed to arrange it so that I could come back to Nicaragua again. I had great difficulty in getting the papers for going back. It was only through my father's close friendship with Somoza that I was able to get a passport. So, normally I can enter Nicara-



gua without a lot of problems.

But one thing should be clear. Every time I enter the country, they interrogate me for five or six hours, asking me questions such as "What's your name?" "What are your parents' names?" "What are your brothers' and sisters' names?" They do this to show me that the interrogation is intended as harassment. And while I am in Nicaragua, I am watched.

*Q. So, you would say that it is now impossible for you to live and do political work in Nicaragua?*

A. That is absolutely out of the question, unless I tried to work underground. If I tried to start to do open political work in Nicaragua, my life would soon be in danger.

*Q. During your stay in Europe, or in Belgium, did you continue to move toward Trotskyist positions and the Fourth International?*

A. Yes, of course. During the entire period I was in Europe I moved closer and closer to the Fourth International. The process was somewhat slow because of doubts I had over the line being followed by the international at that time. You see, I had left the guerrillas convinced that this was a wrong method. I reached revolutionary Marxist conclusions from reading Trotsky, and came around the Fourth International. Those I got in contact with seemed to have some of the same illusions I had already rejected. I thought that I had come too far to go backward now. These problems were a consequence of the resolution adopted at the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International projecting a general strategy of guerrilla warfare for Latin America.

At the time, I was aware that not everyone in the Fourth International agreed with this position on guerrilla warfare in Latin America. But I was afraid that those who opposed it were "reformists" whose attitude was pacifist for all practical purposes. This seemed to be the general feeling about them. And I continued to maintain that it would be necessary for the workers to defend themselves arms in hand against armed attacks by reactionary bourgeois forces. I maintained this even in my press conference in Nicaragua. And so I did not try to make any contact with those in the Fourth International who opposed the strategy of guerrilla warfare in Latin America. It seemed to me that it would be very difficult to work in the Fourth International in view of the Ninth Congress line.

*Q. Did that mean that you decided to leave the Fourth International, and sort of strike out on your own, or did you keep up your connections with the Fourth International?*

A. At no time since I came to Trotskyism did I consider abandoning the line of building a revolutionary world party of the working class. Nor did I ever consider trying to do this outside the framework of the Fourth International. It was just that because of the differences I had I needed more time to think out how I could fight inside the Fourth International for my own political positions.

*Q. I assume that you still retain your connection with the Fourth International, and still have your criticisms of the line taken at the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International.*

A. My situation is no longer the same as what I described above. Some years ago, I was able to study the positions of those in the Fourth International who opposed the guerrilla warfare strategy in Latin America and found that they coincided very largely with those that I had arrived at in isolation. From that moment on, I realized clearly that I should be in the Fourth International and I immediately asked to join. Since that time, I have been working in the Fourth International and helping to build it any way I can. But that doesn't mean that I dropped any of the criticisms I had.

*Q. This is a résumé of your political history and how you finally came to Trotskyism and the Fourth International. What do you think the prospects are for the growth of Trotskyism in Central America and the rest of Latin America?*

A. The main conclusion I have drawn from my political experience is that the problems that capitalism and imperialism are creating in Latin America are pushing many sections of the population toward Marxist positions. Every one of these layers has its own contradictions, of course. Every one has its own way of conceiving of the evolution that is leading it toward Marxism.

Thus in the coming period, the resounding failure of reformism, the increasing discredit of Stalinist Communist parties, and the worsening social conditions in Latin America are going to push many sections of the population toward revolutionary Marxist positions. Of course, every sector that comes to us will bring its own prejudices and create pressures that will have to be combated.

*Q. In Latin America in particular, it would seem that the guerrilla phase of the radical movement is coming to a close. What is your opinion about the possibility of political activity in Central America and Latin America now, and the possibility of building parties that are not based on*

*guerrilla movements?*

A. It is clear that guerrilla warfare has become extremely discredited among the radicalizing forces. There still are guerrilla groups with some strength. Paradoxically, the Frente Sandinista is stronger now than it has ever been, at a time when the guerrilla movement is ebbing all over Latin America. However, the possibilities for building revolutionary parties have never been better, since there is an obvious need, in the context of rejecting the guerrilla line, for an alternative to reformism.

However, another serious problem has arisen. For a long time ultraleftism and guerrillaism were mixed up together. They became synonymous, since for a considerable period in Latin America the fundamental form taken by ultraleftism was guerrillaism.

Now we have to be extremely alert to new, more classic forms of ultraleftism, the kind of ultraleftism that Lenin fought. If we are not on guard against such new ultraleft tendencies, of the sectarian type, we are going to have great difficulties in offering answers to the most urgent problems of the masses, the key problems of the masses in our countries. And if we cannot present such answers effectively, it will be very difficult to build revolutionary Marxist parties.

*Q. To wind up, could you tell us something about the current situation in Nicaragua?*

A. The situation in my country is rather explosive. The Somoza regime continues to rule with a mailed fist, relying on the National Guard, which has become extremely corrupt. And in the recent period, there have been a great many mass mobilizations.

