



Mundo

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Basques March Against Nuclear Power Plant

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Peking Makes It Official—Teng Is Back

By Les Evans

The official rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his emergence as one of the three top leaders of the People's Republic of China is another blow to the cult of Mao Tsetung, whose last political act was to drive Teng from office in disgrace. Whatever else it may portend for China's future, the "reversal of the verdict" on Teng spells the end of Mao's personal faction. The end by this time is pretty much symbolic anyway, since Mao's leading lieutenants, including his widow, Chiang Ch'ing, have been imprisoned without trial since last October, a few weeks after the chairman's death.

On April 7, 1976, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party voted unanimously "to dismiss Teng Hsiao-p'ing from all posts both inside and outside the Party" (*Peking Review*, April 9, 1976). Little more than a year later, on July 22, 1977, the same Central Committee, minus Mao and his closest associates, voted just as unanimously to adopt a "resolution restoring Comrade Teng Hsiao-p'ing to his posts." The posts to which the purged bureaucrat has been restored include membership on the Central Committee and its elite Politburo Standing Committee, a party vice-chairmanship, the vice-premiership of the government, and the position of chief of staff of the army.

Massive crowds thronged the streets of Peking after the announcement July 22, in a holiday mood. While it was clear that the demonstrations in support of the Central Committee's decision were organized by the bureaucracy, Western reporters were unanimous in describing the crowds as spontaneously jubilant.

Teng's popularity is not difficult to explain. Having been twice purged by Mao—once in 1966 and again in 1976—he is widely known as a personal enemy of the late chairman. Having been out of government for most of the last decade, he is not held responsible for the extreme economic austerity program or the draconian political and cultural repression of Mao's last years.

Teng had also associated himself with the call for economic modernization of

China put forward by the late premier Chou En-lai. The masses clearly hoped that efforts to spur economic progress would lead to an improvement in their standard of living and an end to Mao's decade-long wage freeze. Mao opposed the plans on the grounds that they would undercut campaigns for bureaucratic discipline and ideological conformity.

Teng's credentials as an "oppositionist" were given a special validation because his purge as an "unrepentant capitalist-roader" was precipitated by the mass antigovernment demonstrations in Peking's Tien An Men Square in April 1976. He came to be looked on as sharing a common lot with the workers and students who were arrested by government forces at Tien An Men. His return to office has been regarded by many among the masses as a test of the government's sincerity in promising reforms that will put an end to the worst abuses of the Mao era.

Teng, of course, is a lifelong Stalinist bureaucrat. His reputation for liberalism is only relative. He is more of a machine politician and administrator than Mao, and as such is more concerned with efficiency. Mao at the end, like Stalin in his last years, used his total control of the apparatus to impose more and more bizarre schemes on the economy and society, leading to severe economic setbacks and the virtual disappearance of cultural life. Teng, without loosening the hold of the bureaucracy on the levers of power, can be expected to do away with some of the more peculiar innovations of the late autocrat.

But while Teng's loyalty to the bureaucracy is not in question, his public rehabilitation and restoration to top party and government positions has an unsettling

effect on the bureaucracy's authority. It weakens the usefulness of Mao's reputation. It undermines the credibility of officials who could vote unanimously to brand Teng a "freak," and then, a year later, virtually turn the reins of government over to him. This certainly was one of the reasons for the long delay in making the public announcement, which had been rumored in Peking since last October. In January, at the time of the anniversary of Chou En-lai's death, hundreds of wall posters were put up in Peking demanding Teng's immediate return to office. Many of these posters linked this demand with calls for free speech and the right to elect and recall leaders. All of this adds up to a weak government that has yet to fully consolidate its authority.

It was noteworthy that the Central Committee made no effort to explain its new decision on Teng. It chose deliberately not to recall or explain what was said about Teng when Mao was still alive. This obviously remained a sore point. After half a year of the "campaign to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing," virtually every Chinese citizen knows by heart the "charges" against their new vice-premier. A typical sample was the editorial run by the Peking *People's Daily* on April 10, 1976. It said in part:

Teng Hsiao-p'ing has been the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party. Over a long period of time, he has opposed Chairman Mao, opposed Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he worked in collaboration with Liu Shao-chi in pushing a counter-revolutionary revisionist line; during the early stage of the Great Cultural Revolution, he, together with Liu Shao-chi, suppressed the masses and pushed a bourgeois reactionary line. . . .

Chairman Mao points out: "This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link." "He knows nothing of Marxism-Leninism; he represents the bourgeoisie. He said 'he would never reverse the verdict [i.e., try to restore capitalism]. It can't be counted on."

One of the problems with the "big lie" technique is that when they have to make a retraction, who is going to believe anything else they have to say? □

Menahem Begin Visits Washington

By Steve Wattenmaker

An "air of cordiality" surrounded the talks between President Carter and Israel's new Prime Minister Menahem Begin July 19-20 at the White House.

Toasting the former Irgun terrorist leader at a dinner, Carter said there was "a great parallel between Israel's history and Mr. Begin's.

"He is a man who has demonstrated a

willingness to suffer for principle, a man who has shown superlative personal courage in the face of trial, challenge, disappointment, but who has ultimately prevailed because of the depth of his commitment and his own personal characteristics," Carter said.

Speaking to an Israeli Bond Organization dinner in New York City two days

Summer Schedule

Next week's issue will be the last before our summer break. We will resume our regular schedule with the issue dated August 29.

later, Begin returned the praise, saying, "Your President is a man with a good heart."

Later in his speech, Begin alluded to at least one tangible result of his visit when he said that "we shall get quite soon very vital items for our national defense" from the United States.

The following day the State Department announced an arms sale agreement with Tel Aviv amounting to \$250 million, including \$107 million in easy credit to allow Israel to develop its own tank design.

On the central question of Middle East peace negotiations, however, public statements by the two leaders at the conclusion of their talks left contradictory impressions.

Begin unveiled his government's "peace" proposals at a July 20 news conference in Washington. Although he maintained that "everything is open for discussion" in negotiations, Begin repeated that Israel would never give up the West Bank territories it occupied after the 1967 war.

In his statement he also reaffirmed his government's refusal to "accept participation of . . . the organization called P.L.O." in any Mideast peace talks.

Palestine Liberation Organization representatives in Beirut responded to Begin's proposals with scorn. "This is not a peace plan, but a war plan," PLO spokesman Mahmoud Labadi said, "and we reject it from A to Z because it negates the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and nationhood."

Since all Arab countries have continued to insist publicly that the PLO be represented in some form at any negotiations, Begin's statements in Washington seemed to cast doubt on Carter's aim of reconvening the Geneva peace conference this year.

Nonetheless, speaking the same day at a separate news conference, President Carter indicated that after hearing Begin's views, he was confident Geneva talks could be underway by October.

"Diplomats, journalists and some Administration officials spent a good deal of time . . . trying to reconcile Mr. Begin's remarks with Mr. Carter's optimistic prediction," correspondent Bernard Gwertzman said in the July 22 *New York Times*.

Speculation centered on whether Carter had privately persuaded the Israeli prime minister to allow some form of PLO participation in the talks, or whether Arab heads of state had earlier given Carter secret assurances that they were willing to concede their demand that talks not begin without the PLO at the bargaining table.

Another possible explanation was that Carter had no such concessions from either Arab governments or Tel Aviv and—following the timeworn example of his predecessors in the White House—was simply lying. □

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Social Explosion in New York Blackout Predicted Long Ago

By Steve Wattenmaker

The social explosion that accompanied the New York City blackout July 13 dwarfed the ghetto rebellions that shook American cities in the 1960s, according to initial estimates of property damage and number of arrests.

From \$100 million to \$1 billion in commercial property was destroyed in the day-long revolt of New York's Black and Puerto Rican communities.

By comparison, damage costs in the Newark rebellion of July 1967 totaled \$16 million. The Detroit explosion later the same month cost \$164 million. Property loss in the Los Angeles Watts district uprising in August 1965 fell somewhere between the figures for the other two cities.

The number of arrests during the blackout also towered over arrests made during earlier upheavals in New York City's Black and Puerto Rican communities. Police rounded up almost 4,000 persons July 13 and 14.

During a four-day revolt in 1968 touched off by the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., New York City cops jailed 465 persons. A total of 373 arrests were made during a week-long uprising in Harlem and Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant section in 1964.

The vastly wider scope of the July 1977 rebellion provides a gauge of the deepening desperation among Blacks and Puerto Ricans in America. Since the revolts of the late 1960s, conditions of life in the ghettos and barrios of New York and other cities have continued to decline.

The gap between Black and white incomes has widened. Unemployment, especially among Black and Puerto Rican youth, has continued to mount since the late 1960s. More ghetto families have slipped below the official "poverty line" of \$5,500 for a family of four. Housing and education have continued to deteriorate. Cutbacks in social services like health care and sanitation, especially prominent in New York City, have added to the atmosphere of hopelessness that hangs over the poor.

The 1974-75 economic downturn was devastating to Black and Puerto Rican communities that were already in the grip of a virtual depression. Such "recovery" as has occurred in the last two years has not been felt in the ghetto.

No Jobs Means Despair

All of these conditions were documented in the National Urban League's second

annual "State of Black America" report released in January 1977.

The report concluded that unemployment in the Black community soared far above the official government rate of 13 percent in 1976. However, even that figure was almost double the official total jobless rate of about 7 percent.

Taking into account those who had stopped looking for a job out of discouragement and those forced to take occasional day jobs to survive, the real Black unemployment rate in 1976 averaged about 23 percent.

More revealing was the jobless rate among Black youth. The Urban League calculated that 64 percent of all Black teenagers could not find work. In the twenty- to twenty-four-year age group, *one-third* of all Black women and men needed jobs.

With Blacks concentrated in low-paying industrial and service jobs, only one-half of those "officially" unemployed are eligible for unemployment compensation when they are laid off.

Welfare programs and food stamps provide little relief and have been subject to continual cutbacks. A 1975 Census Bureau report calculated that from 1973 to 1974, the purchasing power of Black families declined 3.2 percent.

As a result of these factors, the proportion of Blacks who are officially considered poor increased in 1976 from 30 to 31 percent, according to the Urban League.

Figures also show that hopes of closing the income gap between Blacks and whites are fading.

In 1974 there was a gap of \$5,402 between the median income of Blacks and whites. In 1975 the gap widened to \$5,489—that is, \$8,779 for Blacks, \$14,268 for whites.

Housing has become an increasingly severe problem. The evidence is starkly visible in communities like the South Bronx in New York. Block after block lies abandoned—hollow burned-out buildings nearing collapse. Residents compare it to bomb-ravaged sections of Berlin or Dresden after World War II.

Yet, said the Urban League, the government has turned away from building low- and moderate-income units, rehabilitating old housing, and funding subsidized housing.

With only one doctor for every 3,000 persons in the Black community (it is one for every 700 nationally), health statistics tell another grim story.

Blacks continue to live shorter lives and die from heart disease twice as often as whites. Black mothers die in childbirth three times as often. Black children suffer twice as much from iron deficiency and malnutrition and receive almost no dental care.

Carter Says 'Tough Luck'

The economic crisis has also brought with it an alarming step-up in racist attacks designed to undercut even the limited gains won by the civil-rights movement in the 1960s.

Encouraged by Supreme Court decisions and White House pronouncements, racist thugs in cities across the country have attacked school desegregation with rallies and, not infrequently, with rocks.

Courts and state legislatures have moved to put the death penalty back on the books. Half of the prisoners on death row today are Black. Employers are more openly flouting federal affirmative action hiring guidelines, again with the encouragement of the courts.

Significantly, only several days before the blackout revolt, President Carter expressed the spirit of this racist drive against Black rights.

Asked about the Congressional cutoff of Medicaid payments to poor women seeking abortions in a July 12 news conference, Carter explained that he supported the decision. But wasn't it unfair that only poor women would be prevented from having abortions, he was asked.

"Well, as you know there are many things in life that are not fair, that wealthy people can afford and poor people can't," was the president's cavalier answer.

Following the New York events, Carter asked Defense Secretary Harold Brown "to see what steps might be necessary to insure that the National Guard is able to provide the maximum assistance possible to prevent or deter widespread looting [in the event of similar blackouts]."

New York City Democratic politicians, including liberal mayoral contenders Bella Abzug and Edward Koch, also called for sending the National Guard into the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

The racist offensive underway across the country has also taken the form of cops killing unarmed youths and dispensing "justice at the end of a nightstick." That Blacks and Puerto Ricans were called

"animals" and "scum" during the July 13 rebellion is hardly surprising—that is the cops' standard epithet for ghetto residents even on quiet days.

The cops call one of their precincts in the South Bronx "Fort Apache." Another precinct in the same borough is referred to as "Jungle Habitat."

At the outset of the New York rebellion top police officials ordered cops not to shoot "looters." Community residents were treated instead to club-swinging brutality and racist behavior.

After a carload of cops randomly arrested several Blacks in Brooklyn after daybreak, the July 25 issue of *Newsweek* reported, a woman standing nearby challenged the police, who responded by calling her an "illiterate moron." Another woman who was shoved when she asked a cop if he had seen her children summarized what she had seen of the cops' behavior: "They just crazy!"

Nearly a week after the rebellion had ended, police and city officials were still on a racist rampage. The *New York Post* reported July 18 that conditions of overcrowding in the Brooklyn court building detention pens were so deplorable that reporters were finally barred from visiting them.

Legal Aid Society officials branded the jails "shockingly subhuman."

More than 400 persons rallied outside Manhattan Criminal Court July 19 demanding that charges against the "looting" suspects be dropped. The Legal Aid Society announced a class-action suit on behalf of the prisoners. Another group filed a suit asking immediate release of those detained and seeking \$500 million in damages, charging the rights of those arrested had been violated.

Responding to the rising tide of protest over jail conditions, New York Mayor Abraham Beame said: "I've heard all kinds of bleeding-heart stories about these looters and I don't feel any sympathy for them."

Rebellion Was Inevitable

For the last several years, a number of observers have warned that aggravated poverty was leading to new explosions in the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

New York Times reporter Bryant Rollins wrote in the May 4, 1975 issue that crime—especially robbery and burglary—was on the rise in the South Bronx. Describing the conditions that spawned the increase, Rollins observed:

There is no recession in the South Bronx; there is a depression, by anyone's definition. The personal and social impact is sometimes obvious, sometimes subtle, and more onerous for being so. . . .

The depression in the South Bronx aggravates ordinary problems to often intolerable levels for individuals.

Edward Smith is one such person. He is 31 and

Con Ed Passes Blackout Buck to Consumers

Consolidated Edison Company, the giant utility responsible for New York City's blackout, has announced that consumers will foot the bill for the company's July 13 power failure.

Con Ed Chairman Charles Luce told a state legislative inquiry into the blackout that extra costs to assure the city's power supply "have to be borne ultimately by users of the product."

At the hearing, held in New York City July 19, Luce and State Public Service Commission (PSC) head Edward Berlin also testified that safety equipment installed after the massive 1965 New York blackout had failed to function in the latest power emergency.

The equipment—automatic "load-shedding" devices designed to temporarily cut off electricity in sections of the city to avert an overall shutdown—did not work until it was too late.

Investigators have also determined that four gas turbine generators Con Ed holds in reserve might have prevented the blackout if they had been started up in time. However, the generators are staffed only during the day. Their crews had closed them down and gone home by the time the power outage began.

