

Intercontinental Press

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U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners

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Carter Vetoes Visa for Hugo Blanco

NEWS ANALYSIS

Let the American People Hear Hugo Blanco!

By Judy White

The Carter administration has refused to grant a visa to Hugo Blanco. Blanco was scheduled to arrive in the United States September 9 to begin a three-month speaking tour under the auspices of his American publisher, Pathfinder Press. The topic of his talks was to be "Human Rights in Latin America—Myth or Reality?"

Rejection of the visa application shows once again the hypocrisy of Carter's declamations about human rights and respecting the 1975 Helsinki agreement, which was ostensibly designed to promote a relaxation of restrictions on international cultural and intellectual exchange and which was signed by the Ford administration.

Carter's rejection of Blanco's visa application shows clearly that the policy of his administration is a continuation of that of his predecessors—to deny the American people the right to hear figures whose views are different from those of the American ruling class.

Efforts to arrange a speaking tour for Blanco in the United States have been going on since 1975. His application for a visa in 1975 was turned down by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) even though protests from a number of prominent civic leaders forced Kissinger, who was secretary of state at the time, to back off from applying the McCarran Act in this instance. The McCarran Act is a witch-hunting piece of legislation barring those holding "communist" views from entering the country.

On March 8, 1977, Pathfinder petitioned to have Blanco classified as a notable person, which would make him eligible to accept speaking engagements in the United States. One month later, the application was returned by the INS with the notation that it included insufficient documentation of "distinguished merit and ability."

On April 20, Pathfinder resubmitted the rejected petition with documentation identical to that submitted March 8. Approximately two months later, the INS approved Blanco's classification petition but claimed in a July 22 letter to Pathfinder that "the issuance of visas is within the sole jurisdiction of . . . the Department of State."

Three weeks later, Blanco was summoned to the U.S. Embassy in Sweden, where he is currently in exile, to undergo interrogation on his political views—nothing about his visa application!

Then, on August 17, President Carter

signed into law an amendment to the State Department Authorization Bill, which was widely hailed as marking a liberalization of the laws on admitting "communists." Within days of its becoming law, the McGovern Amendment was cited by Graham Hovey, writing in the August 27 issue of the *New York Times*, as the reason that:

Jacques Tregaro, denied a visa only a month ago on the ground that he was a member of "a Communist union," will now be able to attend the annual convention of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America in New York, Sept. 12 to 16.

Tregaro is a top official of the Communist Party-dominated Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor) of France.

On September 9, Carter announced he was allowing a delegation of four Soviet trade-union bureaucrats to visit the United States. It marked the first time such a delegation will be permitted to enter the country since the start of the cold war.

Toward the end of his article on the Tregaro decision, Hovey commented on an interesting aspect of this "liberalization":

More Than a Million Demonstrators in Barcelona

By Gerry Foley

One of the lower estimates of the size of the crowd that came out in Barcelona on September 11 to celebrate the Catalan National Day was made by Spanish TV, still closely controlled by the government. It estimated the demonstration at one million persons.

The organizers estimated the size at half again as large, a million and a half, out of a metropolitan-area population of about three million and a nationality of about six million. Even in terms of the entire Spanish state, this mobilization represented over 3 percent of the total population.

In the September 12 *New York Times*, correspondent James M. Markham called the demonstration the largest in Spain since Franco's death. In fact, it was one of the largest mass mobilizations in history. In the recent decades in this region, the only thing it can be compared with is the demonstration of up to a million persons in Lisbon on May 1, 1974, which hailed the end of an almost half-century-old dictatorship.

The amendment makes the granting of visas to aliens almost automatic even if they belong to organizations, such as a Communist Party, that were proscribed in the McCarran Act, unless the Secretary of State believes their admission would damage American security.

In other words, this "liberalization" preserves the State Department's veto power on the granting of visas. It is designed to make Carter look like he is abiding by the Helsinki agreement while, in reality, maintaining the status quo.

The State Department places the well-known Trotskyist Hugo Blanco in a category different from that of Stalinist bureaucrats. A fact sheet issued by Pathfinder Press September 8 stated:

Mr. Lloyd Dewitt, Chief, Public Services Division, Visa Office, State Department, stated in a phone call that the recently passed McGovern Amendment doesn't apply in a case like Hugo Blanco's, and that Mr. Blanco's petition for a visa had not been approved.

Thus, under the amendment, those who follow Moscow's counterrevolutionary line or who support American imperialism are admitted to the United States while those who criticize suppression of dissent in the Soviet Union, American aid to bloody dictatorships around the world, or who have led mass upsurges as Hugo Blanco did in Peru, find that the Helsinki agreement and the McGovern Amendment do not "apply."

Let the American people hear Hugo Blanco! Grant him a visa now! □

The mood in Barcelona this September 11 seems to have resembled that in Lisbon more than three years ago. Markham wrote:

Under a warm sun, Barcelona was awash with flaming red and yellow Catalan flags—on buildings, on people and held aloft—as well as the colors of other Spanish regions that are striving to assert their personalities in the post-Franco era: the Basque provinces, Galicia, Andalusia, the Canary Islands, Estremadura and others.

Singing "Els Segadors," the haunting national song of Catalonia, an impressive seven-block-long crowd marched down the broad Paseo de Gracia and cheered what appeared to be the imminent restoration of an ancient home-rule body called the Generalitat.

The Generalitat was the autonomous Catalan government that existed under the Spanish republic. The promised return of this institution symbolizes the fading of the Spanish chauvinist dictatorship established by Franco, which sought to crush the national aspirations of the smaller

peoples ruled by Madrid.

In Spain, as in Portugal previously, promises of freedom have inspired a mass upsurge that has swept over one barrier after another set up to try to contain it.

Last year the celebration of the Catalan National Day was confined to the outskirts of Barcelona. This year it flooded the entire center of the city.

In moving to restore the Generalitat, Premier Suárez's aim is to try to hold off the demands of the Catalan people for real democratic rights by offering a formal concession. Markham noted that this objective is already widely understood in Catalonia. But he wrote:

Even so, that has not dampened the euphoria that has prevailed in Barcelona for the last two days. Cars and trucks festooned with Catalan flags have roamed through the streets beeping their horns joyfully. The city's tree-shaded pedestrian walkway, Las Ramblas, has been choked with clapping and singing celebrators. Heroes of the past, like Luis Companys, the president of the Generalitat shot by Franco in 1940, have been throatily cheered.

It is hard to judge the political consciousness of the September 11 demonstrators from Markham's account. But even though the organizers of the May 1, 1974 march in Lisbon managed to channel it completely behind the Armed Forces Movement, the very size and enthusiasm of the outpouring opened the way for a mass upsurge that the military demagogues could not control.

The situation in Catalonia, to say nothing of the rest of Spain, of course remains far from that in Portugal in 1974. For example, Markham noted:

So far, no one has raised the delicate question of control over the police, which is expected to remain with Madrid for some time.

However, the Spanish military is already reportedly split over how to deal with the continuing rise of nationalism among the oppressed peoples.

The results of the June elections left Suárez no choice but to try to make a deal with some section of the minority nationalists. He seemed to have his best chance with the traditionally moderate Catalan bourgeois nationalists. The other main national movement, among the Basques, has a much more militant tradition. On the eve of the elections, massive demonstrations for amnesty had led to violent confrontations throughout the Basque country. On September 3, about a quarter of a million people rallied in Bilbao to demand the release of the remaining political prisoners.

However, even Suárez's promise of essentially formal concessions to the most moderate of Catalan nationalists helped spark the gigantic outpouring in Barcelona on September 11. It is obvious that he is sitting on such an explosive situation that any move he makes threatens to start a conflagration that nothing can contain.

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Editor: Joseph Hansen.

Contributing Editors: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

Editorial Staff: Michael Baumann, Gerry Foley, Ernest Harsch, Susan Wald, Steve Wattenmaker, Judy White.

Business Manager: Pat Galligan.

Copy Editors: Jon Britton, Fred Murphy, Sally Rhett.

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Rightist Pressure on Panama Canal Treaty Worries Carter

By Michael Baumann

The new treaty¹ providing a facelift for American control over the Panama Canal was formally initialed in Washington September 6 by negotiators representing the two countries.

The following day, at an extravaganza held at the Washington headquarters of the Organization of American States, top officials from twenty-six Western Hemisphere countries² applauded as President Carter and Panamanian chief of state Omar Torrijos formally signed the new accord.

Among the better-known dignitaries lined up by the Carter administration for an appearance at the signing were Pinochet of Chile, Videla of Argentina, Stroessner of Paraguay, Banzer of Bolivia, Laugerud of Guatemala, Morález Bermúdez of Peru, and Balaguer of the Dominican Republic, making the gathering of Latin American hangmen a memorable one.

At the signing ceremony, Carter hailed the advantages of the new accord. The old treaty it replaces, signed in 1903, had outlived its usefulness, he said. It was "drafted in a world so different from ours today" that it has "become an obstacle to better relations with Latin America." He was, of course, speaking from the imperialist point of view.

Torrijos, still seeking the best way to present the lopsided accord³ to the Panamanian people, extended his greetings to "my dear friends in the [U.S.] Senate" but pointed out that the treaty "does not have the total support of our people."

This was a considerable understatement. The same day Torrijos signed the accord, 1,500 students demonstrated in Panama City carrying signs condemning the "dirty treaty" and its provisions for maintaining American bases in the country.

The protest was crushed by Torrijos's National Guard. According to a September 7 Associated Press dispatch, dozens of

1. The accord actually consists of three treaties, one on the turnover of the canal itself, scheduled to take place December 31, 1999; one guaranteeing the canal's "neutrality"; and a protocol to the "neutrality" pact that other governments will be asked to sign.

2. Leaders of all Latin American countries except Cuba were invited.

3. For an account of the provisions of the new treaty, see *Intercontinental Press*, August 29, p. 922.

'Only an Exercise'

While negotiations were being concluded on the new treaties for the Panama Canal, American troops (who are to remain stationed in the Canal Zone until the year 2000) gave a persuasive demonstration of their ability to intervene in Panamanian affairs at a moment's notice.

The June 23 issue of the Fort Lewis (Washington) *Ranger*, an army weekly, gave the following account of an American paratrooper "exercise" carried out June 11 at the Jungle Operations Training Center at Fort Sherman, one of the fourteen American bases in the Canal Zone. Lefkos Christodoulides wrote:

Seven C-141 Starlifters descended to about 1,000 feet and made repeated passes over the Gatun Drop Zone June 11, depositing the Airborne Rangers of the 275th Infantry Bn [Battalion] no more than 1,000 meters from the northernmost locks of the Panama Canal. . . .

The airspace over the Canal filled with the drifting canopies of the Rangers who jumped in tight formation over the marshy DZ [Drop Zone] on the edge of the jungle.

There were a number of ships in the canal at that time and one of them, the Greek "Georgios," on its way to New Orleans from Tokyo, was in the Gatun Locks.

The startled sailors rushed to the port side of the ship and watched the Rangers land and disappear in the tall elephant grass of the DZ. A soft breeze spread the smoke from the markers reducing visibility along the Canal just as the din of artillery simulators and machinegun fire increased.

The Fort Lewis-based paratroopers made contact with the Panama-based "Green

Berets" of the 7th Special Forces Group acting as aggressors. Firefights erupted all along the DZ.

Just then a demolition platoon from the Rangers' Bravo Company, under the direction of S/Sgt. Robert DeMoisey, rushed and secured a bridge about 500 meters from the locks.

DeMoisey's men started wiring the bridge with simulated demolition charges while traffic at both ends of the bridge came to a halt.irate drivers beeped their horns while the uninformed sailors on the Greek ship ran up and down the decks screaming, "The Yanks have seized the Canal! The Yanks have seized the Canal!"

The situation was made even "more realistic," the *Ranger* reports, by "certain events that preceded the airborne operation."

Radical students demonstrated in Panama City and Colon while the Panamanian head of state, Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos, was visiting Col. Muammar al-Qaddafi in Libya.

The students painted slogans on the walls of businesses and burned several U.S. flags. A red, white and blue passenger bus was stopped and painted red while military police and the Panama National Guard—the country's combined police and military force—confronted the demonstrators outside the U.S. installations.

Spectators, "apparently unaware that the operation was only an exercise, linked the military activity to the week-long demonstrations."

But this time, the *Ranger* assured, "the rounds were blank, the explosions were simulators, and the only casualty was a jumper's sprained ankle."

demonstrators were injured and at least thirty were arrested.

In Washington, the treaty ceremony was protested by another 1,500 demonstrators, who centered their fire on Carter's red-carpet treatment for the assemblage of Latin American dictators. As part of the buildup for the ceremony, Carter held personal meetings with Pinochet and Videla, among others.

American right-wingers—who view even verbal concessions on the canal as a desecration of the Stars and Stripes—held their own protest as well. A rally of 150 persons heard U.S. Congressman Larry

McDonald, a Democrat who is also a member of the far-right John Birch Society, denounce the new treaty. It's "not a Democratic giveaway or a Republican giveaway," McDonald said. "It's bipartisan treason."

American residents of the Canal Zone, fearful of losing some of the privileges they enjoy in the colonial outpost, held a demonstration of their own. About 700 persons, some dressed in black, staged a candlelight march September 7, denouncing Carter for "giving away" their "human rights."