The decisive role in the political struggles has been played by the urban masses, in rather sharp contrast to the immediate past, in which it was the rural masses that played the main role.

As a result of this new turn in the situation, the aspirations and hopes of the masses for solving their most fundamental social problems are more and more bound up with opposition to the Somoza regime. In these circumstances, the fight for democratic rights is emerging as a central axis of the mass struggles, and this fight for democratic rights means very concrete things for the masses.

In their eyes, the struggle means fighting for improving their living standards and achieving a better life, a more human existence. Thus, the way the masses see the fight against Somoza, the fight for democratic rights has clearly socialist implications. In this way, the revolution to overthrow the Somoza regime is linked to the revolution to establish a socialist society. □

# Capitalism Fouls Things Up



## 'Green Grunge' Strikes A-Plants

"Green grunge" has struck two nuclear power plants in Virginia, Surry I and II, causing extensive damage and entailing a \$60 million repair job.

Impurities in a section of each plant's cooling water system cause the "grunge," or magnetite, to build up around pipes, eventually strangling them or causing cracks and leaks. In the last two years, similar difficulties have struck fourteen of the thirty-eight U.S. reactors that are technologically susceptible. The entire American nuclear industry is worried, and has embarked on a \$40 million research effort to solve the problem.

Besides the Virginia reactors, others that have been affected by "green grunge" are the Turkey Point III and IV plants in Florida, San Onofre in California, Indian Point in New York, Palisades on Lake Michigan, Point Beach in Wisconsin, and the Ginna plant on Lake Ontario.

The cooling system is a crucial part of any nuclear plant. When operating, atomic fuel elements reach a temperature of 4,000 degrees Fahrenheit (2,200 °C). If this intense heat is not constantly removed by the flow of coolant—usually water—the

fuel rapidly melts.

Such a "meltdown accident" can lead to a steam explosion and the breaching of the steel and concrete containment vessel surrounding the reactor. If this happens, massive quantities of radioactive poisons escape to the environment, endangering the lives of tens of thousands of persons.

### 450 in Saskatoon March Against Uranium Plant

Chanting "Keep Saskatchewan safe and sound, keep uranium in the ground," about 450 persons marched through the streets of Saskatoon in Saskatchewan Province, Canada, on June 4.

The action was organized by the Saskatchewan Coalition Against Nuclear Development (SCAND) to protest the construction of a uranium refinery near Saskatoon.

Speakers from the National Farmers Union, the Saskatchewan New Democratic Women, the Revolutionary Marxist Group, the League for Socialist Action, and the Women's Liberation Group of Saskatoon addressed the marchers.

Eldorado Nuclear Limited plans to build the refinery to take advantage of the province's rich deposits of uranium.

A spokesman for SCAND said: "We are calling for a moratorium on this project. We want to have the fullest possible debate followed by a binding referendum. We do not like the secrecy that surrounds this project. The facts should be made public so that the people of Saskatchewan can decide."

The group is planning more activities and protests to publicize the dangers of nuclear development.

### Occupation at Grohnde

About 120 persons occupied the construction site of a nuclear power plant at Grohnde, near Hannover, West Germany, on June 13, the Associated Press reports. They vowed to remain "until the first freezing temperatures set in."

Grohnde was the scene of a demonstration of 15,000 persons against nuclear power on March 19.

Work on the plant has been halted temporarily by a court order. Police say they plan no action against the occupiers until some final court decision is made.

### Basel Votes 'No' on Nuclear Power

In a referendum held June 12, voters in Basel, Switzerland, overwhelmingly approved a law that will require local officials to oppose construction of nuclear power plants.

According to an Associated Press report, this was the first atomic power referendum held in Western Europe. Switzerland has a \$1 billion nuclear industry that has been planning to construct a network of atomic plants in the Basel area.

### Jersey A-Plant Short-Circuited

The Salem One nuclear plant in southern New Jersey suffered its fourth reported accident in seven months on June 4. A short circuit in a cable knocked out a pump in the plant's cooling water system, triggering an immediate shutdown of the reactor. Low-level radioactive water leaked onto the floor of the plant's containment building, and three workers involved in



clean-up efforts were taken to a hospital after complaining of nausea.

State officials said there was "no indication" that any radioactive materials escaped into the environment. The plant is still undergoing "shakedown tests" before being put into commercial service.

Dr. Glenn Paulson of the New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection said that a number of accidents always occurred in the early weeks and months of a new nuclear plant, but "we hope that they are minor and hope that they are stopped before there are any catastrophic consequences."

Three more reactors are planned for the Salem site. When completed it will be among the largest nuclear generating stations in the world.

### Concorde Stalled for a While Longer

The U.S. Court of Appeals in New York ruled June 14 that the New York Port Authority does have the power to ban the supersonic Concorde jet from Kennedy airport. This decision overruled a district court judgment that a federal decision allowing test flights of the plane at Kennedy and Washington, D.C.'s Dulles airport superseded any local noise regulations.

The Carter administration did not want to take responsibility for ordering the Concorde into Kennedy, but it did express the opinion in court that the Port Authority's ban "may have been exercised in a discriminatory fashion, and in addition, dilatory, arbitrary and unreasonable."