"I can't say for sure we could have avoided a complete blackout," a Con Ed source told the *Washington Post* July

16, "but a blackout would have been much less likely if we had had our own generators supplying that 2 million kilowatt difference."

Con Ed President Arthur Hauspurg announced July 16 that in the future the four stations would be held in readiness around the clock.

The PSC, which is charged with regulating Con Ed's private monopoly over power in the New York metropolitan area, had only a gentle reproof for the utility's "oversight" in not staffing the generators at night:

"Now that it's over, you could say they maybe ought to have been doing that all along," a PSC representative said. "We're not second-guessing Con Ed, but it's certainly a good move to do it now."

The PSC's transparently chummy relationship with Con Ed was further illuminated just one week after the great blackout. The *New York Post* reported July 21 that the PSC was poised to grant Con Ed's top brass and management personnel an average 8 percent pay boost.

For Chairman Luce, whose salary went from \$160,000 to \$200,000 last year, that means another raise of \$16,000.

has been arrested once, when he was 14. He does not want it to happen again. But he is desperate.

Mr. Smith is a house painter. He is black and he has been out of work since last October. . . .

The \$80 he receives every two weeks and the few dollars he earns occasionally loading trucks at the Hunts Point produce market is not enough to live on. He has been to every agency in the city, but there is no work he can do. . . .

"I spend my time just hanging out," Mr. Smith said. "I go to the movies and walk the streets trying to kill time. Sooner or later I'm going to get into trouble. I'll steal something or hold up somebody."

In August 1975 a social scientist interviewed by the *New York Times* observed that "there is a nervous restlessness in the ghetto. . . .

"It's like a volcano, there it is, peaceful and quiet. But you know it could erupt at any time, now or five years from now."

Herbert Hill, national labor director for the NAACP,* wrote in the association's annual report issued in January 1976:

"In every category of measurement—unemployment rates, duration of joblessness, in earnings and in labor force entry

for young workers—the black community is being forced back into patterns that were commonplace during the Great Depression of the 1930s."

This condition, the report stated, is not only caused by the economic crisis, "it is also a direct consequence of the failure of the Federal Government to enforce the extensive prohibitions against job discrimination."

A year and a half later, Hill told the NAACP national convention June 28:

"All the pressures leading to the ghetto rebellions of the 1960s are in operation."

The current unemployment rate "means that almost half of the young black population is in a permanent condition of hopelessness and despair," he continued. "There is a deceptive calm in the black ghettos of this country and that's the potential for future trouble." □

Documents discussed at 1974 Tenth World Congress of Fourth International. 128 pages. 8½ x 11, \$2.50

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*National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—the largest and oldest Black civil-rights organization in the United States.

Wall Street Lines Up Behind Carter on Neutron Bomb

Despite Jimmy Carter's announced intention to withhold a final decision on the "enhanced radiation warhead," or neutron bomb, until sometime after August 15, production and deployment of the new weapon appears more and more to be a foregone conclusion.

The neutron bomb is designed to kill living things through the release of massive quantities of high-energy neutrons, while doing little immediate property damage. (See box for a description of its long-term effects.)

Carter signaled his true position on the weapon in a letter to Congressional leaders July 12: "It is my present view that the enhanced radiation weapon . . . is in the nation's security interest." The next day, the Senate voted 58 to 38 to provide funds for the warhead.

The editors of the *New York Times* endorsed the neutron bomb July 12. They felt the allegedly rapid dissipation of the bomb's radiation to be "of critical importance to our NATO allies. . . .

"The Administration should proceed with the planned deployment."

NATO Commander Alexander Haig agreed. He said July 13 that the weapon was needed "to modernize NATO's armor and give the alliance greater flexibility."

In West Germany, top military officers said the neutron bomb would be "the better alternative." "We don't see what the fuss is all about," one said.

However, reservations about the weapon were expressed by Egon Bahr, executive secretary of the ruling Social Democratic Party. He called it a symbol of "mental perversion" and asked, "Is mankind going crazy?"

Meanwhile, Carter's decision to scrap the B-1 bomber for the more sophisticated cruise missile has been receiving applause. Urging Congress to press for rapid development of the missile, the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* said July 14 that Carter's move "could prove to be the best military decision of our generation." This followed their July 8 praise for the neutron bomb as a "more discriminating weapon . . . tailored to particular tasks and able to accomplish military missions with less damage to innocent bystanders, or for that matter buildings."

In the July 19 *Wall Street Journal*, Roy Harris cited the optimistic view of the B-1 decision being taken by capitalists in the aerospace industry. One securities analyst has prepared a report titled "The Positive Side of the B1 Cancellation," which "says the Defense Department's next move is likely to be 'just a redeployment of effort and funding,' with the Cruise missile

Neutron Bomb—What N.Y. Times Forgot to Say



"NOTICE HOW MUCH MORE REFINED?"

Herblock/ Washington Post

[The following letter, noting an inaccuracy in the *New York Times's* account of the deadly effects of the neutron bomb, appeared in the paper's July 19 issue. Since the early 1960s, the author has studied health hazards caused by radiation from the testing of nuclear weapons and the operation of nuclear power plants. He is a leading opponent of both in the U.S. scientific community.]

To the Editor:

The claim that the proposed neutron bomb is preferable to ordinary tactical nuclear weapons because it limits its destruction to radiation effects on military personnel and thus is more acceptable for use in densely populated areas such as Western Europe is both false and misleading.

As the description of the weapon's action in *The Times* of July 2 makes clear, the neutron bomb is simply a small Hiroshima-size nuclear weapon in which the designers have succeeded in converting the energy more efficient-

ly into the production of neutrons for a given amount of blast and heat. Though it is true that one can therefore reduce the explosive force to one-third and instead achieve more deadly direct radiation per kiloton acting on exposed military personnel over the same area, what the proponents have been careful to conceal is that the total amount of deadly fallout spreading downwind over populated areas has actually been vastly increased by this design.

The reason is that the same flash of neutrons that kills by its direct action on the cell-walls of critical organs also causes the atoms in the surrounding air and soil to become radioactive, thereby greatly enhancing the overall amount of deadly radioactivity in the mushroom cloud that proceeds to drift around the globe with the prevailing westerly winds.

Thus, although it is true that the physical damage to nearby cities can be reduced, the overall amount of death, disease, and genetic damage to future generations per kiloton will actually have been greatly multiplied. Furthermore, since the Russian military leaders and scientists are fully aware of these facts as spelled out in "The Effects of Nuclear Weapons" published by our Government in 1958, they will have no incentive to limit the war to the battlefield once the clouds of deadly radioactive dust have been launched into the air, drifting eastward from Central Europe toward their cities.

Thus, the promise of "city-saving" neutron bombs, quite aside from its moral repugnance, is nothing but a cruel deception that cannot hope to save either our own population or that of our allies and neutral nations all over the globe from biological destruction if nuclear weapons of any size are ever used on a large scale.

Ernest J. Sternglass
Professor of Radiological Physics
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, July 6, 1977

projects of Boeing and General Dynamics getting the earliest attention."

"I'm not really sure you can say that because of the B1 cancellation there's going to be less defense spending," observes Christopher Demisch, an analyst with National Aviation and

Technology Corp. in Washington. . . .

He adds that the scrapping of the B1 . . . means that "it's going to be easy to get money for the MX missile."

The MX, unlike currently deployed U.S. missiles, would be mobile, buried in

trenches ten to twenty miles long. It is also far more accurate than the Minuteman missile it would replace.

Carter has been trying to cover his escalation of the arms race with talk of new efforts toward disarmament. In a July 21 speech in Charleston, South Carolina, he said: "In the talks [with the Soviet Union] on strategic arms limitations we advanced a comprehensive proposal for

genuine reductions, limitations and a freeze on new technology which would maintain balanced strategic strength."

"But," he said, "if an agreement cannot be reached, there should be no doubt that the United States can and will do what it must to protect its security and insure the adequacy of its strategic posture."

What Carter is really up to was summarized quite well by columnist Joseph C.

Harsch in the July 14 *Christian Science Monitor*: "The Carter administration gives every evidence of intending to go ahead into a whole new generation of weapons which the Soviets could not at present duplicate and might not be able to duplicate for a long time. . . ."

"The three new American weapons [neutron bomb, cruise missile, MX] together would shift the strategic balance enormously to American advantage." □

As Real Wages Drop Below 1943 Level

Argentine Junta Faces Mounting Pressure From Workers

[The following appeared as an editorial in the July issue of *Tribuna*, a monthly bulletin of news and analysis published in Buenos Aires. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Under the military government wages have fallen to their lowest point in history. For the first quarter of 1977, real wages were 66% of the 1960 average, 55% of the 1970 average, and 53% of what they were in 1943 (*Clarín*, June 5). This is one of the main "achievements" of [Economics Minister José] Martínez de Hoz's plan. But now we have set a new record—we have the lowest wages in the whole period that began March 24, 1976 [date of the military coup that brought the current regime of Jorge Videla to power].

In an effort to conceal the scope of the catastrophe, the government modified the method used to calculate the cost-of-living index. It replaced the already distorted previous statistics with a totally deceptive set. In calculating the expenses of the "average family," it has reduced the percentage devoted to food, although it is well known that the costs of feeding a family consume an increasing part of the miserably low wages. It has also set a ridiculous figure for housing (1.5% of total wages). This is based on the absurd notion that a family of four pays 80,000 old pesos [US\$2.16] for a two-room apartment (*Clarín*, June 5) although anyone knows that to rent a place of that sort costs about four million old pesos [US\$108], not to mention the expenses of compañeros who build their own houses.

But the fraudulent statistics that result from this method have not been able to conceal the constant rise in the cost of living—6% in April (10% according to the old index) and 6.5% in May, or an increase of 42% for the first five months of the year (*El Economista*, June 10).

And the future looks even worse. The prices of all major items in workers'

budgets continue to spiral upwards—bread, milk, eggs, and, once again, meat.

Moreover, starting July 1, "rents will increase 25% over what people have been paying for the last three months." "In a nutshell, that means that rents have increased virtually tenfold over the last year," commented the June 7 issue of *La Opinión*. Rounding out the picture are the automatic adjustments in charges for public services, which continue rising month after month; higher prices for clothing, and so on.

In face of this disaster, the economics minister had the nerve to state, ". . . given the fact that the rate of inflation continues to decline, it is obvious that the level of real wages is improving" (*La Opinión*, May 24). He added that no wage increases were under consideration.

But the resurgence of resistance in the working class, the fear that this will deepen in view of the seriousness of the social crisis, and the outcry by sectors of the bourgeoisie against the dramatic shrinking of the domestic market have forced the government to reconsider the question of wage increases.

There is talk now about a miserable raise of between 12% and 20% to go into effect in July or August. However, still under discussion is whether it will be an across-the-board increase or applied "selectively," a method by which in the past important sectors of the work force received practically nothing.

What should the workers' basic demand be in face of the enormous deterioration in wages? Just to regain our 1974 level—which was low even then—the wage increase should be 150%.

Let's examine the situation. Real wages for the first quarter of 1977 were 53% of the 1974 average. In April and May the rise in the cost of living (according to the 1960 index) was about 20%. This meant a new deterioration in real wages, which, according to the June 10 issue of *El Economista*, amounted to 11.4%. That resulted in real

wages as of May 31 being 42% (53% minus 11%) of the average earned by workers in 1974. Thus, to reach the 1974 wage level, that is, to raise real wages by sixty points, we need an increase of 150%.

The fight for a decent wage is the central concern of the working class. At dozens of factories there have been new demands for a raise—at John Deere, Deutz, Petroquímica, Massey Ferguson. This willingness to fight has been made clear since March 24, 1976. The big struggles at the auto plants, the strike of light and power workers, and many other factory conflicts are testimony to it.

Workers' resistance succeeded in placing certain limits on the government's policy, forcing adjustments it had not planned on and, in some cases, squeezing out raises higher than those officially authorized. But it has not succeeded in shaping an organized, systematic movement that could break the back of the policy of starvation wages.

Along with the situation of brutal repression and terrorism created by the coup, the underlying cause of this situation lies in the job the trade-union bureaucracy has done to obstruct and prevent the organization of such a movement.

Starting March 24 [1976] the bureaucrats began to follow an order that no one gave them—to collaborate with the military government. By becoming the "advisers" in the takeovers by the military and the bosses, the bureaucrats tried to save their posts, their control over funds for public works, and, above all, to present themselves as candidates for the "normalization" plan announced by the government (that is, the plan to fashion a housebroken trade-union structure). The price paid for this has been the open betrayal of each and every one of the workers' demands.

Now this policy has entered a total crisis. The law of professional associations [the basic labor-relations law] will not be ready for several more months. Moreover, its publicized guidelines and the normali-

zation program that is under discussion reveal that the only proposal the military is making is to give itself permanent powers to manipulate and interfere directly in the trade unions, along with the power to handpick the bureaucrats, thus frustrating all their expectations.

What does this clash reveal? What led the bureaucracy to refuse to participate in the official delegation to the International Labor Organization?

The bureaucracy has had to face the fact that its self-imposed order to collaborate with the military is not working. This is a favorable situation for the proletariat because it emphasizes the idea that the reorganization of the workers movement

will come from the rank and file, that the workers movement must maintain its political independence and under no circumstances collaborate with the military.

The crisis of the government and the bureaucracy creates a favorable opening for the workers movement to press its demands—above all, for a wage increase. The front between the government and the bureaucracy has been weakened, and the bureaucrats' underlings in the factories are feeling the heat of this crisis. This, in turn, is weakening their campaign to block the workers' struggles and creating a favorable situation for propaganda and independent organization aimed at winning demands.

The working class is well aware of the extent to which they have been robbed of their wages, and of the crisis in the bureaucracy. John Deere, Massey Ferguson, Petroquímica, and the dozens of grievances in the factories are evidence of this.

To win a hearing for a plan of struggle that can be discussed throughout the workers movement, our first task is to extend the experience of the workers of Santa Fe—signing grievances, electing real representatives to present them, and holding assemblies by sections and by factory where it will be possible to move forward in unifying and organizing the struggle. □

Bandaranaike Routed in Sri Lanka Elections

By Ernest Harsch

In the July 21 general elections in Sri Lanka, the country's 6.5 million voters cast their ballots overwhelmingly against the authoritarian government of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike. While Bandaranaike retained her own seat, her Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) won only eight, compared to the eighty-five that it held in the outgoing Parliament.

The main beneficiary of the massive disillusionment with Bandaranaike's regime was the island's other major bourgeois party, the United National Party (UNP), led by J.R. Jayewardene. The UNP won a large majority, taking 140 seats in the 168-seat Parliament, Jayewardene was sworn in as the new prime minister two days later.

The United Left Front, a popular-front electoral bloc composed of the Communist Party, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP—Ceylon Equal Society Party), and the bourgeois People's Democratic Party contested 134 seats but did not win a single one. The leaders of all three parties had been badly tainted by their earlier participation in Bandaranaike's coalition regime and were identified with her policies.

The ex-Trotskyist LSSP, which was the largest party in the bloc, had been expelled from the Fourth International in 1964 for accepting posts in an earlier capitalist regime headed by Bandaranaike. LSSP leader N.M. Perera lost his seat in Parliament for the first time in 35 years.

