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Betrayal of the People of Panama



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Carter's 'Peace Initiative' in Ireland

By Gerry Foley

On August 30, President Carter made a highly touted "peace initiative" for Northern Ireland. Even the U.S. capitalist press had to note how little he actually offered. In the August 31 *New York Times*, James T. Wooten reported:

Whatever the motivations, the President's commitment was in purposefully inexplicit terms that pledged only that should a peaceful settlement occur, "the United States Government would be prepared to join with others to see how additional job-creating investment could be encouraged, to the benefit of all the people of Northern Ireland."

Wooten continued:

President Carter noted that "Americans are deeply concerned about the continuing conflict and violence" and said:

"I ask all Americans to refrain from supporting, with financial or other aid, organizations whose involvement, direct or indirect, in this violence delays the day when the people of Northern Ireland can live and work together in harmony, free from fear."

Beyond that appeal and the vague promise of assistance, the statement offered no new American involvement or initiative toward resolution of the problems of the province.

Actually, Carter's promise to encourage U.S. investment in Northern Ireland offered nothing at all to any section of the Irish people.

The fact is that if "peace" can be restored in Northern Ireland; that is, if the movement of the oppressed Catholic, nationalist population can be broken, U.S. investment will flow in, with or without the blessing of Jimmy Carter. Imperialist investment has been increasing rapidly in the rest of Ireland, and the U.S. share is overtaking that of Britain.

The reasons for Ireland's attractiveness to investors were explained in an article in the March 29 issue of *Le Monde* by Jacqueline Grapin. The article was entitled: "The Republic of Ireland—Singapore of Europe?"

Wages in Ireland are 60 percent below those on the continent. Not only have the tariff barriers to European markets been eliminated. The craven neocolonialist Dublin government offers big tax advantages and poses no difficulties about repatriating profits. These gifts to investors can be matched by Northern Ireland, and more, if the movement of the oppressed is broken.

The divisions between Catholic and Protestant workers offer employers special advantages. U.S. companies have not and will not oppose discrimination. It is too profitable. Besides, it is part and parcel of

the political and social status quo that will prevail if the kind of "peace" Carter was talking about is restored.

Grapin cited studies comparing Ireland with Italy as the most favorable area in Western Europe for investment, noting that Ireland had the advantage because of greater political stability.

In fact, because of the downturn in the Irish struggle since late 1972, Ireland has become the politically quietest part of the underdeveloped periphery of Western Europe, which has been the favored area for investment since the rise of the anti-imperialist revolutions in Africa, Latin America, and Asia.

So, there is no doubt that foreign investments, especially American investments, will flow into Northern Ireland if "peace" is restored. What is equally certain is that it will not solve the economic problems of the people in that area, any more than it has those of the people in Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece.

Carter's statement, therefore, was not part of a plan to pacify Northern Ireland by supporting economic development. He has no intention of trying to win desperate ghetto youth away from the IRA by offering them jobs and economic equality.

Carter's "peace initiative" is political support for the British repressive drive to smash the resistance of the oppressed Catholic population and in general the movement for Irish national liberation. And that, in fact, is clearly how it was interpreted by the representatives of U.S. and British imperialism.

In an editorial September 1, the *New York Times* wrote:

With heartening courage, four leading American Catholic politicians have dared in recent months to speak out against the violence in Northern Ireland. On the eve of St. Patrick's Day, Governor Carey [of New York State], Senators Moynihan and Kennedy and Speaker O'Neill urged Irish-Americans to stop sending money and arms to the Irish Republican Army. In April, from a platform in Dublin, Governor Carey went even further, denouncing one wing of the I.R.A. as nothing more than "the Irish killers" and the other wing as "the Irish Marxists." All four have been subjected to strident criticism from those who remain passionate about a long history of oppression and discrimination; to some American supporters of the IRA, they are "the four ignorant horsemen." But they are hardly ignorant, and now they have recruited a fifth to their side, a Baptist Sunday school teacher named Carter.

British Prime Minister Callaghan said

that Carter had shown "a very real human concern for the people of Northern Ireland and an understanding of the reality of the situation in saying that a permanent solution to the problem can only come from the people who live there."

The substance of Carter's statement was already outlined in an editorial in the August 25 issue of *Le Monde*, which placed his move mainly in the context of the problem of the support in the U.S. for the Irish liberation movement:

Voters of Irish origin play too big a role in the U.S. for leaders to risk confronting them directly.

The editorial noted how Carter had soft-soaped the Irish voters before the presidential elections by marching in a St. Patrick's Day parade wearing a button that said: "Get Britain out of Ireland."

This kind of deception has a long history in American ethnic politics. Local politicians in particular can make all sorts of gestures of support for the causes of various groups. Even top politicians may do this at election time. But this has no effect whatsoever on U.S. government policy.

For historical reasons, the Irish people and Irish-Americans tend to be taken in more than other groupings by U.S. ethnic politics. That is because the fights for Irish and American independence were genuinely intertwined during the period of the rise of the American republic. But after the Civil War in the United States, with the development of monopoly capitalism in the country, American ruling circles developed the same reactionary attitude toward the struggles of all oppressed peoples around the world.

Woodrow Wilson, who now seems almost like the representative of a democratic age in U.S. politics, made the imperialist attitude clear when Irish-American leaders came to him to argue against supporting Britain in the First World War. He told them that he would not pay any attention to anyone who did not put the interests of America above everything else. Irish-Americans were severely limited in their ability to respond to such an ultimatum because they pinned their hopes on one of the political parties of American imperialism, the Democratic Party.

Irish-American supporters of the national liberation struggle in Ireland continue to be severely hampered by their political contradictions. The Irish-American politicians and Carter did not dare openly oppose the struggle in Ireland when it was on the rise. But now that it is in a downturn, they are trying to exploit these contradictions to drive a wedge between Irish-Americans and the Irish people in Ireland.

Governor Carey tried to exploit one of these contradictions when he attacked the IRA as-Marxists. Actually he leveled such charges against both Officials and Provisionals and not "one wing" only. Supporters of the Irish struggle in the U.S. tend to

share the present social conservatism of the white working class in general. But the anti-imperialist fighters they support in Ireland more and more identify with anti-imperialist struggles everywhere, including those directed against U.S. imperialism. This is a natural and inevitable tendency. For example, even a representative of the "old IRA" such as Tom Barry publicly expressed his admiration for the Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

Moreover, Irish national liberation fighters have tended to adopt more and more explicitly anticapitalist views. This is now clearly true even of the Provisionals, who first developed largely in reaction to the espousal of socialist views by some leaders, winning the support of conservative Irish-Americans as a result.

On the other hand, Irish-Americans have tended to support a militant struggle against British imperialism in Ireland, even when the support for this lagged in Ireland itself. This has always been true. The modern Irish revolutionary movement, for example, developed first in America. This militancy of Irish-Americans is mainly a contradictory effect of the very forces that make them conservative in the U.S. They have the consciousness of members of a dominant and not an oppressed nationality. But this opens them to charges of not understanding the suffering caused by the struggle in Ireland. This charge can only be reinforced insofar as they set themselves against the need for social change felt by the people directly involved in the fight.

Carter's promise to meet the material needs of the Northern Catholics if "peace" can be achieved is thus the best political preparation for new attacks on the Irish movement in the U.S. It poses a serious political threat to the Irish movement both in Ireland and America. It can only be countered by rebuilding a broad movement in both countries in support of the democratic rights of the Irish people to establish the kind of society they want. □

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2,000 in Manila Protest Martial Law

Two thousand persons marched in Manila August 25 to protest abuses of human rights by the Marcos regime.

The demonstration was attacked by police, who used water cannon and clubs to disperse the protesters. About 100 persons were injured in the assault by 300 cops.

The march, which was illegal under Marcos's 1972 martial-law decree, came on the eve of closing ceremonies of the Manila World Law Conference. Although the conference had as its theme international protection of human rights, it avoided taking up violations in specific countries.

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Somali Rebels Gain in Ethiopia

By Ernest Harsch

Since mid-July, the Ethiopian military junta, known as the Dergue, has been confronted with a massive upsurge of the Somali people living in the Ogaden desert region of southeastern Ethiopia. Within a few weeks, the Dergue lost control of most of this vast area, except for a few large towns, to the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF), which is fighting for the separation of the Somali-inhabited territories from Ethiopia and their incorporation into the neighboring country of Somalia.

Already faced with a rapidly advancing independence struggle in Eritrea, the Dergue has been plunged into its gravest crisis since it seized power from Emperor Haile Selassie three years ago. Like Selassie, the junta has denied the Somalis and other oppressed nationalities their right to self-determination.

There had been sporadic clashes with forces of the WSLF for a number of months, and in June Somali guerrillas blew up a number of railway bridges, cutting the only railway line between Addis Ababa and Djibouti, which handles 60 percent of Ethiopia's foreign trade. Then on July 17, official Ethiopian sources admitted that an important battle was under way around Direedawa, Ethiopia's third largest city.

In the weeks that followed, the Dergue, the WSLF, and the Somali regime made numerous claims and counterclaims, many of them exaggerated, on the course of the fighting at Direedawa and other parts of the Somali region. For instance, the official Ethiopian News Agency declared, just a few days after the beginning of the battle at Direedawa, that Ethiopian troops and members of the newly formed People's Militia had killed "thousands of infiltrating Somali soldiers and captured hundreds of others."

By early August the WSLF was claiming that it had killed or captured 23,000 Ethiopian troops, or nearly half the Ethiopian army. Since neither the Ethiopian nor Somali regimes allowed foreign journalists to observe the fighting, none of the casualty claims could be confirmed.

Nevertheless, there were signs that the fighting was heavy. Somali refugees poured into Somalia and the former French colony of Djibouti with stories of Ethiopian air raids and attacks against civilians. Hospitals in Ethiopia and in northern Somalia were full of wounded troops and guerrillas. And in a departure from its earlier playing down of Ethiopian



MENGISTU: Claims two stunning wins over Eritrean and Somali rebels.

losses, the Dergue admitted August 21 that 150 Ethiopian soldiers had been killed and five planes destroyed during a second battle at Direedawa.

The Ethiopian junta has also acknowledged important Somali gains. As early as July 24 it announced that Somali troops had occupied "the greater part of Ogaden," and a few days later it admitted that the fighting had spread from the province of Harar westward into the provinces of Bale and Sidamo. According to an August 14 dispatch from Direedawa by *Washington Post* correspondent Roger Mann, the Ethiopian army's ground commander in the region said that "the Somalis are everywhere" in the Ogaden, except for the garrison towns of Direedawa, Jijiga, and Harar.

In an appeal for civilian support, Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, the head of the Dergue, said in a radio and television address August 20 that the armed forces were not strong enough to maintain control. He called for a general mobilization to stop the "Somalian aggression."

The Dergue has denied that the Somali military gains have been won by Somali nationalists from the Ogaden. It charges that the area has been "invaded" by the

regular Somalian army and air force and that the WSLF is little more than an extension of the Somalian armed forces.

The Somalian regime in Mogadishu insists that it is not directly involved in the fighting and that the WSLF is acting on its own. But it is highly unlikely that a guerrilla group that could mount only limited actions a few months ago could have scored such significant gains in such a short period without outside assistance.

Mogadishu openly backs the WSLF's aims, has given it military and financial aid, and even admits that regular Somalian troops have been given "leave" to fight with it. In addition, the Ethiopians showed foreign journalists the remains of a downed Somalian MIG fighter near Direedawa and other reporters saw a wrecked Soviet-made Somalian tank in the Somali-controlled section of the Ogaden.

Wide Support

Whatever the extent of the Somalian regime's direct involvement, however, the Somali military actions appear to have the support of most Somalis in the Ogaden.

Following a 470-mile tour of the areas controlled by the WSLF, several foreign journalists described the mood among the Somalis. Reporting in the September 5 issue of *Newsweek*, correspondent Elizabeth Peer quoted a shopkeeper in the town of Wardere. "The last month has been happier than my entire 65 years under the Ethiopians," he told her. "Now nobody robs me. Nobody kills at random. I am free for the first time in my life."

Peer reported, "The sentiment was clearly universal. As journalists were allowed for the first time to visit what is either liberated western Somalia or occupied Ethiopia—depending on one's perspective—thousands of nomads cheered their 'liberation.'"

Another journalist reported in an August 24 Agence France-Presse dispatch:

The red and green banner of the Somali guerrillas flies over the towns of Ethiopia's southern Ogaden region these days, and charred buildings and wrecked equipment at military bases attest the heavy fighting that ended there last month.

... nowhere along the bumpy, dusty roads linking four of the area's main settlements—Mustahil, Kelafo, Gode and Wardere—did the visitors spot an Ethiopian flag or any other sign of an Ethiopian presence. . . .

The visitors were often greeted by noisy but disciplined crowds shouting hatred for the Ethiopian Government and its leader, Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam.

Roots of the Somali Struggle

The Somali upsurge against the central regime in Addis Ababa is but the most recent expression of a long struggle by the Somalis in the Ogaden against the domination of the Amharas, Ethiopia's oppressor nationality. The strong sentiment for pan-Somali unity is likewise rooted in the

history and development of the Somali people and the efforts of the Ethiopians and the imperialist powers to divide and weaken them.

Well before the Amharic conquests and the European colonization in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Somalis, who were organized into a number of clans, began to develop a sense of ethnic unity based on their common language and the influence of Islam. But before this process was completed and the Somalis could establish their own nation state, they fell under foreign domination.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 spurred imperialist interest in the strategic coasts of the Horn of Africa. The British moved in in the mid-1880s, seizing the northern Somali coast and declaring it a British "protectorate." The Somalis in the south (in what is now Kenya) also fell under British domination. About the same time, the French acquired the enclave of Djibouti, a majority of whose population are Issas, a Somali people. The Italians declared a "protectorate" over northeast Somaliland in 1887 (it became a colony in 1905), as well as seizing Eritrea.

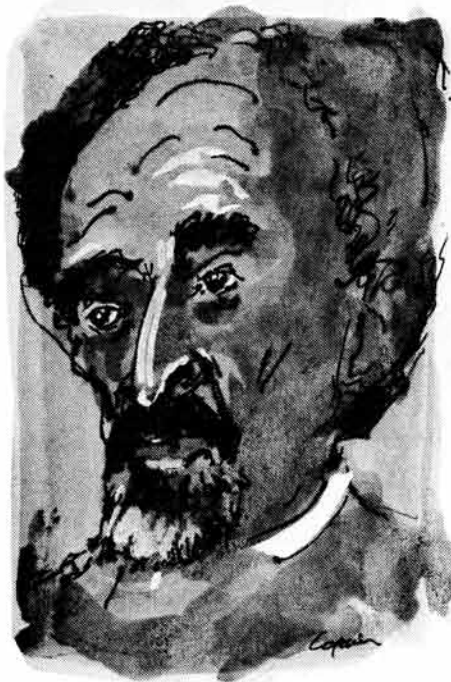
The European powers were not alone in their scramble to carve up the Somali-inhabited territories, however. The Amharic dynasty in Ethiopia had begun to expand its feudal empire through a process of conquest of neighboring peoples. In 1885 Menelik, who later became emperor, wrote a letter to the Italian king proposing an orderly division of the Somali areas. Two years later he led an army into what is now Harar Province and conquered the old Somali city of Harar. The British imperialists gave Menelik's conquest a stamp of approval in 1897 when they recognized his control over much of the Ogaden.

These conquests and the joint Ethiopian and European efforts at divide and rule met with stiff resistance from the Somalis themselves. From 1899 to 1920, Mohamed Abdulla Hassan, one of the founders of modern Somali nationalism, led a rebellion against the foreign conquerors. Between 1900 and 1904, Ethiopian troops joined with British forces to fight the rebellion in the Ogaden.

The defeat of the Italian colonialists during World War II and the later "decolonization" of the British empire led to a reshuffling of the borders in the Horn of Africa. The entire Ogaden region, which had been occupied by the British after the Italian defeat, was handed over to Emperor Haile Selassie in 1954. (Two years earlier Eritrea had suffered the same fate.) The rise of the postwar colonial struggles around the world forced Britain to relinquish direct control of many of its colonies and in 1960 British-ruled Somaliland joined with the former Italian colony to become the present independent state of Somalia.

The liberation of at least part of the original Somali homelands gave a tre-

mendous spur to the Somali struggle as a whole. This was reflected in a meeting in Mogadishu in August 1959 at which Somali delegates from Somalia, Djibouti, the



SELASSIE: Feudal monarch's empire, hijacked by "socialist" junta, is breaking apart at the seams.

Northwestern Frontier District of Kenya, and the Ogaden and Haud regions of Ethiopia organized a pan-Somali movement aimed at unifying all Somalis within one state.

In fact, this goal was written into the first Somalian constitution. The Somalian flag includes a five-pointed star, representing the former British and Italian colonies now incorporated into Somalia, as well as the three "lost territories."

In the early 1960s, the Western Somali Liberation Front was organized, originating from a Somali peasant resistance movement in the Ethiopian province of Bale. With the backing of the Somalian regime, it carried out occasional military actions against the Ethiopian forces. These clashes escalated in 1963-64, resulting in a war between Addis Ababa and Mogadishu.

The downfall of Selassie in 1974 and the steady disintegration of his empire since then has given the Somalis a favorable opportunity to press forward with their struggle. The advancing fight for independence in Eritrea has undoubtedly been an inspiration to them.

An executive member of the WSLF in Mogadishu summarized the aims of the Somali liberation forces, stating, "We are fighting for our rights as decent human beings." (Quoted in the August 29 *New York Times*.)

The Somalian military junta led by Gen. Siad Barre, which seized power in 1969,

has pledged to continue its support for the efforts to unify the Somali people. In fact, it has little choice. General Siad pointed out in an interview in the June 13 issue of the Paris fortnightly *Afrique-Asie* that "no government, no regime, no Somalian leader could survive in this country if he moved to abandon the policy of recovering the territories that are still colonized by foreign occupiers."

Although the junta's policy is a reflection of the Somali aspirations for unity, its own interests are also at stake. Somalia is an impoverished country, with few resources. The Ogaden, however, is thought to contain deposits of oil and gas.

Moreover, General Siad may be using the campaign to regain the Ogaden, at least partially, to divert popular grievances away from his own regime, which is repressive. The junta has established a powerful and extensive secret police apparatus. Like its counterpart in Ethiopia, the Somalian regime tries to cover its procapitalist policies with a "socialist" mask.

While aiding the WSLF and the efforts toward Somali unity, the junta at the same time fears the potential power of the Somali struggle and has carefully sought to keep it under control.

An International Flashpoint

The outcome of the conflict in the Ogaden—as well as the struggles in Eritrea and in other parts of Ethiopia—can have important repercussions, not only in the Horn of Africa, but throughout the continent and internationally.

If the Eritreans gain independence or the Somalis are successful in throwing off Ethiopian domination, oppressed peoples in other African countries will be inspired to press forward with their own struggles. The Black neocolonial regimes throughout the continent fear such a development, and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) is officially opposed to any change in the present borders that were artificially drawn up by the colonialists.

The Somalian regime is the only OAU member that does not formally subscribe to this position. On August 8 an OAU mediation commission implicitly denounced Mogadishu's aid to the WSLF by reaffirming the OAU stand on maintaining present borders.

Since the Horn of Africa borders on the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, developments there can also affect the situation in the Middle East. To pressure the pro-Israeli Ethiopian regime, various Arab states have for years aided the Eritrean independence forces. Some, such as Syria, Iraq, Egypt, the Sudan, and Saudi Arabia, have expressed support for the WSLF and the Somalian regime.

The Israeli regime has long had ties with Addis Ababa, both under Selassie and the present "socialist" military junta. The Israelis fear that an independent Eritrea

could threaten their access to the Red Sea. In a dispatch from Addis Ababa in the August 12 *Washington Post*, correspondent Roger Mann reported, "According to numerous sources, including Ethiopian air force personnel, Israel is regularly flying in spares and ammunition for Ethiopia's U.S. equipment. Israeli ammunition for U.S. Phantom jets was specifically mentioned." Israeli advisers are also reported to have helped train the Dergue's new People's Militia.

Further complicating the international lineup of forces has been Moscow's aid to both the Ethiopian and Somalian regimes. With the aim of advancing its own narrow diplomatic interests, the Kremlin calls both military juntas "progressive." Mogadishu has been armed almost entirely by Moscow for the past fifteen years. Since earlier this year, the Mengistu regime has also received some Soviet military aid.

In its public pronouncements, the Kremlin has tended to favor Addis Ababa in the dispute over the Ogaden. It called Ethiopia "the victim of an armed invasion" and termed the Ogaden "Ethiopia's territory." However, Soviet military supplies have continued to arrive in Somalia as well.