The appeals court agreed. They said the delay may be "so excessive as to constitute unfair discrimination and an undue burden on commerce," and urged the authority to "fix reasonable noise standards with dispatch."

The case was sent back to District Judge Milton Pollack, who made the original pro-Concorde ruling. He is to determine if the ban is "fair, reasonable, and nondiscriminatory."

The French and British airlines that are trying to get the needle-nosed noisemaker into Kennedy have not yet decided whether to appeal the ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Port Authority is not expected to take any further action until July.

Anti-Concorde leader Bryan Levinson said he was "happy" with the appeals court ruling. "But we are upset that the case will be remanded back to Judge Pollack because of the many pro-Concorde statements he has made." (New York Daily News, June 15)

### Kenya Says 'Cameras Only' On Big-Game Safaris

The government of Kenya declared a total ban on big-game hunting May 19. All licenses for hunting guns were to be canceled, and companies and individuals holding hunting concessions were ordered

to convert their trips into photographic safaris.

The ban will serve to protect Kenya's fast-disappearing wildlife. The elephant population in Tsavo National Park dropped from 35,900 in 1973-74 to 20,200 in June 1976. In another park the zebra population has declined from 15,000 to 1,500 in two years.

Trade in ivory has contributed heavily to the slaughter of elephants in Africa. The May 20 *New York Times* reports that the price of ivory has multiplied at least ten times since 1972, while commercial elephant hunting has been outlawed in most countries.

In announcing the ban, however, Kenya Minister for Tourism and Wildlife Matthew Ogotu said two-thirds of the animals that have died over the last five years were victims of drought, not hunters. The ban and recent heavy rainfall will allow wildlife to multiply unhindered, he said.

Conservationists welcomed the government action, but Ellis Monks of the World Wildlife Fund said it would "only go halfway."

"You also have to control the trophy trade which is an outlet for poachers," he continued. "If you wander around some of the trophy shops in Nairobi you will see skins on sale for less than the price of government license fees."

### Auto Makers Given Two More Years to Meet 1975 Pollution Standards

The Senate voted June 9 to give the American auto industry two more years in which to meet standards for auto emissions that were originally to go into effect in 1975. They had already been extended in various ways to 1978.

The vote was on amendments to the 1970 Clean Air Act. The House of Representatives had previously adopted amendments to the law May 26 that had the support of both Detroit businessmen and the bureaucracy of the United Automobile Workers Union. These would have advanced the deadline for enforcement of the 1975 standards to 1982.

Auto executives and union tops lobbied heavily in the Senate to get a similar vote. At one point, the *Washington Post* reported, "former UAW President Leonard Woodcock. . . , present UAW President Douglas Fraser and Chrysler President John Riccardo were busy in the public lobby of the Senate seeking support for the amendment."

The vote was called a "victory" for the Carter administration, which had earlier sought just a one-year extension for Detroit. The auto makers got what they wanted, though. Now all they have to do is come back in two years, lobby for a four-year extension, and get another two-year extension.

The Senate also voted down another



Herblock/Washington Post

amendment to the Clean Air Act that had previously passed the House. This one would have allowed violations of clean-air standards by industrial and power plants in areas near national parks for up to eighteen days a year (see *Intercontinental Press*, June 6, p. 653).

Conflicts in the two sets of amendments are to be worked out by a joint House-Senate committee.

### New Evidence on Oil Spill Poisons

The June 8 *New York Times* reports that recent research contradicts the notion that the toxicity of oil spills is reduced by evaporation, wave action, and chemical reactions stimulated by sunlight.

Scientists at the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia have found that when No. 2 fuel oil is spread over water and subjected to simulated sunlight, formation of toxic compounds many times more poisonous than the oil itself results. These products were found to kill yeast cultures, which are fungi similar in structure to algae, a key element in the marine food chain.

Earlier research had demonstrated that fish died within an hour or two after being placed in water taken from under an oil slick that had been irradiated with a sunlamp for seventy-two hours (equivalent to one and a half hours of direct sunlight in early fall). Fish placed in water from beneath an identical oil slick that had been kept in the dark remained alive at the end of six days.

Number 2 fuel oil is similar to automobile diesel fuel. Crude oil drawn directly from the earth can have widely different toxic components and evaporation and degradation rates.

# Selections From the Left

## Socialist Challenge

Newspaper sponsored by the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International. Published weekly in London.

A London rally of 700 persons June 5 marked the launching of a new Trotskyist weekly in Britain, *Socialist Challenge*. Sponsored by the International Marxist Group, the newspaper incorporates *Red Weekly*, published by the IMG since 1973.

An article in the first issue of *Socialist Challenge* reports the kickoff rally. It was opened by the paper's editor, Tariq Ali. Speakers included representatives from sections of the Fourth International in Spain and Ireland.

The keynote address was given by Ernest Mandel, one of the leaders of the Fourth International. In response to an appeal by IMG National Organiser Bob Pennington, the audience contributed £600 for the publication.

Greetings were sent by author Philip Agee who had just been deported by Britain's Labour government.

The first issue of *Socialist Challenge*, dated June 9, is a sixteen-page mix of lively domestic and international news reporting. The center spread features an article on "The Crisis in the [British] Communist Party."