The spectrum of protests indicates the

thorniness of the canal issue for the Carter administration, which must seek to portray the treaty internationally as a retreat from the old imperialist stance while making it clear to domestic jingoists that it gives up nothing of substance.

In fact, the hoopla of the signing ceremony was aimed in part at the Senate, which must ratify the treaty by a two-thirds vote before it becomes law. John Goshko reported in the September 8 *Washington Post*:

Most immediately, the gathering of governmental chiefs was calculated to impress on the U.S. public—and its representatives in the Senate—that the canal is the most sensitive issue in U.S.-Latin American relations and that the treaties are backed by a solid front of support among this country's southern neighbors. . . .

By surrounding Carter and Torrijos with an approving phalanx of their fellow hemispheric leaders the signing ceremony was designed to remind wavering senators that rejection of the treaties could send shock waves of disillusionment coursing through Latin America and touch off reactions inimical to U.S. diplomatic, economic and strategic interests in the area.

Carter administration representatives are telling the right-wingers that the current situation, in which a Panamanian who wishes to travel from one part of the country to the other must first obtain permission from the American government, is extremely difficult to maintain.

The resentment that has been built up, columnist Charles W. Yost argued in the September 9 *Christian Science Monitor*, is the real threat to continued American control over the canal.

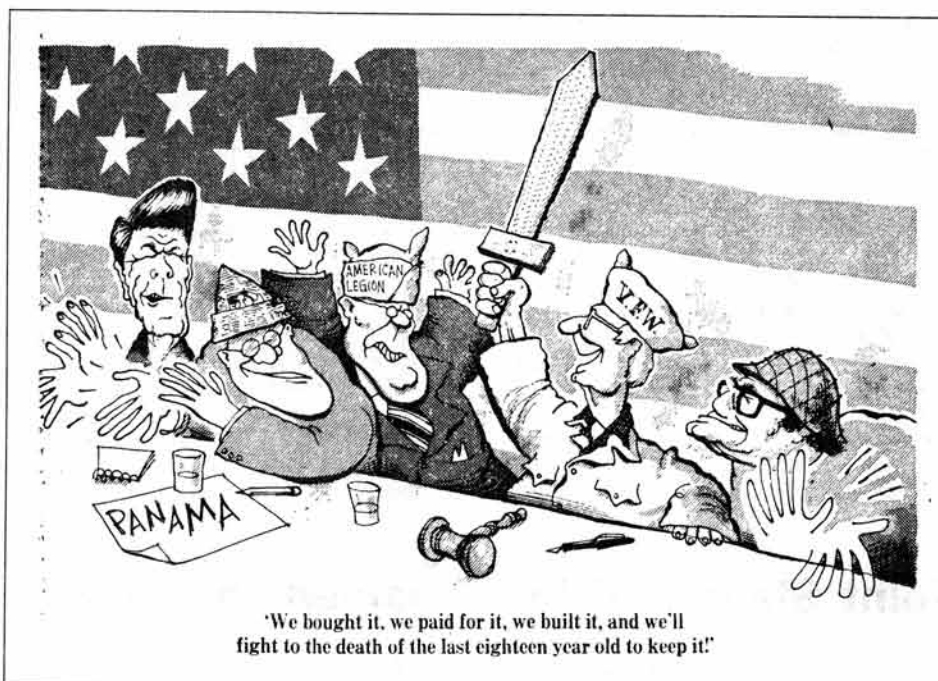
The Panamanians, and all other Latin Americans, have passionately come to feel that, in this day and age when 19th-century colonial empires have all been swept away, it is intolerable that a relic of colonialism should continue to be imposed on them. . . .

The conditions the U.S. imposed on the Panamanians in 1903 are . . . irrelevant in 1977. . . . How did Britain and France fare when they tried to hold Suez by force?

Sol Linowitz, who along with Ellsworth Bunker was one of the chief American negotiators for the new pact, made the same point in a broadcast over the State Department radio station Voice of America. In Latin America, he said, "expectations have been raised so high that failure to get the treaties ratified could bring a whole range of consequences, including violence."

On the other hand, he made clear, the accord maintains everything Washington considers important. It places "no limitations on what actions we can take, or against whom, to preserve the canal's neutrality after the year 2000." (Quoted in the August 31 *Christian Science Monitor*.)

Linowitz is only one of the high government officials and former officials enlisted in the campaign to drum up support for the treaty. "The Joint Chiefs of Staff have been dispatched to calm the passions of



Auth/Philadelphia Inquirer

the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion," columnist Mary McGrory reported in the August 30 *New York Post*, and Linowitz and Bunker "are on call for seminars with the skeptical or the uninformed."

In fact, a number of conservative war-horses have already seen the light concerning the advantages to imperialist America of the new treaty. Among its public backers are former Secretary of State Kissinger, former President Ford, AFL-CIO chief George Meany and the entire AFL-CIO Executive Board, the leadership of the United Auto Workers union, and right-wing columnist William Buckley.

Every member of Congress has received at least two telegrams and three letters from Carter, and as of September 6 he had already talked personally with 70 of the Senate's 100 members. In addition, the September 7 *Wall Street Journal* reported, "he has started a series of White House meetings with politicians, businessmen, and other 'opinion makers' from around the country. . . ."

Why this high-pressure campaign? (According to one correspondent it is "the most extensive and intensive lobbying effort that the Carter Administration has yet organized.")

Domestic political considerations are the primary factor. The yahoo remnants of the McCarthyite era in the United States, led by Ronald Reagan, have seized on Carter's efforts to make a few judicious concessions on the form of the canal treaty as proof that he is "soft on communism." (In their view of reality, Torrijos, who for his own purposes has appeared publicly with Castro and recently hosted a Soviet trade delegation, heads a "communist" state.)

The aim is to assemble ammunition for 1980, when Carter will presumably be seeking reelection.

In face of this attack—combined with a recent poll that shows 46 percent of the American public still opposed to the new treaty—Carter has adopted a dual strategy.

On the one hand, he has made ratification of the Panama treaty a top priority. Other international trouble spots have been put on the back burner for the moment—to be taken up one at a time once the Panama issue is resolved at home.

On the other, he has fed the press with stories that if the canal treaty fails to win Senate approval, his entire foreign policy of "justice" and "human rights" is in danger.

This bit of calculated press agency has received a wide play in the media. For example, one far-right columnist, Patrick Buchanan of the *New York Daily News*, went so far as to dress it up in these terms September 6:

Carter's entire foreign policy of accommodation and retreat—in South Korea, Taiwan, Southern Africa and in the SALT negotiations—is contingent upon Senate approval of his surrender of the Panama Canal. If he fails here, he fails everywhere.

A similar view, stated in less florid terms, was attributed to an unnamed official in the Carter administration by the *Wall Street Journal* September 7:

The administration believes that ratification of the canal treaties is central to its foreign policy. "If this treaty doesn't go through, the administration's whole foreign policy will be in jeopardy," a State Department official contends.

Bernard Gwertzman reported in the Sep-

tember 7 *New York Times* that Carter is "deferring sensitive foreign policy issues" so as not to alienate conservatives whose votes are needed to pass the treaty.

The suggestion was that flag-waving muddleheads had forced Carter to soft-pedal a number of previously planned foreign policy initiatives. These included the following, Gwertzman said:

- *China*. "Prior to Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance's trip to China last month, the decision was made to label the mission as 'exploratory' and to take no actions that might antagonize conservatives sympathetic to Taiwan, and fearful of a 'sellout' of the Chinese Nationalists."

- *Rhodesia*. "The United States earlier this year co-sponsored a United Nations Security Council resolution ordering an

end to funds from Rhodesia for the Rhodesia Information Office in Washington and in other capitals. But because of a concern over conservative reaction, the Administration has deferred taking the necessary legal steps to cut off the transfer of funds to the information office."

- *Soviet Union*. The arms limitation agreement with Moscow expires October 3 but Carter "now prefers to extend the accord by informal understandings that would avoid a debate on Capitol Hill during this period."

- *Cuba and Vietnam*. The "early enthusiasm for pressing ahead with diplomatic relations with Vietnam and Cuba has been tempered by strong opposition on Capitol Hill to such steps."

- *Israel*. It is "extremely unlikely that

the Administration would seek to pressure Israel and alienate supporters of Israel on Capitol Hill at this time."

In a nutshell, the longer the Panama Canal discussions take in Congress the bigger the headaches for the chief representative of American imperialism. This, plus the mounting pressure that is building up in Latin America against the Yankee enclave in Panama, explains Carter's desire to get the treaty ratified as quickly as possible.

Torrijos no doubt would also prefer to see the treaty ratified quickly. For the more the people of Panama learn what it really means, the less likely they are to give it the overwhelming vote of approval Torrijos needs in the plebiscite to be held at a still uncheduled date. □

Joint Statement by Panamanian and American Trotskyists

[The following statement was issued September 1 by the Liga Socialista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Socialist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Panama) and the Socialist Workers Party. We have taken the text from the September 16 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York.]

* * *

For the exploiters in the United States and throughout the world, the Panama Canal is a vital transportation link and a key base for U.S. military and counterinsurgency activities throughout Latin America.

Ever since stealing the canal more than seventy years ago, Washington has been determined to keep it.

The negotiations between Panama and the American imperialists are the result of the struggles of the Panamanian people against the twenty-one interventions that Yankee troops have carried out in Panama.

Prior to 1964, the United States refused all calls to negotiate a new treaty. But when the Panamanian people decided to mobilize and openly confront the imperialists on January 9-10, 1964, Washington agreed to negotiate a new treaty because of the national and international pressure that followed their cowardly massacre of the Panamanian people.

Now President Carter and Gen. Omar Torrijos are presenting a new treaty that contains certain partial gains for Panama on questions of territory, administration, tolls, mail, and so forth. But the Panamanian government makes serious concessions in the treaty on "questions of national dignity" such as the legalization of the Yankee military presence and joint defense "through a parallel neutrality pact that gives the United States the right to inter-

vene forever to guarantee the canal's neutrality."

That this is what the United States really wanted out of the negotiations is shown by the fact that they were carried out while 9,000 U.S. soldiers are encamped at fourteen bases in the Canal Zone. Genuine negotiations are impossible under such conditions.

The Panamanian government of General Torrijos was a party to the secret talks that produced this pact. Now Torrijos says he will submit the agreement to a plebiscite for approval by the masses. But there can be no genuine debate among the people of Panama as long as the anti-imperialist foes of the pact are in forced exile and access to the mass media is denied to the different mass organizations in Panama.

We of the Revolutionary Socialist League of Panama and the Socialist Workers Party of the United States feel that this treaty does not satisfy the historic aspirations of the Panamanian people for total sovereignty over their national territory and for the expulsion of Yankee soldiers from Panama once and for all. It is designed only to cover up continued U.S. domination of the canal, to retard the struggle of the Panamanian people, and to deny them their self-determination.

The working people of the United States have a special interest in supporting their Panamanian brothers and sisters in the struggle against "U.S. rights to the Canal Zone," an enclave of imperialist domination. The government that has forced this new treaty on Panama is the same government that oppresses working people in the United States and throughout the world.

Against the proposed treaty as well as against those reactionary U.S. politicians who oppose it because, they claim, "the agreement gives up U.S. rights to Panama," the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Socialist Workers Party say:

Washington has no right to be in Panama—not today—not in the year 2000—not ever!

We call on the working people of the whole world to raise their voices alongside ours, demanding:

Full and immediate sovereignty for Panama!

U.S. troops out of Panama!

Dismantle all U.S. military bases in the Canal Zone!

Turn over the canal to Panama now!

U.S. hands off the canal and Panama!

Suicides, Divorces Up Among Whites in Zimbabwe

According to social workers in Zimbabwe, the suicide rate among whites in that country is rising. A spokesman for the Samaritans Organization said September 4 that calls for help from white women under stress had increased fourfold since the beginning of 1977.

On the average, the spokesman said, one white commits suicide every day and the figure is going up.

At the same time, many white couples emigrating from Zimbabwe are getting divorced before they leave. Strict currency export controls imposed by the Smith regime make this financially advantageous.

"A married couple leaving the country normally is allowed to take a maximum of \$1,620 in cash," an Associated Press dispatch reported September 1. "As individuals, each partner can take out more. In addition, a separated or divorced wife can claim maintenance suited to her normal standard of living. With children, the amount increases even further."

However, the article said, "many couples do reunite once they are safely out. . . ."

Antifascist Demonstrators Clubbed by Police

By Kevin Thomas

LONDON—Police and the government are demanding greater powers to control demonstrations, more rigorous enforcement of existing laws, and stiffer sentences following recent clashes of antifascist demonstrators with the police and the National Front in London and Birmingham.

More than 200 persons were arrested August 13 when 4,000 police moved against an equal number of antifascist activists in Lewisham (south London). More than 100 demonstrators were reported injured, although the actual number of casualties was clearly far greater.

Two days later more arrests and injuries occurred outside a National Front election rally at Ladywood (near Birmingham). Police broke up a counter-demonstration organised by the Socialist Workers Party (formerly International Socialists, a state-capitalist grouping) and Socialist Unity, an electoral coalition supported by the International Marxist Group (British section of the Fourth International) seeking far-left unity in the elections. Both the SWP and Socialist Unity also ran candidates in the Ladywood by-election, held August 18.¹

The August 13 action was called by the All-Lewisham Campaign Against Racism and Fascism (ALCARAF), a body representing a range of local labour movement organisations, immigrant groups, church figures, and local councillors, including the Labour mayor. The march was called in response to a provocative march by the National Front through this working-class and immigrant area.