The elections also marked the growing strength of the Tamil separatist movement. The Tamils, who number about 20 percent of the population, are an oppressed nationality that lives for the most part in the northern and eastern districts of the country. The Tamil United Liberation Front, a bloc of the Federal Party and the Tamil Congress, specifically campaigned

on the demand for the establishment of an "independent sovereign socialist Tamil State." The TULF won 18 of the 24 seats that it contested, making it the largest opposition party in Parliament.

One of the main factors behind Bandaranaike's defeat, besides rising unemployment and inflation, was her repressive methods of rule. For six of her seven years in power, she ruled under a state of emergency that gave her extensive powers to act against dissidents. The imposition of the state of emergency in March 1971 was initially directed against the radical youth movement, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front), which attempted an uprising the following month. It was crushed only after thousands of youths were killed and about 18,000 arrested. About 2,000 JVP members and sympathizers, including JVP leader Rohana Wijeweera, remain in prison.

The massive electoral defeat of Indira Gandhi's similarly authoritarian regime in neighboring India in March may have bolstered the opposition to Bandaranaike. The July 22 *Washington Post* quoted a Sri Lankan as saying, "We were put under a national emergency in 1971. We've had curbs on the press for years. We don't like it any more than the Indians."

Jayewardene took advantage of this sentiment during the election campaign by promising to uphold "democracy" and to bring in a period of economic prosperity. He went so far as to suggest that his regime would consider releasing Rohana Wijeweera and other JVP prisoners.

Although Jayewardene's UNP is traditionally based on the more proimperialist sector of the Sri Lankan bourgeoisie, the massive rejection of Bandaranaike's policies will put considerable pressure on his own regime. He recognized as much, stating the day after the elections that the



BANDARANAIKE: Retired by voters.

size of the UNP victory "casts an onerous responsibility."

An indication of the deep unrest in Sri Lanka was the outbreak of clashes between supporters of the UNP and SLFP July 23. Originating around the capital, Colombo, and the central city of Kandy, the clashes quickly spread to other parts of the country, including the northern Tamil region, near Jaffna. About twenty persons were reported to have been killed. A 9 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew was imposed in the areas affected. □

Peruvian Workers Say 'No' to Price Increases

By Judy White

Peruvian police and troops opened fire on demonstrators in Lima July 19, as a nationwide general strike swept the country in protest of increases in the price of basic items of up to 50%.

Officials acknowledged that government forces killed at least six persons, but eyewitness accounts suggest that the number of dead was considerably higher. The official announcement made no mention of the number of wounded.

The following day, more than 300 trade-union leaders were arrested in a sweep through industrial sections of the city and a raid on the headquarters of the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (the labor federation dominated by the Communist Party), which backed the strike.

The strike was the high point of a wave of protests that began in mid-June. It virtually paralyzed Lima for twenty-four hours and halted commercial and industrial activity in other major cities.

Although government censorship suppressed full reports of the strike's effectiveness, a dispatch in the July 22 *Christian Science Monitor* described the action as "the first such work stoppage in nearly 10 years" and "the most serious [disturbances] since General Morales Bermúdez took power in August, 1975."

On June 10, Morales Bermúdez had announced a series of austerity measures, including price hikes for food, gasoline (50%), and transit fares (30%).

The announcement triggered demonstrations in several small cities:

In Huancayo, official reports said five persons had been killed and thirty-seven wounded.

In Cuzco three persons were killed when police and the army attacked student demonstrators.

Tacna, where at least two persons were killed, had what the *Christian Science Monitor* described as "the most serious rioting in 50 years."

In Trujillo, one person was killed and at least twenty-three wounded.

In Sicuani, 3,000 student demonstrators were dispersed with tear gas.

Demonstrations were also reported in Arequipa, Juliaca, Ayacucho, and Urubamba. Curfews were imposed in Tacna, Ayacucho, Cajamarca, and other cities.

Government repression of these protests was so severe that five Peruvian bishops denounced the regime publicly. They demanded "an end to the repression and intimidation, exact information on the persons missing and killed, release of

those arrested, and a halt to the rise in the cost of living—especially for such basic items as transportation and gasoline."

The price increases were announced under sharp pressure from the International Monetary Fund and international banking interests.

Peru has a foreign debt of \$4 billion and

Common Prisoners Demand Amnesty

Spanish Police Crush Jail Revolt

Firing smoke grenades and rubber bullets, 1,000 Spanish riot police stormed Carabanchel prison in Madrid on July 21, ending a four-day rebellion by common prisoners demanding a general pardon. According to a report in the July 21 *Le Monde*, one inmate was killed and thirty others wounded in the assault.

The revolt began July 18 when 350 prisoners climbed to the roof of the building and demanded to meet with Premier Adolfo Suárez or other government officials.

When police tried to force the prisoners to return to their cells, the inmates resisted vigorously.

Police sealed off the area and chased reporters and photographers away at gunpoint. Relatives of the prisoners who had gathered around the building were also driven off.

By July 21, the original 350 prisoners had swelled to 800. Solidarity strikes and rooftop demonstrations broke out at many other Spanish prisons, including Almería, Barcelona, Burgos, Cádiz, Leon, Oviedo, Palencia, Puerto-Santa-Maria, Valencia, Valladolid, and Zaragoza, as well as at Las Palmas in the Canary Islands. As many as 2,500 prisoners took part in rebellions and clashed with the police.

The revolts broke out several days before King Juan Carlos was scheduled to address the opening of Spain's newly elected parliament. To avoid embarrassing publicity countering its "democratic" image, the government did not move immediately to crush the revolts.

Although new prison rebellions were

had a balance-of-payments deficit for 1976 of between \$500 and \$600 million. Foreign banks have refused to lend the regime more money unless it takes concrete steps to lower the deficit.

Earlier this year the IMF made it clear that it would hold up \$50 million in credits unless the government increased taxes and gasoline prices, held down inflation to 15% in 1977 (it was 40% in 1976), lowered government spending (including subsidies for essential goods), and devalued the sol.

As an additional club against the regime, a consortium of U.S. banks announced in May that it would withhold a separate \$200 million loan until the IMF's conditions were met. □

reported in Bilbao, Granada, Murcia, and Palma de Majorca, by July 21 the wave of sympathy strikes appeared to be fading. Prisoners had been on the roof of Carabanchel prison for three days without food or water in 95-degree heat. Authorities used the prisoners' demand that the police withdraw as an excuse to break off negotiations. Police launched an attack around noon, finally regaining control of the prison after a six-hour battle.

The prisoners were led by a new organization called Prisoners' Coordinated Struggle, which demanded that the amnesty program announced by King Juan Carlos in 1976 be extended to all common prisoners. About 6,000 prisoners serving sentences for nonpolitical offenses were freed at that time. □

Only a Game

The Edison Electric Institute, a trade association and public-relations outfit for U.S. electrical utilities, has been distributing an "energy environment game" to high-school students.

The National Audubon Society has charged that the game is a "slick propaganda package" for nuclear power that portrays environmentalists as "unthinking fools who oppose all proposals for new power plants."

A spokesman for the institute responded that the game is an "instructional simulation that presents a complete diversity of points of view . . ." (*Los Angeles Times*, June 27, 1977).

Two Handbooks For Antinuclear Activists

Reviewed by Fred Murphy



Walter Patterson introduces his book *Nuclear Power* in this way:

Public participation in nuclear decision-making has hitherto been either tentative or desperate, largely because the issues seem to be cloaked in the most esoteric scientific obscurity. But the veil of mystery surrounding nuclear matters has always been primarily one of military secrecy, not of intellectual inaccessibility.

Patterson's book and McKinley Olson's *Unacceptable Risk* puncture this veil. The two works are indispensable handbooks of information for antinuclear activists.

McKinley Olson is an American journalist who first became interested in nuclear power as a newspaper editor in York, Pennsylvania. A controversy developed in the York area in the early 1970s over plans by several electric utilities to make the vicinity into "the largest concentrated source of nuclear power in the world." At least eight nuclear plants were to have been built along a thirty-five-mile stretch of the Susquehanna. Olson describes the successful legal battle waged by residents of the area against this development.

Walter Patterson has a degree in nuclear physics from the University of Manitoba, Canada. Since 1972 he has been an energy specialist on the staff of Friends of the Earth, Ltd., in London, and is a frequent contributor to *Environment* magazine. His book covers considerably more ground than Olson's and is the more technical of the two. Patterson begins:

If you take a pair of metal hemispheres and slam them together very fast face to face, one of two things may happen. You may get a loud clunk. Or you, the hemispheres and everything else in the vicinity may be almost instantly vaporized in a burst of incredible heat. If the latter happens, you can be sure that the metal was a particular kind of uranium, not that the confirmation will do you much good.

Three chapters follow in which Patterson, assuming no scientific background on the part of the reader, explains the technology that has developed in the effort to harness this source of tremendous amounts of energy.

He deals with everything from the physics of fission reactions to the varied and often exotic methods that have been proposed for disposing of radioactive waste. "If you are a nuclear engineer,"

Patterson says, "you can skip these chapters. If not, you should read them carefully, as they make it easier for you to determine whether nuclear engineers are talking sense."

The history of nuclear power begins in 1896 with the discovery of radioactivity by Henri Becquerel. Patterson takes up briefly

Unacceptable Risk, by McKinley C. Olson. New York: Bantam Books, 1976. 309 pp., with reference notes, appendix, and index. Paperback, \$2.25.

Nuclear Power, by Walter C. Patterson. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1976. 304 pp., with four appendices and index. Paperback, US\$3.50, £.80.

the contributions of Becquerel, Pierre and Marie Curie, and Wilhelm Roentgen. He notes the tragic consequences that often ensued in the early 1900s from the medical use of poorly understood radioactive elements such as radium.

Generation of electricity from nuclear reactors came about as a by-product of the joint U.S.-Canadian-British effort during World War II to develop an atomic bomb. "Only days after the Nagasaki bomb a bill was presented to Congress whose ultimate effect, as the McMahon Act of 1946, was to make it illegal for Americans thenceforth to give their erstwhile allies any further access to information about nuclear energy."

Upon being so unceremoniously shown the door by the U.S. atomic establishment, the Canadian government decided not to proceed with weapons development and instead began using facilities built for the joint military program as research instruments for civil applications.

But "ironically," says Patterson, "the one country which after the Second World War had decided to develop its infant nuclear capacity purely for research was the first to play host to a reactor accident." He then describes in detail the December 1952 partial core meltdown and steam explosion that put an experimental reactor at Chalk River, Ontario, out of commission for fourteen months.

[The accident] disgorged radioactivity in all directions, [although] no staff received excess radiation exposure during the accident itself. . . . When it is noted that the accident sequence included an almost complete failure of the [emergency] system, the reactor staff may even count themselves fortunate.

This is one example of an interesting feature of Patterson's book. He intersperses his text with italicized passages detailing fifteen incidents that highlight the technological failures, human errors, and unforeseen events that have plagued the nuclear industry from its inception. These incidents and many others form a growing body of what Patterson calls "nuclear folklore."

He tells of reactor accidents in the United States, Britain, Canada, Switzerland, and West Germany; of the ill-fated Japanese nuclear ship *Mutsu*; of the \$50 million plutonium fire in Colorado in 1969 ("the most expensive industrial fire in the history of the USA"); of the consequences of the crash of a U.S. B-52 loaded with four hydrogen bombs near the Spanish village of Palomares in 1966.

Patterson outlines the history of the nuclear industry in a number of major capitalist countries—the United States, Britain, France, Canada, and West Germany. His information on Japan is less thorough, and he has little to say about nuclear power in the Soviet Union or the other workers states. (In discussing rumors of an explosion at a Soviet reactor, he notes a reason for this omission: "As in other matters of technology the Soviets are not in the habit of discussing their own problems openly. . . .")

Both authors include material on the adverse health effects from the dispersal of radioactive materials into the environment. Concern about this was first generated by atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons in the 1950s and early 1960s. Patterson describes the "ban the bomb" movement led by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Britain, and the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) and the Committee for Nuclear Information (CNI) in the United States. The first two groups were forerunners of the anti-Vietnam War movement, and the CNI developed into Barry Commoner's

Scientists' Institute for Public Information.

McKinley Olson's chapter "Radioactive Implications" concentrates on the findings of three scientists—John Gofman, Arthur Tamplin, and Edward Martell.

Gofman and Tamplin are both former top staff members of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.¹ In 1963 the AEC assigned them to investigate the dangers of low-level radiation from nuclear power plants. Gofman says, "I asked Seaborg [Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, then chairman of the AEC] if the AEC wanted the facts or a 'gloss' to excuse the operation of nuclear-power plants. Seaborg assured me they wanted the facts." Olson describes what happened:

The Federal Radiation Council . . . held that anything above a maximum lifetime dose of some 250 rads² could be dangerous. The Council estimated that the average American received around 110 millirads (1000 millirads = 1 rad) of radiation each year from natural background sources; and concluded that the average person could probably absorb an additional 170 millirads a year. . . .

Gofman and Tamplin used this 170-millirad figure as the base for their lengthy research; in October 1969 they presented the AEC with their findings, concluding—conservatively so, they thought—that if everyone received this additional 170 millirads of radiation per year, "there would, in time, be an excess of 32,000 cases of fatal cancer plus leukemia per year, and this would occur year after year." The two scientists claim they expected the AEC to "welcome our report on cancer-plus-leukemia risk—especially since the findings were being made available before a massive burgeoning of the nuclear electricity industry." Instead their report touched off a furious controversy that is still going on within government circles and the nuclear industry.

The American Nuclear Society quickly derided their claims, contending their conclusions were "false," alleged they were based on "improper use of existing data" and were aggravated by "impossibility." But David L. Levin, a spokesman for the National Cancer Institute, later said, "Using different methodology . . . we computed risks to be of the same general level as those shown by Dr. Gofman."

Pressure from the AEC and the nuclear establishment eventually led Gofman and Tamplin to leave the government's employ. Gofman has since become the chief spokesman for the Committee for Nuclear Responsibility, and Tamplin works for the National Resources Defense Council, an environmental organization. Both men are among the most knowledgeable opponents of nuclear power in the United States.

Edward Martell is another former gov-

ernment nuclear scientist. A graduate of West Point, he served with the Armed Forces Special Weapons Project and the Air Force Cambridge Research Center until he "made himself unpopular with the AEC by disclosing that radioactive iodine 131 was leaking into the atmosphere from underground nuclear-test sites in Nevada."

Martell's specialty is the study of the deleterious effects of "alpha radiation."

Alpha radiation consists of electrically charged particles of helium gas that can be blocked by a thin piece of paper. It comes from soil, rocks, and minerals in nature that contain thorium and uranium and their radioactive daughters [decay products]. Plutonium, in common with other alpha radiation emitters, can't penetrate our skin to attack the cells unless it gets in through an open wound or cut. But it can induce skin cancer if it's not washed off. And breathing specks of plutonium into the lungs can be highly dangerous, especially if the plutonium is in the form of insoluble particles, which are often difficult for the body to discharge, and hence can remain in some regions of the lung for periods of two years and more—and in the lymph nodes, liver, and bone for decades to irradiate the cells.

Olson devotes more than forty pages to Martell's theory that "internal alpha-emitters . . . may be the principal agent of radiation-induced cancer in man."

"The implications," Olson says, "are awesome."