International coverage in the first number is especially impressive. Among the articles are first-hand accounts of the buildup for the Spanish elections, "Eyewitness in Poland," a report on a socialist-feminist conference in Paris that attracted women from throughout Europe, and an exposé of Idi Amin's cozy relationship with British corporations.

"Home News" focuses on coverage of the labor movement and defense of Blacks against harassment by the British government and the right wing.

To encourage debate and discussion among various groups on the left, *Socialist Challenge* has opened up several columns that will be available for other points of view.

To inquire about subscription rates write: Socialist Challenge, c/o Relgocrest, 328/9 Upper Street, London, N.1.

## GENSUIKIN NEWS

Newsletter of the Japan Congress Against A- and H-Bombs. Published in Tokyo.

Thirty-two years after Truman dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, those who survived the bombings are still suffering from the effects of radiation,

an article in the April 15 issue reports.

The bomb victims, who number around 370,000, have a higher incidence of stomach and lung cancer than persons who were not exposed to radiation. However, the government refuses to provide them with special assistance, claiming that the relationship between exposure to radiation and the diseases they suffer from has not been established.

"In view of this situation, atom bomb survivors . . . have been developing movements to demand radical government measures for the relief of atom bomb victims and their children.

"As part of their efforts in this direction, the organizations of atom bomb survivors and the Japan Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs held rallies and street demonstrations for four days from February 20 and held negotiations with the Government authorities concerned. This action was also participated in by about 1,000 atom bomb survivors including those in Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

## klasse-kampen

"Class Struggle," published fortnightly in Copenhagen by the Revolutionary Socialist League, Danish section of the Fourth International.

The June 7 issue reports a joint protest by Germans and Danes against the building of an atomic power plant in Vadehavet, not far from the Danish border in the German state of Schleswig-Holstein:

Some 1,200 Danes took part in the five-mile Whitsuntide [May 29] march from Tonder over the border to Süder Lügum. . . .

The German government is interested in building an atomic power plant in this location because of the availability of water for cooling, and because construction cannot be so easily prevented here. The government's interest is underscored by the fact that a report is to be drawn up this fall on the concrete possibilities for building a plant before 1985 or 1990. Also, the state of Schleswig-Holstein has abandoned plans for establishing a nature preserve in the area.

Warm water flowing from the power station will affect plant and animal life in the bay and also in the North Sea. If the reactor overheats, vast quantities of water in the North Sea will be made radioactive. For this reason, Danish opponents of atomic power have a clear interest in joining with the German opposition to such plants in a common struggle.

Normally, persons crossing the border are passed through quickly and routinely by the German frontier police. But opponents of atomic power obviously were not welcome.

The police demanded that the marchers go through in groups of thirty in two lines led by a monitor with a white armband, and that the groups cross at two-minute intervals. . . .

On the German side, it was forbidden to use walkie-talkies or megaphones. That was reserved for the police alone. As a result, it was much harder to lead the demonstration.

After the . . . march, the Danes and the 300 Germans intermingled in a pleasant atmosphere. . . .

The German march had lasted three days, coming from Husum. It was run as a long educational rally. Leaflets were distributed . . . discussions were held with the local population.

It is important for Danish opponents of atomic power to unite with those on the western coast in Germany who feel the same way. So, we should follow up on this work. The Whitsuntide march was only a beginning.

## Guardian

An independent radical newsweekly, published in New York.

"The rapidly expanding U.S. antinuclear movement took a firm foothold in California last week," Barry Alterman writes in the June 15 issue.

He describes an organizing conference held in San Luis Obispo June 3-5 attended by seventy persons representing ten West Coast antinuclear groups. The conference decided to form a statewide coalition called the Abalone Alliance. (It is modeled on the Clamshell Alliance in New England, which organized the April 30-May 1 protests at Seabrook, New Hampshire.)

"The alliance . . . intends to oppose existing and planned California nuclear facilities through nonviolent direct actions. Its first target is the newly completed Diablo Canyon Plant near the conference site. A small-scale occupation of the plant has been slated for Aug. 6-7, the 32nd anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima."

Dr. John Gofman, former assistant director of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Livermore, California, was the keynote speaker at the conference. Gofman characterized Jimmy Carter's energy plan as a "farce." "It's a blueprint for a nuclear future, pure and simple," he said.

Five points were agreed on for the Abalone Alliance's declaration of principles: "the halting of funds to the nuclear power industry; the development of renewable energy sources such as solar, wind and tidal; the retraining of workers who lose jobs through the cancellation of nuclear construction or operation; the decentralization of energy supplies; and the ending of the production, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons."

Alterman felt the conference's major weakness was a lack of minority involvement. However, he says, "much attention was paid to the struggle against sexism. Many women are in leadership positions in the organization and explicit provisions

were made to keep an even male-female balance on the CC [coordinating committee].

"The overall spirit of the conference was positive and determined. I'm really invigorated," commented participant Ron Gaul, "seeing people come here from all over the state totally committed and dedicated to a definite goal—a goal which will be hard to win yet clearcut—the stopping of nuclear power plants."