As the old Ethiopian empire continues to fragment, American imperialism has stepped up its efforts to strengthen its position in the region as a whole, so as to be better able to influence and ultimately derail the various struggles going on.

From the early 1950s until the beginning

of this year, Washington was the main backer of the regimes in Addis Ababa. The Ethiopian military was armed and trained almost entirely by Washington. But be-



SIAD BARRE: Somali strong man gets high credit rating for Pentagon purchases.

cause of the Dergue's instability and its failure to contain the Eritrean struggle, the Carter administration decided to decrease the amount of U.S. aid, resulting in Mengistu's turn to Moscow for arms.

Washington is still keeping its options toward the Dergue open, however. The *New York Times* reported August 1, "The United States is aware of the Israeli involvement [in Ethiopia] and has not opposed it. . . ."

At the same time, Washington has sought to increase its influence with other regimes in the area. On July 27 the Carter administration announced new arms sales to the Egyptian and Sudanese regimes.

A day earlier it had declared that it was ready, "in principle," to sell arms to Somalia as well. But on September 1 the State Department rescinded this offer, stating, "We have decided that providing arms at this time would add fuel to a fire we are more interested in putting out."

Mogadishu's claims to the Somali-populated areas of northern Kenya may also have been a factor in Washington's public reversal. The Kenyan regime has been a long-time ally of Washington.

Since a number of the pro-American Arab regimes provide aid to either the Eritrean or Somali struggles, Washington's recent maneuvers appear aimed at indirectly influencing the direction of those struggles. The Carter administration may also be preparing a base for military intervention—either directly or through its client states—should the conflicts now rocking the Horn of Africa escape control.

Interview With Miguel Antonio Bernal

Canal Treaty—'An Insult to Dignity of Panamanian People'

[The following interview with Panamanian exile Miguel Antonio Bernal was conducted August 24. It is scheduled to be published in the September 26 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in New York. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

[Bernal was exiled from Panama in February 1976 for his outspoken anti-imperialist views.]

* * *

Question. What is your opinion of the new treaty?

Answer. The details of the new treaty revealed so far enable us to characterize it as a contemptible and historic betrayal of the struggles and sacrifices of the Panamanian people. It does nothing but estab-

lish a new "perpetuity" that backs to the hilt American imperialism's efforts to prolong its military presence in Panama so as to continue exploiting and dominating our people.

The new treaty is not a genuine abrogation of the old accord, which is what the Panamanian people have been struggling for for more than seventy-three years. On the contrary, it replaces a "perpetuity" imposed by force with a "legalized perpetuity." In conceding to the United States the permanent right to "defend" the neutrality of the canal, the Panamanian government is resorting to the use of juridical forms and terms that are completely inappropriate and ambiguous. The United States is going to be granted indefinitely the privilege of being able to enter and intervene in Panama, and this time with legality conferred by the Torrijos regime.

The new treaty is very far from fulfilling

the aspirations of the Panamanian people. All that has been revealed up to now is a new "perpetuity," perpetuity for the passage of U.S. warships. We consider this as the most aberrant, disgraceful, and unacceptable type of perpetuity, as a stigma that this generation and future ones will be forced to bear, for it legalizes the American presence on our soil.

For us, the slogan that the Panamanian people have raised throughout long years of struggle remains valid: Not one single base, not one single Yankee soldier on our soil. And I repeat once more, as I did last year during my tour of the United States: We want them to get out! We don't want any American presence!

Q. What will the treaty mean for the Panamanian people?

A. In the first place, we should point out that the Panamanian people were totally excluded from the negotiations. They were told absolutely nothing, and in Panama the real content of the new treaty has still not been made known.

This means that the Americans are going to remain there on our occupied territory, violating our soil, that they are going to continue exploiting us, and that Panama is going to remain under American domination. But what we have been struggling for is complete expulsion of the Americans, the soldiers, and imperialism from our territory.

The Panamanian people view the new treaty with skepticism and with a great deal of dissatisfaction and disappointment. It is necessary to remind the Panamanian and American governments, which have been working hand in glove, that the disappointment and dissatisfaction of a people can only be followed by hatred and rebellion, and that in spite of the Neanderthal and reactionary protests of the North American senators, who think that they are "giving up" a lot to Panama, we, the Panamanians, think that this treaty in no way satisfies our aspirations.

Q. What is the significance of the projected plebiscite in which the Panamanian people are to vote on the treaty?

A. Up to now, the government has confined itself to saying only that the plebiscite will be held forty to sixty days after the treaty is signed, period. But they haven't said anything about how it is going to be voted on, when it is going to be voted on, when we are going to go to the polls; in other words, how the electoral process is to be organized. And what is worse, given that this is a government that has been constantly violating democratic rights, we can be sure that the truth of the saying "whoever counts the votes decides who gets elected" will be demonstrated once again.

We think the likelihood is that the plebiscite will be passed in Panama. It will be passed because the government controls the press, radio, and television, and will not allow any voice of opposition to be raised against the practices they instituted during the negotiations. They are keeping more than 200 Panamanians in exile, the majority of whom express the aspirations of the people with regard to the struggle against American imperialism. They have made innumerable promises to let these exiles return, and they have not done so.

The exiles think that discussion of the treaty without the participation of all sectors invalidates whatever decision is arrived at.

The exiles do not think that they are going to cause a disturbance, because a disturbance has already been created, from the moment the so-called crime of opinion was converted into the reason for their

exile.

Furthermore, we want to return for constructive, not destructive, purposes—that is, for us the most important thing is to be able to struggle against the imperialist presence on our soil, and that is why the Torrijos regime will not let us return.

And if they do let us return, it will be to keep us under surveillance, because they have made an agreement with American imperialism not to allow the return of those forces that are going to oppose the conclusion of a treaty that is an insult to the dignity of the Panamanian people.

Q. What has been the reaction to the new treaty in Panama?

A. Up to now the reaction has been one of stunned silence. The details of the treaty are not really known, control has been maintained over the mass media, and dissident voices have been silenced or exiled, with the approval of the American government, which claims to be a defender of human rights.

Even now, government representatives are the only ones who can speak out. They are making one statement after another in favor of legalizing the bases, in favor of the treaty, ignoring the struggles for the dignity of the Panamanian people, who are demanding: Bases out, troops out!

The Panamanian people are not allowed to express their dissatisfaction, and so therefore the reaction that exists is one of discontent, but it cannot be organized and focused, given the control that the Torrijos regime exerts over the mass media and the lack of democratic freedoms.

Q. What is the position of the Liga Socialista Revolucionaria with respect to the treaty and with respect to the current tasks of revolutionists in Panama?

A. Ever since it was founded as a revolutionary Marxist organization, the LSR has had a distinct and clear position: Total and immediate Panamanian sovereignty over the canal, and the elimination of all Yankee bases and troops from our territory.

For the LSR, the new treaty is a concession by the Torrijos regime, which has opted for a realizable rather than a just treaty, which has knuckled under to imperialism, which for a few extra dollars has been willing to sell out our country. This time the Bunau-Varillas are not French, but Panamanian, unfortunately. The civilians and military of the Torrijos regime have surrendered to American imperialism, letting themselves be carried away by the hypocritical grin of Carter the moralist, to hand over our country once again, until, according to them, around the year 2000.

But what makes us so sure that they will be gone by the year 2000? We don't have any guarantee.

When the eyes of the whole world are on

us, when we have international support, when imperialism has been weakened by Watergate and Vietnam, and by the struggles carried out by revolutionary organizations in the United States, when the most favorable conditions exist to demand the abolition of the canal enclave and obtain our total sovereignty—the government has given in. And this is one of the worst concessions in Panamanian history, because it flies in the face of the struggle and sacrifices of our people for seventy-three years.

Q. How do you see the role of revolutionists in other countries, especially in the United States, with respect to the new treaty?

A. We think the role that revolutionists in the United States can play with respect to the new treaty is of the utmost importance in the world today.

We think that those in the United States who consider themselves to be truly anti-imperialist, and who are genuinely carrying out the struggle for a socialist revolution in the United States, cannot accept the treaty, because it maintains American imperialism. As Carter himself has said, the new treaty only reinforces the American presence in Panama. It changes only the form of the domination they already have over us.

American revolutionists have a responsibility to place themselves in the forefront of the struggle against reaction and against Carter's positions, without bending an inch from the position that corresponds to the Panamanian people's struggle—namely, the Panama Canal for the Panamanians, expel the American bases immediately!

We think that the struggle of the Panamanian people will be cut short if we cannot count on the struggle of the American people, who must not let themselves be taken in by the backward positions of the senators who think that they are giving up a great deal, or by the positions of someone like Carter, who will claim that his treaty opens up a new era in relations with Latin America.

The new treaty is one more blow to the struggle for the dignity of a people, and American revolutionists have a responsibility to take part in this struggle together with the Panamanian people, so that once and for all we might have the justice that has been denied us, so that we can reclaim something that belongs to us, and that once again they are trying to appropriate for themselves.

We think that any struggle, any campaign carried out in the United States that raises the slogans of the Panamanian people, that makes known the struggles of the Panamanian people, will strengthen the solidarity that has existed up to now on the part of certain organizations in the United States with the struggles of the Panamanian people. □

Current State of the Charter 77 Movement in Czechoslovakia

[In its July issue, *Listy*, the monthly magazine of the Czechoslovak socialist opposition (published in Rome), published the following interview with Zdenek Mlynar. Mlynar is one of the best-known figures associated with Charter 77, the manifesto of the Czechoslovak civil-rights movement that was issued in January of this year.

[Almost immediately after the publication of Charter 77, the Prague government began to press Mlynar, along with other leaders of the civil-rights movement, to leave the country. At the end of January, it asked the Austrian government whether it would grant asylum to him and four other figures associated with Charter 77.

[Mlynar was fired from his job and was forced to leave the country after finding it impossible to get another one. He arrived in Vienna on June 13.

[Mlynar gave the following interview to the Dutch journalist J. Hufa before leaving Czechoslovakia. The translation from the Czech version in *Listy* is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. What perspectives and possibilities do you see for further work by the Charter 77 group?

Answer. It would be a mistake to judge the real role of Charter 77 only by the number of signatures that have been, or will be, published. Ever since the charter was initiated, signers have had to face repression, going from visitations by the police, to being fired from their jobs, to persecution of members of their families. In this atmosphere, you could not expect all the supporters of Charter 77 to openly sign their names to it.

Already today, Charter 77 is being supported primarily by other means. Tens of thousands of persons have read it, and copied and distributed the text. They give it to their friends and acquaintances. Through completely informal structures, which the police cannot keep track of, the demands of Charter 77 are being spread more and more widely in the society as a whole.

This task is no longer being taken up only by certain layers, such as the intelligentsia. It is not being taken up simply by political groups either, such as the Communists expelled from the Czechoslovak CP after 1968. In all workplaces, often among the workers, and especially among the youth in all walks of life, Charter 77 is arousing interest about what obligations the government assumed in pledging to

abide by the international convention on human rights in Czechoslovakia as well.

Tens of thousands of people are beginning to realize how wide a gap exists between what the government has pledged itself to respect and what they face daily in their lives. Everyone knows of arbitrariness and illegal exercise of power in their immediate circle of acquaintances. The aim of Charter 77 was to promote citizens initiative that would lead to active criticism of any abuse of power. This objective has already been achieved today, and more and more such results will be gained.

Charter 77 wanted to avoid being an organization that would be immediately banned, and it achieved that. It wanted to be, and is, a free citizens initiative. It survives because tens of thousands of persons have learned about the rights it stands for and will strive constantly to assure that it can defend these rights.

Those who vilify, persecute, and discriminate against persons who have openly declared their support for the charter by signing it can only discredit themselves further in the eyes of people. By doing this, they only expose the gap between the political dictatorship and the citizenry, who hunger for political democracy. The more brutally they act, the greater moral defeat they will suffer and the more resounding will be the moral victory of Charter 77.

Charter 77 cannot prevent the state from brutally persecuting hundreds of its supporters. It is clear that the government is not now and is not likely to be interested in a discussion on the question of human rights. The citizens see, on the other hand, that the state does not want to discuss this matter precisely because it has no arguments against the criticisms raised by Charter 77. This is why it fears to publish the text of the charter, why official propaganda makes the lying claim that Charter 77 "slanders the achievements of socialism," etc., although the document contains nothing of the sort.

The citizens make their own judgments about all this. However, this would not be possible if Charter 77 functioned as an organized movement. But the influence of the charter is something the government is going to have to reckon with as a constant factor.

This may not seem like very much if we compare it to the norms of political democracy. From that standpoint it is really very little. But from the standpoint of the real possibilities any critical movement has under political dictatorship, this is far from little. In Czechoslovakia after 1969

this is the most that has been achieved by way of promoting critical initiative on the part of citizens.

Q. What forms of persecution and discrimination against the supporters of Charter 77 do you consider the main ones? In particular, what do you expect to be the main forms of intimidation in the future?

A. The most drastic form, obviously, is the jailing of several supporters of Charter 77. We have to make the maximum effort both in Czechoslovakia and abroad to win the release of these persons. The authorities claim that these citizens are not being charged in connection with Charter 77. So, if they are finally brought before a court, obviously some other accusation is going to be cooked up.

However, it is obvious that if Charter 77 had never been published, Jiri Lederer would not be in prison today. The only reason for these jailings was the need to intimidate people after the publication of Charter 77.

Political trials, however, are not now and will not be the main form of persecution. The main form of repression and the one most widely used today is limiting the right to work. Thus, in twelve cases, signers of Charter 77 have been fired from their jobs without notice. In dozens of other cases they are now giving a few months' notice. In all cases, the persons involved will be forced to go to still worse, less skilled, and worse-paid jobs than they had before.

In the West, people cannot appreciate what being fired from your job for political reasons means in political systems of the type that exists today in Czechoslovakia. People think that if persons are fired by one employer, sooner or later they can get a job from another. But in our country, there is only one employer, the state.

If the state's political police determine that someone is politically untrustworthy, that person will not find any job without the consent of the police or political bodies. No signer of Charter 77 would be hired even as a coal stoker or charwoman if the political or repressive bodies decided to oppose it.

In every workplace, an evaluation from a person's previous job is required. On this document, it will always say that the reason for dismissal was antistate activity, as shown by signing Charter 77.

Persons who are persecuted in this way are not even entitled to unemployment assistance. They cannot, for example, live on contributions made by friends in solid-

arity with them. According to Czechoslovak law, that would constitute the penal offense of parasitism. They have finally to take the jobs the state determines for them. That is a way of sentencing persons to hard labor without any kind of a trial or any specification of the term, perhaps sentencing them to life.

Only someone who has seen and understood all this can visualize the full intimidating effect of this kind of persecution. Since few abroad know about it or understand it, this kind of persecution goes on massively and systematically without any protests by public opinion in the West. For this reason, among others, it has been and will certainly remain the principal form of repression against the defenders of human rights in Czechoslovakia.

There is another factor that people in the West find hard to understand. That is, persons fired from their jobs are also expelled from their unions. In Czechoslovakia, there is only one trade-union organization, so when you are out of work you also have no possibility for appealing to the union to defend your rights.

I wrote a letter about this in late January to the World Federation of Trade Unions. Obviously, there was no reply. So, I will take this occasion to ask the union organizations in Europe to put this question themselves both to the Czech unions and to the World Federation of Trade Unions. Perhaps someone will finally have to answer it.

Q. What is your evaluation of the help given to the defenders of human rights in Czechoslovakia by public opinion, the press, organizations, and governments in the West?

A. I think that without this support the defenders of human rights in our country would be having a much harder time still than they are today. That is a general observation. But the picture is in fact much more complex.

It is obvious that currents uninterested in seeing a more complete and better kind of socialism in our country are trying to exploit for their own advantage the fact that human rights are violated in Czechoslovakia, currents that pursue goals that are reactionary from our standpoint.

The political powers that be in our country are trying to blame this exploitation of the human rights issue on the victims of their own oppression who raise their voices to defend themselves. The propagandists present it as if by raising their voices against the violation of human rights under socialism the signers of Charter 77 were providing a pretext for attacks on socialism in general.

In this way, they try to cover up the fact that this pretext is provided by the political dictatorship, which under socialism acts arbitrarily and brutally, just like

political dictatorships in other socioeconomic systems.

The fact is that we must not welcome all the support that is offered from abroad. Thus, for example, if we know that the American trade-union federation president George Meany is demanding that Czechoslovakia be expelled from the United Nations because of the way that supporters of Charter 77 are treated in our country, we have to consider that there is a large dose of political demagoguery in this.

Human rights are not being violated in Czechoslovakia alone. Conflicts between the state and the citizens are arising to various degrees in a number of countries, and not least of all in the USA itself. And no one is demanding that these countries be expelled from the UN.

Anyone who really wants to help the defenders of human rights in Czechoslovakia has to do this without ulterior motives that have nothing to do with human rights. We think that the great majority of the representatives of democratic public opinion act precisely in this way. We particularly value the help of all European socialists, whether this comes from the Communist or Socialist parties in West Europe.

Official propaganda in Czechoslovakia tries to cover up completely the fact that among the firm critics of the actions of the Prague regime are the leaders of the main West European CPs, namely, E. Berlinguer, G. Marchais, and S. Carrillo. This fact does not fit in with the basic premise of this propaganda that those in the West who praise Charter 77 are those fighting for a return to the cold war and are enemies of the policy of détente.

At the end of January, I gave a special statement on the situation in Czechoslovakia to the press agencies in Prague in which I appealed in particular to the European Communist and Socialist parties for help against the Prague regime's attempt to portray the supporters of Charter 77 as allies of imperialist reaction.

I would like today to thank all those who really helped. And those are mainly all those to whom I appealed specifically. Besides the CP leaders already named, these were mainly the leading representatives of the European Socialists—W. Brandt, B. Kreisky, F. Mitterrand, B. Craxi, and O. Palme.

All these spoke out with real sincerity against the attempts of the official Czechoslovak propagandists to claim that day was night, spoke out to defend the principles set down in Helsinki in 1975 against the attacks on the aims of the Helsinki conference.

Official Czechoslovak propaganda still trumpets all the old claims, but thanks to the support of the democratic and socialist political forces, few persons outside or inside Czechoslovakia believe them.

Every dictatorship is happiest when it can trample on the rights and interests of

the citizenry without arousing attention. Any attention focused on a government's dictatorial methods is unpleasant for such regimes and aids their critics. The worst thing that could happen to the defenders of human rights in Czechoslovakia would be for their efforts to be met with silence. I do not think that after Charter 77 anyone faces such a threat.

There is only a need to make sure that the attention of democrats and socialists in Europe is not fixed solely on a few most outrageous cases, that it is not focused on the fate of a few individuals whose names are known. This attention should be focused systematically and tirelessly on what is happening to thousands and thousands of people, on the unknown defenders of human rights.

It is important to defend people against such forms of persecution as the denial of their livelihood. For hundreds of thousands of people this is as important as fighting against the most outrageous cases of repression at the time of political trials.

Q. What, in your opinion, was the significance of the 1975 conference in Helsinki for the perspective of developing political democracy in Czechoslovakia?

A. I definitely do not share the view that the political line that resulted in the 1975 Helsinki conference harms the development of political democracy in those countries where such democracy is truncated and under attack. If anything harms the development of political democracy in the European countries, whether East or West, in my opinion it is the kind of atmosphere that preceded the détente.

A situation in which the world is threatened with destruction in an atomic conflict between two great powers makes for draconian solutions to problems, for a lack of alternatives. Non-great-power nations with no "atomic umbrella" of their own are obliged to seek refuge under the umbrella of one or another great power.

Such a situation leads to the demands and interests of the non-great-power nations getting pushed aside. It limits their possibilities for sovereign decision-making about the issues that concern them. It promotes the division of Europe (and the world) into hermetically sealed blocs in which, as "in nature," all must subordinate themselves to the interests of the strongest states in the bloc, the holders of the "atomic umbrella," under which all the nations in the bloc can take refuge.

It is understandable that in such a situation domestic questions, including great social conflicts, are not resolved primarily by the free development of the forces within a country and by the real unfolding of the potential of the non-great-power nations, but rather are subordinated to the needs of the blocs and to attitudes

that in the last analysis derive from the great powers.

In such a situation, the problem of the development and triumph of socialism most often appears as a problem of the predominance or possible military victory of one bloc over another rather than as a problem of internal development in the framework of each sovereign national society.

The détente, the lessening of the danger of a military conflict among the great powers, the suspension of the traffic in arms, etc. all lead to the opposite tendencies. This promotes real possibilities for non-great-power nations, as most of those in Europe are, to decide about their own problems as sovereign states; it reduces dependence on blocs in Europe and the world.