The ALCARAF demonstration was called for the morning but was dispersed by the police some distance from the place where the afternoon National Front march was to begin.

The counter-demonstration followed a period of violent attacks by the National Front on immigrants, known supporters of left-wing groups, and radical bookshops.

The main arrests and injuries August 13 began at the start of the National Front march, when police moved to break up a rally, sponsored by the SWP and antifascist committees in the hope of stopping the Front. Many who participated in the morning ALCARAF demonstration joined the rally. It also attracted support from the

local community, which was strongly opposed to the National Front march. The IMG encouraged support for the morning demonstration and the SWP-sponsored rally.

In the week prior to August 13, three Labour councillors in Lewisham, including the mayor, tried several times to get Home Secretary Merlyn Rees to impose a ban on the National Front march. The call for a ban was also endorsed by Len Murray, general secretary of the Trades Union Congress; members of Parliament; church figures; and most left-wing and immigrant organisations.

The Communist Party, in a statement issued by its Political Committee August 12, endorsed the ALCARAF march but not the SWP-sponsored rally. The statement said that the "National Front march of racial incitement should have been banned."

It was the police and government officials who, for their own reasons to be sure, this time at least were not opting for a ban. Instead, they chose to escort the 500 or so National Front supporters through the immigrant area with mounted horses, new reinforced helmets, and riot shields (not previously used outside Northern Ireland). Along the way they beat and arrested counter-demonstrators.

The aftermath of the events in south London and Birmingham saw a massive propaganda barrage from the police, the government, and the media denouncing the "extremists" on both sides. Police and government officials have justified their decision not to impose a ban, although they have not ruled out such a course in the future. (A ban continues on the use of Trafalgar Square for Irish demonstrations.)

For the time being they appear to have settled for the publicity gained for the "beleaguered policemen," stiffer sentences in the courts, a tightening up of existing laws, and the possibility of new legislation further restricting the rights of counter-demonstrators. A front page article in the London *Sunday Times* of August 21 entitled "Police plan crackdown on march thugs" spelled out the likely lines of future attacks on democratic rights:

"Stricter controls will be imposed on the routing of marches," the article noted. "The National Front's right to demonstrate peacefully will remain, but police powers under the Public Order Act will be applied rigorously."

The clear meaning of this can only be

that police will continue to escort provocative National Front marches through immigrant areas, utilising their powers to the full against counter-demonstrators.

"Another change," the *Sunday Times* article reported, "is that police tactics in the face of a violent counter-demonstration are expected to be more offensive, possibly using 'snatch squads' trained to arrest troublemakers. . . ."

"The Home Office and the police are examining the working of the Public Order Act. It is already clear that no big change is envisaged, but one revision the police would like is the power to arrest people for taking part in a banned march or breaking the provisions of the Race Relations Act. At present the first offence can be dealt with only by a summons." Clearly, the possibility of a state-imposed ban on marches and meetings has not been ruled out.

"Above all, police chiefs say they want stronger penalties imposed by the courts and swifter justice for street rioters," the article noted. Another measure apparently "also being discussed informally in Whitehall" is the raising of deposits that candidates have to give to returning officers before a parliamentary election. This anti-democratic measure is aimed at preventing smaller parties from standing in elections, under the guise of denying "the ability of extremists and crackpots to win cheap publicity."

If introduced, it is certain that these measures will be used against strikes, such as the one at Grunwick,² and all protest actions the authorities want to undermine. The press is already seeking to link the two.

The August 20 *Economist*, for example, made this point in cynically equating the counter-demonstrators with the openly racist National Front, saying: "By shouting out their intentions in advance and compelling the police to hold them apart, they have followed in the tracks of those pickets who a few weeks ago made nonsense of the law outside the Grunwick film processing firm in north London."

"Lewisham and Birmingham—and Grunwick—require the balance to be adjusted," concluded the *Sunday Times* editorial August 21. The editors called for the right to demonstrate within the framework of public order, for "exemplary sentences," and for geographical restrictions on future marches.

In the face of mounting protests by immigrants and other groups of workers in defence of their rights and living standards, the police actions at Lewisham, and Ladywood, reveal a well-oiled propaganda offensive by the police and the government. Their aim clearly is to utilise every opportunity to gain greater powers for the police. □

1. Labour regained the seat with a 53% majority. The National Front was credited with 888 votes (6%); Socialist Unity, 534 (3.4%); and the SWP, 152 (1%).

2. See "The Grunwick Strike in Britain," in *Intercontinental Press*, July 18, p. 831.

'Guerrillas Occupy Southern Half of Angola'

By Ernest Harsch

A year and a half after the end of the Angolan civil war, the fighting in that former Portuguese colony continues.

The ruling MPLA had driven its two main nationalist adversaries, the FNLA and the UNITA,* from all the major cities and towns in early 1976. But it still faces considerable resistance from the UNITA forces, who have conducted military actions throughout much of southern and central Angola.

The first detailed eyewitness account of the UNITA's guerrilla campaign by an American journalist appeared in a series of articles in the August 7-13 issues of the *Washington Post*. Staff writer Leon Dash spent seven and a half months with the UNITA forces, traveling 2,100 miles through Angola. He had previously spent ten weeks with the UNITA in 1973, during its struggle against the Portuguese colonialists.

After entering Angola's Moxico Province from neighboring Zambia on foot in October 1976, Dash visited numerous UNITA camps, some of which were occupied by hundreds of guerrillas. His escort at times numbered up to 100 troops.

Dash witnessed an attack by 250 UNITA soldiers against MPLA forces in the village of Mungo in the central plateau region and counted 1,110 guerrillas returning from another action at Andulo, further north. MPLA prisoners told him of other clashes. And he passed through villages where the inhabitants described recent MPLA attacks, apparently because the villagers were suspected of favoring the UNITA.

One UNITA leader, Samuel Chiwale, claimed that the group now had 23,000 guerrillas. Dash commented, "From the intensive look that I got at UNITA's operations, Chiwale's claim of 23,000 guerrillas seemed credible."

Dash also noted that the UNITA forces were better armed and trained than when he last visited them in 1973. "The guerrillas were using American mortars, Belgian automatics, American M-79 grenade launchers and M-1 World War II-vintage American carbines provided by the U.S.



UNITA LEADER SAVIMBI

Central Intelligence Agency in June 1975," Dash reported. "Ironically, they also had Kalashnikov automatic assault rifles they had received in May 1975 from Romania. . . ."

In addition, the UNITA troops received some tactical training from twenty French mercenaries who had been flown into Angola in mid-January 1976. As part of its aid to the UNITA during the civil war, the Central Intelligence Agency hired the mercenaries on a six-month contract, but they left after only two months.

UNITA leaders told Dash that after the MPLA's offensive last year, the Cuban troops aiding the MPLA had withdrawn from the countryside to the major cities in the south. Most of the actual counterinsurgency actions are now carried out by the MPLA, they said, as well as by the main Namibian nationalist group, the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which has bases in southern Angola and is allied with the MPLA.

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi told Dash that the pullback of the Cubans had led to harsher retaliatory actions against the UNITA's civilian supporters by the MPLA and SWAPO. "The Cubans are not so savage and will usually not kill our

supporters," he said. "The government soldiers are more savage and the SWAPOs are the most savage.

Savimbi's statement that the Cubans were no longer directly involved in the fighting against the UNITA was recently confirmed in the July 25 issue of the London weekly *West Africa* in a report by Basil Davidson, a well-known Africa scholar and a strong supporter of the MPLA regime.

In addition to the actions that Dash witnessed, the UNITA has claimed that the MPLA bases it recently attacked included those in Perreira d'Eca, Cuangar, Cahira, Nova Sintra, Chipeta, Kamakupa, Cuanza, Chinguar, Kutatu, Vila Nova, Bella Vista, Vila Teixeira da Silva, and Ganda.

The MPLA regime in Luanda, however, has rarely acknowledged the UNITA's actions, dismissing its forces as "bandits" and ridiculing its claims of controlling much of the countryside in the southern and central provinces. But having visited the area, Dash gained a different impression: "Traveling through five provinces—Moxico, Cuando Cubango, Huila, Bie and Huambo—I concluded that the UNITA guerrillas effectively occupy the southern half of Angola, an area the size of Texas."

One reason for the UNITA's apparent success has been its ability to retain its traditional base of support among the various peoples in the region, particularly among the Ovimbundo, who make up about one-third of Angola's total population. Dash also encountered Chokwe, Nganguela, and Cuanhama members of UNITA, and even a Bakongo who was traveling to northern Angola to help organize antigovernment guerrillas operating there. The Bakongo-populated north was the traditional base of the FNLA, the UNITA's former ally in the civil war.

Dash reported that the UNITA held large and frequent rallies by its peasant supporters. One such rally that he attended in Huambo Province drew several thousand participants.

Dash commented, "Much of the UNITA guerrillas' success in garnering the support of a large number of peasants of southern Angola, where half of the country's more than 5 million population lives, grew out of their ability to meld strong tribal traditions with their modern-day struggle."

Savimbi told him, "True, tribalism is divisionism, but tribal structure is the lifeblood of Africa. You can draw from this

*Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola); Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (Angolan National Liberation Front); União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

structure the will and support of the people."

While claiming to be a "socialist," Savimbi employed a blend of anti-Communist and Black nationalist rhetoric in his appeals for support from the Angolan peasantry. At the same time that he attacked what he called "Soviet imperialism" for its aid to the MPLA regime, he condemned MPLA leader Agostinho Neto as being pro-white.

UNITA leaders have pointed to the presence of whites and *mestiços* (Angolans of mixed Portuguese and African ancestry) in the MPLA regime in an effort to play on Black fears and resentments. They view the May coup attempt in Luanda as an expression of such sentiments. Nito Alves, a former MPLA leader who has been charged with instigating the coup attempt, had also denounced the whites and *mestiços* in the Neto regime. (Alves has since been captured, and Neto has announced that some of the MPLA dissidents have been executed.)

One UNITA commander admitted to Dash that the guerrillas also employed a degree of intimidation to retain support from the peasantry, at times killing villagers who were considered sympathetic to the regime.

In March 1977, Dash attended the UNITA's fourth congress, held in Huambo Province. He reported that it was attended by 1,600 persons, 530 of whom were delegates. About one-third of the delegates were military personnel and the rest were civilians. (The MPLA has denied that the congress ever took place.)

The congress decided to restructure the UNITA's military apparatus, establishing a semiregular army. Savimbi told the participants that the organization had enough weapons to arm three battalions of 500 soldiers each.

In a reversal of its previous stance, the UNITA decided to no longer seek a coalition government with the MPLA. It also rejected a resolution calling for a new alliance with the FNLA.

Savimbi announced at the congress that the UNITA would in the near future establish a "Black African and Socialist Republic of Angola."

UNITA spokesman Jorge Sangumba later revealed that the "republic" would be based mainly south of the eleventh parallel, from the port of Nove Redondo eastward. Paraphrasing Sangumba, the July 25 *West Africa* stated that "the future republic would not constitute a secessionist state, but would aid an eventual unification of the country."

On the UNITA's policy toward imperialist interests in Angola, Savimbi told Dash, "Nationalization would not be my ultimate nor immediate aim. Foreign companies will not bring the technical know-how to Angola without something in return. You must be honest with the company, however, and tell them that the wealth will be returned to the country."

In this respect, the UNITA's approach is little different from that of the MPLA. Although the MPLA uses much "socialist" demagoguery, it continues to allow the major imperialist interests to exploit Angola's vast natural resources, the Gulf Oil fields in Cabinda being the most important.

Also like the MPLA, the UNITA is organized in an authoritarian manner and seeks to keep its supporters in line by intimidation. It is structured in the form of a pyramid, with the lower levels having no control over the higher bodies. At the base are the peasant associations, which supposedly make suggestions through political commissioners. These, in turn, report to the UNITA's thirty-five-member Central Committee. The Central Committee is chaired and chosen by UNITA General Secretary Miguel N'Zau Puna. It reports to a central policy-making body, the nineteen-member Political Bureau. Savimbi chairs the Political Bureau and personally selects its members.

Although the South African troops who intervened in Angola during the civil war provided logistical and other aid to the UNITA, Dash reported no visible signs of any continuing South African assistance. Sangumba, however, has declared that the UNITA would accept further aid from Pretoria. He was quoted as saying in the June 27 *New York Times* that "if South Africa was willing to help, we have decided to accept without apology. . . ."

The MPLA charges that the UNITA is now collaborating with Pretoria, and that the South Africans have made a number of

incursions into southern Angola from their bases in Namibia. If the Vorster regime is in fact still backing the UNITA, it may be partially in an effort to use the Angolan group against SWAPO, which is fighting for Namibia's independence from South African rule.

While the UNITA and SWAPO were at one time allied, Savimbi makes no secret of his current hostility to the Namibian independence organization. "Now," Savimbi told Dash, "we will never let them [SWAPO] operate against the South Africans in Namibia again. Never! Not unless we are defeated." And Sangumba was quoted in the September issue of the London monthly *Africa* as saying, "One of the decisions we in UNITA have taken is that we will drive SWAPO out of its bases in Angola."

Such a position can only aid the South African imperialists in their campaign to retain control of the mineral-rich country. If the UNITA forces are successful in obstructing SWAPO's efforts to free Namibia, it would be a stab in the back to the Namibian independence movement and would set back the Black freedom struggle throughout southern Africa.