## labor Challenge

Fortnightly newspaper published in Toronto, Canada.

A broad coalition of organizations demanding the repeal of Canada's antiabortion law sponsored a demonstration in Toronto on May 28 that drew 300 participants, Bev Bernardo reports in the June 6 issue.

"Despite the sweltering heat, participants retained their high spirits as they marched along the long route of the demonstration. The parade route passed four downtown hospitals—all of which severely restrict women's access to abortion.

"Chanting was loudest and most sustained as the demonstrators passed by Women's College Hospital, which has recently closed its public gynecology clinic to abortion patients. 'One, two, three, four, Open Women's College doors; Five, six, seven, eight, Don't make women wait,' the protesters shouted. . . .

"None of the three major political parties running in the June 9 elections accepted requests by the May 28 Coalition to send representatives to the Queen's Park rally. . . .

"However, a leaflet supporting the action was distributed by Thérèse Faubert, candidate of the League for Socialist Action in Brampton, and Barry Weisleder, candidate of the Revolutionary Marxist Group in Riverdale."

In another action the same day, Bernardo reports, about 150 persons marched in Regina, Saskatchewan, for women's rights. "The demands of the action included free abortion on demand, no forced sterilization, free 24-hour parent-worker controlled childcare centers, and equal pay and equal work."

## lippu

"Banner," monthly organ of the Finnish Social Democratic Youth League. Published in Helsinki.

The May issue comments on the case of Klaus-Uwe Benneter in West Germany. Benneter, a representative of a current with a political orientation similar to that of the Communist Party, was elected chairman of the Young Socialists, an

organization of the Social Democratic Party.

Almost immediately, the SP leadership moved against Benneter, first suspending him and later expelling him from the organization. Among the charges raised against him were that he said in an interview that as a workers party the SP had more in common with the CP than with the Christian Democrats, whom he described as the "class enemy."

This case caused a sharp division in the SP, with many local leaders speaking out against the purge of Benneter, and then themselves coming under the guns of the right-wing purgers.

Lippu recounts the facts of the Benneter case in detail and in a neutral way. The article ends by summarizing remarks by Finnish Social Democratic Youth leader Pekka Sarkkinen:

"In Sarkkinen's opinion, it was departing very far from basic Social Democratic principles if the party leadership expelled a person on the grounds that he considered a right-wing bourgeois party the class enemy and the Communists simply as political opponents."

## HAYTH

"Ave" (Dawn), the morning paper of the left. Published daily in Athens. Reflects the views of the Greek Communist Party ("interior").

The June 11 issue summarizes a report giving the names and functions of sixty-four CIA agents currently active in Greece, as well as those of ninety-six who worked in the country from 1970 to 1976. This report, based on information obtained from former CIA agent Philip Agee, was published in *Anti*, an independent left magazine in Athens.

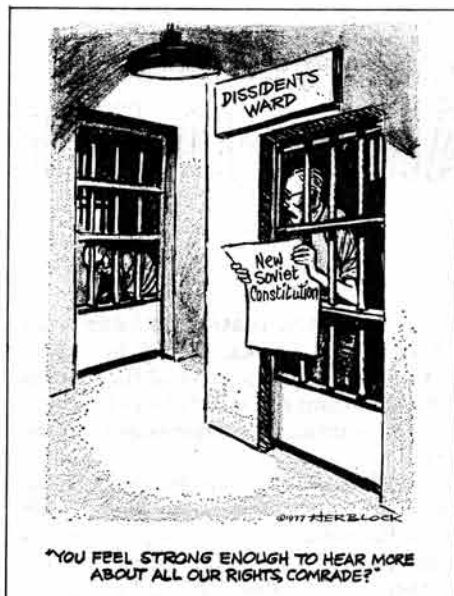
Agee noted that CIA operatives had been active in all the military conspiracies that led up to the seizure of power by the colonels on April 21, 1967.

In an introduction to the *Anti* article, Agee wrote that millions of people living under right-wing dictatorships look to Greece with hope, as proof that their own repressive governments can fall. He said that the entire world was following developments in Greece to see whether the CIA would be able to regain its lost ground, or whether the Greek people would win out.

Agee also said that he had learned from "a person with excellent contacts in Greece" that in 1975 the Caramanlis government's Foreign Ministry turned over 500 passports to the American embassy to be used as cover for CIA agents.

## CINA

"Struggle," organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, and of the



Herblock/Washington Post

Council of Ministers. Published daily in Riga.

A banner headline in the May 27 issue reports "L. Brezhnev Meets with Foreign Ministers of Warsaw Pact States." Under this, a large picture shows Brezhnev standing in the center of a row of East European foreign ministers, next to Gromyko. He is the only one wearing medals.

Under the report on the foreign ministers meeting is a reprint from *Pravda* on the new Soviet constitution, which is the biggest story on the page. Next to it is an article by a Latvian law professor extolling the new constitution and pledging the support of the local university community for it. Under the headline, "Unanimous Support," Professor V. Millers writes:

More than forty years have passed since the adoption of the constitution of the USSR currently in force [the Stalin constitution]. In those years, a developed, mature socialist society has been achieved; a new historical community has developed, the community of the Soviet peoples. From the dictatorship of the proletariat has grown the state of the entire people. . . . And all this must be embodied in the organic law of our state.