In this way, the development of socialism gradually becomes primarily an inter-

national concern in the framework of the individual national societies. This is generally much more favorable for the development of political democracy. For Czechoslovakia, this is especially important, because the historical tradition of our country, the economic and cultural level and the way of thinking of its people, would hardly have provided the conditions for the kind of political dictatorship that prevailed in the 1950s and has again since 1969. This kind of regime was and remains the product of external influences and forces and in no way is the product of a sovereign development of the national society.

Only overcoming the old political atmosphere of "blocs" in Europe will open up the way for the Czechoslovak people, as for others, to develop its own potential and ideals. In our case, that road leads to developing political democracy on the basis of socialist economic relationships and

a socialist approach to the problem of social classes.

Besides this fundamental and generally positive significance for the development of political democracy, the Helsinki conference obviously had very concrete importance and relevance for us. The final section of the accords set forth strongly the principles of human rights.

The provisions of this so-called Third Basket made it possible to gradually develop citizens initiatives demanding a greater measure of political democracy than any government cares to grant. In this sense, Charter 77 is the child of the 1975 Helsinki conference. The authorities treat this child in the style of a wicked stepmother, but they cannot get rid of it without cutting the ties they established with the rest of the family of European states in Helsinki. □

Interview With Attorney Lea Tsemel

The Fight for the Rights of Israel's 5,852 Palestinian Prisoners

[The following interview with Lea Tsemel, a lawyer and member of the Union of Democratic Lawyers in Israel and the Israel League for Human Rights, appeared in the June 13 issue of *Afrique-Asie*, a fortnightly magazine published in Paris. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. Last February 4, Chaim Levy, the Israeli general director of prisons, made some shocking admissions regarding overcrowding in Israeli prisons. He admitted that it had reached "intolerable levels." What did you think these statements meant, and what effect did they have on the situation facing the prisoners?

Answer. Chaim Levy was not suddenly overcome by charitable impulses toward the Palestinian prisoners. These statements were made at a meeting of prison administrators attended by the minister of police, Shlomo Hillel, and they had a dual aim. The first objective was to lobby for more funds for prison facilities. The second and most important was to try to undercut the movement that had been launched on December 11, 1976, by the strike of inmates at the Ashkelon prison. This strike was gaining more and more public support both inside and outside the country.

This doesn't mean, of course, that the prisoners' demands are limited simply to the issue raised by Chaim Levy of the

incredibly small amount of space normally allotted to each prisoner in Israeli jails.

The prisoners have raised demands for humane treatment, including better sanitary conditions and an end to torture, as well as for intellectual and political rights, such as access to newspapers and the right to read. They have also demanded to be treated as prisoners of war under the Geneva accords. As you can see, these demands go beyond the problem of living space and lack of privacy, although this is certainly important.

Q. So Chaim Levy's statements were just a flash in the pan.

A. Yes. In my second report on the Ashkelon hunger strike, I indicated that most of the prisoners had been on strike for thirty-five days, but that a group of fifty-six prisoners who were transferred on the thirty-second day to the Kfar Yona prison had continued the strike up to forty-five days. In the report I explained the circumstances under which this very grueling hunger strike was concluded.

However, contact with a delegation of prison administrators was not made until two weeks later. At that time Chaim Levy promised the following improvements: (1) Each prisoner would be allowed to brush his hair; (2) Each prisoner would be allowed to buy himself some candy in the prison canteen with the monthly allowance of thirty Israeli pounds (US\$3) that

he was entitled to receive from his family (Jewish prisoners can receive up to seventy pounds a month); (3) A new wing would be added on to the Ashkelon prison.

The prisoners took these ridiculous promises as an insult, and rightly so. It was under these circumstances that 245 of them went back on strike at Ashkelon on February 24. The struggle lasted until mid-March, and was backed up by a similar movement at Ramallah prison on the West Bank. All we can say at this point is that the only substantial gain the prisoners have won has to do with their daily bread ration.

As you can see, we still have a long way to go to win the prisoners' main demand. There are now 5,852 of them, of whom 3,227 have been charged with endangering state security.

Q. On this point, there seems to be some hesitation, insofar as the prisoners had demanded application of the Geneva accords and then seemed to retreat somewhat on this issue.

A. All the prisoners have demanded and are still demanding the status of prisoners of war under the Geneva convention. Incidentally, the Human Rights Commission, at its thirty-third session which met in Geneva on February 15, endorsed this demand as legitimate. During the Ashkelon strike, the prisoners demanded, as a minimum, that they be held under the same prison conditions as the Jewish

common prisoners. They raised this demand to better illustrate how intolerable their present status is. This does not mean that they are retreating—just the opposite. Monsignor Hilarion Capucci clearly reaffirmed this demand during each of the courageous hunger strikes he conducted throughout the first three months of 1977. Incidentally, he was subjected to several attacks during these hunger strikes, as was documented in a communiqué from Dr. Lotfi, head of the Greek Orthodox church in Jerusalem.

Q. Is there a chance that the movement in the prisons will get under way again soon?

A. I think so. In the first place, because despite the brutal treatment, the tortures, and the physical ordeal of the hunger strikes, the prisoners' determination to struggle has never wavered. Secondly, because the prisoners' struggle is having an enormous impact on public opinion in Israel, including among the Palestinian Arab population living within the old boundaries, as well as in the territories occupied since 1967.

For example, we have gathered more than 10,000 signatures on this subject in Israel, and the movement has had a very great impact in Galilee and Jerusalem (at the Hebrew University). You know, of course, what the effects were on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. It was impressive. The clashes with the police were often extremely violent. The turnout by families and by mayors and patriotic associations gave the prisoners' struggle a broad scope.

Organizations like the Red Cross and Amnesty International did not, of course, ignore this upsurge, which helped break down the wall of silence around a situation that we, for our part, have been condemning for years. Nowadays no one can deny the cases of torture, brutality, and harassment, and the fact that the Palestinian patriots are being held under conditions that are even worse than those of any common criminal who happens to be an Israeli Jew.

Q. It's easy to see why the authorities are out to get you.

A. We are waging a hard fight, in which we do not dare make any mistakes. We stick strictly to the law, to avoid setting ourselves up for provocations. But this does not prevent us from coming under threats of reprisals and a certain amount of harassment.

Q. Felicia Langer was recently subjected to discrimination.

A. Felicia has appealed the decision in her case to the Supreme Court. The ad hoc commission, made up of five persons including the government attorney, Aho-

ran Barak, claimed that Counselor Langer was sympathetic to the PLO and that this was grounds for denying her knowledge of some military secrets mentioned during



David Frankel/Militant

LEA TSEMEL

cases tried before military courts. No one should be taken in by this smokescreen. This is one of the innumerable methods used to bar from defending Palestinians lawyers committed to the ideals of freedom and justice for all.

Q. You're referring, in particular, to the members of the Union of Democratic Lawyers.

A. Certainly, but within that organization, there are unfortunately only a dozen of us Jewish lawyers, alongside our Arab colleagues and friends from Galilee, Haifa, and so on. Despite the obstacles, the union has helped significantly to focus public attention on the prisoner problem. They published a statement, "Save the lives of the hunger strikers in the prisons," which was widely publicized; and a rally attended by members of the union was held March 13 outside the Ashkelon prison.

Q. In addition, of course, there is the work carried out by the Israel League for Human Rights.

A. The league represents mainly the tenacity, perseverance, and courage of one man—Israel Shahak—but it is also maintained by the determination of some committed activists.

Q. From the left and far-left organizations?

A. In the league, side by side with radi-

cal anti-Zionists, are members of Rakah [the Israeli CP—IP], as well as independent progressives. What binds us together, above and beyond our disagreements, is our determination to fight for the human rights of all—and not just Jews—who live in Israel or are under the jurisdiction of the Israeli government as a result of a military takeover, which we vigorously protest.

Q. There is also, by the way, a league that is—shall we say—more orthodox.

A. We strongly deplore the decision taken by the International Federation for Human Rights with regard to our organization. The discriminatory action toward the league chaired by Professor Israel Shahak was instigated by pressure groups with ties to the Israeli government. This action, of course, benefited the other Israeli league, the more orthodox one, as you said.

This organization, which has campaigned around the fate of Syrian Jews, continues to wage various campaigns on behalf of Jews in the Soviet Union. But as far as non-Jews in Israel are concerned, it seems unfortunately to have nothing to say!

Q. Not even about anti-Zionist Jews? I'm talking about those convicted in the January 1973 trial.

A. Of course. Only three of them are still in prison. Udi Adiv and Yaheskul Cohen, sentenced to seventeen years and eight years, respectively, continue to adhere faithfully to their ideals, under very difficult circumstances.

Q. One last word about the overall political situation in the country in the aftermath of the elections. We had decided not to discuss it, but I don't see how we can ignore it.

A. In terms of the fundamental political and strategic questions, the change is more of a shift in emphasis. If you look at the basic issues, the Maarakh, which held power previously, included a number of aggressive "hawks" who make the Likud "hawks" seem tame by comparison.

On the other hand, one thing we can count on is that for us and for Israeli Jewish revolutionists, the screws are going to be tightened still more. It's going to be very hard to work, struggle, and live. But we think that this is the price of peace—real peace, peace with justice and brotherhood. □

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The British Conquest and African Resistance

By Jim Atkinson

[First in a series]

"You snatched away our country unlawfully. We are going to fulfill the aims of the war we abandoned in 1897." Court testimony of captured freedom fighter, March 7, 1968.¹

"I know the Bantu pretty well, and I believe that this is the sort of thing that they understand, when you say to one of them, look friend, are you trying to throw your weight around, because if you are, you are going to come off second best. He will say, right, we know where we stand." Ian Smith, prime minister of Rhodesia, February 4, 1973.²

One hundred and fifty years ago, almost the whole region now known as Zimbabwe—and much of what is now Mozambique—was inhabited by peoples who spoke dialects of the Shona language. The Shona people had lived in this part of Africa for several centuries. They were divided into many semiautonomous clans, ruled by chiefs. However, many of the chiefs recognized the supremacy of the king of the Changamire dynasty, who lived in the great stone enclosure of Zimbabwe, near the present-day city of Fort Victoria, from which the country takes its modern name.

In the 1830s, Shona society was disrupted by a series of invasions by African peoples migrating northward from South Africa. In 1837, under the leadership of Mzilikazi, the Ndebele (an offshoot of the Zulu) marched into Shona country after being chased from the Transvaal by Boer commandos. They settled in the western part of modern Zimbabwe, now known as Matabeleland.

The Shona people who lived in the immediate area of the Ndebele settlement were absorbed into the Ndebele nation as the lowest caste (the Lozwi or Holi) of its highly stratified society. The Shona in adjoining regions were not absorbed like the Lozwi, but were forced to submit to Ndebele authority and to make regular tribute payments to the Ndebele king. Farther away from the areas of Ndebele settlement in the region now known as Mashonaland, Shona villages were exposed to intermittent plundering raids (but did not pay regular tribute). Still farther to the east and northeast, the Shona never came in contact with the Ndebele at all prior to the British conquest at the end of the nineteenth century.

Today, according to the 1969 census, 70.8 percent of the African population of Zimbabwe speak Shona dialects, while 15.8 percent speak the Ndebele language. The remaining 13.4 percent speak other African languages (some, like Tonga and Venda, indigenous to Zimbabwe; others from beyond the country's borders, since there are at least 250,000 immigrant workers in Zimbabwe, mainly from Mozambique, Malawi, and Zambia). The Shona peoples themselves are not a homogeneous group, but are divided into a number of clans or tribes, among them the Karanga, the Manyika, the Zezuru, the Kore-Kore, and the Kalanga.

All of these peoples were conquered and subdued by the British at the end of the nineteenth century during the imperialist powers' "scramble for Africa." The principal attraction was gold, thought to exist in Zimbabwe in even greater quantities than in the Transvaal. The British were also keen to outflank the Boer government of the Transvaal, which in 1887 had already signed a treaty with

King Lobengula of the Ndebele. Moreover, a new threat came from German imperialism, which had proclaimed "protectorates" in East Africa and in the region now known as Namibia.

The man who sponsored the drive to crush and subdue the Shona and the Ndebele in the interest of British imperialism—as well as to line his own pockets by digging for gold—was Cecil Rhodes, a capitalist who had made his fortune with the De Beers Mining Company and was prime minister of the Cape Colony from 1890 to 1896.

"Rhodes was quick to argue," Martin Loney writes in a history of British rule in Zimbabwe, "that if Britain did not advance northwards, the Boers, the Portuguese or the Germans would do so, that the reputed mineral wealth of Matabeleland and Mashonaland should be retained in British hands and that the area was of important strategic value in the struggle for the control of the African continent."³

On October 30, 1888, an envoy of Rhodes, C.D. Rudd, succeeded in tricking King Lobengula into signing a treaty (the Rudd Concession) giving rights to prospect for and exploit all mineral deposits in his country (including vast tracts of Shona land over which Lobengula exercised little or no jurisdiction). All this was in return for 1,000 rifles, an armed steamboat, and a payment of £100 a month—some of which Lobengula never received.

Armed with the Rudd Concession, Rhodes offered a bargain to the British government. Expecting to recoup his investment from the profits of the anticipated gold bonanza, he told the government in London that he was prepared to sink his own capital into administering the Shona and Ndebele territories, thereby ensuring British (rather than Boer, Portuguese, or German) control but sparing the British government any direct costs. The government in London agreed to Rhodes' proposition. On October 29, 1889, it granted Rhodes a royal charter, establishing the British South Africa Company (BSAC), which was authorized to maintain a police force (the British South Africa Police), enact laws, engage in any trade, construct roads and railways, and seek further concessions. To this end, the British government unilaterally proclaimed a "protectorate" over Zimbabwe in 1891.

A British invading force, recruited by the BSAC, marched into Mashonaland in September 1890 and halted at Harare (modern Salisbury). Three years later, in October 1893, Rhodes sent a column of armed men into Matabeleland to crush the Ndebele. The recruits for this BSAC war party were each promised 6,000 acres of land, mining rights, and a share in the loot, principally the Ndebele cattle.

"In short," Loney notes, "the Ndebele were robbed of most of their cattle, which were divided as loot, and of the best land. Two totally inadequate reservations were set aside for them. The land on which the Ndebele kraals [villages] were situated was given to the volunteers or sold off to farmers and speculators; the indigenous occupants were told to work for the new owner or move on."⁴

In addition, Loney continues, the conquerors introduced forced labor. "Europeans needing labour would, sometimes with the assistance of the local administration and the hated African police, simply seize able-bodied males from the local kraals and force them to work."⁵

3. Martin Loney, *Rhodesia: White Racism and Imperial Response*, Penguin Books, London, 1975, p. 32.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

1. *Rhodesia Herald*, March 8, 1968.

2. Interview with Ian Smith by Otto Krause, *Rapport* (Pretoria), February 4, 1973.

Furthermore, in 1894, the BSAC imposed a tax of ten shillings on every hut. This raised revenue for the company's administration and forced Africans into the labor market—to the detriment of African agriculture—in order to earn money with which to pay the tax. According to historian Terence Ranger, the looting and plunder by the Europeans had such a devastating impact on the Ndebele that the number of cattle in their possession plummeted from some 250,000 before the conquest to only 40,930 after 1893.⁶

The suffering imposed by the British invaders did not pass without response from the Africans. Indeed, in 1896, both the Shona and the Ndebele rose against their conquerors in one of the most massive revolts (known as *chimurenga*) against white rule in any part of Africa in the 1890s. One of the revolt's most striking features was its high degree of organization and the coordination achieved between the Shona and the Ndebele. The revolt was truly pan-Zimbabwean in scope.

The first incident involved Shona in East Belingwe. Then, three weeks later, on March 24, 1896, the Ndebele began a coordinated uprising. In the third week of June, the mass of the Shona people joined the revolt, stretching Rhodes' British South Africa Police to the limit.

The African revolt was so powerful that Rhodes decided to cut his losses by reaching a separate peace with the Ndebele *indunas* (commanders of the Ndebele regiments) in August. The war was ended by most of the Ndebele on the promise of an amnesty for

6. Terence Ranger, "The Nineteenth-Century in Southern Rhodesia," in T. O. Ranger, ed., *Aspects of Central African History*, Heinemann, London, 1968, p. 150.

the *indunas* and a few minor reforms.

Rhodes then turned his attention to crushing the Shona. This he did with utter ruthlessness. As Ranger records: "As for the Shona rebels, they were hunted down throughout 1897; stronghold by stronghold. They were dynamited out of their caves and chased from one place to another. In the end most of them surrendered unconditionally, especially after the capture of the religious leaders. The Shona rebel chiefs were given no terms and promised nothing. Many of them were put on trial for murder and a number were hanged."⁷

An account of one settler attack, against caves in which villagers, led by a certain Matshayongombi, were hiding for their lives, is given by Peter Gibbs, a historian of the British South Africa Police. "The earlier hand-grenading had had its desired effect," he writes, "and early in the morning Matshayongombi himself appeared wounded at the mouth of one of the caves and was mercilessly shot down. After the dynamiting many of Matshayongombi's people were entombed but 278, including 215 women and children, came out and surrendered during the next four days."⁸

[Next: *White Rule and African Oppression*]

7. Terence Ranger, "African Politics in Twentieth-Century Southern Rhodesia," in T.O. Ranger, ed., *Aspects of Central African History*, Heinemann, London, 1968, pp. 214-15.

8. Peter Gibbs, *History of the British South Africa Police*, BSAP, Salisbury, 1972, p. 205.

Statement by Reza Baraheni

Encouraging Gains in Fight for Free Speech in Iran

[On June 13, forty prominent Iranian writers, poets, critics, and social scientists issued an open letter to the prime minister of Iran, demanding the restoration of free speech and the unhindered right to reactivate the Writers' Association of Iran as a gathering place for discussion and the free exchange of ideas.

[On July 19, a second letter, repeating this demand, was sent to the prime minister, this time signed by ninety-eight prominent Iranian intellectuals.

[The impact of these letters in Iran and the support they have won around the world are described in the following statement, issued in New York August 21 by exiled Iranian poet Reza Baraheni.

[Baraheni, a former political prisoner who was jailed and tortured for 102 days by the shah's political police, was a founding member of the Writers' Association.]

* * *

The first Open Letter of the Writers' Association of Iran addressed to the Prime Minister was written on June 13. Upon receiving that letter I made it public here in the United States and appealed for support among American and world intel-

lectuals and writers for the cause of freedom of speech and freedom of publication of books in Iran. My voice was fortunately heard in the American circles and among dissident Iranian groups in the U.S. The response was extremely generous.

Richard Howard, President of the American Branch of the International PEN, sent a telegram to the Prime Minister of Iran in support of the efforts of the Iranian writers. He received a reply from the Prime Minister which only serves to show the nature of the atrocious regime of Iran.

The Association of American Publishers, particularly its International Freedom to Publish Committee with whom I met to discuss the problems of Iranian writers, showed tremendous interest in the matter. They worded their own letter in support of the Writers' Association of Iran and managed to get it mentioned in an article by Herbert Mitgang in the *New York Times*.

Intercontinental Press, a New York weekly magazine, published the entire text of the first Open Letter of the Forty writers in its July 18 issue.

Support came also from several prominent members of the U.S. House of Representatives who sent their own letter in support of the Open Letter of the Forty to

both the Prime Minister of Iran and the Iranian ambassador to the U.S.

Also, forty American and Iranian authors signed the letter which I had drafted as part of our effort to mobilize world public opinion to support the Iranian writers. The letter was sent to the Prime Minister of Iran on August 2. Among those who signed the letter were three prominent Iranian writers who were signing such a letter for the first time during their stay abroad.

Of these, Mr. Taghi Modarresi, is a novelist who wrote an award-winning novel about two decades ago; Mr. Bahman Sholevar is both a prominent novelist and poet who writes both in English and Persian; and Mr. Ahmad Shamlu is an outstanding author of more than a dozen books of poetry and two dozen books of translation. Mr. Shamlu also drafted an appeal of his own in support of the Writers' Association.

In addition to these efforts several Iranian opposition newspapers published the text of the Open Letter. The original text and the translation of the Open Letter was widely distributed by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. CAIFI also sent a telegram to the Prime

Minister of Iran on August 17 in support of the Writers' Association, which was signed by thirty-six prominent persons from various countries.

Meanwhile, all these efforts were reported to the Writers' Association of Iran, so that its members would know that the entire intellectual community of the world had a keen interest in their cause and fully supported them.