Savimbi is also apparently expecting Washington and other imperialist powers in Europe to resume aid to the UNITA at some point in the future. "The Russians think they will expand throughout the South African subcontinent . . .," he told Dash. Then referring to Paris, London, and Washington, he concluded, "Geopolitics will force them to come back to me." □

Pakistan Military Jails Bhutto

Former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan was arrested September 3 at his seaside villa in Karachi and charged with responsibility for a political assassination. He was taken to jail in Lahore.

A car carrying Ahmad Raza Kasuri, who is a former member of the Pakistan National Assembly, and his father was ambushed by gunmen in Lahore in 1974. Kasuri's father was killed. The opposition legislator charged at the time that the killers were members of Bhutto's Federal Security Force.

The case was reopened following Bhutto's ouster by a military coup in July. Masood Mahmood, the head of the security force, was arrested in August and is said to have implicated Bhutto in the murder.

On September 5, Pakistani government investigators said Bhutto was also being accused of complicity in the 1972 killing of Dr. Nazir Ahmed, also an opposition member of the National Assembly. Five suspects in the case—including four police officials—have told interrogators that Bhutto ordered the killing. Ahmed had made speeches charging Bhutto with responsibility for Pakistan's defeat in the

1971 war for Bangladesh independence.

General Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, head of the Pakistani military government and leader of the July coup, told *New York Times* correspondent William Borders on September 6 that he had personally ordered Bhutto's arrest. The general also spoke of a third assassination involving Bhutto.

"I have seen it with my own eyes," Zia said. "It was a report from the intelligence giving the activities of a particular man."

Borders continued: "In the margin of the report, the general said in an interview, Mr. Bhutto wrote, 'Eliminate him.' The man was slain six months or a year later."

Bhutto remains a candidate of his Pakistan People's Party in the elections that the military regime has set for October 18. Leaders of the coalition of parties opposing Bhutto, the Pakistan National Alliance, are calling for the murder trial to begin immediately and have suggested that the elections be postponed to allow time for a verdict to be reached. "Such a trial would show up the way Bhutto and his gang were ruling over the years," PNA leader Asghar Khan said.

White Rule and African Oppression

By Jim Atkinson

[Second in a series]

"Our only offense in the eyes of the world is that we do not subscribe to the modern fallacy that democracy is the only moral form of government." Mark Partridge, Rhodesian Minister of Lands and Natural Resources, December 18, 1975.⁹

From the conquest in 1890-93, the African population of Zimbabwe was stripped of all basic political freedoms. The Africans were excluded from having any say in the running of the government; and all attempts by the Africans to assert their rights were suppressed, more or less ruthlessly.

Until 1923, "Southern Rhodesia," as Zimbabwe was named in honor of its conqueror, Cecil Rhodes, was governed directly by Rhodes's British South Africa Company, though in 1898 a Legislative Council was set up, with four elected whites and five BSAC appointees. In 1907, the settlers gained a majority in the council.

When Rhodes was granted a royal charter in 1889 by the British government, setting up the BSAC and authorizing the company to administer Zimbabwe on behalf of British imperialism, he had expected to cover the costs of government from taxes levied on the Africans and from profits that he anticipated would flow from the mining of gold. It soon turned out, however, that there was much less gold than had been expected; so the BSAC became keen to recoup its investment by selling and leasing land to white settlers and establishing a relatively large white farming community. At the same time, the company sought to relinquish its costly administrative responsibilities. The British government agreed; and, in 1923, company rule ended.

By an act of Parliament, the country became a "self-governing" British colony—self-governed, that is, by the white settlers. The British government retained only limited "reserve powers" to veto certain legislation emanating from the Salisbury government, but it never once—from 1923 to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965—used these powers. To all intents and purposes, the British government's authority in Zimbabwe was nominal. The Salisbury regime had its own police force, the British South Africa Police (BSAP), and its own army—and later it set up its own air force. Using their own state apparatus, the white settlers were able therefore to declare UDI without any basic change in the country's internal political system.

From its inception to the present day, the settler regime has used a restricted franchise system, based on high educational, income, and property qualifications, to exclude the mass of Africans from exercising the right to vote. Thus, in 1923, when the African population numbered about one million, only 30 Africans succeeded in registering as voters, while 19,000 Europeans, out of a total white population of only 35,000, were able to register.

Under the present constitution, which came into force in 1969, an African cannot vote unless he or she earns over 780 Rhodesian dollars¹⁰ in income per year; or owns property worth over R\$1,560; or has completed at least two years' secondary schooling and either earns over R\$520 a year or owns property worth over R\$1,040. As a result, there were only 7,000 Black voters registered for the 1974 elections out of a total African population

(at the end of 1976) of 6,340,000; while 82,700 Europeans, Asians, and Coloureds (Zimbabweans of mixed ethnic origin) were registered out of a total European, Asian, and Coloured population of only 305,000, of which 273,000 are Europeans.¹¹

Under the 1969 constitution, the small number of Africans who qualify for a vote are registered on a special Blacks-only roll. African voters can elect only eight members out of the sixty-six who sit in the House of Assembly. Eight additional African representatives are chosen by eight electoral colleges, consisting of government-approved chiefs and headmen and members of the African Councils, bodies supervised by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which administers the Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs), the African reserves in the rural areas. The other fifty members of the assembly are whites.

Not only are the vast majority of Blacks denied the right to vote. All attempts by Africans to organize politically to assert their rights can be more or less systematically suppressed. The regime is armed with a battery of repressive legislation for this purpose: the Unlawful Organisation Act 1959, which allows the government to ban nationalist parties; the Preventive Detention Act 1959; the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act 1960, under which the regime can ban political meetings, ban publications, restrict nationalist leaders to certain parts of the country, and impose mandatory death sentences on freedom fighters; and the Emergency Powers Act 1960, which has enabled the regime to impose a continuous state of emergency since 1960 and to issue emergency proclamations to censor the press, detain nationalist politicians indefinitely without charge or trial, impose collective fines on entire villages, order Africans to engage in forced labor, and carry out a host of other repressive measures against the African population.

The regime has used the Unlawful Organisations Act to successively ban almost all nationalist parties organized by Blacks: the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress (SRANC) in 1959, the National Democratic Party (NDP) in 1961, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in 1962, the People's Caretaker Council (PCC), the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in 1964 and the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (Frolizi) in 1971.

By policing and repressing the African population, the regime is able to provide the capitalist interests in the country with a steady flow of cheap, disciplined labor, thereby allowing the big monopolies in manufacturing, mining, and agribusiness to rake in superprofits without the threat of industrial action by their employees. In addition, the capitalists are aided in their profit-gouging by the unequal distribution of the land. Though Africans outnumber whites twenty-three to one, the whites own roughly half the country's farming land. The overcrowding, soil erosion, poverty, and malnutrition in the TTLs ensures that these rural slums act as labor reservoirs for capitalist industry, mines, and farms.

While defending the major capitalist interests in the country, the regime has a mass base for its reactionary and repressive policies among the white petty bourgeoisie, farmers, and labor aristocracy, whose privileges in wages, land ownership, social

9. The *Times* (London), December 19, 1975.

10. One Rhodesian dollar equals US\$1.54.

11. Population figures are from *Economic Survey of Rhodesia, 1976*, Ministry of Finance, Salisbury, 1977; figures for voters are from the *Financial Times* (London), January 13, 1976.

facilities, health care, and educational opportunities depend on the oppression of the African masses and their exclusion from all political rights.

The privileges of the whites are truly vast. The unequal distribution of the land—an inheritance from the land theft committed by the settlers after the conquest—has already been mentioned. In industry, the white artisans and skilled workers have erected a job color bar, restricting Africans to unskilled work. The white skilled workers' trade unions control apprenticeship schemes, thereby barring Africans from entering skilled grades. Thus, the African Trades Union Congress (ATUC) estimates that only 80 Africans acquired apprenticeships in industry in 1970-73, while 450 Europeans gained apprenticeships in the same period.¹²

The gulf in wages between Black and white workers is enormous, the white workers earning on average ten times more than Black workers in 1976. (See Table 1.)

There is no doubt that white Rhodesians enjoy one of the highest standards of living in the world—while the majority of Black Zimbabweans scrape by with a standard of living below the Poverty Datum Line (PDL). A study conducted by the University of Rhodesia in 1974 showed that, in 1974 terms, the PDL for an urban family of four was R\$660-R\$670 a year, while the average wage (in all sectors excluding agriculture) was R\$556. The study also showed that, in fact, the average African family size was six to seven persons, for which the PDL was R\$800 a year.¹³

By contrast, a measure of the whites' prosperity is their employment of 126,000 domestic servants, earning on average a paltry R\$7 a week. A 1973 survey showed that the average domestic worker worked a 63.5-hour week, with no social-security provisions for medical aid or pensions. Most domestic servants live on their employers' premises, but since these are in whites-only suburbs, the African (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act bars these workers from having their children and wives or husbands living with them.¹⁴

These domestic servants clean, cook, and baby-sit in the fabulous homes of the whites, often replete with swimming pools, tennis courts, and acres of garden. By contrast, urban Blacks are crowded into segregated townships where housing is poor and inadequate. Some thousands of African workers are forced to live in hostels for single Blacks; and yet other thousands reside in squatter shanty-towns on the fringes of the cities.

Last but not least, social facilities are vastly superior for the whites. The statistics on education are illustrative. In the 1974-75 school year, the government spent R\$30 million on African education and just over R\$28 million on European education. It therefore spent almost the same on whites as it did on Blacks, even though there were about sixteen times as many Blacks enrolled in school as whites.¹⁵ Moreover, the vast majority of Blacks only receive primary education, while all whites get full secondary education. Thus, in the 1975-76 school year, there were 846,260 Africans in primary schools, but a mere 43,642 in secondary schools. There are actually about twice as many white students in the final year of secondary school (sixth form) as Blacks.

Commenting on this system of massive racial privilege, the London *Financial Times's* Salisbury correspondent, Tony Haw-

12. African Trades Union Congress (ATUC) Education Services, *Workers Education Programme*, Bulawayo, undated, p. 216.

13. *The Urban Poverty Datum Line in Rhodesia*, University of Rhodesia, Salisbury, 1974.

14. For a full study of the conditions of domestic servants, see ATUC Education Services, op. cit., pp. 187-199.

15. *African Development in Rhodesia*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Salisbury, September 1976; *Rhodesia Digest*, Ministry of Information, Salisbury, 1977.

Table 1
AVERAGE EARNINGS BY RACIAL GROUP, 1976
(in R\$)

	Africans	Europeans, Asians, Coloureds
Agriculture/Forestry	201	4,915
Mining/Quarrying	567	7,590
Manufacturing	805	6,347
Electricity/Water	776	6,895
Construction	677	5,796
Finance/Insurance/Real Estate	1,351	5,376
Distribution/Hotels/Restaurants	717	4,604
Transport/Communications	1,074	5,993
Public Administration	997	6,364
Education	1,166	5,151
Health	1,075	4,119
Private Domestic Services	392	—
Others	658	4,467
All	517	5,583

Source: *Economic Survey of Rhodesia, 1976*, Ministry of Finance, Salisbury, 1977.

kins, once pointedly asked: "Where else could they [the whites] get an average wage of £4,000 a year, be able to buy a three- or four-bedroomed house on an acre of property for £23,000 on a mortgage rate of 7.7 per cent? For many whites, it really is a three (or two) servant, two-car, one swimming pool society. Tax levels are low, good education is available at little costs. . . . The standard of living is one of the highest in the world, and certainly ahead of that in South Africa."¹⁶

Pledged to the defense of settler interests, the white Rhodesian government has refused to countenance a hand over to Black rule because, even if a Black government was ready to uphold the basic interests of the large capitalist monopolies, it would inevitably dismantle much of the system of racial privilege. This is why the Rhodesian whites bitterly opposed the British government's strategy in the late 1950s and early 1960s of shifting its methods of colonial domination from overt to neocolonial forms.

It is also why, in reaction to the increasing pressure of the African nationalist movement and British imperialism's support for a transition to neocolonial forms of rule, the settler regime of the Rhodesian Front (RF) decided to declare unilateral independence on November 11, 1965.

[Next: The Superexploitation of African Labor]

16. *Financial Times* (London), February 25, 1976.

Soares Announces Austerity Moves

Premier Mário Soares of Portugal announced a number of drastic economic measures August 25. His government is taking steps to meet demands made by the International Monetary Fund and a group of U.S. and West European lenders currently negotiating a \$750 million loan for Portugal.

Gasoline prices, already the highest in Europe, will rise 24% to \$2.55 a gallon. Inflation—now at 40%—will be further fueled by allowing the escudo to float downward against other currencies, thus increasing the price of imported goods. The escudo was devalued by 15% in February.

Soares also said that industrywide labor contracts would be suspended, and that public spending would be cut between 10% and 20%. Limitations on credit would be instituted, and interest rates would rise by 4%.

The premier also threatened to introduce rationing of gasoline.

Costa Rican Blacks—An Oppressed Nationality

[The following interview appeared in the August 1977 issue of *Qué Hacer?*, the monthly newspaper of the Organización Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Organization), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Costa Rica. The introduction is by *Qué Hacer?*; the translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

[We are publishing this interview with Guillermo Joseph Wignal, who has long been a revolutionary militant and fighter for the rights of his oppressed people. Although Wignal was not a member of the OST at the time of the interview, our party unconditionally defends all the positions that appear in this interview, and we take them as our own.]