As is evident from the speech of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [CPSU] and Chairman of the Constitution Committee Leonid Brezhnev at the recent plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU, a major step has been taken in our lifetime that will lead our society to new victories for socialism and will bring us to a further extension and deepening of Soviet democracy.

The collective of the P. Stuchka Latvian State University fully approves the resolution adopted at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU approving the general line of this document of historic importance for the entire people. We, the students and teachers of the university, are also firmly convinced that the new constitution of the USSR, which will be discussed by the entire society and then adopted, will be another outstanding testimony to Soviet democracy.

# AROUND THE WORLD



## 80 Czechoslovak Dissidents Lose Jobs

A statement released June 8 in Prague charges that eighty signers of the human-rights document Charter 77 have lost their jobs in reprisal for endorsement of the appeal.

The Charter 77 group appealed to the Czechoslovak parliament to examine each of the individual rulings handed down by labor courts. The courts have rejected petitions by fired dissidents to be reinstated in their positions.

Zdenek Mlynar, one of the leaders of the movement, was turned down by a labor court after appealing for reinstatement as head of the entomology department of the National Museum of Prague.

The charter has been signed by more than 700 persons.

## U.S. Company in South Africa Fires Black Trade Unionists

Four Black union activists at Kellogg-South Africa, a subsidiary of the giant U.S. breakfast cereal manufacturer, were fired in April, according to a report in the May issue of the New York monthly *Southern Africa*.

The four workers said they had been victimized for their trade-union activities and had been harassed by white supervisors since they first began organizing at Kellogg's plant in Springs, near Johannesburg. They said that so far about 65 percent of the Black employees there have joined the Sweet, Food, and Allied Workers Union.

Although African trade unions are not outlawed in South Africa, they are not legally recognized by the white minority regime.

## Ferment in Senegal

Railway workers in the West African country of Senegal have launched a major strike action, according to a report in the June 2 *Le Monde*. The strike was called to protest a recent reorganization plan adopted by the railway management that threatens the jobs of a number of railway employees.

The strike began just a few weeks after the end of massive student actions that swept Dakar. A student strike began March 7 in the faculty of science of the University of Dakar and then spread April 25 to the rest of the university, as well as to many of the high schools in the capital.

The student protests came in response to a decree obliging recipients of government scholarships to sign fifteen-year service contracts with the regime, to be fulfilled after graduation. As the protests spread to other sectors of the student population not affected by the decree, the issue of greater democratic rights was also raised.

The protests were marked by a significant degree of collaboration between the university and high-school students. About 200 high-school students attended a general assembly at the University of Dakar April 24. On April 27 about 500 attended another assembly and the next day the number climbed to 3,000.

The regime of Léopold Sédar Senghor responded to the student actions with force. Police patrolled and encircled various schools and neighborhoods in the city. On April 28 combat troops, armed with clubs and submachine guns, occupied the university. At the school of social work, 116 students were suspended. Another 642 first-year science students were also suspended, eight were arrested, and one was expelled.

Senghor threatened students who sought to continue the strikes with conscription into the army.

## Death Sentences Reported in China

Eight persons have been sentenced to death in northern China, and one of them is charged with having "listened to an enemy radio station" and "founded a counterrevolutionary party with its own flag," according to a report in the May 24-25 issue of *Le Monde*.

One of the death sentences was suspended for two years. A ninth defendant was sentenced to life imprisonment. All of the defendants are between twenty and thirty years old.

The organization allegedly founded was called the "Chinese Revolutionary party." The report gave no details on its size or composition.

## New York Protest Defends 'Illegals'

Two thousand persons marched in New York City on June 4 in support of the rights of immigrant workers in the United States. The action was one of a number of demonstrations held in American cities recently to protest increased government attacks on "illegal aliens" and the cam-

paign around this issue that has been whipped up in the news media.

The protesters rallied at United Nations headquarters and then marched to the offices of the New York *Daily News* and the *New York Times*.

Mario Paredes of the National Committee for Defense of Immigrants addressed the crowd. He said Jimmy Carter should "see the problem of human rights here in our country."

"We are being harassed," Paredes said. "We have no social benefits. We work. We pay taxes. We are lawful people, and we are working for food, shelter, decency and justice."

## Victims' Kin Protest in Chile

Relatives of persons who have "disappeared" in Chile began a hunger strike and sit-in June 14 at the United Nations building in Santiago.

The group of twenty-six women and two men vowed to remain until they received word of their relatives' fate. Investigations by the Chilean government "have not had any positive result," they said.

The protesters also demanded the formation of an international commission to investigate the disappearances, and respect for the rights of the relatives of the missing.

UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim sent a message to the group assuring them he is working to locate their relatives and urging the group to end its sit-in.

## Carter OKs FBI 'Master' Computer

A plan by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to use its computer as a "central message switching center" for local and state police agencies across the country has been approved by the Carter administration. The project had been rejected by the Ford administration as a threat to civil liberties.

Critics have maintained that adding message switching capabilities to the FBI computer will ultimately allow the bureau to keep track of all communications between the country's police agencies.