For one thing, it would mean that the radiation guides laid down by the government to protect the public health are relatively meaningless . . . when they try to equate alpha radiation with gamma and beta rays [other, more powerful forms of radiation]. Obviously, the effect of a "whole-body dose" of external gamma rays would be quite different, in consequence, from the same amount of radiation released by an insoluble alpha particle embedded in tissue.

This is just the beginning. There seems to be a good possibility that internal low-level alpha radiation could be one of the leading contributors to atherosclerosis—the chronic disease known as hardening (or thickening) of the arteries. . . .

Martell believes that the higher incidence of lung cancer (and other forms as well) among cigarette smokers can be attributed in large part to the fact that cigarettes "seem to be an especially heavy source of insoluble radioactive particles."

"Of course," Olson says, "we're not all cigarette smokers."

But all of us come in contact with insoluble alpha emitters in the general environment, which come from many sources—from industry in the form of uranium oxide and thorium oxide, burning coal, smelting lead, from forest fires and burning leaves and crops. We get them in smoke-filled rooms, and from the nuclear fission process, uranium and plutonium in fallout from atom-bomb tests, nuclear reactor plants, transport and processing of nuclear fuels and waste material, making plutonium fuel pellets, and making plutonium triggers for nuclear warheads.

Despite such warnings by Gofman,

Tamplin, Martell, and other scientists, nuclear power development accelerated in the advanced capitalist countries in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Patterson's chapter "The Charge of the Light Brigade" explains how "light-water" reactors marketed by the American corporations Westinghouse and General Electric came to dominate the industry:

The 1970 [French] order for Fessenheim I . . . opened the door for a veritable deluge of water reactors. From that time onward light water reactors spread over the world so fast as almost to swamp the other two main lines of development, the British gas-cooled designs and the Canadian heavy water designs. But the light water reactors' surging popularity with the industry was closely paralleled by their burgeoning unpopularity otherwise.

Patterson and Olson complement each other in describing this "burgeoning unpopularity." While Patterson introduces striking examples of the poor safety record of light-water reactors, Olson provides glimpses into the rich history of citizens' challenges to the proliferation of such plants in the United States.

Though often little-publicized, these lawsuits and interventions in public hearings have been instrumental in slowing the development of American nuclear power. They have brought much information to light about the dangers associated with the industry, and have forced the government to tighten many of its safety requirements for atomic generating plants. Until the mass protests at Seabrook, New Hampshire, earlier this year, they were practically the only form in which U.S. opposition to the dangers of nuclear power had been manifested.

Olson details the legal battles over a number of particularly outrageous nuclear projects—the Peach Bottom and Fulton plants near York, Pennsylvania, mentioned above; the Lake Koshkonong project in Wisconsin; the Bodega Head plant in California. The latter was proposed in 1958 for construction within a few thousand feet of the San Andreas fault in California, an earthquake zone, and only canceled in 1964.

Some of these fights were successful for the nuclear opponents; quite a number were not, in that the plants were eventually built, although with more safety.

The difficulty of fighting nuclear power on such a plant-by-plant basis was noted in 1972 by Dr. John Gofman, whom Olson quotes:

Nothing has suited the promotional nuclear-power interests better than keeping alive the misconception that a decision pro or con nuclear fission power rests upon esoteric technical arguments [at] so-called "public hearings" [where] concerned citizens have been led, like lambs to the slaughter, into the promoters' arena to contest a variety of valves, filters, cooling towers, and miscellaneous other items of hardware in specific nuclear plants.

Breaking out of this framework, which

1. The AEC was abolished in 1975 and replaced by two new agencies—the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the Energy Research and Development Administration.

2. Rad—a measure of the energy absorbed per gram of body tissue from a particular radioactive element.

was rigged from the outset by the government-industry atomic establishment, is the task of the new generation of antinuclear activists that has arisen in Western Europe since 1974 and that burst onto the American scene at Seabrook. These activists have seen that legal challenges are

insufficient by themselves and have begun building an extraparliamentary mass movement that relies on independent direct action. Their slogan is "No nukes!"—shut down these potential disasters and don't build any more until their safety has been proven beyond a shadow

of a doubt.

Neither Olson nor Patterson devotes any attention to the direct-action wing of the antinuclear movement. Nevertheless, their books will help to lay the foundation of public knowledge upon which this current can continue to grow. □

Fostered by Citroën

The French CFT—the Rise of a 'Company Union'

By F.L. Derry

PARIS—Pierre Maître, a thirty-seven-year-old worker at the VMC plate-glass factory in Reims, is dead of a bullet wound in the head.

Serge Vermeulen, forty, the secretary of the CGT* local at VMC, was also shot—once in the shoulder and twice in the chest.

Raymond Richard, a thirty-year-old worker at a nearby plant who had come to give a hand to the embattled strikers at VMC, had his collarbone broken by a .22-caliber bullet.

The three were shot down June 5 while walking a picket line outside the VMC plant, which had been on strike for several days. (See *Intercontinental Press*, June 20, 1977, p. 699.)

This is only one of a series of violent attacks against militant workers. These occur in a period in which the employers, emboldened by a government-enforced austerity plan, have noticeably toughened their stand in face of union demands.

Local strikes have been getting longer and union victories less frequent, as the bosses count on government intervention to hold wage increases down to the 6.5 percent limit set by Premier Raymond Barre last September. High levels of unemployment have encouraged employers to use scabs and strongarm methods in breaking strikes.

The VMC struggle began with a company provocation in which two elected union officials, both members of the CGT and French Communist Party, were fired. The 1,800 VMC workers struck in protest May 31. Picket lines were used to close the plant down, a tactic not often used in strikes in France.

The next day a court order banned the picket line. But the police who arrived to remove the pickets received quite a surprise. Delegations of workers from neighboring factories appeared for a lunch-hour rally before the plant gates, at which the

newly elected mayor, a member of the Communist Party, spoke.

When police charged the picket line, the workers defended themselves vigorously. Eight persons were injured, including the deputy mayor, who had come to the plant in support of the strikers.

The mayor, who was elected in the recent sweep of municipal elections by the Union of the Left, charged that the police attack was part of an effort to embarrass the new city administration. French police are under the control of a prefect, named by the central government, and are therefore independent of the city administration.

The police were forced to back off and the picket lines stayed as additional delegations of supporters arrived from neighboring factories. Three days later, in the middle of the night, the picket lines were attacked by five gunmen.

The five were arrested within a few hours. All were employed by Citroën. Four were members of the company union at Citroën, the Confédération Française du Travail (CFT—French Confederation of Labor), and one was a member of the Service d'Action Civique (SAC—Civic Action Service), a strongarm squad associated with the Gaullist movement.

Both organizations immediately disowned the attackers and expelled them. The CFT even asked to take part in the memorial service for the slain worker, a request that was denied by the workers organizations that held it.

The involvement of the CFT members in the attack became the center of attention in the protest movement that followed. This group has frequently been involved in physical assaults on trade-union activists, particularly against members of the CGT.

The CFT was created at the end of 1959, when the entire workers movement was in retreat before the newly installed Gaullist regime. Since its formation, the CFT has received support from the Gaullist parties. It soon became obvious that a "special relationship" also existed between the CFT and the American automobile manufactur-

er Chrysler. It was during this period that the CGT was driven out of Chrysler and the CFT established its first important base.

After the revolutionary upsurge in May and June 1968, the CFT was able to establish a second and more important base at Citroën. Within a year, the CFT was winning large majorities in the union elections at Citroën plants throughout France.

This was accomplished by a combination of harassment of CGT militants by the Citroën management, physical assaults by CFT goon squads, and general disillusionment with the CGT following its role in the 1968 general strike.

One worker who had been employed on the production line at Citroën in 1968 told me how conditions at the plant had changed rapidly following the May-June upsurge, allowing the CFT to get its stranglehold on the plant.

"Because I was in the CGT, I was constantly harassed by the management, who changed my job from one plant to another just to make it difficult for me to work," he said. When the general strike began, he was working at a Citroën plant at the edge of Paris.

"There were more than 2,000 on the production line, virtually all immigrant workers—Yugoslavs, Portuguese, and Moroccans. I was one of the few French workers on the line. Only the French workers were in the CGT, so we had only eighty-five members when the 1968 strike began.

"However, many immigrant workers, particularly the Portuguese, would vote CGT in the elections." The CGT national leadership did nothing to help the specific interests of the immigrants. On the contrary, they viewed the immigrants with suspicion.

At first, the Citroën management tried to use scabs to keep the plants open. "Some Yugoslav workers did fall for this in the beginning, but as the general strike developed, our ranks hardened. We signed up more than 500 new members in the

*Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor), heavily influenced by the Communist Party.—IP

CGT in two weeks and occupied the factory for a month.

"But when the CGT national leadership called for a return to work, we felt betrayed. Virtually everyone, new members and old, tore up their cards. This was especially true of the immigrants, who were suspicious of the CGT to begin with."

The victimization of CGT militants began soon after. Within a year, the worker I spoke with had been fired. Although he had been a CGT militant for many years, there was no protest of any kind from the workers in the plant. The CGT seemed to be totally incapable of defending itself, not only physically against the CFT goon squads, but politically in face of the resentment of the workers.

What was worse, a small but significant number of workers, mostly immigrants, began to join the CFT. Whether they were looking for security for their jobs, personal advancement, or were simply afraid of being expelled from France, these workers all shared a total lack of confidence in the CGT.

The CFT claims 300,000 members, according to a report in the June 8 *Le Monde*. A more realistic figure of 50,000 is given by Jean-Daniel Reynaud in the book *Les Syndicats en France* (Trade Unions in France).

The first time that the French government gave separate totals for the CFT vote in elections for shop committees was in 1971. In the 1971 and 1972 election period (shop committees are elected for a two-year term), the CFT received 75,357 votes, largely concentrated in Citroën and Chrysler.

Many of the CFT votes were extracted through intimidation. For example, the recent elections at the Citroën plant at Aulnay-sous-Bois were annulled by court order, following charges of pressure being put on workers to vote CFT. The new elections, held June 7, were also suspect. Only forty-two workers of 5,000 dared to vote in face of a CFT directive ordering a boycott.

But strong-arm methods are not the only means used by Citroën and the CFT. Citroën has a policy of hiring immigrant workers directly in their country of origin and keeping them segregated from the rest of French society. It is widely reported that joining the CFT is a condition for getting the job.

Over half of all employees at Citroën are immigrants and can be deported at any time. By playing on their insecurity, the CFT has made some small but real inroads in the working class.

The CGT and the Communist Party bear a part of the blame for this. For instance, in 1969, at the very moment that the CFT was engaged in its big offensive at Citroën, Communist Party mayors and elected officials in the Paris region were launching an offensive of their own. They



Elie Kagan/Lutte Ouvrière

Demonstration of 10,000 in Reims June 6, protesting murder of striker by CFT thugs. Banner reads "Down with the bosses' militias, police violence, and repression."

expressed concern because there were "too many immigrants" in their towns.

A statement issued by CP mayors and elected officials in 1969 noted that in the previous decade a million and a half immigrants had arrived in France, "a third of them illegally." The statement continued:

"France has the largest number of immigrant workers in Europe—more than three million.

"We condemn this immigration policy, which is aimed at providing cheap labor for the big capitalist trusts so as to increase their profits while depressing the wage level of all workers."

While spicing up their statement with the expected appeals to brotherhood "without regard to race, color, or religion," the Communist mayors got right to the point: too many immigrants had been settling in towns with CP governments. This was placing an "intolerable burden" on municipal finances.

"In these circumstances," they said, "the concentration of immigrant workers in certain cities corresponds neither to the interests of the local population nor to the interests of the immigrants themselves.

"Accordingly, we call for an equitable distribution of immigrant workers in the various districts of the Paris region. As for the Communist-governed municipalities, they will continue to assume their responsibilities."

A 1972 statement by the Communist mayors reiterated the demand to send the immigrants somewhere else. So it is no wonder that the latter have viewed the CGT and the CP with some distrust.

It is the CP and the CGT themselves who prepared the fertile soil in which a reactionary, company-organized union such as the CFT could take root. If the CGT really wants to answer the challenge of the CFT, it must first become the champion of the demands of the immigrant workers. There is little likelihood of the CGT reentering Citroën in any force without being able to first regain the confidence of the immigrant workers.

The June 13-19 issue of the CGT mass-circulation weekly *La Vie Ouvrière* published an interview with Marcel Caille. Caille, a leader of the CGT, is also the author of a recent book about the CFT, *Les Truands du Patronat* (The Bosses' Gangsters). He claimed that in the Paris region, the CFT at Citroën has 200 thugs.

Caille admitted more than he intended. The CGT is a mass organization with almost 2.5 million members. It has never experienced any problems, for example, in organizing a squad of more than 1,000 "monitors" to keep some left-wing groups from entering its May Day demonstrations. How could such an organization be driven out of Citroën by 200 thugs?

Caille outlined the CGT proposals for dealing with the CFT. First, he demanded that the government use the law against "armed militias" to dissolve the bosses' goon squads. Second, he demanded that the government pass a new law forbidding the formation of "company unions." He did not specify who would determine which were the company unions and which were the real ones.

These proposals are part of a cover-up for the CGT's inaction in defense of the workers. The CGT leadership has adopted a pose that is now more militant in words than before, at the expense of providing the government with a pretext for attacking the union movement as a whole.

Will the workers who came out in defense of the VMC picket lines be next on the list to be declared "armed militias"? What about the *real* "armed militia of the bosses" at Reims—the police who attacked the picket lines?

Why is the CGT so strangely silent when it comes to the role of the police? Is it because some of the cops who attacked the picket lines are also members of the CGT and thus exempt from "dissolution"? Or is it because the Common Program promises that a Union of the Left government will maintain the capitalist police?

Fundamentally, the leaders of the CGT are not at all interested in either Citroën and the CFT or in the workers at VMC in Reims. They are interested in only one thing—the upcoming elections and how to avoid the "trap" of militant struggle that will "scare voters." □

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

200,000 in Bilbao Protest Nuclear Plant

[The following article appeared in the July 17 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Two hundred thousand persons turned out for an antinuclear demonstration held July 14 in Bilbao, Spain.

The protest, the first legal one in a year, was called by neighborhood associations throughout Greater Bilbao. Most political parties, from the Basque Communist Party to the far-left organizations, supported the demonstration. It was called to protest the plan to transform the Basque coast into a nuclear zone, and specifically, to halt construction of the Iberduero nuclear plant in Lemoniz, in the outlying suburbs of Bilbao. (Iberduero is the electricity monopoly in Euzkadi.)

This demonstration was probably the largest that has yet been held anywhere in the world to protest the building of a nuclear plant. The three-kilometer march route between Bilbao Park and Zabalburu Square in the center of town took three hours to travel.

It was the first time in a year, since the last amnesty demonstration, that such a large crowd had filled the streets. There were many young people, as well as thousands of workers, women pushing strollers and baby carriages, and children. They all sported a *pegatina*, the self-sticking orange emblem of the campaign. Many carried a *bota*, a soft leather wine flask. The demonstration was studded with several thousand Basque flags, as well as red flags and Catalan and Canary Islands banners, which were interspersed with banners from the neighborhood associations and political organizations.

The marchers shouted slogans such as: "Let the people vote on nuclear plants!" "No nuclear plants in Euzkadi!" "Better active today than radioactive tomorrow!"