* * *

Question. We understand that your history is one of a revolutionary-socialist fighter.

Answer. For more than twenty years I have been involved with and struggling alongside the workers—not only in Costa Rica, but in all other countries where I have lived. For example, I was active in the Black Workers League in England.

I got started as a militant in the Acción Democrática Popular. That is a sad memory, since it was no more than a front for the PVP [Partido Vanguardia Popular, the Costa Rican CP] to elect Julio Suñol—who is now an ideologue of the bourgeoisie—to the Legislative Assembly.

I was a founder and a leading member of the Partido Revolucionario Auténtico. This party became the MRA, in which I was also a leading member. I broke with the MRA because of deep differences with the more grotesque aspects of its political line. On this point, out of class solidarity with the workers party that the MRP is today, I can't go into details in a public interview.¹

I have taken an active part in movements of solidarity with organizations

and struggles in Central America, as well as in the trade-union movement. I have been and continue to be an activist in the Black movement, and I am a founder and general secretary of the Partido Auténtico Limonense.²

I am a revolutionary-socialist militant because I believe that only socialist revolution can eliminate the conditions of misery that capitalism imposes on a world scale. But I am also a Black militant in the struggle for the emancipation of my people, who are oppressed by capitalist society.

Q. In describing your struggle, you draw a distinction between racial discrimination and the exploitation of workers. Don't you think both struggles are the same?

A. Within the world political-sociological panorama, we have to start to analyze the Black problem in capitalist and imperialist societies. The main goal should be to determine clearly the role of the Black struggle in the process of world socialist revolution.

Racial discrimination against Blacks has been and continues to be one of the basic elements that keeps the social organization at the service of the bosses. So an analysis of this situation can in no way be limited to the dimension of racism or sectarianism.³

Workers are exploited in all capitalist societies, in the most dictatorial as well as in those that preserve some democratic forms won by the workers. In the same way, Blacks are racially discriminated against in all capitalist countries—and for the same purpose. Costa Rica is no exception to this tragic rule.

This is particularly evident in the countries to which Blacks were brought against their will to serve as laborers. In this context, Blacks as a people are an integral part of the marginal social sectors exploited by capitalism and world imperialism.

Blacks are exploited as workers and as Blacks. We are the last to get work and the first to be dismissed. Working condi-

tions are the worst, and wages are the lowest.

But in the case of Blacks this situation of marginality and exploitation has a more acute character because Blacks are truly ignorant of their origins. Their ancestors were cruelly ripped from their African homes and transported across many, many miles to be inhumanly sold as slaves on the American market.

In that passage from Africa to the slave markets, the total number of Blacks that succumbed under the brutality of their abductors is unknown, although it is known that out of five million taken from Africa, only two million arrived in the Americas.

Although it is capitalist society that exploits workers and discriminates against Blacks, and therefore neither the one nor the other can completely achieve liberation without destroying capitalist society, Blacks have their own special problems as Blacks. In their struggle they confront capitalist society both as workers and as Blacks. This is not to say that Blacks subordinate their own struggles to workers' struggles, but rather that we struggle to defend our interests as Blacks and in that way participate in the process of overthrowing capitalism.

Q. How do you view Blacks in Costa Rican society?

A. Blacks in Costa Rica are an oppressed national minority. They have all the characteristics of a nationality. As direct and indirect descendants of slaves, American, Latin American, and Costa Rican Blacks do not really know their history, their culture, their original language. The languages that they now have to use for communication—Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, or whatever—are not the proper languages of their culture. In other words, Blacks have been forced to speak the language and practice the culture of their masters. Nevertheless, Blacks do have their own languages: Patois and Creole. They have music, songs, and dances that are part of their true culture. They also have foods, celebrations, forms of dress, and ways of relating to each other that identify them as a distinct group in Costa Rican society. Capitalism in Costa Rica does everything in its power to make Blacks lose their identity. Blacks are taught to hate themselves, and to hate others as well.

Hatred, racism, and sectarianism have been the traditional weapons used internationally by capitalism and imperialism

1. The Partido Revolucionario Auténtico (Authentic Revolutionary Party) was a Castroist guerrilla organization. It later became the Movimiento Revolucionario Auténtico (Authentic Revolutionary Movement), and, more recently, the Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo (People's Revolutionary Movement), having moved away from guerrillism toward reformism. See note 5 below.

2. Limon Authentic Party—a Black political party recently formed in Limon Province, Costa Rica.

3. Wignal uses "sectarianism" to refer to divisions within the Black community based on the fact that many Costa Rican Blacks are immigrants from various other countries.

to keep workers and peoples of different races divided. In the case of Blacks, there is serious sectarianism that divides Caribbeans, North Americans, Latin Americans, Africans, and Europeans. Such sectarianism has been fostered and fed by those who have been the masters; it corresponds to interests foreign to those of Blacks.

This has made fraternity, solidarity, and international unity of Blacks around their own interests as a people more difficult. It impedes the development of full consciousness of their social condition as part of the vast legion of exploited and marginalized workers in the dominant society.

Q. What is the way forward, the alternative for Blacks in Costa Rica?

A. A moment arrives for any exploited and marginalized group of people when inaction and silence become a form of betrayal of their emancipation. Many Black peoples today have come to understand this. They have ceased being silent and inactive, and have taken the road of revolutionary social action, with the result that those who were the masters are no longer.

In Costa Rica, the Blacks most conscious of their past have well understood that it is time to take action for the future—not only as Blacks, but also as workers, as the most marginal and exploited sector in our country. They have understood very well that it is by no means certain that the Partido de Liberación Nacional [the ruling bourgeois party] will emancipate them and give them opportunities to study, to work, to get ahead. They also know that if they have won anything at all it has always been by defying discrimination, dogmatism, and sectarianism—by struggling for the right to be Black.

They have also seen how the so-called revolutionary parties, out of prejudice or because of complicity with the parties of the ruling classes, have failed to come to grips with the problem of the Black nation and have thus contributed to the loss of Black identity.

Q. So you don't see a political solution to the Black problem in the workers parties?

A. The Black struggle forms a part of the struggle of the oppressed against the capitalist oppressors. In this sense, it is linked to the need for a political leadership that would struggle consistently for socialism.

The Frente Popular Costarricense,⁴ in

4. Popular Front of Costa Rica—a centrist grouping with positions very similar to those of the PVP.

the areas where it does political work, quite frequently makes alliances with capitalist sectors.

The PVP abandons the struggle for socialism, and defends the stability of the bosses' government against the workers. In the more than forty years of the PVP's existence, Blacks have never found any of their own demands in its program.

The MRP, during its formative years, raised correct positions in the abstract. But these were not linked to the concrete struggles of the workers, and it advocated guerrillaist ultraleftism. In its "years of maturity," in which it began to link up with the trade-union struggle, the MRP abandoned the fight against those who conciliate with the bosses. It forgot its most fundamental principles and became part of an unprincipled bloc on the basis of purely electoral considerations.⁵ The same can be said, on this point, of the Socialist Party—it is a party without positions of its own and is capable of taking any stand whatsoever.

None of these parties has been at all concerned with the Black problem. It will not be strange if in the future they set themselves against the right of Blacks to raise their own demands and have their own organization.

The recent birth and development of the OST has awakened enormous interest among Black revolutionists. The consistent and educational way the OST has defended revolutionary principles, not just in the abstract, but by seeking to link up with the struggles of oppressed sectors—not only workers, but also women and Blacks—by concerning itself with their special problems.

In face of the vacuum of revolutionary leadership, the existence of the OST and its positions presents the serious possibility that it can be transformed into the embryo of a revolutionary party to fill that vacuum. In that sense, I have seriously posed for myself the problem of strengthening and building it. That is the very context in which I have agreed to this interview.

Q. Haven't the attacks on the OST made it difficult for you to approach us? These attacks launched against us by the press of the left parties insinuate that elements traitorous to the revolutionary cause are present in our ranks. They accuse us besides of being armed by imperialism to divide the popular movement.

A. I know the attacks on the OST perfectly well. They are the traditional

5. On July 26, the PVP, MRP, and SP announced the formation of Pueblo Unido (People United), an electoral coalition based on a vague platform of defending democratic rights and "national sovereignty."

weapons of the Costa Rican left, which is not very well educated politically and resorts to insults and calumnies instead of discussing political principles. I have myself been the victim of similar attacks: Some members of the PVP and the PS say that I belong to the CIA, that I carry a card in the security forces.

So I could ask you the same question: Don't you have doubts about publishing an interview with me, knowing that such accusations exist?

As a revolutionist, I go by the political positions a party defends. I think it would be very difficult for CIA agents to build a revolutionary party with clear and radical positions.

Q. What is the present political situation among Blacks?

A. Not all Blacks who feel oppression are conscious of the need to destroy capitalism, or of the need to have the right to form our own movement, a Black party; to identify ourselves as Blacks, since we suffer the same oppression and have the same need to struggle. No one can impose on Blacks the idea that in order to struggle around their own demands they have to belong to a workers party, and forget their own organizations as Blacks. It is necessary to break with all ruling-class sectors, so that the oppression of Blacks will be seen more clearly as part of their condition as workers.

A vigorous and healthy Black political movement is coming to life in Costa Rica. What is being posed is not power for Blacks, but power for the people. In other words, the movement in progress has an eminently revolutionary and socialist content, since it correctly tries to place the struggle for the rights and emancipation of Costa Rican Blacks in the context of the struggle for the rights and emancipation of the whole sector of exploited and marginalized workers.

I struggle to build a revolutionary party, and I also struggle to build an independent Black movement—one in which all Blacks, socialist or not, can be represented. These activities are not incompatible; on the contrary—they are profoundly complementary. □

Correction

In the second part of Joseph Hansen's review of Robert J. Alexander's book *Trotskyism in Latin America* in our September 5 issue, the following sentence on page 960 was incorrect: "However, following the split, the faction headed by Nahuel Moreno continued to publish *La Verdad* until March 1973." As noted in a subsequent paragraph, publication of *La Verdad* was suspended in March 1972.

First Task: Mobilize Against the British Occupation

[The following interview was given to Gerry Foley in mid-August by four Irish socialists attending the convention of the Socialist Workers Party in Ohio. The participants were Bernadette Devlin McAliskey of the Irish Independent Socialist Party (ISP), Fergus O'Hare of the People's Democracy (PD), and Anne Farrelly and James McMahon of the Movement for a Socialist Republic (MSR), Irish section of the Fourth International. The persons interviewed have not had the opportunity to check their remarks.]

* * *

Question. Where does the struggle in Northern Ireland stand today? What is the main immediate task of the anti-imperialist forces?

Devlin McAliskey. The key issue in the North at the present time is repression. Britain has not only been rapidly increasing the extent and intensity of its repression but it has begun now to actually goad the people. An example of this is the queen's visit to Northern Ireland [on August 10-11]. This was like the British saying: "Four years ago we could not have brought this woman in here, and now we can take her in and take her out, and there's not a damn thing you can do about it."

However, the British have made a bad error by starting this policy. Independent of what the left has been able to do, this course of rubbing the face of the people in the dirt has begun to turn the masses around, to get them to stop retreating and begin to think about fighting back.

The people have begun to realize that when things get this bad, you have only two alternatives; you can either give up or fight back. But the idea of giving up is completely foreign to the minds of the Irish people. The whole tradition of the Irish struggle is against that. So, if you aren't prepared to give up, you have to start fighting back.

As a result, resistance is developing, based first of all on opposition to repression and torture. That is what the people are not prepared to tolerate. And they think that they can win victories on this issue. The fight for the rights of political prisoners, for republicans jailed in Britain and Northern Ireland, is closely tied in with the struggle against overall repression and torture. Moreover, the struggle against repression and brutality in all its aspects very quickly raises the question of

the need for demanding the immediate withdrawal of British troops.

You could see the shift in the mood of the people towards fighting back against repression in the vote against the coalition government in the South.¹

The vote against the coalition was mainly a vote against something rather than for something. But the people could see where [former Premier] Cosgrave's line was taking them. Not only had he failed to produce either peace or prosperity [the promises on which the coalition won the 1973 elections] but he was taking the country to the brink of dictatorship. The people pulled back very quickly from that.

We should not have any illusions in the new Fianna Fáil government. But we can see that they are going to be, obviously, much more vulnerable to pressure on the questions of repression in the South than the coalition was.

Q. Could you give some examples of the kind of repression the British are carrying on now in Northern Ireland?

Devlin McAliskey. Let's begin by looking at the statistics of the repression. The population of Northern Ireland is less than a million and a half. On the queen's visit, concentrated around her alone, not counting the forces deployed in the nationalist ghettos, were 32,000 troops. That is the total of soldiers, police, and Ulster Defense Regiment members assigned to guard her.

In Northern Ireland, the organized security forces approach 50,000. The number of political prisoners is in the the region of three and a half thousand. And the prison population is growing rapidly, as more people are being taken in than are being let out. Moreover, the rate at which people are being sentenced is increasing, and the length of sentences being handed down is growing. So, the percentage of the population being imprisoned for long periods of time is growing dramatically. The number of people being taken in for detention of two to seven days is also greatly increasing.