In a June 8 letter to Attorney General Griffin Bell, California Congressman John Moss contended the project "poses a threat to the civil liberties and privacy of every citizen" and is "the beginning of the creation of a national police force."

Moss, a Democrat, said President Carter

had reneged on his campaign promise to "safeguard existing liberties of all Americans."

First suggested in 1973, the project was opposed by the Ford administration's Office of Telecommunications Policy, the Office of Management and Budget, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, the Domestic Council, and the General Accounting Office.

### Exxon Forever

"The United States might run out of oil someday. But there will always be an Exxon." That is the caption on a chart that appeared in the May 22, 1977 *Washington Post* showing the ownership of U.S. energy resources.

Based on data provided by the Energy Research and Development Administration and the House Interior Committee, the chart shows the following, in rounded figures:

- Twelve oil and gas companies control 51 percent of domestic U.S. uranium reserves.
- Five oil and gas companies control 62 percent of domestic uranium milling capacity.
- Fourteen oil and gas companies control 44 percent of leased coal reserves.
- In 1977 the federal government will give the oil industry \$211 million for research into non-oil fuel sources.

The oil and gas companies listed in the chart include the following: Gulf Oil, Exxon, Continental Oil, Getty Oil, Phillips Petroleum, Standard Oil of Ohio (Sohio), Standard Oil of California (Socal), Shell Oil, Mobil Oil, Texaco, ARCO, and Occidental Petroleum.

### Water at \$1 a Bottle

Perrier, the French purveyors of bottled water, is launching a big advertising campaign to increase sales in the United States.

The May 29 *Manchester Guardian Weekly* reports that Perrier recently invited fifty American food writers to a news conference that "ended with a gargantuan meal washed down with generous quantities of Perrier." And Orson Welles has been hired to narrate a series of Perrier commercials for U.S. television.

So far, 5 percent of the American people drink Perrier, according to the *Guardian*. But the company seems to have detected a growing willingness among U.S. consumers to part with about \$1 a bottle for pure water.

### Second Thoughts

A \$4 billion U.S.-Iranian arms deal appears to be falling through.

Last September Tehran offered to put up \$250 million so that the Northrop Corporation, a major American contractor, could

develop a land-based version of a U.S. Navy fighter plane, the F-18L. Iran would then buy 250 of the planes in the 1980s at a cost of \$15.8 million per plane.

But the *New York Times* reported June 8



SHAH: Waves \$4 billion for planes.

that "Government sources" said the Carter administration has decided not to go through with the arrangement, since it is not "in keeping with the new policy" the White House has on U.S. arms transfers abroad.

On June 9, the State Department denied the *New York Times*'s report. But, said the *Times*, "Government officials said privately that a decision had been made against selling the planes to Iran. It was believed that the denial today was prompted because the United States had not officially informed Iran or the Northrop Corporation . . . of the decision to bar the sale."

The June 8 article also reported a government official as saying that "the United States had to give a signal to Iran that it could not just get anything it wanted. He added that Iran was a close ally and a good friend, but that it could not be supplied with an unending flow of arms."

Tehran has purchased more than \$15 billion worth of American military equipment since 1972.

### Italian CP Spokesman Reassures U.S. Executives

"We Communists want to resolve Italy's economic problems and create a precise picture where investors will feel safe," Italian CP Central Committee member Lucio Libertini told a meeting of American business executives.

Libertini, who is also a CP deputy in

parliament, was speaking at the "conference on Euro-Communism and American business," according to a report in the June 3 *Wall Street Journal*. The big-business daily also reported his view that the "Italian Communist party doesn't have any plans for further nationalizations of industry and welcomes foreign investment 'under certain conditions.'"

Libertini predicted the CP would take posts in the government next year, and said the party's main objective would be to "restore economic order."

"The Communist party knows Italy is bankrupt," he said. "We want to face our responsibilities."

### Still At It

U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell, testifying before a Congressional committee on June 9, refused to say whether the FBI's break-in, wiretapping, and dirty-tricks campaign against radicals has come to an end.

"I don't want to say whether anything is going on or is not going on," he said. "It's too big. I wouldn't know that."

Bell did say, however, that if the committee "is patient with me, I will develop a system that is fail-safe, which will convince the American people that nothing is going on."

What are undoubtedly still going on are "domestic security cases." Justice Department officials told another congressional committee on June 6 that 214 such investigations were being conducted by the FBI as of June 1. They claimed the number had been reduced from 4,868 since March 31, 1976.

### Big Boom in Armored Autos

Nervous government officials and businessmen from around the globe are lining up to have their limousines layered with sheets of bullet-proof fiber glass at Willard Company's factory in Costa Mesa, California.

Although the overall market is still relatively small, the June 6 issue of *Business Week* reports that auto armorers like Willard and Texas-based Tetradyne Corporation are swamped with new orders. "We get 6 to 10 queries per week," says Willard President Jack Hochadel.

The California concern's first customer last year was Philippines dictator Ferdinand Marcos. The company is currently putting the finishing touches on ten Cadillac limousines for federal agencies such as the State Department. Willard has also received recent inquiries from Iran and Taiwan.