The next initiative of the Writers' Association of Iran came with the writing of their Second Open Letter on July 19, this time signed by ninety-eight writers of the country. This showed that the voices of the first forty had been heard by others and in a matter of five weeks the adherents of the Writers' Association of Iran had more than

doubled. At present all the prominent novelists, poets, critics, playwrights, essayists, and many outstanding historians and social scientists are members of the association.

To have achieved this in a matter of several weeks in one of the most repressive countries of the world resembles a miracle or a dream. But this miracle or dream is of a different caliber. Firstly, the men and women who have signed both letters are courageous, fearless and extremely intelligent, and they are ready to die for the cause of human rights, liberties and human dignity. Secondly, we have been able, through the assistance of American intellectuals, writers and civil libertarians, to mobilize world public opinion and rally to the support of these courageous men and

women. The essence of this miracle or dream lies in nothing but these two important factors.

Other letters are certain to follow from Iran, but it is quite evident that the demands of the Writers' Association, raised in their first and second letters, will act as a cornerstone for the movement to put an end to government censorship in Iran.

My early appeal in support of the demands of the Writers' Association is included in this package [see box]. If you have not signed that appeal already, please sign this one and send it to me immediately. I will keep you informed of the new developments in the matter of the Writers' Association of Iran. We should continue publicizing the cause of these Iranian writers until all their demands have been met by the government. □

Second Open Letter to the Prime Minister of Iran

[The following is the text of a second letter sent to the Iranian prime minister, demanding official recognition of the Iranian Writers' Association. It was issued in Tehran July 19 and is signed by ninety-eight prominent Iranian intellectuals. The translation is by Reza Baraheni.]

* * *

Your Excellency:

On June 13, an Open Letter was sent to you signed by forty writers, poets, and other authors in which the various restrictions created by your government against intellectual and cultural activities in our country were outlined. You were requested to take actions in the direction of the realization of the principles of freedom stipulated in the Fundamental Laws, the Supplementary Fundamental Laws, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by removing those restrictions and recognizing officially the Writers' Association of Iran.

That letter was left without a reply. Furthermore, neither the press nor the radio and television networks of the country, which had received copies of that letter, made any reference to its existence and its content. This indicates by itself the nature of the closed atmosphere in which the country's news media operate and the existence of reservations and prohibitions which one is confronted with.

However, the remarks you made on July 4 in a gathering of correspondents, writers, and employees of news media at the Iranian Public Radio and Television Club give us necessarily the opportunity of bringing the problem to your attention once again.

Considering Your Excellency's prominent official position, and the range and impact the words of such a prominent personality could have, one cannot help being happy with some of Your Excellency's new positions on the question of

freedom of expression, provided these positions be actually put into effect.

You say: "We all want to live in a country where there is freedom of speech." This by itself is an accurate remark. Yet this very simple and natural demand, this very acknowledged right recognized by the Fundamental Laws, the Supplementary Fundamental Laws, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, has in actuality been disregarded during the premiership of the person who has said these words; the writers of the country not only faced a suspicious and caviling censorship, but were also subject to imprisonment and harassment, with some of them still incarcerated.

You say: "The government does not have the duty of leading the writers of the country in one particular direction." Yes, the government not only cannot have such a duty, but if it claims to have such a duty as a result of its stubbornness or inspired by its pertinacity, which are contrary to all human rights, it will reap no fruit other than being itself disgraced and discredited. So this conclusion of yours is quite accurate when you say: "It is the rationality and the judgment of the people which should determine what is right and what is not right."

Thinking should be free, otherwise it will be nothing but the fading ray of someone else's thinking. Ideas had better be free and compete with each other, so that the ones that are worthier and livelier will be accepted and be put into practice on the basis of the people's experience and judgment. It goes without saying that this will be realized only when people can become aware of various writings and thoughts freely and without fear of persecution and harassment.

We are happy to see that the Prime Minister of Iran is finally speaking of this correct approach. But a consistent pattern of experience warns us that we should be

careful since the words and the deeds of the authorities many not travel the same road, and that all these words on the part of the government may be nothing but an effort for evasion, and an effort to buy time out of the present political strait.

You say: "Everyone is free to express opinions which are not contrary to the Iranian nation's life." But it is not clear whether what you say is an expression of reality—i.e., whether you believe that everyone in Iran now actually enjoys such a freedom; or whether what you have said is an expression of good will—i.e., you believe that everybody should have this freedom.

What is quite clear is that the first assumption has proven to be completely untrue. Therefore, the signatories of this letter are honestly interested to know what you, as the Prime Minister of the country, have done in actuality in the direction of realizing the public good and safeguarding of freedom of expression.

Your mentioning of the fact that opinions should not be contrary to the Iranian nation's life poses a question: What is the measure for contrariness to the Iranian nation's life? And who can be the judge on this? What can be said for certain is that on this issue, the Executive Branch cannot in principle be the genuine judge.

All the calamities the intellectuals and artists of the country have been subjected to all this time—particularly during the period you have been heading the government—have been because of one great factor: the Executive authorities think of themselves as the sole and absolute judge of everything. The intellectuals of the country are subjected to all kinds of slanders and are actually censored before they even succeed in publishing their opinions. The outcome is the present intellectual poverty and bankruptcy.

Mr. Prime Minister! Let us not think of

the past for a minute. If the present policy of Your Excellency's government finds it expedient to turn in the direction of respecting the freedom of expression and thought, we can only expect you to be determined in this change of direction.

You ask in the aforementioned speech: "Does the governmental authority of one or several persons permit them to obstruct artistic creation?" This means that in the matter of censorship and other restraints created against the writers of the country, it is the fault of certain governmental authorities who have violated the law. But who doesn't know that the authorities of censorship have only implemented the orders of the government and your policy?

This question too is yours: "What is the expertise of this group to call someone's thought right or wrong?" On this issue, as you have mentioned yourself, the judgment is with the people. So, the people of the country should be given the opportunity to judge, because their judgment is the measure of the accuracy or inaccuracy of all ideas.

Now, if the executive authorities do not subscribe to the rules of the law and do not protect the individual rights of the people—simply because they can obstruct the publication of people's opinions and send those who have expressed their opinion to prison—and, when these authorities know no limit in enforcing their power, they are not violating only social and individual rights or trampling upon the freedom of thought.

Something much more important is at stake: the Executive Branch is in direct violation of the power of the Judiciary Branch. And this is contrary to the principle of the independence of the three branches of the state, the principle upon which our Constitution is founded. And you know very well that when political power grows beyond the balanced limit, it will always, like irresponsible power, undermine the health of the life of the society.

Within the framework of liberties which all Iranians should enjoy without any prejudice upon them, and without limitations and exclusions, freedom for artistic and intellectual creativity, the freedom of expression and thoughts, are of primary importance for writers. A writer should think in freedom, should express in freedom, and blossom fully in a direct and unhampered relationship with the people whom he is addressing so that the culture and the art of the society will be enriched.

In this connection all limitations which have been in existence until now, under whatever pretext and implemented by any authority, should be removed and all controls in the matter of the printing and publishing of press should be ended, the censorship apparatus, in any nature and form, should be shut down, and all those who have been imprisoned for expressing their ideas and for their cultural and

Appeal for Support to Iranian Writers

[The following letter to Iranian Prime Minister Jamshid Amouzegar, urging him to meet the demands for an end to censorship, is being circulated by Reza Baraheni. Those who wish to add their names to it may write to Baraheni, c/o Abjad Publications, 150 West 225 Street, New York, New York 10463.]

* * *

His Excellency
The Prime Minister of Iran
Tehran, Iran

It has come to my attention that the Iranian writers are striving to revive the Writers' Association of Iran, which was forced to go out of operation early in this decade under conditions of extreme censorship. In their Open Letter of June 13, signed by forty prominent

writers, they raise the following demands:

1. The Writers' Association of Iran be activated as a gathering place for the dialogue of Iranian intellectuals.

2. All existing obstacles to the creation of centers or clubs for the gathering of members of the Association be removed.

3. Legal facilities be provided for the publication and unhampered distribution of an organ by the Association.

I admire the courage and forthrightness of the writers of the Open Letter to Your Excellency, and I hope that by meeting their legitimate demands you will take some of the basic measures required for the restoration of freedom of the press, the freedom of speech and the freedom of the publication of books without any government censorship and official restrictions.

intellectual activities should be released.

Mr. Prime Minister! In addition to the aforementioned problems which are of general nature, and in which we and other writers have common interest, and from the realization of which we will all benefit equally, we hereby explain our specific problems, and we expect you to take action in relation to the following:

1. The application for the official registration of the Writers' Association of Iran, whose charter was enclosed in our previous letter, be processed, so that the Association, as its legal rights dictate, will freely and officially begin its activities.

2. All existing obstacles to the creation of centers or clubs for the gathering of the members of the Association in Tehran and other cities be removed.

3. Legal facilities be provided for the publication and unhampered distribution of an organ by the Association.

The signatories of this letter hope that as a small token of your honesty in your speech at the Iranian Radio and Television Club, the text of this letter, a copy of which has been sent to the press and the radio and television networks, will be permitted publication without the slightest alteration.

The Writers' Association of Iran, Tehran.

Mohammad-Hossein Abbaspour-e Tamijani; Ahmad Abdullahpour; Fereydoun Adamiyyat; Ali-Akbar Akbari; Mehdi Akhavan-e Sales; Shams Al-Ahmad; Ali Amini; Seyyed-Abdullah Anvar; Darioush Ashouri; Hooshang Assadi; Parviz Babaie; Mehdi Bahar; Mohammad-Reza Bateni; Bahram Beyzaie; Mohammad Borna-Moqaddam; Mohammad-Taqi Boroomand; Mohammad-Taqi Dameghani; Majid

Danesh-Arasteh; Simin Daneshvar; Najaf Daryabandari; Abdulali Dastegheyb; Bahram Davari; Nader Ebrahimi; Asghar Elahi; Mahmood Enayat; Mehdi Esfandiyyar-e Fard; Mahmood E'temadzadeh (Behazin); Ebrahim Fakhraie; Kamran Fani; Hooshang Golshiri;

Soroosh Habibi; Ali-Asghar Hadj-Seyyed-Javadi; Khosrow Hakim-Rabet; Manuchehr Hezarkhani; Mohammad Hoqooqi; Hossein Jahanshah; Roya Kahrobai; Mohammad Kalbasi; Heshmatullah Kamrani; Siyavash Kasraie; Ali Katebi; Islam Kazemiyeh; Hooshang Keshavarz Sadr; Azim Khalili; Mohammad Khalili;

Ahmad Khalilullah-e Moqaddam; Ali-Asghar Khobrehzadeh; Abulfazl Khodabakhsh; Esmail Khoie; Baha'uddin Khorramshahi; Ja'far Kooshabadi; Qasem Larbon; Mohammad-Ali Mahmid; Hossein Malek; Shahrokh Meskoob; Mas'ood Minavi; Mohsen Minookherad; Jamal Mirsadeqi; Ne'mat Mirzazadeh (Azarm); Nasser Mo'zzen; Assadullah Mobasheri;

Javad Mojabi; Baqer Mo'meni; Kiyomars Monshizadeh; Rahmatullah Moqaddam-Maragheh; Siros Moshfeqi; Mahmoud Moshf-e Azad-e Tehrani (Azad); Homa Nateq; Jamshid Navaie; Nasser Nazifpour (Irani); Esmail Noori-Ala (Payam); Nasser Pakdaman; Baqer Parham; Abdulali Partov-Alavi; Hassan Pasta; Mohammad Peyfoun; Abolfazl Qasemi; Mohammad Qazi;

Akbar Radi; Mostafa Rahimi; Shikh-Mostafa Rahnama; Ahmad Rezvani; Mohammad Hossein Rohani; Kazem Sadat-Ashkouri; Hassan Sadr; Gholamhossein Sa'edi; Manuchehr Safa; Tahereh Saffarzadeh; Jalal Sarfaraz; Mohammad-Ali Sepanlou; Sa'eed Soltanpour; Bahram Tabibi; Javad Taleie; Nasser Taqvaie; Fereydoun Tonokaboni; Mansour Yaquti; Nasser Zarafshan; Mohammad Zohari.

OUT NOW!

Chapter 25

The March Against Death and the November 15, 1969, Demonstrations

By Fred Halstead

[Third of three parts]

The March Against Death marshals made up the core of the teams for the mass march November 15. In addition, we had planned to organize some three thousand more marshals for that event. The process started weeks ahead of time, with training sessions in cities as far away as Chicago. Various Quaker organizations, including A Quaker Action Group, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Friends Peace Committee played a key role in this preparation. They developed, and provided instructors in, effective techniques of preventing violence without using it. This was in line with the tactical agreement of the coalition on this demonstration.

The key to the success of the operation was to have this policy—of a peaceful demonstration—clearly understood, not only by the marshals, but by the mass of the demonstrators, the rest of the public, and the government as well. For that reason the point was

With this chapter we continue the serialization of **Out Now!—A Participant's Account of the American Antiwar Movement** by Fred Halstead. Copyright ©1977 by the Anchor Foundation, Inc. All rights reserved. Printed by permission. To be published by Monad Press.

stated over and over again in the New Mobe literature that advertised the demonstration, and in the technical instruction for groups sending people to Washington. Nor was this policy imposed from the top. It was discussed and argued out, again and again in organizing meetings. Even within marshal training sessions, questioning of this policy was invited so the reasons for it could be reiterated and volunteers sincerely convinced. In the vast majority of cases they were. If not, they were discouraged from being marshals.

There were several reasons for adopting this policy. Among the most important was that it was the best way under the circumstances to put the government on the defensive. We weren't naïve about what might happen. We knew, however, that if the authorities used violence against us, we couldn't effectively reply in kind. The most effective defense against that possibility was to put the government in a position where the political repercussions would be prohibitive, and the demonstrators in a position to react without panic.

As for concerted violent attacks by hostile ultraright groups, we knew these would be tiny compared to the size of the demonstration. The tactic was to isolate the trouble, outnumber the attackers with sturdy marshals, and by means such as locking arms and surrounding them move them out.

We knew our main problem would be with relatively small groups of ultraleftists who did not agree with the policy of the demonstration, and the government's political police provocateurs, who often masqueraded as ultralefts. Here again, the number would be very small compared to the demonstration as a

whole. The technique was to isolate the trouble with marshals, some of whom just talked it down, face to face, reducing it to the hard core, and others of whom restrained the hard core with a mass of sturdy bodies. These marshals were trained not to strike anyone. The object was to stop fights, not get involved in them.

We made it a rule never to adopt a hostile attitude and never to accuse anyone causing trouble of being an agent-provocateur. That would only make them fighting mad, and justly so if they weren't, which was usually the case. It would also contribute to an atmosphere of paranoia. We just treated them as people who didn't agree with the policy and who might be convinced to restrain themselves. They usually were, at least for the occasion. If not, they were isolated.

Above all, the success of the marshals depended on the fact that they were demonstrators themselves, in tune with the mood of the vast majority of the crowd.

The marshal center was opened Wednesday afternoon, November 12, and ran continuous training sessions—organized by Candy Putter, Bob Levering, and others from A Quaker Action Group in Philadelphia—through Friday night. Brad conceived the idea of recruiting additional marshals from people who had completed the March Against Death, and this worked well. Almost too well, in fact, for by Friday night the center was so crowded training broke down for a time. Putter estimated that 4,000 people went through the center. Many of these were also housed there and in another church, so we always had plenty of volunteers on hand.

There were also a number of specialized groups involved, including the Hog Farm community from New Mexico who were experts at gently cooling problems in the countercultural milieu at rock concerts, and a large squad of trade unionists to protect the speakers and prominent guests. This latter group was not Quaker trained, but they weren't armed either.

The Hog Farmers also staffed the kitchen at the marshal center and kept everyone filled with hot soup.

Set up separately from the marshals' operation were several hundred legal marshals—lawyers and law students—organized by Hirschkop and Sheila O'Donnel; and hundreds of medics—nurses, doctors, and medical students—organized by the Washington Chapter of the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

The Ebenezer Methodist Church took a beating from all the activity and some of the plumbing broke down from overuse. It was indicative of the attitude of the pastor, Reverend Harris, and the church board—who were Black, incidentally—that when I later offered to raise money to pay for repairs, they refused. "We all have to do whatever we can to end this war," was Rev. Harris's comment.

* * *

At six in the morning, November 15, Bill Handley, probably the best big-crowd sound man in the business, was getting his huge amplifiers adjusted at the rally site. John Gage and a crew of volunteers was working on the stage, the press tent, and a set of bleachers for the speakers, entertainers, and their guests. Brad Lytle was checking out the assembly area on the Mall west of the Capitol where the march would begin. He remembers it thus:

"The sky was overcast, the temperature about freezing. A chill, hard, unrelenting wind drove over the Mall from the northwest. Except for a couple mummified in sleeping bags at the foot of a tree, no demonstrators were in sight. 'This day,' I said to myself, 'will be a bomb.' By about 8:30, people began to arrive in small groups. The wind abated. The sun broke out from behind purple clouds. By 9:30, people were flowing in from all sides, and I thought about 20,000 were there. By noon Pennsylvania Avenue was filled and the Monument area was two thirds full. Waves of marchers, many carrying banners that billowed and waved, were surging up from buses parked near the Potomac. 'A quarter of a million,' I thought. From then on, people poured in from every point of the compass. The entire grassy Mall and Monument area seemed overrun. All these people came in about six hours."²⁶

The Moratorium had arranged for Senator Eugene McCarthy to make a brief speech at the assembly area. That done, the march stepped off in good order, in spite of the usual initial confusion, and the first part made it to the speakers' stand at the southwest corner of the Washington Monument grounds without incident. As the day proceeded, however, more than once a contingent of ultralefts tried to lead it toward the White House instead of south at Fifteenth Street. This maneuver had been anticipated, and there were more than three hundred marshals packed several deep at that point.

Ordinarily, we would handle some group that insisted on taking the wrong route by letting them go their way and make sure the rest of the march wasn't misled into following them. In this case, however, the marshals were instructed to be a wall, not a sieve. When I gave the marshals their instructions I told them it was their humanitarian duty. We knew very well the authorities had also anticipated this problem and had special forces lying in wait, no doubt to trap those going toward the White House. They'd have gotten the hell beaten out of them, or worse. So these marshals held their ground, though it was a little like being on a gigantic football team making a last-ditch goal-line stand.

Aside from that, the march itself was quite orderly, and the police kept a low profile (except later at the Justice Department) while the troops were kept inside the buildings, not to be seen. The White House area itself was surrounded by a wall of steel, made of huge buses parked bumper to bumper, but these were never stormed.

The turnout was too large for everyone to make the march along Pennsylvania Avenue, and thousands got tired of waiting and just poured across the Mall toward the monument area. For a while, then, there were two streams moving toward the rally area. At the height, around 1:00 p.m., from the crest of the hill at the base of the monument itself, one could see the slopes of the hill filled and the rally area packed until it looked as though there was no room for more, yet there were still tens of thousands crowded into the assembly area near the Capitol while Pennsylvania Avenue was filled with marchers.

The mood was different than it had been on October 15; more serious, less like a holiday, but not a generally angry tone either. These people resented the administration's attitude—exemplified by Vice President Agnew, who had been making speeches calling antiwar critics "effete snobs" and "rotten apples"—but they had not come in a violent mood. Indeed, if they had, as the *Washington Post* later noted (in a November 18 editorial), their numbers were such that the police could not have stopped them.

They had come to petition for a redress of grievances, and most of them still expected, or at least hoped, the government would respond and get out of Vietnam. The dominant mood was summed up by a popular song, "Give Peace a Chance," which arose spontaneously from the march as it first moved along Pennsylvania Avenue and was later started at the rally by Pete Seeger. The whole crowd sang while Mitch Miller—whose TV show had made him the most popular sing-along artist in the country—appeared on stage to join in leading the colossal chorus.

Chaired by the venerable Dr. Spock and Rev. William Sloan Coffin, Jr., the rally, in spite of a windy speech or two, was impressive and at times a deeply emotional experience for those who were there. The artistic side was arranged by Peter Yarrow, who put on an array of star attractions that would have had any TV network jumping at the chance to carry it in full—under normal circumstances. But the White House campaign had its effect not only in the House of Representatives. The heads of the American networks were afraid to show the rally program and they carried only brief excerpts on regular news programs.

There were rumors that ultralefts were planning to disrupt the rally. Senator McGovern was concerned enough about this to send a member of his staff to monitor New Mobe's preparations before accepting the invitation to appear. In fact, some groups did plan to rush the stage, choosing the moment when McGovern got up to speak as the signal for the attack. In their view it was a bad thing to have senators (Charles Goodell also spoke) at an antiwar rally. I myself didn't agree with the senators' support to the capitalist system, but their right to speak against the war when invited, and the coalition's right to invite whomever it decided on without a physical disruption, was worth protecting. And that was part of my job. (It is interesting to note that not a few of the self-proclaimed "revolutionaries" who were bent on disrupting November 15, and who denounced me for organizing marshals to stop them, were two years later supporting McGovern for the presidency on the Democratic ticket and denouncing me for insisting on voting socialist.)