1. The coalition of the Labour Party and Fine Gael, the historically most openly proimperialist of the Irish bourgeois parties, suffered the worst defeat of any government in the history of the Dublin-ruled state in the mid-June elections, to the astonishment of the British and American bourgeois press and politicians. This government, which came to power in 1973, was associated with the escalation of repression against militant nationalists and increasing open cooperation with British repression in the North.

We had a period of internment, of imprisonment without charge or trial, in Northern Ireland. Britain was forced to draw back from that. But the situation today is actually worse than internment. There is still imprisonment without justification. But it is hidden under all the trappings of so-called British justice. That is, people are tried before a court. There's no jury. Then they are convicted and sentenced.

A big part of this system is wringing confessions out of people by systematic mental and physical torture. Cases abound of people actually being awarded financial damages in civil courts because of undeniable, proven physical injuries that they have received while in the custody of the police.

Many of these injuries have been major ones, such as damage to kidneys and other internal organs, broken bones, and brain damage. The evidence of this has been presented in civil courts, and the British Ministry of Defence has had to pay money to these people. But the police and military still argue that there's no way they can find out how this is happening.

In the face of such evidence, the chief of police very recently made a statement saying that people were actually mentally deranging themselves, breaking their own bones, destroying their own internal organs, burning themselves with cigarettes, causing themselves brain damage, jumping out of police station windows—all to give the police a bad image.

Moreover, torture is not just something that is being used to obtain confessions. Since the British have eliminated political status for prisoners, torture continues after they have gotten you behind bars.

In Long Kesh prison camp, there is a section known as H-Block. This is where prisoners are being held, who, after being denied political status, have refused to comply with the prison regulations for common-law convicts. Since they refuse to wear prison uniforms, they are being kept naked except for a blanket. Most of them are in solitary confinement for at least twenty-three hours a day. Usually, they don't even get out of the cell. Many of them never see daylight, inasmuch as they are never allowed into the prison yard. They are denied access to family visits. The more they refuse to comply with prison regulations, the more of these so-called privileges are taken away. So, you have growing numbers of people who get nothing but the poorest kind of food,

on alternative days. Everything else has been taken away.

Q. Could you give some specific cases to illustrate what these methods add up to in terms of the lives of individual prisoners and victims of repression?

Devlin McAliskey. In the area where I live myself [Coalisland, County Tyrone], a police patrol was ambushed by the IRA, and some policemen were killed. In the early hours of the following morning, our area—which is basically a rural ghetto; all the people are Catholic and are republican-oriented in one way or another—was raided by the army. Such raids have become a fact of life and are taken for granted.

They arrested a number of people. One of them was Thomas McGrath, a young man of about seventeen years of age. Along with all the others, he was accused of murdering the policemen and given a confession to sign. He said that he hadn't done it, and that he could prove where he had been, and so he had an alibi.

Thomas McGrath gave the police a true statement, saying where he had been, who he had been with, and who could testify as to his whereabouts. And what the police did was the next morning they came around and arrested all those he had listed as being able to give evidence on his behalf.

The police then interrogated these people on the basis that they were accessories to murder. In that second swoop, they had arrested Thomas McGrath's father, Peter, who is a man in his middle sixties. He was held for seven days, which is the time police are allowed to detain people without having to present charges. When, after seven days, he hadn't been released, his solicitor issued a writ of habeas corpus for him. Then, the police had to either release Peter McGrath or produce evidence and charge him.

What the police did, then, was to say that Peter McGrath had been taken ill, and was in the Musgrave Park Hospital. When his family went to the hospital to take him home, they found that he wasn't there. He had been transferred to a mental institution. And when the family went to see him there—and I personally talked with the family—he did not recognize any of them.

The man couldn't speak. He was like a dog, like an animal that had been beaten and cowed into a corner. He just kept looking at people through frightened eyes. The psychiatrist couldn't determine whether he had physically lost the power of speech, or whether in fact he was just too frightened to speak. He was that way for four weeks. Finally, he came to a position where he was able to identify the members of his family, and realized who he was and what his name was. But he still doesn't remember anything that hap-

pened from the day he went into the police station until about the tenth or eleventh day he was in the mental institution.

But what is worst about this case is that Peter McGrath's son signed the confession. This was not because of the torture he received himself, because he had refused to sign it. He signed it because he was placed in a cell next to his father, so that he knew his father was being tortured although he couldn't see what was happening to him. After being held in that cell for six days, he signed the confession. He implicated himself and others in a murder he actually had no part in. What the British gained by torturing an old man is that they can now put something like five or six young people in prison for life.

Another case that comes to mind has to do with the situation in H-Block in Long Kesh. The father of one young man being held there had died, and his mother was trying to get compassionate parole for him so that he could attend the funeral.

This case also illustrates how the British play with people in the pettiest of ways in order to increase their suffering. At first, they told the mother that her son would not be released. Then, after she went through the whole procedure, they said, O.K., he would be let out. And they told the young man that he would be released to attend his father's funeral. But when his mother actually came to meet him, it emerged that they never had any intention of letting the young man out. But they let the mother believe right up to the last minute that he was coming, and then when the family went to the prison to collect him, they were simply sent away without him.

To the young man himself, they kept saying, "You're getting out for your father's funeral." And when he would get ready to be taken out, they would say, "We've changed our minds, you can't go." While his father was dying, they would wake him up in the middle of the night and tell him his father was dead. He'd go back to sleep again. Then they'd wake him up again, and tell him they were joking.

Finally, after the father died and after a lot of pressure, the mother was allowed in to visit her son. He was taken to a visitors cubicle. And she went in to see him, and she walked straight out, and apologized to her own son for walking into the wrong cubicle. She said to the prison warden that she had walked into the wrong place. He said: "That's the right place, that's your son." This woman just could not accept that the human being in front of her was her son.

I heard her talk about this experience at a meeting in Coalisland, near my home. Her description was that her son, who was a very young man, looked like a living corpse. It was very hard to try to

gauge what age of a man you thought he might be. He certainly looked like a man of over thirty-five. His skin was covered with sores and boils, both from lack of proper washing facilities and fresh air, as well as from the lack of decent food.

His face was white; his hair was matted. He couldn't in fact concentrate long enough to conduct a conversation. His hands shook. His eyes wandered about the room. To her, he seemed a completely disoriented person. He had been sitting there so long on his own, almost for a year, with nothing to read, no one to talk to, and nothing to sit on but the floor. And when she talked to him, he was more dead than alive. He couldn't talk coherently. He couldn't even concentrate enough to listen to what she was saying.

It was only by accident that we got this information about one prisoner in H-Block. There are about 150 other people in this block. And we have no idea what their state of physical and mental health may be.

Fergus O'Hare. I would like to generalize a little on what Bernadette has said. I think that it is important to realize that we have come through a severe downturn in the North. For the last three or four years, the British have been systematically beating back the anti-imperialist struggle. They made a conscious decision not to try to make any fundamental reforms in the Six-County State [of Northern Ireland]. They decided that their interests could be best served by smashing the anti-imperialist struggle, and handing control back over to the Unionists.² They have gone about this process in a fairly systematic manner, and what Bernadette has been outlining is the end result.

The British set out to destroy the mass movement and isolate the military struggle [of the IRA] from the mass struggle. Through a series of repressive measures, they have managed to reduce the mass aspect of the struggle. Then, having reduced the mass involved in the struggle and isolated the military campaign, they decided to go in and systematically, through pure terror and repression, root out what was left of the resistance. The result is the situation that's been described.

In some areas of Belfast, the British troops are more active now than at any time in the past seven or eight years of struggle, with the possible exception of the period just after Operation Motorman,³ when they literally saturated these areas.

2. The proimperialist party based on appealing to the privileged-caste spirit of the Protestant population founded by British colonists.

3. August 1, 1972, when the British troops moved back into the barricaded Catholic ghettos.

So, then, what can we do about this? The main task of all those involved in the struggle in Ireland is to rebuild the mass aspect of the fight, to rebuild the mass movement. I think the British have overestimated the effect of their repression. They have been working under the assumption that the people have been beaten into the ground. That is why they are so arrogant. But we don't think that the people have been defeated. There is still a fair level of combativity in the anti-Unionist population.

Our activity in the North has been mainly to try to regroup those people who are still prepared to fight back, to start to rebuild the mass movement. And the way we have gone about this has been to take the issue of political status for prisoners in particular and try to organize a campaign around it.

About a year ago, with the help of the other left-wing groups, we started a petition drive in defense of political status. We were able to form a kind of nucleus around which the anti-imperialist forces could rally, and then start to regain ground. As a result of this initiative, the relatives of the men in H-Block decided they had to come out and take an active part and try to rebuild resistance on this question.

Together with the left-wing groups, Sinn Féin, and other groups that were willing to work with them, they formed the Relatives Action Committee. For a period of about a year, this committee has been working systematically to rebuild the mass movement. It has done this by going into the ghettos and distributing leaflets and propaganda explaining what the British were up to on the political status question. Because the British method was to cause confusion and eliminate political status in a way that people didn't realize what was actually happening. They didn't just come in and say political status ends. They said that anyone who commits an offense after a certain day—the thirty-first of March last year—will be regarded as a criminal. The whole thing was designed to cause maximum confusion, and it did that.

The Relatives Action Committee set as its first task to clarify what was exactly going on, what the British were trying to do. Then, they set themselves the task of mobilizing agitation, small-scale local agitation on that issue. And in the first months of the committee's existence, they succeeded through that sort of activity in building a fair network of branches in the Belfast areas. Since then, with the help of the Independent Socialist Party and Bernadette in Coalisland, the Relatives Action Committee is now moving outside Belfast, and is actually forming a vanguard to rebuild the anti-imperialist mass movement.

In the present stage, the British have come to focus in on what the left-wing

groups have been doing. They realized that the danger of a remobilization comes mainly from the left. There are two cases in particular that indicate this. The first is the arrest of the general secretary of our organization, John McAnulty.

John was arrested about a month ago.



Oberlin News-Tribune

BERNADETTE DEVLIN McALISKEY

He is being held on a trumped-up charge. Now, whether or not the charge holds in court is irrelevant, because the way the system in Northern Ireland works is that once you're charged, you're refused bail, and you're then remanded⁴ for up to a year. Because there is such a backlog of cases in the courts, the remands stretch on for a year or eighteen months.

So, what the British have effectively done in John's case is remove a leading Marxist militant from the struggle through a process of internment through remand.

There is another example of exactly the same sort of thing. A young man named James Gibney, who was active at the founding of the Relatives Action Committee, was arrested a year ago, on the sixth of September. He was charged, like John McAnulty, with possession of documents that might be of use to terrorists. The evidence was equally flimsy. He has been on remand, after being refused bail, for a year.

When Gibney was last up for remand, about a fortnight ago, the judge actually asked: "When is this trial going to be held? This man has been remanded for a year. Is there any sign as yet that the Crown [prosecution] is going to present the case?" The Crown turned around and

4. "Remanded." Sent to jail to await trial.

said: "We can't possibly present the case; we haven't had time yet to finish preparing it."

It is obvious that this internment by remand policy is being consciously applied by the British. They don't have to worry about the charges sticking, because they can put these activists away for a year or eighteen months on remand, and this is the crucial period in which we have a chance to rebuild the mass movement and turn the whole situation around.

Internationally, it is very important to try to mount a campaign against internment by remand and prevent the British from removing the leadership of the Marxist forces and thereby prevent or seriously retard the rebuilding of the mass movement.

Farrelly. I want to impress on all those who read this interview, especially the members of the Fourth International, the importance of participating fully in what we hope will be a big international solidarity campaign against brutality and repression in Ireland.

Q. Anne, since you work in Dublin, how do you see the tasks of socialists and anti-imperialist fighters in the formally independent twenty-six counties of Ireland?

Farrelly. Both of the comrades who have spoken before have referred to a downturn in the struggle and the isolation of those militants trying to respond to imperialist oppression with arms from any mass resistance.

I think that the present situation reflects a trend towards a reestablishment of Loyalist [Unionist] domination. This is a result of the fact that because of the general crisis of British capitalism, because of Loyalist intransigence, and because of the very nature of the Northern Ireland state, Britain has had to give up the idea of reforming it.

The last Loyalist strike clearly illustrated this process. The whole debate was over how to speed up the smashing of the Catholic resistance and thus pave the way for the Loyalists to restore the old status quo. Taking account of this process, we can better understand the repression in the South. Since the Northern state cannot be reformed, the collaboration between the British and the Dublin government has had to become much more blatant.

Previously, the repression in the South and the North was justified as necessary to get rid of a few fringe elements and thus allow the process of democratization in the North to go forward. But now the repression can no longer be masked in that way. It has become clear that the repression in both parts of the country is paving the way for the Loyalists to restore their historic dominance. Thus, the nature of the repression, on a national scale, is becoming clearly exposed.

Q. Could you follow up on your point about repression in the South and what concretely is happening there now?

Farrelly. The main task for Irish revolutionaries now is to pose the question of the democratic rights of the Irish people as a whole, North and South. We have to begin to show that the Southern state is not just a bystander with regard to the struggle in the North but is actually involved in the whole process of pushing the situation there back to what it was fifty years ago. That is, we have to show that the South is helping to reestablish the power of Britain and its allies—the Loyalists—to control and dominate a section of our country. This raises the question of the democratic rights of the Irish working class and the Irish people as a whole. In the most general sense, this involves the right of self-determination. But it also raises more immediate questions, such as demands against repression North and South, against police brutality, and torture, which has been growing in the South as well as the North.