Workers from Westinghouse, the main company involved in building the Lemoniz plant, marched in the demonstration. A women's contingent marched behind a banner reading, "Patriarchal society plus capitalism equals rape of the environment." A child perched on the shoulders of his grandfather chanted, "We want gardens—not nuclear plants." Demonstrators yelled at the top of their lungs:

"Iberduero, get out!" "*Iberduero escucha, el pueblo está en lucha!*" [Iberduero, watch out—the people are on the march!] They also shouted, "Build nuclear plants in Moncloa!" Moncloa is the government headquarters in Madrid.

At several points, the demonstrators demanded the release of an ETA-V member imprisoned in France—"Apala askatu!"—and the return of those in exile—"Presoak Etxea!"—before the demonstration broke up around 9:30 p.m.

Air You Can Sink Your Teeth Into

A study of twenty-six U.S. cities shows that New York City has some of the most dangerous air pollution, one of the poorest air-quality monitoring systems, and the worst traffic congestion.

The 130-page study, prepared by the National Resources Defense Council, was presented July 12 to a committee of the New York City Council. The report noted federal studies showing that the city's air consistently falls short of health standards for the concentration of such poisons from automobile exhaust as carbon monoxide, nitrogen oxides, and photochemical oxidants.

Panama Lake Endangered by Canal Operations

Measures being considered by U.S. authorities to deal with low water levels in the Panama Canal pose a serious threat to the ecology of Panama, according to a report by Pedro Lobaina in the July issue of *Direct From Cuba*.

Operation of the canal depends on the flow of 78 billion cubic feet of fresh water into the sea each year. One-fourth of this amount is provided by an artificial lake created by the construction of Madden Dam in 1935. This dam, says Lobaina, "is a key component of the canal. The dammed water is the driving force that is used to lower and raise ships some 85 feet while they go from one ocean to another."

Drought conditions have resulted in a shortage of fresh water in Madden Lake and the consequent reduction of the size of ships that can use the canal. Thus "concern is increasing over the possibility that the United States may use sea water to operate the locks. . . ."



Experiments have already been conducted in pumping sea water into Lake Madden. "If sea water is injected into the lake in coming years, ecologists predict serious changes in the jungle region which surrounds the canal area. . . ."

"Many animals may disappear, as well as fish species in the lake. Moreover the lake will not be able to supply part of the water consumption in the cities of Panama and Colon, nor generate part of the electricity consumed today in the Canal Zone."

Lobaina says U.S. officials have so far been silent on this subject, but the Panamanian government has ordered experts to study the problem. He indicates that the issue will be raised in the current negotiations over a new U.S.-Panama canal treaty.

Marcos's 'Development' Plans

Ang Katipunan, a radical Filipino newspaper published in Oakland, California, carries an article in its June 15-30 issue on the pollution threat facing the residents of San Juan in Batangas Province in the Philippines.

As part of the Marcos government's "development" plans, a huge copper-smelting plant is to be built in San Juan. "The simplest and cheapest technique for smelting copper ore involves the use of sulfur, which when released as a gas into the atmosphere, breaks down into sulfur dioxide and then into sulfuric acid. The sulfuric acid in the atmosphere is then gathered into clouds along with other gases and ultimately rains down in dilute form upon the countryside, eating up the vegetation, contaminating water supplies, and poisoning animal life."

Ang Katipunan points out that the smelter "will do little to alter the Philippines' position as essentially a producer of raw materials and an importer of finished products." Nor will it provide many jobs for Filipino workers.

"Establishing semi-processing plants in countries like the Philippines further allows the developed countries of the world to eliminate the messiest, most highly polluting processes from their own soil. They can then concentrate on manufactur-

ing expensive finished products to export back to those countries whose environments have already been devastated by the processing of raw materials."

French Stalinists Demand TV Time to Lobby for SST

According to a United Press International report, fifty French Communist Party members went into a Paris television studio July 21 and, while the news announcer was on the air, demanded that he read their manifesto in favor of landing rights for the Concorde at New York's Kennedy airport.

"Viewers saw a few minutes of scuffling before screens went black. When the news resumed 25 minutes later, the anchorman . . . gave an account of the incident and said that the militants were workers at the French factory that makes the supersonic plane."

Don't Open the Hood

A Detroit-area mechanic died June 6 as a result of injuries suffered two weeks earlier when the fan came apart on a 1972 Ford automobile he was working on.

The National Highway Safety Administration has opened a formal investigation of defective fans in six million Ford cars and trucks built between 1970 and 1972.

The Ford Motor Company said before the mechanic's death that it knows of 185 complaints of engine-fan failures, 13 of which involved injuries. But the company claims the problem is limited to 425,000 vehicles built in 1972 that it is planning to recall beginning June 22.

The problem involves the use of fans with curved, flexible blades. They were designed to use less power and make less noise, but the constant flexing apparently causes the blades to crack and break off, with the pieces propelled at great velocity. Ford issued a warning June 9 against operating the engines of the 1972 cars with the hoods open.

If the government orders Ford to recall all six million vehicles now under investigation, it will be one of the biggest auto-safety recalls ever, according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

Mediterranean—Still Alive

Ecologists and other scientists monitoring pollution of the Mediterranean have found that "central areas of the sea [are] still relatively clean and rich in edible fish," according to a report in the May 22 *New York Times*.

Dr. Stjepan Keckes, a Yugoslav marine biologist who heads the eighteen-nation research project, said the findings "showed that the Mediterranean was not in imminent danger of death as some had contended."

A Treatment With Side Effects

At least one million persons in the United States now have an increased risk of thyroid cancer as a result of X-ray treatments they underwent as children.

Radiation was at one time used to treat tonsillitis, whooping cough, asthma, deafness, ringworm acne, and a number of other conditions in children. Such X-rays, aimed at the head, neck, or upper chest, can cause tumors in the thyroid, a gland at the base of the throat that is particularly sensitive to radiation in early life.

The National Cancer Institute said July 13 that persons who underwent such treatment should be examined every two years.

The rate of thyroid cancer has doubled since 1946, and the disease is particularly prevalent among persons now twenty to thirty-five years old.

Nuclear Accidents in France

A sodium fire broke out in an atomic research center in Fontenay-aux-Roses, a suburb south of Paris, early on the morning of July 13. A building was damaged, but no one was injured.

A few days earlier, a clogged filter in the waste disposal system had led to a release of radioactivity. Radiation levels in the vicinity of the leak rose to 130,000 times the maximum "acceptable" concentration. Three workers were subjected to amounts of radiation equal to the yearly maximum "acceptable" dosage.

Seven Acres of Oil

Less than one month after oil began flowing through the \$9.2 billion Alaska pipeline, the system suffered its third major accident.

On July 19, a tractor rammed into the pipe, causing a spill of 8,400 gallons of crude oil. The Associated Press reported:

"The Alyeska Pipeline Service Company refused to allow newsmen to visit the scene 23 miles south of Prudhoe Bay. But from a plane flying over the site, it looked like a black and brown fan had spread over about seven acres of tundra. Some oil had reached two nearby lakes, but it was not possible from the air to judge the seriousness of the pollution."

Less than twenty-four hours earlier, oil flow had resumed following a ten-day shutdown, the result of an explosion and fire that destroyed Pump Station No. 8, south of Fairbanks, and killed one worker. That accident, in which an open valve allowed oil to come in contact with a hot pump engine, was ascribed to "human error" by U.S. Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus.

But Herbert Robson, a worker at the pump station, disagreed. "I closed the valve and it couldn't be opened unless I opened it, and I didn't," he told reporters. "It opened by itself. I don't know if it was



Herblock/Washington Post

a signal or an electrical malfunction, but it did open and there is no way of stopping it once it starts."

Despite the loss of life and the damage done to the fragile arctic environment, these accidents were not an unmitigated disaster for the oil companies that own the Alaska oil and the pipeline.

The loss of Pump Station No. 8 has meant a production cutback from 1.2 million barrels a day to about 800,000. It happens that this just offsets the surplus that had been expected over the capacities of California refineries, thus eliminating a "West Coast oil glut" for the time being.

While the pump station is being rebuilt, the companies have time to figure out ways to profitably market their extra petroleum. In particular, Standard Oil of Ohio (a subsidiary of British Petroleum) hopes to pressure the California Air Resources Board into allowing construction of a pipeline east from Long Beach to Midland, Texas. Such a line has run into strong opposition since it would add to the already high air pollution in the Los Angeles area.

Image Conscious

Recent tests of air quality at several major intersections in Bangkok, Thailand, showed pollution levels that were 24 to 60 percent above the level the World Health Organization considers a "threat to human health."

So in late June traffic cops began wearing white antipollution masks. But four days later Police Gen. Paluek Suwanavej ordered the masks removed.

"It could mislead the people to think pollution is that bad in Bangkok," he told reporters. "What's worse," he added, "they cost 30 cents each. At first I thought each mask could be good for 15 days, but they get soiled in only two days."

Letter to the French, Italian, and British Communist Parties

By Pyotr Grigorenko

[We have taken the text of the following letter, and the introduction by Andrei Grigorenko, from the May 26 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Throughout all the years that my father, Pyotr Grigorenko, was imprisoned—first in an isolated cell in the special psychiatric hospital of Cherniakhovsk (a hospital located in the old buildings of the Insterburg prison in former East Prussia), and then in Psychiatric Hospital No. 5, about a hundred kilometers from Moscow—my mother and I did all we could to hasten his release. It goes without saying that we constantly questioned the doctors and administrators of these two institutions about the possible date of his release. On June 23, 1974, Aleksandra Koyemiakina, the head physician responsible for forced treatments in Hospital No. 5, told us “It is not going to happen right away. The commission assigned to deliberate on this matter will not meet before autumn.”

Thus, the telephone call that awakened me on June 26 was completely unexpected. It was one of my friends calling. He had heard on a foreign radio broadcast in Polish that Pyotr Grigorenko had been released. We were astounded. Nevertheless, a little more than an hour later, it was all explained: a telephone call from Hospital No. 5 informed us that we could come and pick up my father. It was, I think, the first time a violation of the law caused me joy instead of sadness.

But the following day [that is, the day after Pyotr Grigorenko's release—*Inprecor*] my mother, Zinaida Grigorenko, was ordered to report to the nearest militia post. There she had a discussion with two men in civilian clothes who introduced themselves as collaborators of the KGB [the political police—*Inprecor*]. My father and I were not permitted to attend this discussion, although we were also forbidden to leave the militia post. The discussion with the KGB agents can be summed up this way: My father's meetings with foreigners, and even with his old friends, might be considered a “relapse.” This is how the “hospital registry” had been filled out. At the end of this discussion we were advised to leave Moscow for some time. This, at least, happened to coincide with

***Inprecor's* Comment**

A paradox confronting those in the USSR who want to speak directly to Soviet citizens is that they are compelled to publish their documents abroad in order to have a small chance of their being read in their own country. Because of this, those who really favor socialist democracy must give these texts the broadest possible circulation, whatever their opinion of the content of the documents may be.

By not responding to the letter below, addressed to them by Pyotr Grigorenko in late 1975, the Communist parties of France, Italy, and Britain have demonstrated the gap between their words and deeds. In fact, after all their declarations about democratic rights, they accept that the texts of Grigorenko and other oppositionists are quietly filed away. With the same lethargy, they allow their own documents and statements to be censored (such as Berlinguer's speech to the last congress of the Soviet Communist Party) or simply ignored in the USSR. For how long will the French Communist Party consider it normal that Soviet citizens are kept ignorant of its famous “Charter on Democratic Rights”?

Grigorenko correctly accuses these parties of speaking out of both sides of their mouths, and he proves the accusation with much strength and finesse. He has paid for his denunciation of bureaucratic tyranny with years of imprisonment. But his real courage is in his not having renounced communism. In this sense, he represents a minority within the opposition in the USSR, currently weaker than that in

the countries of Eastern Europe.

Nevertheless, in the isolation in which he finds himself, and because of the anti-Semitism scandalously exuded by the bureaucracy, against which it is the elementary duty of all communists to struggle mercilessly, Grigorenko has been led to adopt a completely false position on Zionism. His call for communists to support the “Jewish movement for immigration to their national homeland” is tragically contradictory on at least two counts. First, the Zionist movement and the state of which it is the expression and instrument have played, and still play, the role of direct oppressor of the Arab people, and especially its Palestinian component, in addition to acting as an imperialist beachhead in the Arab East. Thus, the Zionist movement and its state are leading perpetrators of one of the forms of oppression against which Grigorenko has tirelessly fought: the domination of nations. Second, history has amply demonstrated that Zionism is not the solution to the problem of Jewish oppression. Support to Zionism is wholly ineffective as a means of struggle against anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union or anywhere else and, especially in the case of the USSR, even tends to strengthen anti-Semitism by granting the bureaucracy a powerful argument: that the movement for the freedom of Jews in the Soviet Union is linked to a movement that supports imperialism and oppresses the Arabs.

The letter below, previously unpublished, has been in the possession of Pyotr Grigorenko's son Andrei, who has written the introduction to it.

our plans, so we left for the Ukraine, to my father's home town.

But the “hospital registry” was still in effect. We were reminded of this by the presence in this village, located far from any vacation spots, of unknown individuals with no clear occupation, quickly dubbed “cops” by the kids in the village. When we left the Ukraine, we found them again in Crimea. In a word, the vigilant eye of “free medical care” remained focused on its former patient. This vigilant eye was not concerned with the heart

attack which had confined my father to his bed shortly after our return to Moscow, nor with his prostate illness, which had been left unattended in the psychiatric hospital, where there are no general practitioners or specialists in any field except psychiatry, nor the loss of an eye, nor the diabetes which appeared during his years of detention. No, the vigilant medical eye was interested in only one thing: Where was my father? Who was he seeing? To whom was he talking?

On January 30, 1976, during a routine

interrogation, a KGB officer openly threatened Pyotr Grigorenko with a new incarceration in a psychiatric hospital. Simultaneously, the Soviet press issued appeals to the KGB to adopt measures of "psychiatric prophylaxis."

Thus, in a series of articles by one Joseph Erlich published February 18-21, 1976, under the title "I've Had It," *Komsomolskaya Pravda* printed a series of slanderous attacks against Soviet dissidents, accusing them of maintaining links with "international imperialism and Zionism." As proof of these claims, this KGB journalist asserted that he had transmitted money to some Soviet citizens, a mission said to have been consigned him by an organization of Russian emigrants, the NTS. Natalia Gorbonevskaya and Zinaida Grigorenko were named. I think it is necessary to state here that neither my mother nor Natalia Gorbonevskaya have ever received money from people they did not know. The aim of these articles was quite clear: discredit the idea of solidarity and stir up anti-Semitic hysteria, claiming that all nonconformist activity motivated by a striving for justice represents "Zionist" maneuvers, regardless of the nationality of the persons charged. This article also had another aim: to terrorize my parents; the other people mentioned by name in the article had already emigrated from the Soviet Union.

Two months later, on April 22, 1976, issue No. 7 of the newspaper *News of Ukraine*, which is put out by Soviet embassies for Ukrainians living abroad, published an interview with Ruben Nadjarov, a relatively well-known psychiatrist. This psychiatrist began this interview, which was entitled "Humanism in Reverse," by admitting that he had directly participated in examinations of dissidents. He stated: "Foreign psychiatrists will completely understand the lack of foundation of claims which rest on nothing but the statements of the sick people themselves." Then Nadjarov affirmed that a whole series of Western psychiatrists had been able to convince themselves of this during a discussion with the "famous Grigorenko."