The attacking forces, which numbered a few hundred at the most, were not hard to spot as they came weaving their way through the huge crowd—which was then seated on the grass—carrying colorful flags on long poles and dressed in helmets and padding. The marshals at the perimeter of the stage area expected this move and were reinforced where the attackers concentrated. I wasn't worried, but John Hartwell, whom the Moratorium had assigned to accompany me with a walkie-talkie, insisted I check out the situation just before McGovern spoke. I had been explaining to Hartwell all day that a marshaling operation in a crowd of this size couldn't be directed by anyone; the necessary elements had to be built in beforehand and the marshal captains had to think for themselves. But Hartwell insisted so we went to the affected area.

In general, the marshals were holding well, but at one spot were weakening. The problem was a real, though peculiar, one. The ultralefts at that point were not physically rushing the line but trying to talk their way through to make a breach. They had given up arguing against civil liberties and had developed a special political twist. They were accusing the marshals of protecting special privilege, namely, that there was a portable toilet nearby inside the speakers' area, and none that close for the crowd assembled outside the line. They were screaming that they couldn't hold their water, and the marshals—who, after all, weren't disciplined soldiers but demonstrator-volunteers who wouldn't stay fast unless they felt justice on their side—were beginning to buckle.

Of course, once the attackers had breached the perimeter on any excuse, they would try to disrupt the speakers' area. The attackers would then still have to face the trade unionists, but it was better to forestall that encounter.

The leader of this thrust was wearing a helmet with a face guard over his nose that made him look a bit like a medieval knight and partially hid his face. I finally recognized him as Walter Teague of the "Committee to Aid the NLF." I knew him well. I made my way to the front of the line, put my arm around Teague in a friendly way, and in a loud voice said: "What's the matter, Walter, want to go to the bathroom? I'll take you." So I ushered Teague to the toilet while the marshals stiffened, closed behind us, and held fast.

When I brought Teague back, the danger of a breach was over. The marshals had set up a system to usher one person at a time to the toilet, and not another until the first was ushered out. Hartwell was duly impressed. Actually this was about the only

26. Lyttle, *Washington Action*, pp. 45-46.

important thing I did all day, after helping get the march started. It was the ranks, not the generals, who determined the course and character of the events.

* * *

Flanked by Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman, Dave Dellinger spoke in the latter part of the program to represent the "Conspiracy Eight" defendants. This time it was well understood beforehand that he was not to turn the mike over to Rubin or Hoffman. But Dellinger did announce the Justice Department demonstration and urge people to go there. Although the great majority ignored this appeal, the thin line of colorful flags was seen once again, weaving its way back through the crowd toward the Justice Department.

By that time it was cold, and the edges of the main crowd were melting away. There were still almost a hundred thousand people left when the East Coast cast of *Hair* took the stage to sing and dance the musical's top song, "Age of Aquarius." The whole audience, on its feet now, joined in, dancing. I felt like a killjoy having to cool this on the temporary bleachers next to the stage because the rhythm was building to the danger of collapse. But it was a climactic moment, the other side of the March Against Death. An affirmation of life while the dour, frightened man in the White House sat behind his steel wall, according to his press releases watching a football game on TV.

The New Mobe demonstration ended on that high note. As the crowd was leaving, the tear gas blew over from the Justice Department location, sending people running, but there was no panic.

* * *

Several thousand people, some of whom had gone to demonstrate at the Justice Department and some of whom were just walking away from the monument area in that direction, found themselves near the building when the trouble began. Some say a part of the crowd rushed the building and threw rocks. In any case the cops broke up the demonstration with tear gas and clubs, then swept slowly southwest, across the Mall and into the monument area, scattering and gassing the remnants of the main crowd. Some cops went as far as the New Mobe stage area, where they gassed the crew dismantling the equipment. There was hell to pay getting additional volunteers to finish the job.

The next day, at the building housing the antiwar offices, I happened to find myself alone on an elevator with Abbie Hoffman. "You know, Fred," he said, "the trouble with you is you're too straight. You ought to try some LSD." Fortunately somebody else got on the elevator before I lost my temper.

Later, in his booklet *Washington Action*, Brad Lytle devoted a section to the Justice Department demonstration. Characteristically, he was more charitable than I, but some of his conclusions are worth repeating. Wrote Brad:

"An argument made in categorical support of the Justice Department demonstration is that some outlet for people's frustration and anger must be provided by a movement. If the movement can't provide a completely peaceful outlet, then it should go along with what exists, even if that is far from ideal. This isn't a completely sound strategy.

"The argument also has paternalistic overtones. It tends to regard demonstrators as children. . . . Adults are supposed to have the introspection, self-control, sense of humor and imagination that give them freedom from such mechanistic dependencies. . . .

"It has also been argued that demonstrators are morally justified in being angry and abusive. This argument is true, but misses the point. The point is not what is justified, it is what are the best strategies and tactics for dealing with political realities? A mature movement doesn't waste time whitewashing itself. It seeks the most effective ways to reach its goals."²⁷

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

November 15 in San Francisco was also the biggest yet, and entirely peaceful. The New Mobe's official estimate was a quarter of a million in San Francisco and three quarters of a million in Washington. The newspapers generally gave lower figures, but these were still unprecedentedly large. My own view is that the New Mobe figures were closer to the fact. Some 4,000 chartered buses came to Washington, which would account for close to 200,000 alone, not to mention those who came by car, train, and airplane, and those from the Washington area itself.

While November 15 focused on the two cities, there were numerous antiwar activities elsewhere in the same period. The Student Mobilization Committee called a national student strike for November 14, and it was widespread as well, though not as solid as October 15 since it did not have the semi-official character of the Moratorium. In a matter of months, the idea of another national student strike—with or without the support of school administrations—would explode, catching many people by surprise. But such things are never completely spontaneous and always have a preparatory background. The November 14 SMC strike was part of what was to come.

In any case, Washington on November 15 saw the largest political demonstration in the history of the United States up to that time. Outwardly, President Nixon pretended to ignore it, and administration spokesmen hinted prosecution of the leaders of New Mobe, citing the sideshows at Du Pont Circle and the Justice Department as part of the excuse.

The November 18 *Washington Post* ran its lead editorial with a one-word title: "No." It began:

"The effort by this administration to characterize the weekend demonstration as (a) small, (b) violent, and (c) treacherous will not succeed because it is demonstrably untrue. If citizens had had the opportunity to witness the weekend on television, they would know it to be untrue; as it is, they will have to ask those who were there—either cops or kids, no matter."

The *Post* further observed:

"It seems clear from their statements, and from the accounts of participants at the command post in the Municipal Center over the weekend, that the Nixon administration was less interested in trying to keep the march peaceful than in trying to make it seem less large and more violent than it really was, and in trying to scare the daylight out of that putative Silent Majority at the same time."

The editorial concluded with this pertinent comment about President Nixon:

"It was a fine afternoon for watching football, he is quoted as saying on Saturday, and for sheer piquancy, we have not heard the likes of that since Marie Antoinette."

[Next Chapter: The Invasion of Cambodia and May 1970.]

'Big Mistakes' Cited by Vietnam CP

A resolution on agriculture approved by the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party in July was released August 26 by the official Vietnam News Agency.

"Vietnam's agriculture does not yet meet the people's food requirements, nor has it supplied enough fodder for stock breeding, raw materials for industry and commodities for export," the resolution said.

While blaming the war, reliance on small-scale production, "poor material," and technical backwardness, it also noted: "However, we have made big mistakes in leadership, especially in guiding and organizing and implementation of the party's line and policies on agriculture."

Hanoi's minister of agriculture was recently dismissed.

Another report by the Vietnam News Agency on August 28 said the city of Hanoi had "failed in a number of [production] targets because of adverse weather, and power and raw material shortages, lack of cooperation and planning."

Amnesty International Condemns Reign of Terror in Nicaragua

Since December 1974, the dictatorship of President Anastasio Somoza Debayle has waged an all-out war against the peasant population of northeastern Nicaragua.

This is the picture that emerges from an Amnesty International report on human-rights violations in Nicaragua, published August 15. The seventy-five-page report includes case studies of torture based on material from the Central American and Nicaraguan press, material censored from the Nicaraguan press, and written statements from prisoners, former prisoners, and members of the Roman Catholic clergy. The report also incorporates the findings of two observers sent to Nicaragua in 1976.

"The wholesale killing of *campesinos* (peasant farmers) and their 'disappearance' after detention is probably the most serious aspect of human rights violations in Nicaragua," according to the report. Between May 1975 and January 1977, 303 persons were arrested in the northeastern provinces of Matagalpa and Zelaya, and have not been heard of since.

The Nicaraguan National Guard has kidnapped and massacred entire villages. In one incident, in the village of Varilla, four men, eleven women, and twenty-nine children were shot at the end of January 1977.

Martial law was imposed following an attack by leftist guerrillas on the home of a former government official on December 28, 1974. Civil liberties were suspended, and a system of military courts was set up to try suspected "guerrillas."

Since then, the report states, "political imprisonment, denial of due process of law, use of torture and summary executions" have become commonplace.

The torture methods used reportedly include beatings, electric shock, near drowning in filthy water, rape, facial disfigurement, and removal of teeth. It is "highly probable that the majority of prisoners consigned to the custody of the military tribunals had in fact been tortured," the report states.

Under the system of police courts, individuals can be imprisoned for up to 180 days for minor political offenses. This has been used to subject union members and political activists to repeated prison terms.

The report documents the following case studies of torture:

• **René Nuñez Tellez.** Nuñez, a twenty-nine-year-old engineering student, was arrested by the National Guard on December 28, 1974. He then disappeared for 123 days. During this time, authorities officially denied that he had been detained. Nuñez's mother wrote letters to the

authorities, citing eyewitnesses who had seen her son taken from a taxi. She also cited sources in the San Vicente Hospital who had seen her son taken there "in a deplorable physical state, with a deep wound in his head, his shoulders and ribs terribly maltreated, his ribs fractured, his right arm deformed, his cheekbones and his hands and feet wounded." Despite her repeated attempts to obtain information about Nuñez, the authorities refused to acknowledge that he was being held. Finally, on May 7, 1975, Nuñez was acknowledged to be a prisoner in the Model Prison of Tipitapa, and was indicted along with thirty-six other persons for "joint responsibility in crimes committed by the FSLN [Sandinista National Liberation Front]."

• **Luis Armando Guzmán Luna.** Guzmán, "a student, 'disappeared' after detention by the National Guard on 30 July 1975. Amnesty International appealed for his safety to the Nicaraguan authorities on 12 September. They denied that he was in custody. However, on 28 October, Señor Guzmán was brought before the Permanent Military Court of Investigation as a 'witness' and his detention was confirmed. . . .

"Numerous sources partially confirmed that Señor Guzmán had been ill-treated and tortured. He was one of the 44 prisoners mentioned in the document prepared for the mission by prisoners in the Model Prison of Tipitapa (Appendix 6); the account of his treatment described in the document was verified to the delegates by his lawyer, Dr Mario Mejia Alvarez:

Nine consecutive days torture: punches, kicks, beating with gun butts, beating with sticks on shins and elbows, neck and head, electric shocks, nine days standing up, and eight days without food and drinking water, kicks in the testicles, 95 days incommunicado and hooded. . . .

• **Liana Benavides Grütter.** Benavides, a twenty-three-year-old Costa Rican citizen, was arrested by National Guardsmen October 8, 1975. On November 18, 1975, she was indicted by a military court on charges of "joint responsibility" for guerrilla activities. The charges were supposedly based on her own testimony. However, in an interview published in the March 4, 1976, issue of the Costa Rican daily *La Nación*, Benavides explained the circumstances under which the testimony was obtained:

"At that time," she said, "I was tortured in the departmental headquarters of Chinandega, where I was taken, and from there transferred to Managua." In the latter place she remained in the Office of

National Security, "incommunicado for nearly two months."

The tortures of which the young woman was the object . . . were "the electric cattle prod and hooding" (*chuzo eléctrico* and *la capucha*).

The torture of hooding consists of covering a person with a black cloth for some weeks, until all concept of time is lost. In these conditions, Liana was taken to testify before the military tribunal.

"I was taken to testify before the military court that investigates the actions of the Sandinist Front. At the time I rendered my testimony, I felt intimidated by being incommunicado . . . and many of the things I said were the product of extreme nervousness . . . I did not have time to consider what I was saying."

The Nicaraguan government responded to the publication of the Amnesty International report with a flat denial of the allegations. Gen. Roger Bermúdez, a spokesman for the Somoza regime, accused Amnesty International of bias and said its report "came almost exclusively from interviews and sources that militantly and actively oppose the Government," according to an August 16 Associated Press dispatch.

However, the revelations of torture and mass killings are equally embarrassing to Somoza's backers in Washington, who have armed his repressive regime to the teeth.

The Paris daily *Le Monde* reported in its August 21-22 issue:

The American government is particularly concerned, inasmuch as Washington has a special responsibility for Nicaragua's political evolution. It was, in fact, the United States Army that set up the [Nicaraguan] National Guard in 1927, and these praetorians are even more closely tied to the American military than in other Latin American countries. Two-thirds of the 7,000 National Guardsmen have attended American military academies.

To halt the campaign of terror by these Pentagon-trained butchers, Amnesty International has demanded that the Nicaraguan government permit an international investigation of the reports of torture, end the use of the police courts, and restore suspended constitutional guarantees. □

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

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Attacks Spur Tamil Demands for Independent State

Scores of Tamils Killed in Sri Lanka

Since mid-August, the oppressed Tamil population of Sri Lanka has suffered vicious attacks by police and mobs of Sinhalese, who constitute the country's dominant nationality. By the end of the month, an estimated 100 persons were killed, most of them Tamils, and 10,000 or more Tamils were forced to flee their homes in fear of their lives.

The chauvinist assaults began in Jaffna, the major city in the north, where Tamils predominate. According to a report in the August 27 *London Economist*, some police tried to enter a fair without paying. When they were barred, they attacked the participants, leading to clashes between police and Tamil crowds. Four persons were killed in that incident.

In the days that followed, the attacks on Tamils spread southward, to the central highland region where hundreds of thousands of Tamils work on the tea plantations, and to Colombo, the capital and largest city in Sri Lanka. Hundreds of homes and shops were broken into, looted, and burned, and some of their Tamil owners were beaten to death. Bands of Sinhalese attacked Tamil neighborhoods, throwing stones and firebombs. In some areas, the attacks became virtual pogroms.

A Tamil in Colombo told *New York Times* correspondent William Borders, as quoted in the August 30 issue, "Since they cannot usually tell Tamils just by sight, the [Sinhalese] thugs would stand at the front of a bus they had stopped and ask everyone to pronounce some common Sinhalese word like 'shoe' or 'flower.' We'd know the word, of course, but the accent with which we spoke it would give us away." The Tamils were then dragged off the buses and beaten.

The new regime of J.R. Jayewardene, which came to power just a few weeks earlier in the July 21 general elections, imposed a curfew throughout the island and applied unofficial censorship to the domestic and foreign press. The army was called out to aid the police forces, and military officers were placed in charge of districts affected by the unrest. About 1,500 persons were arrested. The regime evacuated some 5,000 Tamils to the northern coast and another 5,000 are estimated to have fled there on their own.

Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP) blamed opposition parties for fomenting the attacks. A communiqué released after an emergency cabinet meeting August 23 declared, "Though these criminal acts appeared on the surface to be a communal conflict, it is believed that there is a political conspiracy behind it."

The implied culprit was Sirimavo Ban-

daranaiké's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), which ruled Sri Lanka for seven years before its rout in the recent elections. Several SLFP candidates, and even former members of Bandaranaike's cabinet, have been arrested in connection with the assaults.

The UNP has also supported discrimination against Tamils, but the SLFP in particular has traditionally sought to win support from the Sinhalese peasantry by whipping up anti-Tamil sentiments. The constitution adopted in 1972 under Bandaranaike imposed Sinhalese as the sole official language.

Jayewardene has hypocritically sought to gain the support of the Tamils by claiming, "My Government is dedicated to the elimination of all forms of discrimination." He called for a conference of all major parties in Sri Lanka to discuss Tamil grievances. But the UNP's record during previous terms in office is little better than that of the SLFP.

Jayewardene's main concern is the impact the Sinhalese attacks may have on the growing sentiment for a separate, independent Tamil state. This was reflected in his warning to the separatist Tamil

United Liberation Front (TULF), the main Tamil nationalist group, to "be careful of your words—such words can inflame people." The regime urged Tamils not to panic over the murderous Sinhalese assaults.

The desire for an independent state among Tamils, who make up about 20 percent of Sri Lanka's population, has been on the rise in recent years. Seeing no alleviation of the discrimination against them in terms of their language, culture, political rights, and job opportunities, more and more Tamils have come to believe that the establishment of their own state is the only way to end the centuries of national oppression by the dominant Sinhalese.

This sentiment was marked in the July elections, when candidates of the TULF won seventeen of the twenty-four seats that they contested. The allied Ceylon Workers Congress, which is based on the Tamil plantation workers, won an additional seat. Because of the SLFP's near-total rout, the TULF is now the largest opposition party in Parliament, and its general secretary, A. Amirthalingam, has become the official leader of the parliamentary opposition.

Since the elections, the TULF has continued to call for the establishment of an "independent, secular, socialist state of *Thamil Eelam*."

As a result of the Sinhalese attacks, the *Economist* reported, "Tamil leaders are reciprocating by stepping up their separatist demands." □

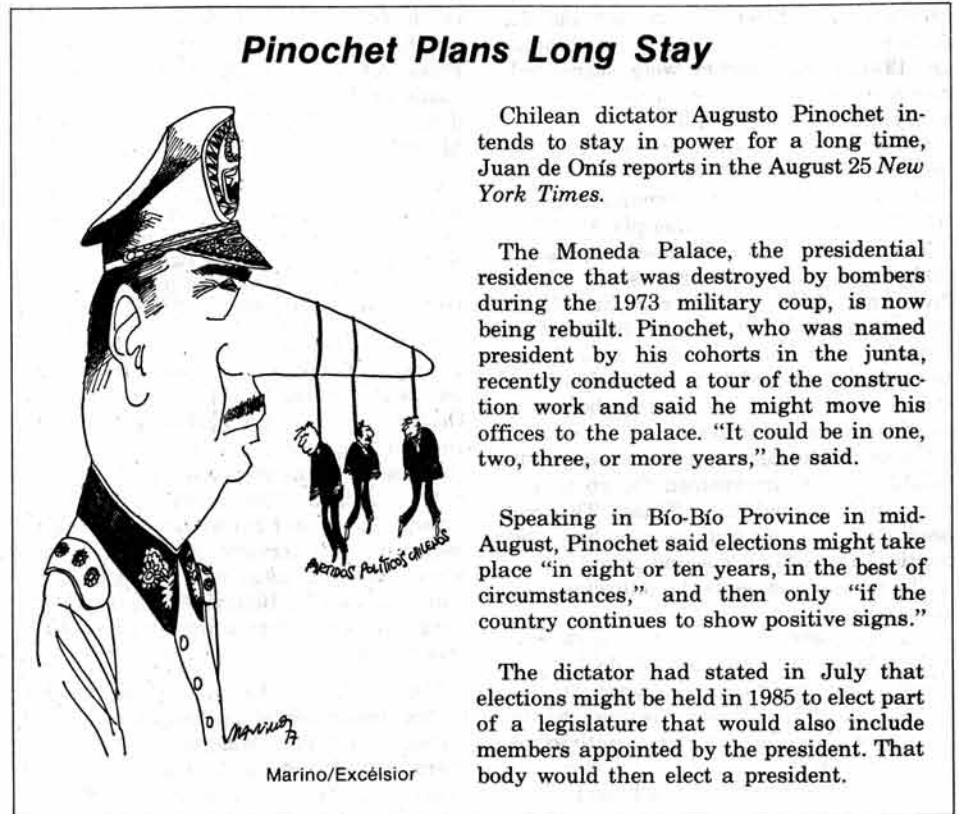
Pinochet Plans Long Stay

Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet intends to stay in power for a long time, Juan de Onís reports in the August 25 *New York Times*.