The question of torture has become a big issue in the South. The liberal intelligentsia and sections of the bourgeoisie themselves have begun to feel very uncomfortable about it. And so we have seen exposés of torture and brutality in the daily press. We have even seen the question being openly debated among certain sections of the bourgeoisie. In the bourgeois parties, this has been reflected in Fianna Fáil.

As Bernadette said, Fianna Fáil's return to power reflected, if not a conscious rejection by the people of the politics of the coalition, at least a rejection of the repression, a rejection of the road the people found themselves on. The coalition had no answers to their problems. It had no answers to unemployment, no answers to the situation in the North. So the Irish working class started looking for an alternative, although they aren't clear yet about what sort of alternative they need.

Q. Could you give some specific examples of repression that have provoked a wide public outcry in the South?

Farrelly. One such case was the death sentence passed against Noel and Marie Murray, who were accused of shooting a policeman during a bank robbery. A defense campaign was able to bring to the public eye the way in which their so-called confession to the charges was extracted. They were subjected to severe intimidation and harassment. There is evidence that they were beaten, and that they were subjected to the new methods of torture, such as sensory deprivation.

It is interesting to note that the question of torture is so potentially explosive in the South that one of the militants arrested with Noel and Marie Murray,

that is Roland Stenson, had the charges against him dropped because torture was clearly seen to have been used against him. He was beaten around the head, so severely that even today he suffers from severe headaches and has difficulty in remembering.

There is also the case of the so-called Kildare Six, the case of the Irish Republican Socialist Party members who were charged with robbing a train in Kildare. Not only were these comrades arrested, but virtually the whole Dublin base of the IRSP was also, although the others were eventually released without being charged. In the initial stage, it was very difficult for the IRSP to organize defense, given that all their militants were in prison.

The arrested IRSP members were systematically beaten, around the head, the neck, and the back, to force them to sign confessions and various incriminating statements. Public attention was focused on this use of torture, and some international attention as well. At public meetings these militants were later able to show the marks on their bodies. Photographic evidence was also collected.

Revolutionaries in the South have been trying to develop a unified campaign on all these cases and to establish that there is a common pattern in them.

There is another issue that is common to the fight against repression North and South. This is the growing use of what we would call disguised internment, that is, the holding of persons on remand for long periods of time on flimsy pretexts. Persons are being hauled in on vague accusations and kept in prison for six, nine, twelve months. And often their cases are never even brought to the court. Thus, there are numerous prisoners in the South who have been languishing in the brutal conditions that exist in Port Laoise prison for nine months or more. So, a campaign against this type of internment could be taken up on a Thirty-two County [All-Ireland] scale.

I also think that the question of this disguised internment is one area where we can begin to bring out the contradictions of Fianna Fáil. This can also be done in the case of torture. Fianna Fáil claims to represent the aspirations of the people for a united Ireland. We can demand that it respond in some way to the use of torture North and South. We can demand that they respond to the recommendations of the European Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg that found Britain guilty of using torture. In this way, we can pose, in a very central way, the question of the democratic rights of the Irish people as a whole, North and South, and expose the complicity of the Southern state in attacking these rights.

Q. Does the opposition to the latest special powers bill in the South illustrate

what you are talking about, that is the law suspending constitutional guarantees that was passed in September 1976?

Farrelly. This was only the latest piece of repressive legislation, added to the very extensive repressive laws already on the books. We have to say, honestly, there was no active mass resistance to this law. But there was very widespread, although low-keyed, opposition to it.

Many trade-union branches passed resolutions against it, as well as tenant associations, etc. In some areas, too, there were signs of an elementary awakening of the Irish working class on the question of repression. There were some mobilizations. In Ballina and Navan workers actually walked off the job to protest. Also, although this was not extensive, various local councils took positions that reflected uneasiness about the repression. Some of them actually came out and roundly condemned it.

This growing uneasiness was reflected in the Fianna Fáil party itself, in which there was quite a lot of resistance to passing the last special powers bill. And during the recent debate over the protest of the prisoners in Port Laoise, various Fianna Fáil TDs [Teachtaí Dála, Members of Parliament] made statements reflecting uneasiness about the prison conditions.

But I would stress that we should have no illusions about Fianna Fáil. Given the weight of objective circumstances, as I described earlier, the only course for Fianna Fáil is more collaboration with Britain. While, during the elections, Fianna Fáil referred vaguely to its republican tradition, no leading member said that they would repeal all these pieces of repressive legislation. We know that these methods are still being used. We have to force the issue.

Q. How do you propose to organize so as to bring mass pressure on Fianna Fáil?

Farrelly. We can begin to demand a public inquiry into the cases of torture and arbitrary imprisonment that I have mentioned. We have already started this work within the trade unions. Comrades from the ISP, PD, and the MSR have been involved in this campaign to get the labour movement to speak out on repression.

We have also been attempting to hold together those forces that conducted a successful, if not entirely victorious, campaign on the question of the Murrys, and draw them into the campaign for a public inquiry into repression and torture.

Likewise, we are trying to draw in broader forces that have declared that they are in favor of an inquiry into prison conditions. This includes social and cultural organizations like the Gaelic Athletic

Association,⁵ Conradh na Gaeilge,⁶ and representatives of those local councils that have taken this position.

We are trying to draw these forces into some kind of organizing group, that could possibly set up a tribunal on that public inquiry. We also hope to be able to give this campaign international scope, taking advantage of the very important fact that Amnesty International has declared itself in favor of a public inquiry.

We realize that there is a danger that moves made by Fianna Fáil to investigate prison conditions could turn into a whitewash. Our task is to insure that any inquiry is not a whitewash job and that the implications of what is happening in the South are drawn out, and to assure that all the outrages are eliminated and not just patched up here and there.

But we are convinced that no matter what Fianna Fáil may try, any kind of a pushback of repression would instill a lot of confidence in the Irish working class, instill a lot of confidence in the prisoners themselves, and lay the groundwork for revolutionaries to contend for the leadership of the Irish working class in a real way, especially if we can show that our political perspective for fighting repression actually was successful.

Devlin McAliskey. Key to reversing the downturn of the mass movement in the North is remobilization in the South. This has a crucial effect on what people think is achievable.

Fergus mentioned that there is a fair degree of combativity in the Northern ghettos. That has always been there. But to date there has been an unwillingness to mobilize. That is because the perspective that has mainly been offered to the people is a military defeat of the British at the hand of the Provisionals. But the people don't see any such victory coming. You get a concrete feel for this when you talk to people outside the left groups.

For example, my husband's father said to me one day, "I don't know why the Provisionals started if they knew that they weren't going to win." This is a man who has supported the republicans for all his life, for about fifty-seven years and suddenly he asks questions like that.

On the other hand, repression is a question around which the masses can not only mobilize but around which they think that they can beat Britain back. The same is true in the South. And this applies particularly to the question of the demand for an inquiry into the prison conditions.

5. A nationalist sports organization.

6. The Gaelic League, a body devoted to supporting the Gaelic language and extending its use.

Objectively, the conditions are so bad in Port Laoise prison that no matter how level the inquiry, it will be impossible for Fianna Fáil to conduct an investigation that will not expose the whole nature of the prison system. Here again, this issue is something that people in the South not only feel they can and must mobilize around but one around which they can, if not taste victory, at least smell it. This is the kind of thing that inspires confidence in people, coming out to achieve something that from their own experience seems achievable.

We in the North have been through the experience of such a mass movement before, and we learned some valuable lessons from mistakes that were made at the time in the orientation that was taken toward the mass movement. We hope that such mistakes are not simply repeated. That is, we hope that the goals for the movement will not be set too high, or in such a way that from the outset you exclude layers of people from becoming involved in it. It is important to keep this in mind with regard to the issue of political status for prisoners in the North.

The Relatives Action Committee in Belfast have been specifically geared towards the question of political status. But because of the downturn in the struggle, essentially, that has become more and more of a Belfast issue, since Belfast is the last bastion of the fight against the British.

People in areas outside Belfast who do not have numbers of friends, relatives, or neighbors in prison under the new criminal status find the issue of political status hard to relate to. It is only after they become involved on the question of overall repression that political status becomes an element. It is necessary to be flexible about where the emphasis is placed depending on the different attitudes of people inside and outside Belfast, and in the North and South. It is important to broaden the movement, to bring in even layers of Social Democrats.

This is a different position than I held, for example, in 1969-70. Then, I personally argued against the SDLP,⁷ or what at that time were undefined Social Democratic layers, being allowed on the civil-rights platforms because they were using them to get themselves into positions of power.

Now, I find myself in the position of having to go against the gut reaction of many people to this party that has betrayed the struggle and actually having to argue for members of their rank and file and middle leadership who support the antirepression demands and the antitorture demands to be allowed into the movement.

7. Social Democratic and Labour Party, the Northern Catholic party.

When we talk about rebuilding the mass movement, we are not talking just in quantitative terms, of bringing it back to the kind of size it had before. We are talking about building a movement in a way to assure that it will be qualitatively more powerful and able to go forward. To put it in the simplest terms, we want to assure that the next time the masses hit the street, we will be able to lead them forward politically, instead of coming to a point where you don't know where to go from there on and the militarists can take over.

McMahon. We must force the SDLP to mobilize in support of demands that even this party has come out in favor of. A majority of the SDLP has come out for a phased withdrawal of the British army from Ireland. A substantial minority, up to 45 percent, has said that the British army should withdraw immediately. This shows that in a distorted way the SDLP reflects the concerns of the Catholic population in Northern Ireland. And so they have to be forced to support action in support of these demands.

They have to be grabbed and forced to go on platforms in protests against repression and brutality. They have to be forced to actually take a lead in mobilizing the masses, because we cannot mobilize the masses directly ourselves.

We also have to put demands to the Southern regime, to the Fianna Fáil government that claims to have the interests of the Northern minority at heart. We have to demand that they raise the question of brutality with Britain. A significant case of this has already occurred. On the day that Fianna Fáil took office, a number of people from the Tyrone area came to Dublin with a series of cases of army brutality. They asked the government, now dominated by a party that claims to be nationalist, to make representations to Britain on these cases.

The decision of the Strasbourg Court that Britain was guilty of using torture in the North four or five years ago gives us an excellent lever for an international campaign to expose the fact that the British in Ireland are the same oppressors they have always been, that the imperialist predators haven't changed their spots.

Devlin McAliskey. Again on the question of the SDLP. The key thing is that the leadership of that organization, people like John Hume and Gerry Fitt, have taken a position on the question of torture. They have declared that torture is a subversive allegation in which there may be small grains of truth. So, there ought to be some sort of inquiry in order to prove that the allegation of torture is, in the main, a slander against the government. That means that it's very difficult for them, as the political leadership of the organization, to pull back from the demand for an inquiry.

Then you have the middle leadership of the SDLP, people like Paddy Duffy and Paddy Devlin, who in fact within the organization have been saying that torture is a reality. By building an independent mobilization of people to draw attention to the facts of torture you can push such types to go further. This was the effect, interestingly enough, of such an action in Coalisland. It led Paddy Duffy to make a statement that torture was a fact, that put him in a position where he could make this kind of statement and not be isolated in SDLP circles.

I think that this indicates how the hold of the Social Democratic mentality on the mass movement can be weakened, and that it argues politically for involving the SDLP ranks and middle leaders who are prepared to take up the torture platform. The parliamentarists have less and less to offer, and in a mass movement the leadership of the SDLP can only be driven apart from the bulk of its middle-level leaders and rank and file.

O'Hare. I don't want to sound euphoric about it, but I think that it is clear that we are coming out of the deep decline the movement has been in. Now we find rank-and-file members of the SDLP being drawn toward some kind of mass opposition to repression and torture, and that is a healthy sign.

Also, in Jimmy Drumm's speech at the Bodenstown commemoration, the Provisionals made a very solid commitment to the position that the mass movement North and South has to be rebuilt and that the masses have to be involved in the struggle again. Along with this, you have the defeat of the coalition in the South. You have this general feeling that the situation has to be turned around.

We have to consider, if the situation can be turned around, what are we as Marxist organizations going to do about it. The fundamental thing is that we are going to have to build a serious Marxist revolutionary party in Ireland. Another hopeful sign is that there now seems to be a consciousness on the part of the left-wing groups of the need to grapple with this problem and a willingness to actually do it.

Then the question arises, if there's going to be an upturn in Ireland, of the need for international support, for remobilizing international support in Britain particularly and also in the United States. I think it is important for revolutionaries in those countries to orient themselves to the questions of repression and torture in Ireland and to try to build mass support for the Irish revolution.

Q. Could you give some examples of gains that have been achieved as a result of international support?

Devlin McAliskey. The case that comes most immediately to my mind is the victory in the case of the Murrays. When

we were in America the last time, Jim McCorry and I were able to get a campaign going on this case. There were two key factors in this. One was the ability of the Socialist Workers Party to grasp the political importance of doing something about this case. The second was its organizational capacity to do something about it.

In the space of the fourteen days that we were here, we managed to raise the issue in America, and to get widespread coverage in the bourgeois press of the facts of the case. This, along with the number of signatures on the antihanging petition that we were able to collect, played an important role in getting the Dublin government to back off from executing anyone.

While what the SWP did on this case may have seemed like a small part of what the party is doing in the overall struggle in America, it played a major role in strengthening the confidence of those who were mobilizing to stop the execution of the Murrays in Ireland and in bringing pressure to bear on the government in Dublin.