Concurrently, the KGB interrogations of my father continued. Inasmuch as these interrogations consisted exclusively of threats, Pyotr Grigorenko declared last December that he would henceforth refuse to report when summoned by the KGB. On December 5, during the traditional demonstration against the lack of respect for human rights in the USSR, KGB agents adopted a new tactic: mud was thrown at Academician Andrei Sakharov and Pyotr Grigorenko. Such a strange method of psychiatric prophylaxis could appear surprising were it not for the fact that many other cases have demonstrated that there are no clear boundaries between the KGB and the psychiatric institutions, nor between the KGB on the one hand and Soviet

foreign trade and diplomacy on the other, not to mention the touching unanimity manifested by the KGB and the Soviet press.

Is this sort of "therapy behind closed doors," which is the sort of treatment a psychiatric expert of Hospital No. 5 declared indispensable during the trial against my father, really the only universal method of resolving the problems of socialist society? In any event, it is not likely that we can expect a response to this question from the Moscow theoreticians of communism. It would be equally interesting to hear the response of the theoreticians of socialism and communism in the West. Unfortunately, this question, as well

as many others, has been privately put to the French, Italian, British, and Spanish Communist leaders, but in vain.

Nonetheless, since I remain an optimist, I hope that the response to the questions raised in this letter by my father, Pyotr Grigorenko, who had devoted his entire life to the realization of socialist ideas, will be forthcoming in the near future. I also hope that the people to whom this letter was sent will do everything in their power to make sure that their correspondent is not granted the right to a new dose of "therapy behind closed doors."

Andrei Grigorenko
New York, March 1977

Text of Grigorenko's Letter

To the secretaries general of the Communist parties of France, Comrade Marchais; Italy, Comrade Berlinguer; Britain, Comrade McLennan,

The man who is sending you this letter is sixty-eight years of age. He joined the communist movement at the age of fourteen, during the years 1921-22, so difficult for the Soviet Union; to this day he remains faithful to communist ideas, despite the cruel and unjust repression he has suffered from a party that calls itself communist.

This letter is not my first attempt to get in contact with the international communist movement. In February 1968 the writer Aleksei Egrofovich Kosterin, a communist since 1916, and I sent an address to the Central Committees of the Hungarian, Italian, and French CPs and asked them to convey it to all the participants in the Budapest conference of Communist and workers parties.

If you like, you can still discover the content of this address. In 1973 it was published in Russian in Amsterdam by the Herzen Foundation, in a collection entitled "Reflections of a Madman."¹ If one reads it honestly, one will find in this letter nothing but sincere concern for the fate of the communist movement. But this address to the Budapest conference cost me a year in the dark, dank dungeons of the Tashkent KGB, as well as four years and two months in a special psychiatric hospital, which is the most terrible kind of Soviet prison, where I was beaten and subjected to other physical and moral

torture. As for Kosterin, he escaped arrest only because he died shortly after the letter was sent.

This terrible experience showed that it was not only useless but even dangerous to send letters to the CPs of the western countries. Nevertheless, the communists of my generation were educated in a spirit of deep confidence in those we considered our comrades in arms. Thus, in June 1969 my wife, Zinaida Mikhailovna Grigorenko, the daughter of an old Bolshevik and herself a communist, sent a letter to the secretaries general of your parties, who were then in Moscow for the international conference of Communist and workers parties. But Waldeck Rochet, Luigi Longo, and John Golan did not consider it possible to convey this appeal for help sent by a communist whose husband, himself a communist, was then being beaten in the KGB dungeons in Tashkent on the orders of people who themselves claim to be communists.

It then became clear that the interests of mutual assistance among the leaders of the CPs were placed higher than the interests of the movement and that it was consequently useless to write to them. But I have now learned from BBC Russian-language broadcasts that the French and Italian Communist parties have declared that if they come to power they will preserve the multiparty system; as for the British CP, during its last congress it adopted a resolution in which it called upon the CPSU to grant freedom of expression to all dissidents, including those of non-Marxist currents.

Among us communists uneasy about the fate of the communist movement this news from the BBC awakened a slight ray of hope as to the movement's possibility of emerging from the complete impasse into which the policy of totalitarianism has led it. We do not know how serious this turn from totalitarianism to pluralism is. If

1. This address to the Budapest conference was published in French in the magazine *Quatrième Internationale*, No. 9 (September-October 1973). An English translation appears in *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1974) pp. 274-75.—IP

what is involved is not a simple tactical maneuver in the context of the struggle for power in their own countries, then we must say that these declarations put the finger on exactly what is lacking in Soviet society. It is solely because the free interchange of ideas does not exist that the development of science is curbed to an extreme degree. Einstein's theory of relativity has been dubbed obscurantism, genetics mysticism, and cybernetics false bourgeois science. For many years any creative activity in these domains, as in many others, was considered heresy. But it is above all social science that suffers. The party bureaucracy has decided that this science can be developed through directives, resolutions, and decrees, and that only the higher bodies and functionaries can draw scientific conclusions from experience.

The consequence of this has been a halt to the development of social science. Practice has followed a totally different road from that indicated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism on a whole series of questions (the most striking example being the theory of the state), but nobody is trying to uncover the reasons for this. Or rather, some people are. Some reckless people have made the attempt. They have been rewarded with camps, prisons, or, as in the case of Leonid Plyushch, special psychiatric hospitals.

It must be clear for everyone, and for Marxists in particular, that it is not military officers or party bodies but theoreticians whose conclusions are independent of the apparatus of the party and the regime who must develop science. Even in physics, theoreticians and experimental physicists fulfill different functions, although there are close links between them. In the social sciences, where experimentation takes place on the living organism of society, on tens and hundreds of millions of people, there is all the more reason for independent creative activity and broad discussion of theoretical conclusions. As for experimenters, which is to say those who lead the development of society in practice, they must be under the tight control of their people. Only the absence of any theoretical work and the lack of independence from the party and state apparatus were able to lead to the annihilation of tens of millions of people, whose story is told with immense force of conviction in *The Gulag Archipelago*. It is difficult to forgive ignoring this fundamental exigency of Marxism for so long: the independence of theoretical work from the party apparatus. In order to assure their independence in theoretical activity, Marx and Engels did not formally join the party and did not consider themselves bound by its decisions. Lenin is the only example of an individual who was simultaneously a theoretician and practitioner. For a long time he succeeded in carrying on theoretical work independent of the decisions of

the party while remaining a very active practitioner. But even he was unable to maintain this balance to the end, and it was practice that finally carried the day. It was precisely on his initiative that the Tenth Congress adopted a resolution which later served as the basis for forbidding all theoretical activity.

The resolution of the British Central Committee assumes extreme, not to say capital, importance in regard to all this—but only if the British CP really strives to get the CPSU to accord its people the right to free creative activity in all realms of science and life, if it explains its position to the other CPs, and if it wins their support on this point.

Up to now we have not seen such an effort. The Soviet press has not even mentioned this resolution, and we have heard no protest in this regard from the British CP. McLennan himself spoke at the Twenty-Fifth Congress of the CPSU, but he did not say a word about this resolution. It would be an unpardonable and irreversible error if this resolution were to remain on paper and did not become an action document. The international communist movement is going through a very serious crisis. We will emerge from this crisis only by implementing this resolution. The march to the kind of future for which the communist parties are struggling requires that the Soviet people be liberated from the bureaucratic yoke. Otherwise the assurances of the western communists that they are fighting for "a socialist society that will be the most advanced democracy in the history of the country" (a quotation taken from Pravda's account of the speech of G. Marchais to the plenum of the French CP on November 5-6, 1975) will remain a dead letter.

Your statements will not be believed. And it would be stupid to believe them. Socialism is an international phenomenon; what is more, it must be created without any ready-made model. Those who come after can only use the experience of those who started before. But what do we see? Although at least the most repugnant external trappings of the cult of the personality have been liquidated in the USSR, not long ago I came across an issue of the magazine *Korea* in which we are treated to a photograph of Kim Il Sung, "the red sun of humanity," fishing. But he is not only fishing; he is also thinking of his people. It is disgusting. One is ashamed that this is also a "communist."

As long as socialism has the face it does in the "socialist camp," even though it will certainly be possible to paint erroneous pictures with the aid of propaganda images, as do Bishop Stockwood and many others, the truth will be out sooner or later. Even people who are not very interested in politics cannot help but wonder why it was East and not West Germany that built the Berlin wall and

laid mines along the border of the two Germanies, why people risk their lives to go from East to West Germany and not the other way around. It would be sufficient for Bishop Stockwood to meet V.A. Chelkov, the president of the Church of Seventh Day Adventists, an octogenarian whose wisdom has been forged by life and his spiritual experience, for Stockwood's mental mirages to evaporate. For what could Stockwood say to the fact that Chelkov has been arrested three times since 1930 and has spent twenty-three years in prison, including fifty-five days on death row? And this for exclusively religious activity and for having defended freedom of thought and other human freedoms.

But perhaps on his way Stockwood would meet not only Chelkov but also Sergei Dimitrievich Dudka, whose religious training includes eight years in Soviet concentration camps. But perhaps it would not be Dudko but the Baptist Vints, who has just been sentenced to a long term of detention. Or again, a simple Catholic from Lithuania, Nirole Sadounaite, who, in his last statement to the court on June 17, 1975, said: "This is the happiest day of my life. I have been tried for the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church of Lithuania*, which is struggling against moral and physical tyranny. This means I am being tried for truth and the love of the people. . . . It is upon me that the enviable role of struggling for the rights of the people has fallen, and my condemnation will be my triumph. It is with joy that I will go into slavery with others. And I am prepared to die that others may live." In any event, Stockwood will undoubtedly come across someone who has been persecuted for his faith. He could not avoid this, since religion is subject to illegal persecution in this country. In 1929, in spite of Lenin's January 23, 1918, decree on separation of church and state (as well as education and the church), laws were adopted linking the new state to "state religions," that is, religions which depend completely on the state, and linking atheism (as the prevailing religious system) to the state. A dictatorship of state atheism was created de facto, which has meant interference in the domain of religion and in the personal convictions of everyone and very severe repressive measures against believers, primarily against those who try to spread their faith and enter into conflict with the atheism of the state.

This is in total contradiction with the declaration of human rights and with the conventions on rights which the Soviet Union has signed. They do not mention this legislation to the Stockwoods, and more generally it is not brought to the attention of public opinion. Idyllic tableaux are presented for the eyes of the Stockwoods, who may thus be forgiven their mistakes. On the other hand, especially leaders of CPs, communists, cannot

be forgiven for the fact that although they see the flaws in the system, they keep quiet and try to persuade both others and themselves that the truth can only hurt. On the contrary, it is your silence that is bad. The crimes of Stalinism, so long as they have not been completely exposed, stifle us and splatter you with indelible mud.

The elimination of the horrors of Stalinism has begun in the USSR. Considerable efforts in this direction were made by the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the CPSU. But the essential task remains. The essential thing is precisely what is said in the above-mentioned resolution of the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the British CP. The fact is that serious resistance to the line traced out by the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses was quickly manifested within the CPSU, and especially within leading circles, particularly after the Twenty-Second Congress. The effect of this was to intensify—and it could not have been otherwise—the awakening of social forces opposed to the dictatorship. Here I refer to the movement that has been referred to in the West as “dissidence.” We participants in this movement call it by a different name: the Golgotha movement. And this is the only correct appellation, for we are united by one thing: the fact that we are prepared for all personal sacrifices to protest against the injustice to which they are trying to continue to subject our people.

My friend Mustafa Djemilev is now dying in the Omsk prison. This young Crimean Tatar, 32 years old, has already been charged three times on the basis of false accusations; a fourth attempt is now under way.² The only way he can protest against the complete arbitrariness to which he has been subjected is to go on hunger strike. And he is now in his sixth month of hunger strike. He often loses consciousness, his heartbeat is irregular, but he refuses to give up. Imagine the horror of such a situation. This man, of small physical stature, reduced to a skeleton, this man of inflexible spirit and will, soft and sensitive to the misfortune of others, who not only did not commit any crime but is even incapable of doing so, this man remains isolated, with no one to defend him, in a country whose leaders say they are building communism. He must die simply because a bunch of bureaucrats went mad and threw the Crimean Tatar people out of their historic homeland and because he, Djemilev, refused to recognize the legality of this arbitrary act. So who is right: those who denounce the expulsion of 1,000 people from the island of Diego Suarez, crying genocide, or those who demand the end of genocide perpetrated

for more than thirty years against the 500,000 Crimean Tatars? Mustafa is not a communist. On the contrary, the name of communism is associated with savage and uninterrupted repression against his people and against himself.

At the same time, at the other end of the country, in the prison of Dnepropetrovsk, designated a special psychiatric hospital, they are in the process of murdering the spirit of another of my friends, the communist Leonid Plyushch.³ A remarkable mathematician, he could have led a quiet life, free of all need. But the trouble is that he believes that being a communist means more than simply holding a party card. He raised his voice to protest the illegal repression of “dissidents,” following which his home was searched and it was discovered that Leonid Plyushch was devoting his free time to Marxist philosophy. This, and especially his severe criticism of the falsification of the Marxist theory of the state, was the cause of his arrest and subsequent internment in a special psychiatric hospital. Such is the fate of all communists who dare to criticize the mistakes and theoretical poverty of the party hierarchy.

Another friend, Sergei Pissarev, a member of the CPSU since 1920, suffered forty-three interrogations accompanied by torture during the Stalin period, which rendered him an invalid for life. (Ligaments in his spinal column were torn.) He was subsequently interned in a special psychiatric hospital. His only “crime”: He has always struggled for the release of people whom he knew to be innocent.

I would also like to mention another person who is very close to me, the communist Henrich Altounian. Simply because he took up my defense and expressed his solidarity with my statements he was successively expelled from the party and the army and then arrested. He spent three years in detention and was then deprived of the right to work in his field (he is a radio engineer). It is communists who are treated most mercilessly. The communists Vladislav Nedobora, Vladimir Ponomarev, and Arkady Levine, all friends of Altounian, were expelled from the party and, like Altounian, condemned to three years in camps because they solidarized with him. When they were released from the camps, they, like Altounian, were denied the right to work in their fields. Levine is now a citizen of Israel, and can give more details of this injustice if you like.

Mikola Rudenko,⁴ a remarkable Ukrain-

3. At the beginning of 1976 Leonid Plyushch was expelled from the USSR and is now living in France—A.G.

4. M. Rudenko, director of the Ukrainian group to oversee the Helsinki accords, has been arrested. O. Tikhi, also a member of the Ukrain-

ian fantasy writer, an invalid of the great patriotic and communist war, threw himself into philosophy after mastering the literary genre of fantasy. The conclusions he arrived at led him to address himself to the Central Committee of the CPSU. For several years he sent proposals, asking that they be examined. The truths he exposed were so obvious and important that logically they should have been studied and put into effect immediately. But logic gave way to repression. Mikola Rudenko was expelled from the party and the Writers' Union and was forbidden to publish; that is, he was denied the right to express himself and earn his living by exercising his personal capacities. Today this aged man, a war invalid, is compelled to work as a gardener; he lives in a small room from which he can be evicted at any time, since it is service housing. Moreover, he may be arrested at any time, for he has refused to renounce his ideas.