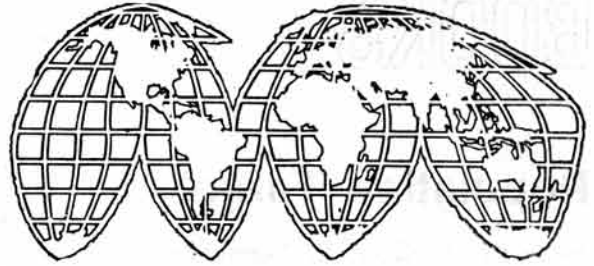
The Moneda Palace, the presidential residence that was destroyed by bombers during the 1973 military coup, is now being rebuilt. Pinochet, who was named president by his cohorts in the junta, recently conducted a tour of the construction work and said he might move his offices to the palace. "It could be in one, two, three, or more years," he said.

Speaking in Bío-Bío Province in mid-August, Pinochet said elections might take place "in eight or ten years, in the best of circumstances," and then only "if the country continues to show positive signs."

The dictator had stated in July that elections might be held in 1985 to elect part of a legislature that would also include members appointed by the president. That body would then elect a president.



AROUND THE WORLD



Tens of Thousands March in Basque Protests

A rally of 75,000 was held August 28 outside Pamplona to climax a six-week "Basque Freedom March" through many towns in Euskadi by 3,500 persons.

Thousands more attempted to reach the rally site four miles outside Pamplona, but were held back by delays at police checkpoints and by traffic jams. The rally was one of the largest Basque political protests granted legal permission by the government since the Spanish Civil War.

Speakers at the rally demanded amnesty for those still being held on political charges, autonomy for the Basque country, and freedom for Miguel Angel Apalategui. Apalategui is a member of the ETA (Basque Nation and Freedom) being held in France. Efforts are being made by Madrid to extradite him to Spain.

Other actions to protest the possible extradition of Apalategui were held in San Sebastián August 19-21. On August 19, cops attacked a march of 20,000 persons in that city, seriously wounding a nineteen-year-old demonstrator in the head with a rubber bullet fired at close range.

On August 22 protesters in San Sebastián attempted to march on the French consulate, but were assaulted by police using clubs, smoke grenades, and rubber bullets. Fifteen demonstrators and nine cops were injured.

5,000 Apply for 75 Jobs

When rumors circulated that a General Motors plant in Muncie, Indiana, would be hiring from 600 to 1,500 workers, persons from as far away as Chicago and Tennessee converged on the factory. On August 18, the day applications were to be accepted, an estimated 5,000 job-seekers gathered outside.

Only seventy-five jobs were actually available, however. General Motors officials called thirty cops to the plant after "a melee" broke out, according to United Press International. Two persons were injured and six were arrested.

White House Demands Puerto Rican Nationalists Ask Forgiveness

The U.S. Justice Department says that before any pardon will be considered for the five Puerto Rican nationalists held in U.S. prisons since 1954, they must personally request such action.

Rafael Cancel Miranda, Lolita Lebrón, Irving Flores, and Andrés Figueroa Cordero were sentenced to 25-to-81-year prison

terms for their role in an armed attack on the U.S. House of Representatives in 1954. Oscar Collazo received the same sentence for an attack on Blair House in 1950 when it was the temporary residence of President Harry Truman.

In a letter to friends, Figueroa Cordero explained why the five will not ask for a pardon: "The five Puerto Ricans will not ask forgiveness of anyone, because there is nothing to be forgiven. We did not shoot up the House of the Angels but the den of the accomplices of those who commit crimes against our people. We do not regret that, and we will never regret it."

Demands for the release of the five nationalists have recently been raised by four former governors of Puerto Rico, by both houses of the Puerto Rican legislature, and by church and civic groups on the island.

Suicide Protests Canal Treaties

Leopoldo Aragón, a Panamanian expelled by the Torrijos regime in 1973 after fifteen months as a political prisoner, set himself on fire September 1 outside the United States Embassy in Stockholm. He died of his burns the next day.

Before his death, Aragón had written letters to a number of major newspapers expressing his opposition to the Panama Canal treaties recently negotiated by Torrijos and the Carter administration.

In a letter to the *Washington Post* in July, he wrote: "The only chance the United States has of obtaining a legal and binding canal treaty is for such a draft to win the majority of the votes in a free and authentic plebiscite, held in Panama under absolute conditions of freedom and the full enjoyment of human and political rights."

Dissident Poet Emigrates

Sarah Kirsch, one of the most popular poets in East Germany, arrived in West Berlin August 28. She had applied for permission to emigrate after suffering persecution for her support of dissident communist singer Wolf Biermann.

Kirsch had been expelled from the East German Communist Party after she and eleven others signed a petition supporting Biermann, who was exiled by the Ulbricht regime in 1976.

On August 27, five more persons were expelled from the country by the East German Stalinists. According to the Association of German Writers, they included

an author, a physician, a professor, and two well-known rock musicians.

Executions Reported in China

Twelve alleged supporters of the "gang of four" were executed in the Honan Province city of Anyang early in August, according to reports by travellers cited in the August 19 *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

The twelve were said to have included the chairman and deputy of the Anyang County Revolutionary Committee. They were reported to have been shot following a "carnival-like" procession through the city on August 2.

"The travellers report that the loud-speaker vehicle leading the procession denounced the condemned . . . and called them 'unrepentant supporters of the gang of four' who had 'struggled by force' rather than the preferred method of 'struggling by persuasion.' It said they had been guilty of 'armed attack.'"

French CP Pleases Arms Merchant

Retired air force Brigadier-General Pierre-Marie Gallois, now a top executive for Avions Marcel Dassault, the main French arms manufacturer, likes the French Communist Party.

According to Agence France-Presse, Gallois told the Lille CP daily *Liberté* July 10 that "President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing was adopting perilous military policies.

"Ex-Brig. Gen. Gallois said he was very pleased by the French Communist party's stand in favor of an independent French nuclear strike force.

"The reason, he told *Liberté*, was that this policy establishes a strict correlation between the idea of national independence which the Communist party puts forward and the instruments [needed to preserve] this national independence" (*Mainichi Daily News*, July 11).

Japan A-Bomb Victims Commemorated

Eighteen thousand persons gathered in the Nagasaki, Japan, Peace Park on August 9 to commemorate the victims of the atomic bombing of that city by U.S. forces thirty-two years ago. The crowd joined in a minute of silent prayer for the 70,000 persons who died in the blast.

A similar observance was held in Hiroshima, site of the first atomic bombing, on August 6.

Population Target

Reviewed by Steve Wattenmaker



The May 11 issue of the London *Evening Standard* published an interview with Dr. R.T. Ravenholt, Director of the U.S. Office of Population, an agency of the State Department. Speaking with a candor rare among government bureaucrats, Ravenholt revealed that the State Department had embarked on a program to sterilize 100 million women in the "developing" countries.

The aim of the nine-year effort is to render a quarter of all women in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America incapable of having children.

Ravenholt explained that around the State Department the massive sterilization effort is known as "advanced fertility management."

Population control, he claimed, is needed to maintain "the normal operation of U.S. commercial interests around the world. Without our trying to help these countries with their economic and social development, the world would rebel against the strong U.S. commercial presence. The self-interest thing is a compelling element."

If the so-called population explosion proceeds unchecked, said Ravenholt, it will cause such terrible economic conditions abroad that revolutions will ensue. And revolutions, he suggested, are scarcely ever in the interests of the United States.

The tenets preached by Dr. Ravenholt have been the stock-in-trade of American ruling-class population experts since the 1930s, according to *Population Target: The Political Economy of Population Control in Latin America*, by Bonnie Mass.

This new book, co-published by the Latin American Working Group and the Women's Educational Press, is not the first attempt to document U.S. imperialism's carefully considered plans to undermine the birth rate in the semicolonial world. Others, such as the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), pioneered in uncovering the scope of population control efforts.

Bonnie Mass's principal contribution lies in the clear and forceful way in which she presents the accumulation of evidence.

Population Target traces the ideological roots of current population politics to the merging of the eugenics movement—championed by ruling-class families like the Kelloggs, Harrimans, and Carnegies—

and the birth-control movement identified with Margaret Sanger.

Sanger, a strong advocate of women's rights and a supporter of the Socialist Party in its prewar heyday, became increasingly conservative and eventually embraced the racist eugenics concepts in the mid-1920s.

In 1941 a more or less open merger

Population Target—The Political Economy of Population Control in Latin America. By Bonnie Mass. Toronto: Charters Publishing Co., for the Latin American Working Group, Box 2207, Station P, Toronto, Ontario, and the Women's Educational Press, Rm. 313, 280 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario. xviii + 299 pages.

between the movements took place with Sanger's Birth Control Federation sponsoring symposiums on such topics as "Race Building in a Democracy" and "Strengthening Our Population for National Defense." In 1942 the Birth Control Federation changed its name to the International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Hitler's unique contribution to the theory and practice of "race purity" made it difficult for the eugenics movement to operate very openly after World War II. Yet with American imperialism's new role as head of the world capitalist system, population control became of increasing concern to Washington. The author states:

In order to control mass uprisings and to create an economic climate amenable to greater investment and more beneficial trade relations, the US government launched "development" and "self-help" programs. . . . Those nations which imperialists feared would be lost to communist control became known as "population powderkegs" of the "underdeveloped" world.

John D. Rockefeller III convened a conference of demographers and population specialists in 1952 to establish the Population Council. With backing from the National Academy of Science, the project began the task of putting a "respectable" face on race purity, as interpreted by American racists.

One of the first, and tragically most successful, population control efforts car-

ried out with funding by the Population Council, International Planned Parenthood, and other private sources was in Puerto Rico. *Population Target* devotes a separate chapter to recounting the mass sterilization of Puerto Rican women in the 1950s and early 1960s.

By 1965 approximately 35 percent of Puerto Rico's women of child-bearing age had been sterilized; two-thirds were still in their twenties.

A common rationale used by population control experts for continued intensive sterilization on the island was the apparently popular demand for the *operación* as it was known. Bonnie Mass shows that the increasing industrialization of Puerto Rico under Operation Bootstrap did create pressures for smaller families—however, sterilization was a response to the Puerto Rican government's inadequate promotion of other birth control alternatives.

Further increases in U.S. investments in Puerto Rico and the accompanying rise in unemployment has actually *intensified* the practice of sterilization since 1965.

On the basis of mathematical projections, Mass asserts, "if the present rate of sterilization of 19,000 monthly were to continue, the Island's population of workers and peasants could be extinguished within the next 10 or 20 years."

The "successful" sterilization campaign in Puerto Rico became a model for population planners charged with developing strategy for the rest of Latin America and the other parts of the world. With the advent of President John F. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress in 1961, U.S. government agencies, primarily the Agency for International Development (AID), threw their resources into the population "business."

Under presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon, AID's budget for population control activities grew to \$50 million by 1969. That same year the State Department established an Office of Population, headed by Dr. Ravenholt.

Guided by Lyndon Johnson's dictum that it was better to spend \$5 on population control than \$100 on economic development, between 1968 and 1972 AID reduced its total health care appropriation to Latin America from \$164 million to \$60 million. During the same period, popula-

tion control expenditures expanded from \$34 million to \$123 million.

Other topics that *Population Target* explores include: "Abundance and Starvation," a persuasive answer to the neo-Malthusian alarmists; ongoing eugenic and population research in the 1970s; birth control in Cuba and China; and case studies of seven countries—Chile, Guatemala, Brazil, Bolivia, Peru, Iran, and

Colombia.

Bonnie Mass explains in her introduction that *Population Target* was written from the perspective of women struggling to throw off bitter oppression to gain mastery over their personal lives and their societies. From that vantage point, the crimes of Washington's population engineers appear all the more heinous, and *Population Target* all the more valuable as an exposé. □

Torture in South Africa

Reviewed by Ernest Harsch

Torture in South Africa? To any objective reader of this pamphlet, the answer is quite evident.

Compiled by the antiapartheid Christian Institute of Southern Africa, the report is one of the most extensively documented studies so far of the brutalities carried out

Torture in South Africa? Christian Institute of Southern Africa: Cape Town, April 1977. 58 pp.*

daily by the Vorster regime's jailers and police.

Although the information in it is taken entirely from publicly available sources, such as newspaper accounts, affidavits, and court records, the report itself was banned by the South African authorities seven days after its publication.

In an introductory letter, Horst Kleinschmidt, the institute's representative in Europe (and himself a former political prisoner in South Africa), commented, "There is no doubt that torture, once used seemingly to extract information, is now inflicted indiscriminately, as a matter of routine. Today, it is possible that people will disappear, will suffer all kinds of deprivations, will be tortured virtually as a matter of course and then may be released one day, without explanation, without being charged or tried and without rights of compensation."

In some of the major political cases in recent years, evidence of mistreatment and torture of defendants and witnesses has emerged during the course of the trials themselves.

In 1971, during the trial of thirteen members of the Unity Movement of South

Africa (UMSA) and of the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa (APDUSA), twelve of the accused submitted affidavits to the court charging the Security Police with torture. The Christian Institute report said that among the methods of torture cited by the defendants were:

- Electric shock treatment;
- Forcing people to stand barefooted on the edges of bricks for hours at a time;
- Compelling them to lift weights while wearing shoes containing pebbles;
- Making them hold weights above their heads for long periods;
- Handcuffing them to trees all night;
- Forcing them to sit on imaginary chairs until their muscles collapsed;
- Kicking and punching.

Mthayeni Cutshela, who had been arrested in December 1970 and was originally named in the same indictment with the other UMSA and APDUSA defendants, was claimed to have died in January 1971 of "natural causes." The report stated, "From Pondoland [in the Transkei], he was brought to Umtata hospital, where son fetched his body. Face swollen, bruised, weals on body, cut on head."

At the trial of a number of alleged members of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1976, Michael Gumede, a state witness, testified that the Security Police had tortured him by placing stones in his shoes, beating him, and tying a brick to his testicles. The police wanted him to testify that he had been recruited by the ANC for military training.

The use of torture to produce "confessions" was also revealed in the trial of nine members of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC), two of the most important groups in the Black Consciousness movement.

D. Soggott, a defense attorney, told the court in September 1975 that the accused

had been tortured in an effort to get them to admit that the SASO and BPC engaged in violence and "racial hostility." The defendants were beaten, deprived of food and drink, kept in solitary confinement, not allowed to go to the bathroom, throttled, and made to squat in a "painful crouching position."

These are only some of the more prominent cases. The Christian Institute cites scores of others. And considering the large prison population in South Africa and the apparently routine use of police brutality, the instances of torture mentioned in the report are undoubtedly only a small fraction of the total number.

An indication of the extent of torture in South Africa emerged from two of the cases cited in the report.

In 1964, five policemen in Bultfontein, in the Orange Free State, were convicted in connection with the death of an African prisoner. In his defense, one of the policemen revealed that the methods used at the Bultfontein police station were common practice.

In August 1976, testifying before the Pretoria Supreme Court, C.M. Naidoo said that after he had been given electric shocks one of the detectives apologized and remarked that "this is the sort of thing we have to do every day."

Torture in South Africa? also includes evidence that many prisoners who have allegedly died of "natural causes," by "falling down stairs," or were said to have "committed suicide," were actually killed during police torture sessions.

Many Blacks who die at the hands of the South African police never even reach a police station. According to Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons James T. Kruger, 202 persons, all but two of whom were Black, were shot dead by the police in 1976. That figure did not include the hundreds of others who were murdered during the massive Black protests last year.

Particularly ominous was a February 23, 1977, news conference by Kruger mentioned in the report. After rejecting calls for an independent inquiry into the growing number of political prisoners who have died in detention, Kruger noted that the commissioner of police, Gen. D.J. Kriel, was considering issuing new instructions on the interrogation and detention of prisoners. He said that these could include depriving detainees of all clothing in their cells and keeping them in leg irons. □

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Capitalism Fouls Things Up



'Kangaroo Court' for U.S. Nuclear Hearings?

Jimmy Carter and his new secretary of energy, James Schlesinger, are preparing some steps to accelerate the development of nuclear power in the United States.

In April, Carter complained that "it should not take ten years to license a plant." He proposed "that we establish reasonable, objective criteria for licensing, and that plants which are based on a standard design not require extensive individual design studies."

Shortly thereafter, Schlesinger began urging the construction of 300 new nuclear power plants in the United States by the year 2000. Key to this would be finding ways to eliminate delays in reactor construction caused by legal challenges and objections pressed by environmentalists and residents of areas near proposed power plant sites.

Present U.S. laws require that adversary hearings be conducted on reactor licensing by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. In these hearings, objectors have the right to question witnesses and present testimony. Given the technical complexities of reactor safety issues, this hearing process often requires three or four years.

On August 15, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that a thirty-one-page bill, the "Nuclear Regulatory Reform Act of 1977," had been prepared by the White House. The proposed legislation would "eliminate the complex hearing procedures currently required for constructing and operating nuclear power plants, authorize procedures for compiling a 'bank' of preapproved sites, encourage standardized reactor designs and delegate to . . . Schlesinger vastly enhanced authority to 'coordinate' the federal decision-making process."

The article quoted a White House briefing paper on the proposals: "Nuclear power plants, like many other large industrial facilities, are subject to an elaborate mosaic of federal and state licensing and approval requirements that are largely the results of the environmental movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. . . .

"This mosaic has commendably resulted in increased environmental protection, but at the price of a fragmented and duplicate review process—one that doesn't assure an efficient balance of energy and environmental factors and that fails in critical areas to reflect the interests of the states,

the governmental entities most directly affected."

To remedy some of these obstacles to nuclear development posed by the "environmental movement," federal determination of the need for and environmental impact of nuclear plants would be relinquished to state governments. "Informal hearings" would be substituted for the present adversary proceedings. Direct examination of witnesses would be scrapped, and "interested parties could only recommend questions to a presiding officer."

The thrust of the proposed bill was accurately described by Richard Pollock of the Critical Mass Energy Project, a Washington-based antinuclear group. Pollock told a reporter for the newspaper *In These Times* that the legislation "would transform the regulatory process into a kangaroo court for the nuclear industry and mean that the minimum safeguards we've been able to implement so far would be abandoned."

This was so clearly the case that Carter and Schlesinger apparently found it impossible to get the entire package swallowed by the administration's own environmental officials. The August 24 *Washington Post* reported that the first draft of the bill had "evoked sharp criticism, including opposition from the Environmental Protection Agency and the Council on Environmental Quality."

A second draft now being circulated reportedly restores adversary hearings and requires state governments to institute an environmental review process similar to that presently conducted by the EPA. But consideration of reactor safety and nuclear waste disposal would be exempt from such a review.

Just when and in what form the bill will finally be submitted to Congress remains unclear. But is already obvious that Carter and Schlesinger have a serious commitment to a big expansion in the U.S. nuclear program.

Scandinavian Groups to Protest Barsebäck Nuclear Power Plant

[The following statement was issued by Gérard Meunier for the Organisation til Oplysning om Atomkraft (Organization

for Education on Atomic Energy), a Danish antinuclear group. We have taken the text from the August 23 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

On September 10, there will be a march from Lomma to the Barsebäck nuclear power plant in Sweden, called by the four largest ecology groups in Scandinavia.

Barsebäck? A nuclear power plant located in the most heavily populated area in Scandinavia. Two and a half million persons live within a forty-kilometer radius of the plant. Malmö (with more than 300,000 inhabitants) is less than twenty kilometers away. Across the water, facing Barsebäck, and an equal distance away, is Copenhagen, a city with a population of more than one million. Copenhagen, the capital of a country (Denmark) that has so far resisted the nuclear "adventure," is thus threatened by a nuclear power plant.

Two reactors are in operation. The first (Barsebäck 1) has been operating since 1970. As for the second (Barsebäck 2), it was put in operation following the elections that brought the three bourgeois parties to power. They were elected in large part because of the antinuclear positions they took during the election campaign.

One of the conditions the government placed on Barsebäck 2 going into operation was that the waste problem be solved by October 1. On that day the government is supposed to meet and make a final decision—hence the date chosen for the march.

The Scandinavian authorities must be shown that the people of these countries reject nuclear power. Of the four Scandinavian countries, only Finland and Sweden possess nuclear power plants (with one and four reactors respectively). If the will of the people forces the Swedish government to retreat, this will call into question the future of nuclear energy in Sweden.

Groups or individuals wishing to participate in the march may write to: OOA, Skindergade 26, 1 159 Kobenhavn K, Denmark; or call (01) 15-63-32 in Copenhagen. English is a better choice than French.

However, if you cannot attend, you can still show your solidarity by writing a

letter of protest to the Swedish embassy, 66, rue Boissière, 75 016 Paris. Demand that the Barsebäck plant be shut down immediately. Send a copy of your letter to OOA (address above).

Radioactivity knows no borders. Neither does our solidarity. In unity lies strength. No to nuclear energy!