The cost of armor coating a car with fiberglass varies from \$15,000 to \$50,000 over the price of the vehicle. Weighing one-third less than conventional steel armor plating, however, the beefed-up cars give better performance for fast getaways.

### Guinea—Political Prisoners Tell of Torture

The International League for Human Rights reported to the United Nations June 8 that the regime of Sékou Touré in the West African country of Guinea has maintained a "reign of terror" during the past six years.

The league declared that thousands of political prisoners were being held in camps and jails and that many dissidents have been tortured and killed. It called on UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim to intercede with Touré on behalf of the prisoners.

"The rule of law has ceased to exist in Guinea and terror has become commonplace," the league said in its 300-page report. It said that persons presumed hostile to the regime are arrested without charge and brought before "secret tribunals at which the accused has no right or opportunity to prepare an adequate defense or at which he may not even be present at the actual sentencing or trial."

As evidence of the conditions facing dissidents in Guinea, the league included affidavits from former political prisoners; the names of about 1,000 prisoners, including those who have disappeared, were condemned to death, or died in jail; statements by relatives of prisoners; and medical certificates describing the effects of torture and starvation of prisoners.

The torture methods said to be employed by the Touré regime included severe beatings, electric shocks, suspension from the ceiling by rope, being forced to crawl on pointed stones and gravel, and being burned with lit cigarettes. African prisoners were reportedly subject to harsher treatment than whites.

According to the testimony of one former prisoner:

I saw a Senegalese, who had gone mad, roped each morning to the foot of a tree, handcuffed hand and foot, and left there every day without anything to eat or drink. Others were starved to death. They were shut in a cell, and then completely forgotten. . . . When their death rattle stopped, you knew they were dead.

Others who were stricken with . . . dysentery or cholera, were given no care and they died rapidly. . . .

As for the Blacks, if they are not officially condemned to death, they will die anyway, principally from lack of vitamins, and lack of air and light, as their doors are never opened. . . . A great number of them are completely blind or paralyzed.

The league stated that those in Touré's jails included judges, lawyers, businessmen, teachers, bank managers, workers, and peasants.

The June 8 *New York Times* reported, "According to those who conducted the

inquiry, the abuses were known to American and French authorities, but there was no evidence of much of a protest, at least publicly, because of heavy Western interest in Guinea's bauxite."

Although the Touré regime uses considerable radical rhetoric, the imperialist powers have millions of dollars invested in Guinea's bauxite mines (its bauxite deposits are the third largest in the world). Since 1961, American interests have been the principal investors and sources of economic aid.

The major workers parties in France, the

former colonial power in Guinea, have also not protested Touré's repression. Jammes Soumah, himself a former political prisoner under Touré and now a member of the French Socialist Party, has blasted them for this silence.

According to a report in the June 4 *Le Monde*, Soumah said that since Guinea's independence in September 1958 there has been a "conspiracy of silence" by the major parties of the French left concerning the repression.

In a report on the repression under Touré, Soumah included a list of 307 persons who have disappeared, been shot, died under torture, or have not been heard of since their arrest. In particular, he mentioned the case of a former leader of the Guinean Socialist Party who was killed by the Touré regime. □

### Thousands in U.S. Protest Antihomosexual Crusade



ANITA BRYANT: Plans national campaign against human rights of homosexuals.

Protests across the United States have begun to answer the campaign organized by reactionary forces in Miami, Florida, where a referendum June 7 repealed a law guaranteeing equal rights for homosexuals.

In Miami itself, 750 supporters of homosexual rights rallied at two locations on June 7. Marches and demonstrations of 500 to 5,000 persons took place in San Francisco for several days in a row after June 7. Almost 10,000 persons participated in a candlelight march in Los Angeles on June 13.

A march in defense of homosexual rights

held in Chicago on June 17 drew more than 4,000. Estimates of the size of a similar protest in Boston June 18 ranged from 2,000 to 7,000.

In New Orleans, activists have organized the Human Equal Rights for Everyone coalition. This group mobilized 4,000 persons for a march on June 18 that was followed by a picketline at a festival where Anita Bryant was giving a concert.

Bryant, a night-club singer, orange-juice advertiser, and Bible-thumping fundamentalist, is spearheading the current drive against homosexual rights in the United States. She and her right-wing outfit "Save Our Children, Incorporated" organized the Miami referendum campaign, which resulted in the repeal of the county ordinance that had banned discrimination on the basis of "affectional or sexual preference."

"Save Our Children" is setting up shop in Washington, D.C., and plans to mount a nationwide campaign against the rights of homosexuals.

Further protests against this reactionary drive will be held on the weekend of June 25 and 26.

On June 28, 1969, homosexuals fought back against police harassment at a bar on Christopher Street in New York City. Since then the date has been known as "Christopher Street Liberation Day," and has become a focal point for demonstrations, parades, and celebrations by homosexuals in the United States. These events will take on added significance this year.

Among the cities where activities are planned for June 25 and 26 are Atlanta, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New York, San Francisco, and Seattle. In Miami, a June 25 meeting will commemorate the 250,000 homosexuals who died at the hands of Hitler's Nazis. □