My wife, Zinaida Mikhailovna Grigorenko, also a communist, was expelled from the party and deprived of any means of subsistence solely because she refused to call me insane and condemn my opinions. On the contrary, she struggled for my release from the special psychiatric hospital, that is, she fought for my life. For five years she waged a courageous struggle, under the permanent threat of arrest.

They demanded that our younger son, Andrei Petrovich Grigorenko, speak at a Komsomol meeting and condemn our ideas and actions if he wanted to remain in the Komsomol and at the Institute. Instead he spoke to defend them and explain them, following which he was expelled from the Komsomol and the Institute. This was not done during the meeting itself, at which the participants expressed their sympathy. But such “errors of the masses” are easily corrected. The bureaucratic apparatus takes care of this. The Komsomol committee and the administration of the Institute exhibited the greatest docility, executing the KGB's directives in detail.

These sessions of explanation and public criticism during meetings similar to the one to which our son Andrei was subjected constitute one of the main methods of terror used against “dissidents.” And not everyone survives the accusation sessions without bowing down; the scripts are handed out in advance so as to exercise very strong moral pressure on the person aimed at, to make him renounce his ideas, ask forgiveness, and pledge never to fall into the same errors again. No method of frightening or breaking the will of the “lamb who has been led astray” is neglected. Here is an example. The wife of the Ukrainian communist Vladislav Nedobora-

ian group, was arrested on the same day. The leader of the Moscow Helsinki group, Yu. Orlov, a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of Armenia, and A. Ginzburg, were also arrested.—A.G.

2. Mustafa Djemilev was sentenced to two and a half years in a camp on July 15, 1976.—Andrei Grigorenko.

ra, Sofia Zinovievna Karasik, who is Jewish, was subjected to one of these sessions for having signed a statement in defense of P.G. Grigorenko.

During this meeting, speeches of a Black Hundreds and pogromist type, of an openly anti-Semitic character, were made. Nobody responded to them except Sofia Karasik. I cannot give any other details of this contemptible procedure of putting pressure on the human personality. If you would like to know more, you can get information from the former Soviet communist, now a citizen of Israel, Arkady Levine, whom I mentioned above, but also from my son, Andrei, who is now living in Munich.⁵ Yes, our son has emigrated to Germany, and he did so at my urging. You can imagine the horror of the situation that prevails here if a father sends his beloved son into emigration. It is not only my son, but also the son of my closest friend. And this is not a one-day separation, nor even a month-long one, but a separation for life, unless the order of things changes in our country. My son is also a friend, you can ask him about everything; he will tell you no lies.

Nevertheless, as far as these "public accusation sessions" are concerned, there is not much need to ask him questions. You have been able to see with your own eyes what happened to Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov. Not only have you seen, your own press has participated. In any event, the Soviet newspapers published a selection of the attacks the western communist press has addressed to them. Yesterday, for example (November 25, 1975), *Pravda* published, under the title "Response to a Renegade," the content of an article from *l'Humanité* filled with unjust attacks on Sakharov. I fully admit that one can disagree with Sakharov's ideas, but in no way can one intervene on the side of his persecutors when one knows that in his homeland he is ceaselessly persecuted, that he cannot open his mouth, and that he is constantly under threat of repressive measures.

And this is true not only of Sakharov. Can one really approve of the conduct of someone who, observing the beating of a man with his hands tied and his mouth gagged, joins in the crowd of people applauding those beating him? The conduct of your press in regard to Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn is analogous to that of those who howl with the wolves. Of course, your press has the full right not to agree with some opinions and have its own point of view on any question, but in the present case your duty is to declare: "We disagree with Sakharov (or Solzhenitsyn), but we will say nothing against them as long as their works are not published in their own country." Unfortunately, your press has

acted in such a way that Soviet newspapers have been able to persecute Solzhenitsyn in the name of your press, without even having to resort to internal material.

My own "road to Golgotha" began at the party conference of the Lenin district of Moscow on September 7, 1961. And this was for having committed the "terrible crime" of intervening against the desire of the party apparatus and of additionally proposing such "horrible" things as the elimination of high incomes for party and state functionaries as well as their complete revocability. These "crimes" won me the heaviest sanctions within the party; I was also relieved of my functions as honorary chairman of the military academy and was sent to the Far East. I denounced these repressive measures as illegal. Subsequently, I established links with the "dissidents" and protested against all measures of repression that came to my attention. Because of this I have been subjected to the following repressive measures during the past fifteen years: After two years' exile in the Far East, I was arrested, declared insane, and sent to a special psychiatric hospital. At the same time, I was demoted from the rank of general to that of private and then expelled from the army, without receiving any pay since the day of my arrest, without compensation or any pension (a pension of 120 rubles, instead of the 300 rubles set by law, was granted me twenty months after my arrest). Then there was the second arrest, the psychiatric hospital again, and the withdrawal of my pension.

The latter measure was aimed more specifically against my wife. She was punished by leaving two invalids, herself and our son, an invalid from birth, without any means of support. My wife was punished for having defended her husband. Thus, out of fifteen years I spent two years in exile and six and a half years in the dungeons of the KGB and the most terrible prisons, those that are called special psychiatric hospitals. In addition, I have lived seven years without a pension or other source of income. What is even more scandalous is that punishments like demotion and expulsion from the army without pay or compensation of any kind, as well as deprivation of pension or its reduction from 300 to 120 rubles, are illegal from the standpoint of law when applied to people who have been declared insane by a court. Moreover, it is impossible for me to get judicial assistance for my defense.

None of the demands from me or my wife has been answered: not by the court, nor the prosecutor, nor the government, nor the party leadership, nor the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Through its total silence for several years, the bureaucratic apparatus has shown that it is omnipotent against an individual, that it can do whatever it sees fit to that individual. It can crush him to dust and no law protects that individual.

The aim of the movement of "nonconformists" has never been formulated, but it emerges clearly in practice. It consists of demonstrating that the repression against them is not based on written laws but on arbitrary practices. All those who join this movement expose this arbitrariness, exposing themselves to danger and making choices according to their own appreciation and possibilities.

Vladimir Bukovsky survived ten psychiatric examinations. It then became clear that people who were mentally healthy were being locked up as "madmen," and these internments became public knowledge. For this Bukovsky was rewarded with twelve years' deprivation of liberty, which were added to the previous six years inflicted for similar "crimes." Hence, in initiating his action by denouncing arbitrariness, a 20 year old young man embarked on a road which runs through prison camps and prisons; his condemnation to twelve years in prison will run out when he is fifty. An entire life devoted to the service of people. Is this not an act of heroism? I am proud of the fact that such a man has honored me with his friendship.

Semion Gluzman, a psychiatrist whom I have never met but who, on the basis of what I had published in samizdat about the prosecution and sentence to which I was subjected, wrote and published "The Psychiatric Examination by Default of P. Grigorenko." This cost him a seven-year term in prison camp.

Valentin Moroz, after serving a first sentence for having denounced the Russification practices of the authorities in the Ukraine, wrote *Report from the Beria Reserve*, in which he demonstrated the inhumanity of the Soviet camps and prisons in our time. In "recompense" he received a new enormous sentence.

Edward Kuznetsov tried to hijack an airplane, fully knowing that this attempt would not succeed, and he and all his friends were seized by agents of the KGB. But it was as a hero that he went into this act, even more reckless than a death-defying challenge. Result: arrest and death sentence. But as he had hoped, his case moved the entire world and drew the attention of world opinion to the Jewish emigration from the USSR, demonstrating before the entire world the duplicity of the authorities who on the one hand do not grant authorization to leave but on the other assert that none of the Soviet Jews want to leave.

The wave of protest that affected the entire world saved Edward's life, but unfortunately we Soviet communists who have taken the "road of Golgotha" have not heard the voice of international communist public opinion. We have not heard this voice and, shaken, we wonder: Why should one be moved when communists suffer in the prisons of Chile but keep silent or find justifications when totally innocent communists and noncommunists

5. A. Grigorenko has since emigrated to the United States.—A.G.

rot in the prisons and inhuman camps of the Soviet Union in numbers several times greater?

It is only now—finally—that *l'Humanité* has pronounced itself for the defense of Leonid Plyushch; the representatives of the Italian and French Communist parties have taken positions, with the support of the Spanish party. The congress of the British CP has voted a milestone resolution on the CPSU. But how do we, Soviet citizens, learn about these events? You don't see a line in the Soviet press. When they publish these documents, your newspapers are not sold. Hence, the only sources of information we have are the BBC, the Voice of America, Radio Liberty, and other radio stations of this type. But these are jammed. Yes, dear comrades, they are jammed. Here is something to think about. I think there are economists among you who can calculate the cost of such an operation. The sum, I believe, is a large one. The country is covered with jamming equipment. But look in the budget for the record of the funds spent on this. This is an example of how the Soviet government informs people and how it conceals the funds that are spent to do it.

Why do you keep silent? Why do you accept the distortion of news concerning your action? Let us take the example of the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the British CP. News about this congress did not even mention the existence of this resolution addressed to the CPSU, but on the other hand it did stress the following quotation: The congress notes that "the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries unshakably continue their forward march, without uncontrolled inflation and massive unemployment." We will not examine the assessment of the situation in the Soviet Union offered here. That is another subject. But it is quite evident that by not mentioning the resolution dealing directly with the CPSU the news about the congress was not objective, and I am weighing my words. You tolerate nonobjective news about your own affairs. In acting in this way, you suggest that some of your statements are intended solely for "internal consumption" and are useful to you as tactical initiatives in your struggle for power.

An honest policy of the Communist parties must inevitably consider the interests of the entire communist movement. And these interests require a critical analysis of the experience of the USSR. It is not enough to say, like Georges Marchais, that the French CP is striving for a "socialist society that will be the most advanced in the history of the country." We have had enough of these expressions. The CPSU talks about this even more than the PCF. We Soviet communists—as well as the communists of France, Italy, Britain, and Spain—have the right to ask an important question: Will you adopt the "advanced democracy" of the USSR or

not? If you will not adopt it entirely, what will you borrow from it?

The bogeyman of "interference in the internal affairs" of another party still seems to frighten you. Why, I don't know. But first of all, what is happening in the Soviet Union cannot be considered purely as an internal affair. Lenin himself said this at the very beginning of the establishment of the Soviet republic. He used to say that socialism could no longer be judged by theoretical features—and thus not by the declarations of the leaders of western Communist parties—but by the living practice of the Soviet state. It was precisely for this reason that he called our country the child of the world proletariat. But no genuine creator can be indifferent to the development of his own work and to what it is becoming. It is for this reason that one cannot remain passive and if necessary must take critical positions on questions in which the principles common to all those who want to take the road of socialism are at stake.

In addition, it would be good to approach the problem of interference in the affairs of the USSR from a standpoint identical to that which permits interference in the affairs of any other country. Here is what Luigi Longo wrote in *l'Unità* about the death of Franco: "Now the Spanish people, all the democratic forces of Europe and the whole world, face the problem of liquidating the bloody heritage of the dictatorial regime. Francoism must follow Franco into the grave." Then: "The death of the dictator . . . cannot in itself resolve the problems of Spain. . . . For the rebirth of democracy, a struggle of all social and political forces is indispensable, as well as commitment on the side of the broad popular masses . . . of all the forces that have suffered the repression of the fascist regime because of their aspiration for freedom and progress in Spain. A broad and united struggle for fundamental changes in Spain is indispensable above all because the reactionary forces, which command strength and power, would like to preserve the essence of the old regime while endowing it with the mask of a certain liberalization. The struggle between the old and the new . . . has already begun. . . . The peoples of Europe must not observe as indifferent spectators, but as active participants who rise up on the side of all the progressive forces of Spain." And finally: "The direct obligation and duty of all peoples and governments is to contribute to the new Spain, to its renovation, to progress." (I am quoting according to the November 25, 1975, issue of *Pravda*.)

Comrade Longo obviously does not regard this program as interference in the internal affairs of Spain. So, if we change the extracts we have just quoted, replacing "Franco," "Francoism," "Francoist regime," and "Spain" with "Stalin," "Stalinism," "Stalinist regime," and "USSR," would Longo's judgments become false?

Can "the death of the dictator . . . in itself" resolve all the problems of the USSR? Was Stalin perhaps not a dictator? Perhaps he never even existed? Or perhaps a "broad and united struggle for fundamental changes" in the USSR is not necessary? Nor any "commitment on the side of the broad popular masses"? Did Stalinism not give rise to "reactionary forces commanding strength and power" which, rather than following Stalin into the grave, would like to "preserve the essence of the old regime while endowing it with a certain mask of liberalization"? Can the peoples of Europe, including the Communist parties, observe the struggle between the old and the new in the USSR not as "active participants who rise up on the side of all the progressive forces" in the USSR but as "indifferent spectators"? Applied to the USSR, to Stalin and Stalinism, wouldn't the "direct obligation and duty of peoples and governments" be to "contribute directly and give their total support to renovation and progress" in the USSR?

Do western Communists really believe that the answer is no? If this is not the case, why do they remain silent? Even the actions of the CPSU, which compromise the entire Communist movement to the limits of what is tolerable (gross violations of human rights and cruel and illegal repression within the USSR, intervention in friendly countries) are not criticized and are not evaluated as they should be. Consequently, the movement for the "renovation and progress" of the Soviet Union receives support only from democratic circles (of noncommunist orientation) in the civilized countries. This is an extremely dangerous phenomenon for the communist movement. In following such a tactic, it can easily find itself separated from real progress. In order to end this abnormal situation, the communists of all countries must support as firmly as possible the resolution of the last congress of the British CP and in the first place must win amnesty for political prisoners in the USSR. They must forcefully intervene in defense of human rights, against the cruel and illegal repression, not only in Chile but also in the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union.

At present, the entire world knows the names of two great men of our time: Andrei Sakharov and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. There is no doubt that in any democratic country such people would have been regarded as the pride of the nation. But here in the Soviet Union Solzhenitsyn suffered cruel and illegal repression for a long period and then, after a frenzied press campaign worthy of the Black Hundreds,⁶ he was thrown out of the

6. A reactionary Tsarist organization sprinkled with cops and military officers which organized, among other things, many pogroms during the period before the revolution.—*Inprecor*

country. Sakharov is harassed and threatened with physical violence to this day, as are the members of his family; this violence is compounded by many forms of discrimination. Moved, the entire world has protested against such savagery. Why have the Communists remained silent? Up to now, such attitudes have existed only in the world of crime. Have the moral values of this world now penetrated the political world?

The attitude of the Soviet authorities toward Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov is not exceptional. It is an overall line whose aim is to stifle all thought. It is for this reason, more than any other, that a communist has no right to keep silent.

I have already mentioned the talented Ukrainian writer and philosopher, the war invalid and communist Rudenko, who has suffered repression simply because he does not think along the lines of the canon imposed from above but according to his own judgment. I could also mention others who have been repressed for the same reason. The biologist Sergei Kovalev and the mathematician Andrei Tverdokhlebov have been arrested and are to be brought to trial.