Caviar Shortage in Iran

Caviar exports from Iran are down by 42 percent compared with 1976 sales. This represents a loss of \$7 million between March and June of this year.

Heavy pollution of the Caspian Sea has resulted in a decline in the sturgeon population. Caviar is prepared from sturgeon eggs.

The Iranian government first blamed the problem completely on Soviet factories that discharge wastes into the northern portion of the Caspian. But recently Tehran officials have conceded that industrial dumping on the Iranian side of the sea is also responsible. Although the offending factories were ordered closed for the summer, no increase in the breeding of sturgeon has yet resulted.

Thousands Protest Nuclear Power In U.S. Hiroshima Week Actions

Numerous protest actions against nuclear power plants and nuclear weapons were held across the United States August 6-9. The meetings and demonstrations marked the thirty-second anniversary of the Truman administration's bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The largest actions were in California. More than 1,500 protesters gathered on August 6 near the San Onofre nuclear plant between San Diego and Los Angeles. Environmentalist Barry Commoner was a featured speaker at this rally. He outlined the dangers of Jimmy Carter's plans for an 800 percent increase in the number of nuclear power plants in the United States.

The next day, more than 1,000 persons rallied at San Luis Obispo, California, several hundred miles up the Pacific Coast between Los Angeles and San Francisco. This action protested the nearly completed Diablo Canyon nuclear plant, which is located only six and one-half miles from an earthquake fault. About fifty persons were arrested for trespassing during the course of the rally.

Another occupation took place August 6-8 at the Trojan nuclear plant near Rainier, Oregon. Eighty-one persons were arrested there on August 8. They were part of a demonstration of 400 protesting the Trojan plant, which is one of the largest in the United States.

Other actions during Hiroshima Week occurred at the Palisades, Fermi II, and Donald C. Cook nuclear plants in Michigan; at three locations in New Jer-

sey; at the Wolf Creek plant site in Burlington, Kansas; and at the General Dynamics shipyard in Groton, Connecticut, where nuclear submarines are built.

Other actions against nuclear power were held in the United States during June and July. On June 30, seventy persons picketed the offices of Northern States Power Company in Minneapolis, Minnesota, to demand a halt in construction of the Tyrone, Wisconsin, nuclear plant. An action of 250 in Clarksville, Indiana, on July 14, protested plans by the Public Service Company to build a reactor at Marble Hill, just across the Ohio River from Louisville, Kentucky, a city of 335,000.

The Public Service Electric & Gas Company of New Jersey was the target of a July 28 picketline of 150 persons in Newark protesting PSE&G's plan to expand its nuclear generating capacity from one plant to seven. And on July 26, seventy persons picketed the offices of Boston Edison Company, raising three demands: an immediate halt to construction of the Pilgrim II nuclear plant, twenty-five miles from downtown Boston; publicity about evacuation plans for the Boston area in the event of a major nuclear accident; and permission for the Clamshell Alliance, an antinuclear group, to insert information in the monthly bills of the utility's customers (Edison regularly includes pronuclear propaganda in its billings).

World's Noisiest Subway

Are New York subways even noisier than the Concorde?

Testimony at recent legislative hearings in New York City showed that noise levels inside the 86th Street station on the IND line reach 118 decibels. This is the same as the average noise of the Concorde supersonic jetliner, as tested at Dulles airport near Washington, D.C.

The New York *Daily News* reported a statement by Ethan Eldon, the city's commissioner of air resources. He "declared that every other subway system in the world was quieter than New York's. He said that this was so despite the fact that the Transit Authority has both the money and the technology to reduce noise. He said the authority has failed to reduce noise levels because it has given the project its lowest priority."

A transit engineer acknowledged that subway noise is "excessive," but promised a 50 percent reduction . . . within seven years.

Environmentalists Lose a Round

A U.S. Court of Appeals ruled August 25 that drilling for oil and gas off the coast of New Jersey can proceed.

The decision reversed a February ruling by Federal District Judge Jack Weinstein



Herblock/Washington Post

in a suit filed by the National Resources Defense Council and New Jersey and Long Island officials. Weinstein had declared the federal government's statement on the environmental impact of offshore oil development to be "a charade" (see *Intercontinental Press*, February 28, p. 210).

The appeals judges said Weinstein had failed to use the "rule of reason" in making his decision.

The new ruling means that the oil companies that paid \$1.13 billion to the U.S. Department of the Interior for the right to drill for oil in a 530,000-acre area fifty to ninety miles off the New Jersey coast can now proceed to do so. The *New York Times* described the impact of this August 26:

... 5 to 20 mobile drilling rigs may be needed during the exploration phase. Eventually, if this initial drilling is successful, 200 to 800 wells may dot the so-called Baltimore Canyon, with their oil or gas funneling to 10 to 50 huge production platforms.

A federal study in 1976 predicted that "at least one major oil spill" will result from the Atlantic drilling, with a 10 percent chance of the slick reaching shore. Nevertheless, Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus welcomed the appeals court decision, saying, "I'm committed to moving ahead with the offshore drilling program, taking environmental concerns into account."

The ruling also clears the way for more oil lease sales by the Interior Department. An auction of tracts in the rich Georges Bank fishing area off New England is to be held in January 1978, and other tracts in the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific off California and Alaska will be sold during the following three years.

The National Resources Defense Council is considering an appeal of the ruling; Nassau County, Long Island, officials have said they will not appeal. Meanwhile, the Carter administration is continuing the policies of its predecessor that Herb Block's 1976 cartoon portrayed.

Selections From the Left

НИН

"Nedeljne Informativne Novine" (The Week's News), published in Belgrade by "Politika" enterprise.

In the July 24 issue, Miodrag Marovic comments on the Albanian criticisms of Peking's foreign policy:

Now the world has been enriched with another term. After "really existing socialism" [Moscow's term for the system existing in the USSR and allied states], we have "authentic" socialism based on "true Marxism-Leninism." From a geographic standpoint, this applies to only one country, Albania, with which are allied "strictly pure Marxist-Leninist parties" that want to "irreversibly achieve true socialism" in other countries.

If this involved formulating a specific road for building socialism, no matter what the term adopted, there would be nothing particularly noteworthy about it. Every party and country has the right to determine its own policy independently and to give it any name it thinks fitting.

But the aim of the long editorial, containing more than ten thousand words, that was published in [the Albanian CP organ] *Zëri i Popullit* on July 7 was not this. It put "true" Albanian socialism on a pedestal as the only correct kind, in opposition to all others, from "really existing" socialism, through "revisionist" socialism, to Eurocommunism. The last was placed in the category of "renegade" currents "harmful to the world proletarian revolution."

Those who have followed Tirana's policy for decades will not be surprised by characterizations such as "revisionist" or "social-imperialist" (terms that have been applied respectively to Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union). That has been in the tradition of Albanian propaganda for many years.

But where does China come in? Where does it stand in this schema of various kinds of socialism . . . ?

In the last year in particular, China has shown a high opinion of the policy of nonalignment, considering that it has many points of agreement with this policy, despite all its differences. In this spirit, it has intensified its cooperation not only with the countries in Asia and Africa but with a nonaligned socialist Yugoslavia. Finally a recent visit by Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Forlani to Peking confirmed the more tolerant attitude of the Chinese Communists toward the policy of the Italian Communist Party and toward Eurocommunism in general, along with greater attention to political realism and to the specific conditions in which Western Communists work.

Marovic asked:

Does the reason for the frontal attack from Tirana, based on extremist, unrealistic, and ultraleftist positions, lie in these changes?

Marovic's conclusion was that the Albanians were out to "deepen" the "differences" between the various existing

"worlds" rather than help to "overcome" them.

In the August 28 issue of *Nin*, Marovic wrote the lead story. It was entitled "The Event of the Year." The subject was Tito's visit to Peking. Marovic wrote:

At this time, Tito's visit to Peking has particular importance. China has just gone through a stormy internal process and after eleven years of upsets sailed into the quiet waters of political and economic consolidation. The first head of state received by the new Chinese leadership presided over by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and elected at the Eleventh Congress of the CCP was Tito, a man of enormous revolutionary experience and limitless international vision, as is being stressed by commentators in various countries of the world. This is the reason for the interest with which so many nations are awaiting the dialogue between the only living giant among the statesmen of our era and the new Chinese leadership.

The August 28 issues also had a major feature on the recently concluded Eleventh Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. It was entitled: "Great Step Toward the Future." Among other things, *Nin's* special correspondent to Peking, Milos Misnovic, stressed:

According to the assessments of the Chinese themselves, the congress was conducted in an atmosphere that points to the restoration of a democratic spirit in the party. On this point, it seems, Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-ying in his report on the revision of the party statutes said that no one had a right to suppress criticism and that anyone who tried would be punished.

Misnovic indicated that the discussion at the congress did not enable him to "fully evaluate" this democratic atmosphere but that recent publication of an essay written by Mao during the "first period of de-Stalinization" indicated that the Chinese leadership was returning to the spirit of those days. The essay in question is entitled "Ten Great Relationships." Misnovic did not offer any quotes to indicate the extent of the democratic sentiments it expresses. In fact, the following sentences are among the most generous:

In future, in suppressing counter-revolution in our society we must make fewer arrests and carry out fewer executions. We should hand the majority of counter-revolutionaries over to the agricultural cooperatives so that they may participate in productive work, under supervision. . . . But we should not declare that we will never execute anyone. [Chairman Mao Talks to the People (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974) pp. 77-78].

Unwittingly, apparently, Marovic offered a reasonably balanced picture of the way Stalinist regimes, including the one he serves, define "socialism" and "democracy" to suit their diplomatic interests.

ПРАВДА

"Pravda" (Truth), organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Published daily in Moscow.

A dispatch by the official Soviet news agency TASS in the August 27 issue of *Pravda* took a more critical view of the Eleventh Congress of the Chinese Communist Party than *Nin* (see above). It stressed the absence of district party conferences preceding the congress and the fact that the proceedings of the national CP gathering were held behind closed doors.

In the USSR, there is a big buildup for congresses, and during the event the press is filled with the speeches of the top bureaucrats, as well as echoing statements by delegates, local bureaucrats given a moment in the sun. The bureaucracy presents this as a democratic process involving the masses. The Chinese CP is too crisis-ridden to permit even such a show. TASS obviously thought this put the Soviet CP in a favorable light by contrast. It noted: "At the Eleventh Congress of the CCP, it was declared that the defeat of the 'gang of the four' concluded the stage of cultural revolution that had lasted for eleven years and began a 'new period' in the development of China. The task set of 'establishing order throughout the country' in three years and 'establishing order in the party ranks and in the style of the party' means, in view of past practice, that a broad purge of the party is in the offing."

The TASS dispatch also said:

"The congress directed the people to continue the militarization of the country. This was backed up by directives from Mao to build 'not only a powerful infantry but a powerful air force and fleet,' to 'dig deep tunnels, store grain everywhere,' and by setting such tasks as 'be ready to fight,' 'advance preparations for war,' 'strengthen the construction of the people's militia,' 'raise the logistic preparation of the army to a new level.' And all this was justified by claiming that the Soviet Union 'threatens' China.

"The international situation was characterized as 'exceptionally' favorable since 'together with the further growth of revolutionary factors, the factors that make for war are also growing.'"

Socialist Action

Published twice monthly in Wellington, New Zealand.

In the August 26 issue, Keith Locke reports on the reception given to Soweto

student leader Barney Mokgatle during a three-week speaking tour in New Zealand that began August 8.

"A broad spectrum of the anti-apartheid movement has been involved in organising meetings for Mokgatle," Locke reports, including student groups and Labour Party branches.

The tour was widely covered by the press and the television networks, and "between 200 and 300 people attended the university meetings in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch."

The tour was especially successful in reaching out to Maori and Pacific Island activists.

"When he arrived in New Zealand, Mokgatle knew nothing about the situation of the Maori people. 'But I found we are on the same road, fighting oppression. I support the Maori land cause 100 percent, not just because they are Black, but because they have been put off their land, like my Black brothers and sisters in South Africa.'"

صوت العامل
KOL HA'POEL

"Kol Ha'Poel" (Voice of the Worker). Newspaper of the Workers Alliance (Avant-garde). Published monthly in Tel Aviv.

The July issue reports on the Zionist authorities' attempts to victimize Arab students at Haifa University. The students had called a demonstration June 5 commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank.

Freedom of expression and protest are among the most basic of democratic rights. However, the university administration, encouraged by the accession of the Likud government, decided that this time they would prevent the exercise of such rights.

And so, to get things going, the administration invited the police onto the campus. They, in turn, promptly proceeded to arrest a member of the Committee of Arab Students on the morning of the demonstration. They warned him to call off the demonstration.

Then, at the appointed hour of the protest, dozens of armed policemen appeared in the area, clearly intending to violently disperse any gathering. In face of such provocation the demonstration was called off. Instead, a meeting of about 300 Arab and Jewish students was held in the entrance hall to the university.

The gathering proceeded and dispersed peacefully in spite of the threats from right-wingers and the police. However, these threats proved to be only the beginning of a campaign of repression and intimidation aimed at ending freedom of expression at the school. Following the protest meeting, the administration lodged a complaint with the police, a step that led to the arrest of Arab students. Aside from this complaint—an "indictment" for having held a meeting—additional provocations were devised as pretexts for further arrests.

An announcement was made concerning the disappearance of "an attache case containing secret documents," accidentally left behind by a

lieutenant-colonel. Regardless of the fact that there was not a shred of evidence linking the disappearance of the attache case to Arab students, the event served as yet another pretext for incitement against and the imprisonment of these students. The incident was ended by the lieutenant-colonel herself denying the substance of the story.

An incendiary device was thrown into student living quarters. It was aimed at the rooms of female Arab students. But again, despite surreptitious threats from Jewish right-wingers, the police investigation was directed entirely at Arab students. The six students arrested in the course of this campaign were released at the end of the week, but only after a fight for their release had been launched, and after one of them had been beaten up by the police.

STRUGGLE

Official organ of the Workers Liberation League. Published in Kingston, Jamaica.

The August 10 issue features a front-page article on a recent victory in the fight by agricultural workers to obtain guaranteed employment five days a week.

"Over 400 workers with their union leaders marched [August 5] to the Ministry [of Agriculture] at Hope and demanded action now.

"The workers' action forced the officials to bring Agriculture Minister Bellinfanti from Trelawny in a helicopter to face the workers' demands.

"And mass action brought success. Some 1000 workers now employed for 3 and 4 days . . . are to be put on 5 days a week."

POLITYKA

"Politics," published weekly in Warsaw, Poland.

Polityka devotes special attention to the problems and prospects of developing Poland's export trade. For example, it frequently carries a special supplement on export markets.

However, in its August 27 issue, Polityka has an article in the main part of the paper that has primarily to do with the development of what the Polish bureaucracy evidently thinks is a juicy potential export market. The piece is entitled "Iran, the Era of the Pahlavis." In the midst of the text was a picture of the Persian shah, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, his wife, and children, clearly posed for an official photo. The caption was "The Imperial Family."

The author of the article, Wojciech Gielzynski, begins:

When they started to catch up with the rest of the world, the Japanese had their "Meiji era" [named for the Meiji dynasty of emperors]. The Iranians are now in their "Pahlavi era." And Iran's accelerated modernization is more rapid even than the Europeanization of the samurai.

No one should think, Gielzynski says, that this rapid advance should be attributed solely to Iran's oil revenue. He claims that the Arab oil sheikdoms have greater per capita income but remain "economi-

cally, socially, and culturally backward both in the sphere of customs and general mentality." There is a marked contrast between Iran and such a place as Abu Dhabi, Gielzynski says.

Iran is developing, it must be stressed, not only because it has a lot of money. It is also because the rain of dollars is falling on soil that has already been prepared. Iran started its celebrated "White Revolution," now more often called "The Revolution of the Shah and the People," in 1973 when its dollar income was in the millions and not the billions. "The White Revolution," whose progressive aims were summed up in a seventeen-point program, destroyed the anachronistic social structures and provided the elementary bases of civilization, making the country later able to make sensible use of its oil income.

Gielzynski also gives a favorable picture of the shah's foreign policy:

Although Iran is separated from the USSR by an ideological barrier, its contacts with the Soviet Union have already given the country considerable maneuvering room in its relations with the West. The Americans are unnerved by the shah's display of independence in political and economic moves that are usually not in accordance with Washington's ideas.

Then Gielzynski comes to the point.

For Iran, England has a fatal reputation. Japan arouses fear because of the wide-ranging activities of its agents. From this standpoint the shah prefers to deal with partners who give no problems, with West Germany, France, China, Australia, and the European socialist countries. . . .

Thus Poland has good cards. Our economies are generally complementary. The Iranian elite knows the values of Polish culture. For Iranians, who value tradition, there is the endearing fact that our diplomatic contacts go back to 1474 A.D. Finally, the shah himself feels a special sympathy for Poland, where he has been a guest three times. Such imponderables are not unimportant even when cold calculations come into play. Our mutual interest is increasing by leaps and bounds. Polish-Iranian trade rose from \$11 million in 1966 to \$110 million in 1976, and this year it will exceed \$150 million. . . .

Despite our diametrically opposed social systems, the political conditions are also good for Polish-Iranian cooperation. Iran . . . approves the principles of peaceful coexistence . . . in fundamental questions, it takes a position on the Middle East that coincides with ours.

Copies Missing?

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Unexpurgated Text of Castro-Walters Interview—1

[On June 9, extracts from an interview that Fidel Castro had granted to Barbara Walters were featured on the ABC Television Network in the United States under the title "Fidel Castro Speaks."

[The program, which took less than an hour, included extraneous material, so that the interview represented only passages selected by ABC as "the choicest hour of their conversation."

[The actual interview was reported to have lasted for four hours. It was given on May 19 during Walters's stay in Cuba May 16-21.

[A June 25 Reuters dispatch from Havana reported, "About two weeks after the program was shown in the United States, it ran for two nights in Cuba." It was different from the ABC-TV version in that it was "virtually uncut."

[An English translation of the full text of the interview appeared in two installments in the July 17 and July 24 issues of the *Granma* weekly review.

[For the information of our readers, we have decided to publish the entire document, scheduling it to appear in four installments. We will comment on certain points as they arise.

[In the first installment, for instance, it should be noted that while most commentators hold that the normalization of diplomatic and trade relations between the United States and Cuba is now proceeding at a rapid pace, Castro expressed the opposite view. It is doubtful, in his opinion, that relations on "serious, sound bases" can be reestablished "within the next four years."

[On the question of releasing the small number of American prisoners held in Cuba, which Walters pressed as one of the "return gestures" that could be made to show "warm intentions," Castro asked why the Puerto Rican political prisoners held in the United States for more than twenty-five years had not been released. Walters never replied to Castro's query.]

* * *

Barbara Walters. Mr. President, when will your country and my country have normal relations?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I think that depends on the goodwill of both sides. I think it's also a question of time.

Many years of serious misunderstandings have passed; many things have happened, and, naturally, it will take time to overcome all the existing problems and to create the climate required for a real improvement or, rather, the reestablishment of relations.

I can say with certainty that, for our part, we are willing to work in that direction and that we will be responsive to the United States' will in that respect.

However, even from an optimistic standpoint, I don't think that relations will be reestablished in the near future; in fact, not even in Carter's present term of office. Maybe in the second, between 1980 and 1984—or perhaps even later.

Journalist. Why? Why not until Carter's second term? Is it because he will be in his second term?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Well, yes, I think so. As a general rule, presidents try to aspire to a second term. It's sort of a rule and I don't think Carter is an exception.

Journalist (to the interpreter). No. What I meant was, does he feel that domestically Carter could not do it in the first four years, and, if reelected, he could then take such a bold move.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Well, I believe that Carter himself would have to remove internal obstacles in order to change his policy. History shows that every change in U.S. policy takes time and has to overcome resistance. I think that time must pass before that change takes place.

I don't think it's likely that relations will be reestablished within the next four years if they are to be reestablished on serious, sound bases. And that's one thing nobody can improvise on. We can't improvise, and I don't think that Carter can either.

Obstacles aren't removed in a day or even in a year.

I think that definite positive steps—initial steps which I consider positive—have been taken since Carter's administration came to power. But there are also signs of resistance. Several days ago the House of Representatives passed a resolution opposing a motion by McGovern for a partial lifting of the blockade. And, even though the motion wouldn't have solved the problem, it was undoubtedly a good gesture, a good initiative.

The Senate Committee has already agreed to approve a one-way partial lifting of the blockade regarding medicine and foodstuffs. As it was, it was quite a modest step, in that if they don't buy food and medicine from us, we will not buy food or medicine from the United States. As a matter of principle, we can't accept any unilateral trade formula.

Moreover, a partial lifting of the embargo would be a good gesture, a positive step—but it still wouldn't solve the problems. The right conditions for improving relations between the United States and Cuba will never exist as long as the embargo continues, no matter in what form.

Now, I wonder whether Carter does or doesn't want to lift the embargo. Something more: whether President Carter can or can't lift it.

Journalist. Suppose, let us say, the embargo is lifted; we have seen the beginning now. If it is lifted, would that mean for you normal relations?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I think that it would be a decisive step toward normal relations. Then we could sit down, on an equal footing, to discuss the differences between the United States and us—the many problems that can be discussed. But there can be no discussion if there's no equal footing. That is the basic principle that we maintain.

Journalist. All right, let us look at where we are now.

We have made many gestures recently, of friendship, of trying to improve relations: the fishing right agreement, the fact that American tourists can come here—and indeed you do allow them to come—we have stopped military surveillance planes, and we are talking about a partial lifting of the embargo.

Now, what sign from you, what gesture in return?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Well, we have responded to the gestures of the Government of the United States.

Take fishing, for example. We have historical rights to fish in those waters, since we respected the old 12-mile limit and fished in international waters. We tried to produce food for our people in those waters.

The U.S. Government made a decision that responded not to an international agreement but rather to a unilateral decision, by extending its jurisdiction to 200 miles. We, for our part, had no other alternative but to extend our jurisdictional waters limit to 200 miles, as preferential economic rights.

At that point the United States established that, in order to fish there, permission from the United States was required. Very well, we have discussed the matter; we were willing to discuss; the United States was willing to discuss. The United States has been willing to authorize a certain amount of fishing in these new U.S. waters. We think that's only fair, since, traditionally and in keeping with international laws, we have always fished in those waters.

Now then, we have abided by the U.S. law, and, for our part, we have also been willing to arrive at an agreement on this matter.

The United States has done this in regard to many countries. In extending its jurisdictional waters limit, it has had to discuss the matter with everybody, with all those who fished in those waters. Agreed. It made the gesture of discussing with us, and we made the gesture of respecting that law by virtue of which the United States extended its fishing jurisdiction over former international waters.

The United States has authorized U.S. citizens to visit Cuba. We think that's fine. What does that mean? In the first place, the reestablishment of a freedom enjoyed by U.S. citizens of which they had been deprived. Now, U.S. citizens are a little freer; they can also visit Cuba.

Now then, what has our attitude been? We have responded by authorizing visits by U.S. citizens—that is, by providing U.S. citizens with the right to visit Cuba, even though we don't know what inconvenience this may cause us, since we are running the risk of having terrorist elements come here, the risk that CIA elements might come. We are running all those risks.

Journalist. But you also make some money.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. It may be that we make some money, but economic considerations have not been the determining factor, because, as I say, there are risks of another kind. We have simply done this as a gesture of friendship toward U.S. citizens. We're not going to get rich on these visits; we're not going to solve our economic problems with these visits; we don't even have enough facilities to develop tourism on a large scale here. That's why I tell you that it was a gesture on our part, too, and a token of confidence, of friendship, toward the people of the United States, who can rest assured, moreover, that they will be received with full courtesy, hospitality and friendship in our country.

That is, we have responded in kind to every gesture of the Government of the United States. In addition, you mentioned a third thing: the suspension of the spy flights over Cuban territory. This pleases us; we appreciate this gesture; we consider it to be positive—but we cannot respond in kind, because we have never engaged in spy flights over the United States. Therefore, we cannot take a similar, reciprocal measure.

Now, I ask myself the following: Who gains from this? Cuba? Of course, Cuba does. We are pleased that planes that every so often used to shake up Cuba's sky, breaking the sound barrier and bothering everybody, are no longer flown over Cuba, but this doesn't change the fact that their doing so was an arbitrary, abusive, illegal act that constituted a violation of international law.

Who gains more from the suspension of these flights: Cuba or the United States? I think the United States. By abiding by international law and putting a stop to an act that was an outright violation of our sovereignty, it gains in world public opinion, gains respect in world opinion. We both gain.

Journalist. Mr. President, we have made these gestures; whether you think they are to our benefit or not, for us, they were gestures. There are some things that you could do as return gestures. For example, you could let Cubans in the United States, maybe even second-generation Cubans, return to this country to visit their families. You could make a gesture of releasing any or all of the 24 Americans in prison here. You could reinstate the hijacking agreement which ended on April 15. You could make

some effort for compensation of the property—which is estimated at 2,000,000,000 dollars—which was confiscated at the time of the Revolution. Perhaps at this time you cannot do any of this, but maybe one sign would show your warm intentions.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Barbara, it's really amusing that you should speak of the possibility that a country that is economically blockaded by the United States could make any promise of compensation for U.S. property. In the first place, the owners of that property got back at least ten times what they invested in Cuba, before the triumph of the Revolution. In the second place, with 18 years of hostility, acts of aggression, subversive plans and the economic blockade, the United States has inflicted several times more damage on our country than the value of all that property that you say was confiscated. We cannot make any gesture in this regard.

I admit that we can hold talks in the future on these questions of mutual economic interests, of mutual economic claims—when the economic blockade has been lifted.

With regard to the agreement on air piracy, we cannot forget that just a few months ago a Cuban plane was sabotaged in midflight. Seventy-three people lost their lives. All the members of Cuba's junior fencing team—that had just won almost all the gold medals in an international competition—died in that act of sabotage, which aroused very deep indignation among our people. More than a million people gathered to accompany the few remains of the victims to the cemetery.

That deed, perpetrated by people trained by the CIA and with the unquestionable complicity of the CIA, was what made us call off the agreement, because there cannot be unilateral attitudes or measures.

How could our people conceive that just a few months after that criminal act, when we don't yet have any proof that the United States has decided to take measures against those terrorists, we should subscribe to that agreement again?

What have we done? We have said that, as long as the economic blockade exists, we will not subscribe to that agreement. We had said very clearly that we would not subscribe to that agreement anew until the United States' hostility toward Cuba was completely ended. We consider that the economic blockade is a serious act of hostility against our country, one that encourages terrorism. You blockade Cuba. Why? On the other hand, you trade with South Africa; you invest in a fascist, racist country where 20 million blacks are discriminated against and oppressed.

The United Nations has adopted measures to blockade Rhodesia and has taken measures against South Africa. The United States trades with Rhodesia, violating the UN resolutions; it trades with and makes large investments in South Africa—but it blockades Cuba.

Journalist. We could debate all evening why actions against this country and not against others. For the record, we have changed our trade agreement with Rhodesia, and we are trying. . . .

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. You aren't buying chrome from Rhodesia any more?

Journalist. No.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. No chrome. Excellent. I think that's good news. Congratulations.

Journalist. I'm surprised you didn't know that; and then, South Africa: that's a very large question and one that many countries are pondering, and the United States is trying to have its own effect and changing their policy. But I want to return to the main question. Unless the embargo is lifted completely Cuba will do nothing, no small step towards making the United States feel you, too, want to cooperate? You only react to us.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. No; we've taken some steps,

the steps that we've already mentioned. The visits by U.S. citizens and the talks concerning fishing were a great step forward.

However, I would like to add the following: U.S. citizens shouldn't be upset with regard to plane hijackings, even though there's no agreement, because we will give absolutely no encouragement to such activities, and we will take firm measures to discourage them, whether there is or is not a formal agreement.

This is our attitude, our position on this problem, and the Government of the United States is aware of it.

Journalist. Will you allow Cubans to visit this country, to visit their family?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I believe that, at this time, the required conditions do not exist; really, they do not exist, because, until relations between the United States and Cuba are normalized, we cannot permit this type of visit.

Journalist. Is it possible to have any of the American political prisoners released? Eight are political prisoners and the others for drugs or for hijacking.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I've listened carefully to what you've said, and there's one point on which I agree with you: that is that we, for our part, should consider what kind of things we can do, in addition to what we have already done, to express our sincere and serious intentions of seeking normal relations with the United States.

Therefore, I realize that we should think about what kind of gestures we can make—things that it is in our power to do. But, what happened? There was a unilateral situation: the United States adopted a series of measures with regard to Cuba that we did not adopt with regard to the United States. Thus, when the United States revoked some of those measures we couldn't revoke similar ones—simply because we never took them.

However, I agree with you that gestures should be reciprocated, and we will think over how we can do this.

We've already made some gestures—for example the one that I've just explained to you: we notified the Government of the United States that, even though we will not formally subscribe to the agreement for the time being, nobody in the United States should worry; we will take whatever measures are necessary to discourage all plane hijacking. It seems to me that this is a gesture, an important one.

Journalist. What about the prisoners?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. We will have to think that over. I can't promise now that we will do anything more than consider it, but it is something that can be considered, I agree.

Journalist. You have not let Red Cross or any international group visit the prisoners?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. That's correct; we've never permitted this, because we have a principle: we're very allergic to any kind of investigation in our country and to interference in the affairs of our country. We've always been opposed to having people inspect us. This is a matter of sovereignty. In addition, I believe that it's a matter that concerns the dignity of our country.

We live up to our standards, to our principles; we always tell the truth. If anybody wants to question it, he's free to do so, but we will not stand for anybody's trying to test what we say against our reality or questioning the truth of what we say.

Thus, as a matter of principle, we have never accepted and we will never accept any kind of inspection of our country.

Journalist. When you say you will consider the situation of the prisoners, does that mean that in the near future you might release them or some of them?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. What I can promise is to

analyze these questions with the leadership of our government, so the possibilities of making a gesture can be examined. However, of course, there can be no hope that we will release all of them, since some of them are important CIA agents—whom, in the present conditions, we cannot release. I don't want to make you any false promises. I don't make them as a rule.

While we're on the subject of gestures, I see that you are worried—and this is only human—about some of those CIA agents who are in prison, and I wonder: why has there never in all these years, been any effort made to release Lolita Lebrón, for example, and a group of Puerto Rican patriots who have been in prison in the United States for over 25 years? Wouldn't it be humanitarian, just and elegant to set these Puerto Rican prisoners free?

Journalist. Well, eight of the American prisoners are political; the rest are on other charges, such as drugs or hijacking. But as I listen to you, I am reminded that Batista released you from prison, and you came back. So perhaps that is part of your thinking.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I'm going to tell you why: first of all, Batista had imprisoned us illegally. Our country had a constitutional regime; Batista seized power by force, through a coup d'état, and pillaged the country; all of his acts were illegal. Our struggle against Batista's regime was perfectly just and perfectly legal.

What's more, it was in accord with the precepts of the Constitution.

I was as deserving to go to jail as Washington and Jefferson when they rose up against the English domination in the old British colonies. Nobody questions the legitimacy, the honor and the greatness of those U.S. patriots, who rose up against tyranny—and that's what we did.

Now, it wasn't Batista who set us free. It was the people, with their movement; it was the masses, with their demands, that coincided with Batista's interest in holding a mock election. He couldn't hold it while we were in jail, so, to further his plans and his interests, he released the few survivors of the attack on the Moncada, after having murdered more than 70 of our comrades. The CIA agents who are being punished here were men who, having come from a foreign power, worked to overthrow the Revolutionary Government, thus committing a very serious act that is punishable by all international laws and by the laws of all countries, including ours.

We were doing a justifiable thing; they were not. We were serving our homeland; they were serving a powerful foreign power—and were legally punished. That's the difference.

Journalist. Do you think of yourself as George Washington or Thomas Jefferson?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. It would be impossible for me to consider myself a George Washington or a Jefferson. I have too much respect for history's figures to try to put myself on a par with them. I think that men cannot talk of their own historical dimension; only the future generations can judge that. I've never in my life fought in order to make a name for myself in history; I've fought for objective things, for justice. I always follow Martí's maxim that all the glory of the world fits in a kernel of corn.

Journalist. Mr. President, can you have trade relations with the United States before the embargo is lifted or before we have normal relations?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Before the blockade is lifted—you call it an embargo; I call it a blockade—it is impossible to have trade relations because U.S. laws, resolutions and government rulings prohibit them. If the embargo—as you call it—is totally lifted, we can have trade relations before establishing diplomatic relations, and I think that this step would create conditions favorable to the reestablishment of relations.

Now, if the embargo is partially lifted, and goods—or, rather, certain goods—can only be acquired in one direction, we couldn't have any trade, because we could not accept this discrimination: that we buy food in the United States but the United States not buy our sugar or other agricultural products. It would be impossible.

Now, if it is partially lifted, in both directions, there could be some trade in agricultural products between the United States and Cuba. That would be a step forward, but it wouldn't solve the problem. I should warn you that it would not solve the problem.

Journalist. But, if the embargo, or blockade, were lifted in one direction so that you can buy food and medicine from the United States, would you reject this for not being in two directions?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. If it's only lifted so that we can buy agricultural products from the United States but cannot sell agricultural products to the United States, we wouldn't buy anything at all from the United States; not even an aspirin for a headache—and we've got plenty of headaches.

Journalist. So that bill at the Senate right now, as far as you are concerned, is useless?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. It doesn't solve the problem. I'm fully aware of McGovern's fine intentions. And, as I understand it, the initial purpose was to lift the blockade partially in both directions. But the Senate agreement was then modified—or, rather, not modified but blockaded, in turn, by a Congress resolution prohibiting any kind of trade with Vietnam and Cuba. Once again, the powerful and arrogant United States makes a gesture of this kind in regard to two small, underdeveloped countries.

I simply can't understand how those institutions, those Congressmen, can feel honored having such an attitude. It's as if they were saying "you're going to give those poor wretches a chance to go on living? No, not under any circumstances. Don't give them a chance, don't even sell them an aspirin." And all this without first finding out whether or not we have the money to buy the aspirin, because, if we can't export, just where are we going to get the money to pay for what we buy?

Journalist. If United States companies do come here, in what form would you welcome U.S. investment? Could they invest in companies? They could not own plants. How would it work?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. You've come up with a completely new problem that hadn't occurred to us.

Look, we can't be dogmatic. The important thing for a country is in what direction it aims its efforts. The important thing in a country is whom does the government represent. In our country, the government represents the interests of the workers, of the peasants, of the working people. Everything we do, we do for their benefit. Therefore, without anticipating any future policy, my feeling is that, when the time came to tackle this kind of problem, the matter of foreign investments in our country, we would have to analyze, from a practical point of view and without dogmatism, what was good for our country and what wasn't and then act accordingly.

I'm sure that the leadership of our Party would analyze any proposal made in that direction coolly and without dogmatism of any kind and decide what would benefit our country and what wouldn't.

Journalist. You mean you have been discussing trade with people like the Minnesota businessmen and not thought of whether they could have plants, how they could invest, how trade conditions would take place?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Barbara, do you want us to cross the bridge before we get to it?

Journalist. Well, no; you're at the bridge when they came here.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. You were saying that we made no gestures, yet here's additional proof that we do; many U.S. personalities and a large number of U.S. businessmen have come here lately—but they didn't come with the idea of proposing to invest in Cuba. They came to make the first contacts and see what possibilities existed for trade once the blockade ended. The term "U.S. investments" was never mentioned here and we really haven't given it any thought.

Journalist. I'm sorry I had to bring it up.

If you and the United States had relations—economic relations, trade relations . . . what about the future, when we're on different sides politically and often in foreign policy? Would normal relations affect some of your foreign policy positions? For it's difficult to be friends in one area and enemies in another.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Look, to begin with, it wouldn't be anything new. The United States trades with the Soviet Union, with China, with all the socialist countries in eastern Europe, and that trade is developing. Trade with Poland is increasing, as is trade with Hungary, with Bulgaria, with the GDR. It wouldn't be a new experience, in the first place.

In the second place, I could ask a similar question: would U.S. trade with Cuba make for any change, by chance, in the United States' international policy? After all, we would have to raise the question on equal terms and ask ourselves the same question.

Now then, I do believe that the issue you have raised really has substance.

This is what I think: the United States' policy of hostility toward Cuba is its worst policy. I am convinced that, in regard to Cuba, a policy of normal relations and a trade policy would be much more intelligent. I won't say—it is not my intention to deceive the U.S. people or anybody else—that we are going to change our way of thinking, our ideology or our political principles. We're not going to do like that personage in the Bible who sold his birthright for a mess of pottage. We will not sell our ideas for all the money in the world or for any other material interest.

However, experience—even our own—shows that, when economic ties are established between two countries, any responsible government, any government that is really concerned about its people, takes those economic ties and interests into account, and, in one way or another, these ties and interests have a certain bearing on the attitudes taken by governments.

In actual fact, we feel very free, very free. We have no economic ties with the United States; we have the blockade on top of us; and, really, we have no reason to wonder if any part of our international policy is agreeable to the United States or not.

I tell you this because I'm a realistic person and I like to be honest. Therefore, sometimes I even speak out when an adversary is doing the right thing or not. However, with regard to the United States, I'm sure that the policy it has followed with regard to Cuba is the most mistaken one—not to use any stronger adjectives.

[To be continued]

Malnutrition in Sydney

A report for the Aboriginal medical service in Sydney, Australia, issued in August, disclosed the following:

More than 25% of Sydney's 6,000 Aboriginal children under five years of age suffer from serious malnutrition. Most of them have permanent brain damage because of undernourishment.

Sixty-four percent are anemic. A total of 60% have parasitic bowel infections, 32% have at least one perforated eardrum, and 20% have been hospitalized more than twice with an average stay of eighty-eight days.

Twenty-seven percent cannot absorb food from milk owing to chronic diarrhea.

The medical service in Redfern, a suburb of Sydney where many of these children live, has received no government funds since May. (London Times, August 12.)

Has South Africa Joined the 'Nuclear Club'?

By Ernest Harsch

Is the white supremacist regime in South Africa ready to test its own nuclear bomb?

For about three weeks in August, the question generated an international uproar.

There had already been speculation for several years that the South African racists had, or were close to having, nuclear weapons. Experts generally conceded that the Vorster regime had the economic and technological resources to join the "nuclear club" if and when it decided to do so.

The question returned to the headlines August 8, when the Soviet press agency, TASS, declared that a South African nuclear test was imminent. Within a few days, Washington lent its backing to the charge, announcing that its satellite photos had confirmed what appeared to be South African preparations for a test—namely a 3,000-foot-deep hole and several buildings in the sparsely populated Kalahari desert.

The Carter administration and its imperialist allies in Europe then launched a coordinated publicity effort. The State Department announced August 20 that it had warned Vorster of the "serious implications" of any nuclear test in South Africa. French Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud urged the South Africans August 22 to abandon any plans for a nuclear test or face "serious consequences" in their relations with Paris. The British and West German governments were also reported to have applied pressure on Pretoria behind the scenes.

At an August 23 news conference in Washington, President Carter in his role as a man of international peace conveyed Vorster's official denials. He said, "In response to our own direct inquiry and that of other nations, South Africa has informed us that they do not have and do not intend to develop nuclear explosive devices for any purpose, either peaceful or as a weapon; that the Kalahari test site, which has been in question, is not designed for use to test nuclear explosives, and that no nuclear explosive tests will be taken in South Africa, now or in the future."

Carter signaled his satisfaction, declaring, "We appreciate this commitment from South Africa. . . ."

The fact is, however, that Washington has actually provided the South African racists with considerable aid in the field of nuclear energy over the years, helping Pretoria lay the basis for its nuclear industry. It trained South African nuclear



JOHN VORSTER: Counting on "bomb in the basement" option?

scientists, opened the facilities of the former Atomic Energy Commission to them, provided nuclear equipment for Pretoria's research reactor at Pelindaba, and sold it enriched uranium, which can be used for weapons production. None of this, of course, was mentioned in Carter's remarks on the subject.

Paris has likewise sought to divert atten-

tion from a \$1.1 billion contract it signed in May 1976 pledging to build South Africa's first two commercial nuclear reactors.

As may have been intended all along, the biggest gainer from the affair has been Pretoria itself, for the rumors and speculation over Vorster's nuclear aims are themselves an important element in his foreign policy.

Richard Haass commented in the August 25 *Christian Science Monitor*, "No scenario for the region can ignore the fact that South Africa can play its nuclear card if and when there are no others remaining. Like Israel, South Africa has learned that there is political utility in retaining what Richard Burt, Assistant Director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, calls the 'bomb in the basement' option."

The Vorster regime can achieve this effect just by making it appear that it already has an atomic bomb, whether or not it really does. According to a report in the August 29 *New York Post*, some "U.S. intelligence analysts" now doubt that Pretoria actually intended to conduct a nuclear test.

The report continued, "Some analysts even suspect the test site may have been a sham or mockup of a test facility to trigger publicity that would indirectly remind those who are pressing South Africa to change its racial policies that the white supremacist regime is a potential nuclear power." □

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