The former was indicted for participating in publishing the *Chronicle of Current Events* and the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church*. I do not know who really publishes these two journals, but I do know the journals well. I believe them to be a brilliant discovery for the nonconformist movement. Without these publications, people could not have seen the agonizing "climbing of Golgotha" by the best of our people. To try these people for such reasons is impossible, even according to Soviet law. The chronicles communicate only various facts without political commentary. That is where their strength lies. The accumulation of descriptions of arbitrary acts, with no commentary, makes for moving reading. Those who do not read the chronicles cannot claim any profound knowledge of the USSR. It is unforgivable that the CPs of the capitalist countries are ignorant of the facts published in them. I would ask the publisher Valery Chalidze in New York to send you a complete collection of the chronicles, but you yourselves could have subscribed to all the publications of our samizdat, which are reprinted in New York by Chalidze, who not long ago lived and worked in Moscow, threatened by all the dangers we ourselves face today. If you want to know the USSR other than through official handouts, you will purchase these subscriptions.⁷ I do not know what the official accusation against Andrei Tverdokhlebov was, but in reality

he is being prosecuted for creating the Soviet section of Amnesty International and for participating in its activities.

Both will undoubtedly be convicted.⁸ A Soviet court cannot find in favor of people who exhibit a free creative spirit. Once they have served their terms, these people will be barred from scientific activities. If you disagree with such actions, of which the Soviet authorities are guilty, then protest. If you do not believe me, then ask that observers in whom you have confidence be present at the trials and then you will be convinced of the truth or falsity of my accusations.

All those I have mentioned in this letter are people of great talent. Not all have had the opportunity to complete their higher education. Prison has blocked the path of Mustafa Djemilev and Vladimir Bukovsky, but neither has stopped because of that. Djemilev has become a public figure and writer of talent; Bukovsky finished his biology courses in prison and works in this field. To understand what this feat represents, one must oneself spend some time as an inmate in a Soviet prison.

Kronid Lyubarsky, a talented astronomer, is continuing his research in prison. They are now preparing to deprive him of his university degrees. When one of his former collaborators remarked that Lyubarsky is a scientist whose work has been fruitful, the representative of the Pan-Soviet Astronomy Committee stated: "It is not important that he is a scientist. We must judge his conduct in society. And this judgment was handed down by the court. Lyubarsky did not repent, neither before the court nor in prison, and for us this is the most important thing."

The literary historian Gabriel Superfin, the Ukrainian writer Chernovil, and many others are suffering in the camps. One of the most talented writers, and an indefatigable fighter against arbitrary practices, Anatoly Marchenko, is in exile in Siberia. I could continue this sad but heroic list, could talk endlessly about the young talents stifled by a merciless bureaucratic machine that does not spare the most daring youth, the most stoic and most creative of our country. But my knowledge is limited and the length of this letter does not allow me to go on. It is for this reason that despite my desire I cannot mention many of them, whether personally known to me or not.

My debt is especially great to those who are called "nationalists" in the countries which have a state tradition of their own—

Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia—but also to the participants in the Jewish movement for immigration to their national homeland. After the UN General Assembly's adoption of a shameful anti-Semitic resolution with the active participation of the Soviet delegation, communists must support this movement with the greatest resolution and without the slightest compromise.

I am coming to the end. In the article I quoted above, Luigi Longo was perfectly correct to write that after the death of the dictator one must not be content with "preserving the essence of the old regime by granting it the mask of a certain liberalization." Unfortunately, the essence of the Stalinist regime was preserved in many sectors.

Today arrests no longer have the massive character that they did under Stalin. But the essential has remained, a total intransigence in regard to free thought. This does not appear as clearly as it did in the past, when such thought was openly stamped out. Nowadays the articles of the criminal code are used to this end. The dictatorship of a personality, eliminated, has been replaced by a collective leadership. But the state oligarchy, like the dictator in the past, remains uncontrolled by the people and the party. The organs of repression have become even more power-

9. Nevertheless, work is found for them. Let a few young people gather at the statue of Mayakovsky to read and listen to poetry, and they will soon be surrounded by a hundred or so plainclothes KGB agents who are assigned to break up this "mob" through provocations. Seven people arrive at Red Square, sit down in a quiet corner in which there is not the slightest traffic, and launch slogans protesting the entry of Soviet troops into Czechoslovakia. Soon dozens of "defenders of order," also in plainclothes, attack them. After hitting the demonstrators, they drag them off to prison. (This is not enough. Subsequently, resorting to false testimony, they assert in court that the demonstrators had grossly violated public order.) A group of painters exhibit their work in an empty field (since the authorities could not find them a hall). The empty field is soon filled with "security forces" who tear up the canvasses and hit the artists. People assemble in a place of worship, which could be a synagogue or a church, and the "protectors of order" appear. Arrogant, unembarrassed, they are there not to defend order but to prevent the people from praying. In addition, they are entirely free to proceed to totally arbitrary arrests among the believers. When a demonstration was organized on the occasion of a holiday, the whole route of march and even the contingents of demonstrators were literally infiltrated by KGB agents. Currently, with the approach of the Twenty-Fifth Congress, many citizens of the USSR whose rights have been infringed upon by the bureaucracy, are addressing the congress, writing letters and sending petitions. Some Tatars, who succeeded in passing through the wall

7. Russian-language editions are available from Khronika Press, 505 Eighth Avenue, New York, New York 10018. English translations are published by Amnesty International, 10 Southampton Street, London, WC2E 7HF, England.—IP

8. Andrei Tverdokhlebov was sentenced to five years internal exile in April 1976 under Article 190-1 of the Russian Criminal Code (anti-Soviet slander). Sergei Kovalev was sentenced in December 1975 to seven years in a strict-regime labor camp and three years internal exile. He was convicted under Article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code (anti-Soviet activity).—IP

ful, but for the moment they are not assigned the same work they carried out under Stalin." Nonetheless, the entire repressive arsenal has been preserved. These organs are used against nonconformists. Convocation to these organs for "educational purposes" constitutes a warning. It leads to being subjected to systemat-

which the KGB had literally erected around them in Tashkent, have described frightful scenes: all the exit points—the airport, train station, roads—were occupied by a multitude of KGB agents. Tatars were stopped, searched, and relieved of the petitions they were carrying to the congress. The petitions were then burned. Their tickets were also confiscated. Only their money was returned to them. And the KGB has many other affairs going for it. In 1968 I wrote to Yuri Andropov [the boss of the KGB—*Inprecor*] to inform him that the surveillance of my personal activity was occupying twenty-six agents. Since then I have been in the same place for five years, but the people I mentioned are still occupied with this "important" work.—A.G.

ic criticism during a meeting. This is followed by expulsion from the party, the Komsomol, and the trade unions, removal from one's job. One is then forbidden to practice one's profession or live in given localities, forbidden to remain in certain regions (the Letts, for example, were forced to leave their republic); finally, there is arrest and condemnation to a term in an ordinary prison or a special psychiatric hospital (which is also a prison, but of a more terrible kind). After his release, the victim must confront a whole series of discriminatory acts on the part of the authorities; he is subjected to police surveillance, prevented from living in certain regions, prevented from working in his field. These are some of the methods a regime uncontrolled by the people uses to stifle thought, a regime which could launch mass terror or draw the country into a war at any time.

Is this sort of communism to your liking? If not, let it be known openly. You

do not have to interfere in our internal affairs, just say that you do not want a communism whose development is based on injections of fear. Put forward as a *sine qua non* condition for unity that any persecution for crimes of opinion be ended, that complete freedom of reception and distribution of news, regardless of borders, be established in a country which has built a classless society, that free examination of all points of view and events which occur in this country, as well as others, be established, including the actions of the party and state apparatus.

The first of the *sine qua non* conditions for unity must be total amnesty for all political prisoners in the USSR and the prohibition of the use of psychiatry as a means of repression against "nonconformists."

Respectfully,
P. Grigorenko

November-December 1975

On False Testimony Extracted by Torture

South Africa—12 Black Activists Railroaded to Prison

Twelve Black activists were found guilty in a Johannesburg courtroom in early July on charges of being involved in "terrorist" activities against the white minority regime. The verdict was handed down despite disclosure by the prosecution's chief witness that he had been tortured into giving false testimony.

"The expectation is for long sentences," according to a report by Martin Garbus, who observed the trial for the International League for Human Rights and the American section of PEN, the international writers association.

The twelve were alleged to have participated in sabotaging railway installations, bringing arms and explosives into the country, and having recruited young Blacks to undergo military training abroad. All were charged with being members of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation, the ANC's military wing), or the South African Communist Party.

Two of the defendants, Martin Ramokgadi and Joe Gqabi, were accused of heading the ANC's central structure in Johannesburg from June 1976 to January 1977.

Elias Masinga was accused of "infiltrating" the Soweto Students Representative Council, which has organized many of the mass Black mobilizations against the apartheid regime, and recruiting Black

students to undergo guerrilla training abroad.

Paulina Mohale, the only woman defendant, was charged with having typed a leaflet for the ANC.

The other defendants are Naledi Tsiki, Mosima Sexwale, Michael Ngubeni, Petrus Manpogoane, Nelson Diale, Jacob Seatlholo, Lele Motaung, and Simon Mohlanyeng.

One of the high points of the trial was the declaration by the state's chief witness that he had given false testimony after being tortured by the police. Ian Deway Rwaxa, who had testified for four days that he had transported 260 young Blacks across the border for guerrilla training, abruptly announced in court June 30 that he had been forced to lie. According to the report by Garbus, printed in the July 20 *New York Times*:

After testifying for four days in his native Xhosa, he asked if he could address the court in English. He described the lot of potential black witnesses in South African jails: three months in total solitary; away from his family, friends and even police, then taken to see his son, given money by the police to give to his child and told that if he cooperated he would get more money for his son. He understood if he did not cooperate, he would never see the child again. The next three months he saw the police every day. But they kept asking him for more and more facts. Beaten daily, he was strangled, suffocated, tortured and kept naked in the cold cell.

Rwaxa told the courtroom that after being tortured he eventually agreed to

make a statement dictated to him by Lieut. Coetzee of the security branch. "I wrote what the lieutenant told me to," he said. When he asked the Supreme Court judge hearing the case to issue an order protecting him from further beatings, the judge refused. One defense lawyer told Garbus, "It took enormous courage for him to do what he did. He knows he may never be seen again."

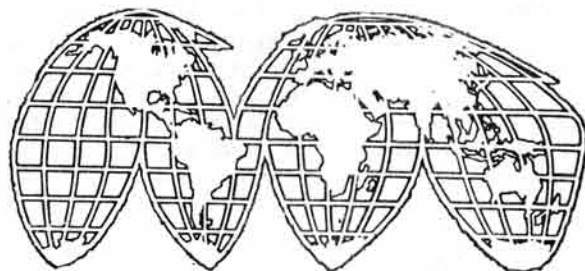
During the trial, the courtroom was filled with about 200 Black spectators. During breaks and at the end of court sessions, the defendants gave clenched-fist salutes and shouted "Amandla!" (power), to which the Black audience responded, "Ngawethu!" (to us). □

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AROUND THE WORLD



Zimbabwean Leaders Reject New Proposals by Smith

Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith announced July 18 that the largely-white Parliament would be dissolved and general elections would be held August 31. Under the white supremacist regime's racist voting laws, only about 7,500 Blacks are allowed the vote, compared to 85,000 whites. In the country as a whole, whites are outnumbered by Blacks by more than 20 to 1.

Smith declared that after the elections, "I envisage the creation of a broad-based government incorporating those black Rhodesians who are prepared to work peacefully and constitutionally with the present Government in order to establish a base from which we would be able to draw up our future constitution."

In his speech, Smith also rejected recent British and American proposals that a new constitution be drafted incorporating the Zimbabwean nationalist demand for universal suffrage.

Two Zimbabwean nationalist leaders immediately rejected Smith's veiled overtures to join his regime. Ndabaningi Sithole declared, "I don't expect to be asked to join his Government and if asked, I would refuse." Abel Muzorewa, who leads the United African National Council, also rejected Smith's proposal, stating, "Such an agreement would not be respected or honored outside Rhodesia or by the masses I represent inside the country."

Both said they would accept no settlement that falls short of granting universal suffrage to Blacks.

Just one day before Smith's announcement, Muzorewa again demonstrated his group's mass support within the country. After returning from a six-week tour abroad, he was greeted in Salisbury by a crowd estimated at about 200,000 Blacks.

8 Chilean Prisoners Brutally Tortured

An appeal for eight young Chilean workers is being circulated internationally.

The eight—Fernando Espinosa, Ulises Galardo, Eliseo Aballes G., Eugenio Bizama C., Luis Quilodran M., Roberto Vásquez, Raúl Jiménez R., and Mario Víctor Leivo Castro—were arrested by the Pinochet regime in March. They were turned over to the military intelligence branch (DINA), and savagely tortured.

An excerpt from the appeal, published in the May 26 issue of the British Trotskyist

publication *Red Weekly*, describes the torment they faced.

"... it is difficult to make people believe how dreadful they are.

"Anyway, I will describe them now: electric shocks all over the body, especially in the more sensitive parts—the genitals and the anus. The DINA introduced a copper tube into the anus and then applied the electric shock mercilessly; simultaneously they tightened with a pincher the testicles and penis.

"Electrical currents were put through the ears, lips and both temples, as well as the more sophisticated psychological torture.

"This torture lasted four days. They were tortured at half-hourly intervals throughout 24 hours. The wives of the prisoners who were also incarcerated were threatened with being raped by the torturers in front of their husbands."

A branch of the National Union of Public Employees is seeking further information on the fate of the eight, *Red Weekly* reports. The paper urges its readers to help publicize the case, particularly through their trade-union and political organizations.

British Publisher Fined £1,500 for 'Blasphemy'

Denis Lemon, publisher of the British magazine *Gay News*, was convicted on July 11 in London's Central Criminal Court on charges of blasphemous libel. The charges stemmed from the publication last year of a poem portraying Christ as a homosexual. *Gay News* was fined £1,000, and Lemon was given a nine months' suspended sentence and fined an additional £500.

The suit against Lemon was originally filed by Mary Whitehouse, who, like her American counterpart Anita Bryant, is waging a campaign against "pornography" in Britain. Whitehouse's suit was later taken over by the prosecutor for the Crown.

The last time the blasphemy laws were applied was in 1921, when a writer named Gott was convicted for describing Christ as looking like a clown.

Lemon's conviction drew a storm of protest from supporters of civil liberties in Britain. The National Council for Civil Liberties condemned the verdict as "a dangerous new form of censorship, particularly for artists and writers who must now conform to the standards of a religion

practised by only a minority in this country."

Socialist Challenge, successor to the British Trotskyist newspaper *Red Weekly*, published the poem as a supplement to its July 14 issue. The July 13 issue of the London *Evening Standard* quoted Tariq Ali, a leader of the International Marxist Group, as saying:

"It's not the sort of thing we would normally publish in our paper. . . . But we are doing so to attack censorship and to show our solidarity with Gay News. It seems incredible that in 1977, a newspaper can be prosecuted for blasphemy."

A Step Toward Justice

The owners of the Ipca dye factory in Turin, Italy, along with the company's manager and doctor, have been found guilty of negligent homicide and sentenced to between three and six years in jail.

The verdicts were handed down in mid-June. They were the result of civil suits filed by the widows and children of thirteen Ipca employees who had died of cancer, mostly of the spleen.

Industrial deaths in Italy average about 4,000 a year, the highest rate in Europe. Since the Second World War, more than 120,000 persons have been killed on their jobs, and still more have died from occupational injuries or diseases.



BOOTS: "Neutron bomb? They wouldn't kill a dog like that."