Internationally, revolutionists often have a tendency to underestimate the broader importance of the struggle going on in Ireland. This is because Ireland is so small and the situation seems so complex, that it is too much of an effort to try to understand it. I think that this is a grave mistake some revolutionaries make. It is an error on two levels.

First, there is the importance of Ireland as a laboratory of revolution. As someone who has gone through the Irish struggle, and from the struggle itself arrived at a position of Marxism, it is my contention that nowhere in the international arena of struggle are the lessons of Marxism so clearly illustrated as in Ireland. Nowhere has the bankruptcy of the modern falsifications of Marxism been illustrated so clearly.

The Irish struggle has shown the bankruptcy of Stalinism and of the theory of revolution "by stages." It has shown the necessity of building a revolutionary party. It has confirmed the theory of permanent revolution. It has illustrated the problem of armed struggle versus mass struggle. All these questions have been posed in Ireland more clearly than anywhere else, and revolutionaries who ignore Ireland lose the value of these lessons.

Moreover, underestimating the importance of the Irish struggle is also an error on the practical level. For the last ten or twelve years, there has been a tendency for revolutionists to focus their attention on one hotspot at a time, and then when the mass movement there is defeated or recedes, to wait for the next flashpoint. But while revolutionaries have been moving their eyes from one focal point to another, the explosiveness of the situation

in Ireland has been growing and growing and growing.

You can see what strategic importance politically the struggle in Ireland has if you consider what would happen if the mass movement in Ireland goes forward to victory, if the workers take power in Ireland before anywhere else in Western Europe, as I think is possible. How could British capitalism survive with that on its doorstep?

What would happen if American imperialism tried to intervene directly to prevent the national and social liberation of the Irish people?

Besides the hundreds of thousands of Irish-born people in the U.S., you have the descendants of layers upon layers of people who at various times in Ireland's struggle were forced into this country. Over time, these people have become more integrated into American society than any other ethnic minority. Because of the extent of their integration into American society, the Irish-Americans have very contradictory attitudes. Their concept of what it means to be Irish is often confused and vague, their identification with Ireland very sentimental.

But even if the Irish-Americans reacted at first only on a sentimental level to a mass struggle for national liberation in Ireland, which would have to be a struggle for social liberation as well, this could have a powerful effect. An attempt by the American capitalist government to crush such a struggle could touch off opposition that could reach very deep into American society, deeper, it seems to me, than the potential opposition to any other possible imperialist intervention. □

Soviet 'Psychiatry' for Dissidents Condemned

The general assembly of the World Psychiatric Association passed a resolution September 1 condemning "the abuse of psychiatry for political purposes . . . in all countries in which [it occurs]," with particular reference to "the extensive evidence of the systematic abuse of psychiatry for political purposes in the U.S.S.R."

The WPA also decided to set up a committee to review allegations of such abuse by receiving personal testimony and engaging in on-site inspection.

The resolutions were the result of an international campaign among psychiatrists that began in 1971 when Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky made available to Western psychiatrists copies of case reports on several dissidents confined in Soviet mental institutions. Bukovsky himself had been a victim of Soviet "psychiatry."

Dr. Eduard Babayan, a Soviet delegate to the general assembly, called the resolutions "slander" and blamed the outcome of the vote on a "nondemocratic ballot-counting system."

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Asbestos—'One of the Most Potent Cancer-Causing Agents Known'



The Rockville Crushed Stone Company in Montgomery County, Maryland, produces 10,000 tons of rock and gravel a day. Most of this goes for paving roads, playgrounds, and walkways in the Washington, D.C., area. As the stone—known as serpentinite—is quarried and broken up, large quantities of dust are released into the air.

In December 1975 the *Washington Post* carried an article on the unusually high levels of asbestos fibers found in roadway dust in the Washington area. The article attributed the fibers to "automobile brake linings and mufflers," citing the opinion of Dr. Irving Selikoff of the Mt. Sinai School of Medicine in New York, who is a leading authority on cancer-causing substances, asbestos in particular.

Two high-school science teachers in Montgomery County, Don Maxey and Raymond Kent, weren't satisfied with Selikoff's explanation. They carried out their own tests on dust and rocks at the

Rockville Crushed Stone Company's quarry, and found asbestos fibers. The two teachers then contacted Dr. Arthur Rohl, a colleague of Selikoff's at Mt. Sinai. Rohl went to Maryland and took several samples from areas in and near the quarry.

The results led Selikoff to repudiate his statement about wear and tear on auto brakes. A front-page story in the September 11, 1976, *Washington Post* reported:

Significant levels of cancer-causing asbestos fibers have been found on leaves, dust, and roadways in and near a Montgomery County quarry that produces stone used in road and highway construction in the Washington area.

"The fibers go for miles. I'm sure they are all over Washington, and have been for decades," said Dr. Irving J. Selikoff of New York's Mount Sinai School of Medicine. . . .

Selikoff termed asbestos one of the most potent cancer-causing agents known. It causes mesothelioma, a rare lung cancer, in people who work with asbestos. It has also been known to increase the risk of lung cancer in families of asbestos

workers and people who live near asbestos plants. Asbestos fibers are released when the stone is cut, crushed or milled.

Asbestos levels are hard to measure and there are no established threshold levels between safe and unsafe exposure, said Dr. William J. Nicholson, of Mount Sinai's Environmental Sciences Laboratory.

It takes at least 20 years after exposure to asbestos for cancer to develop, Selikoff said.

Selikoff, Rohl, and another researcher, A.M. Langer, elaborated on the deleterious health effects of asbestos fibers in the August 19, 1977, issue of *Science* magazine:

Asbestosis, the progressive and often fatal lung scarring caused by the inhalation of asbestos fiber, was first described 70 years ago. . . . In 1935, suspicion that malignant lung disease was also associated with asbestos exposure was reported in both the United Kingdom and the United States. . . . Since the mid-1960's, a number of other epidemiological studies . . . have clearly established an irrefutable statistical basis for the association of asbestos fiber exposure in the workplace and excess risk of various kinds of cancer. In some studies, it was found that 40 percent of those exposed to asbestos fibers died of asbestos-related disease. . . .

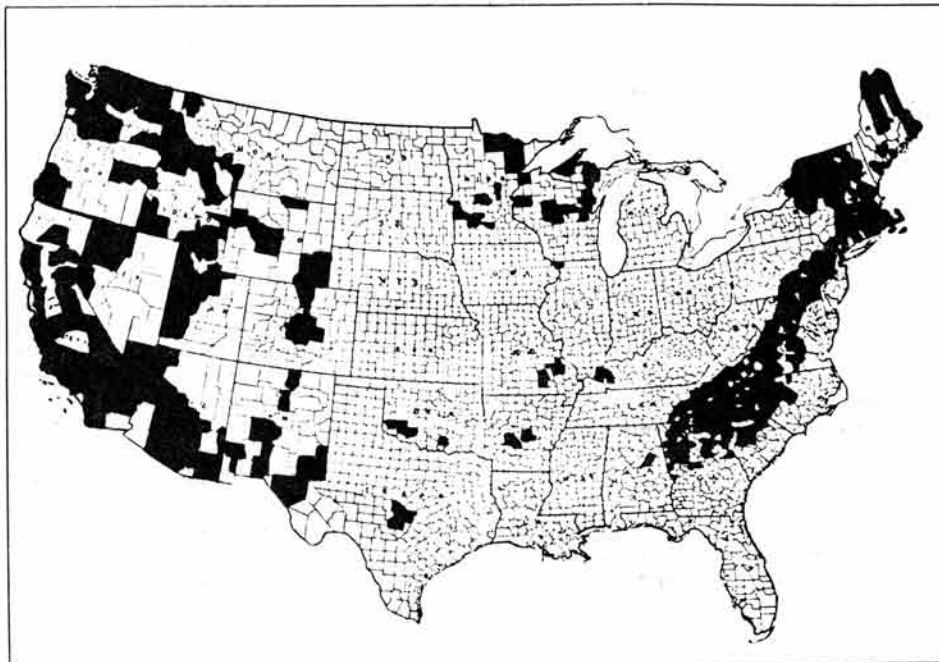
Moreover, the fibers interact with other carcinogenic agents. Asbestos exposure greatly increases the risk of lung cancer from cigarette smoking; asbestos workers who smoke have approximately eight times the lung cancer risk of other smokers and 90 times the risk of individuals who neither smoke nor work with asbestos.

The three researchers also commented on the results of their tests in Montgomery County:

The concentration of asbestos fiber measured in the Rockville area is within the range in which asbestos disease has been observed.

. . . chrysotile asbestos, the fiber of concern in the present instance, appears to be the only known common pollutant but even then usually occurs only as a trace constituent in air and water. The road dust situation in Rockville, on the other hand, constitutes an extraordinary point source emission of chrysotile fiber. . . . The "natural" measured concentrations are many orders of magnitude less than one finds in Rockville air. Background levels and Rockville levels are worlds apart.

News of the problem evoked varying responses among residents of Montgomery County. An article in the July 15 issue of *Science* reports the experience of Robert Harris, a staff scientist with the Environ-



Science

Asbestos fibers may be found in rock produced by quarries in counties and regions marked in black on above map, according to reports by the U.S. Geological Survey and other researchers.

mental Defense Fund, who lives near the quarry.

After attending a meeting of county, state, and federal officials which was called a few weeks after the *Post* story came out, Robert Harris became quite disillusioned. "There was an appalling degree of ignorance about the health hazards of asbestos," he recalls. Harris also detected what he felt was a tendency on the part of the officials to downplay the importance of the problem. . . .

Harris remembers speaking one night at a civic association meeting in a community of \$150,000 homes immediately downwind from the quarry. . . . "A real estate woman who lived in the community got up and urged the other members not to make a public clamor, because if they did, she said, their property values would suffer," Harris says. The association did ask the county to conduct a survey of air quality, but let the matter go at that.

Direct action by other residents, however, led to some government response. The *Science* article reports:

The school boycott at Watkins Mill Elementary occurred after the city of Gaithersburg began resurfacing part of the heavily traveled road in front of the school with crushed stone from the quarry. . . .

Meeting in some alarm, the school PTA [Parent-Teacher Association] voted to put up a sign advising parents to keep their children home from classes. Attendance the next day was down by a third, but it returned to normal once the city, moving to quell the parental uprising, quickly got the road repaved.

On June 7, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency formally advised Montgomery County officials that a "potentially serious hazard to public health" existed. The EPA urged the county to immediately close or restrict access to hundreds of parks and playgrounds having crushed stone sidewalks or play areas. The agency also recommended changes in building codes to prohibit use of asbestos-containing stone in roads, parking lots, and driveways.

"We will do what we have to do in Montgomery County," County Executive James Gleason responded. "But why aren't we moving nationwide?"

Asbestos pollution from paving stone is indeed not limited to the Washington area. *Science* reports:

The mineralogy of extensive regions within the United States suggests that many of the rock quarries found in them may also be producing asbestos-bearing stone (see map). For example, the belt of serpentinite on which the Rockville quarry is situated extends from Maine to Alabama and takes in much of the Appalachian Mountains.

The EPA is now carrying out further studies and is expected to issue regulations and standards for controlling asbestos-dust pollution. "In any event," the *Science* article concludes, "the Rockville quarry is likely to become another landmark [in the] long and seemingly ever-broadening effort

to identify and control the sources of possible carcinogenic substances."

Japan Capitalists Export Pollution

"In the first anti-pollution move in Malaysia," Yayori Matsui reports in a July 15 *New Asia News* dispatch, "peasants living near the Prai Industrial Estate, Penang, have demanded compensation for their loss of livelihood caused by the industrial pollution from Japanese companies occupying the area. A petition signed by 77 villagers was presented to the Chief Minister of Penang, and demands were made that all factories stop emitting pollution immediately.

"Located at the Prai Estate are several Japanese companies such as Toray, Kanegafuchi Spinning, Fujisash Industries, Agri-chemical; also included are American and Swedish companies. Not only has fishing been blocked upstream . . . , but poisonous discharges from these factories have reduced the fish population in the downstream area as evidenced by the increase of dead fish. In the first few months of 1976, the average gross monthly income of the fishing people fell sharply from M\$320 (US\$130) to only M\$80 (US\$32). With the depletion of marine life, serious problems of unemployment and underemployment have developed."

In 1976 tests of the factories' waste water were conducted. "The chemical analysis detected 2.3 ppm [parts per million] of organic mercury and 0.3 of cadmium in the waste water from Nan Shin Dying factory of Toray Industries, one of Japan's major textile companies. Both of these materials are known to be poisonous metals."

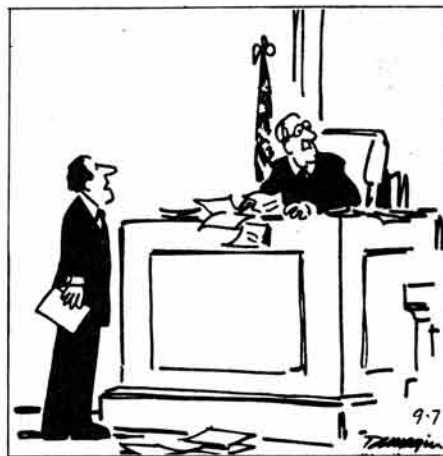
Japanese capitalists have built such plants in Malaysia and other Southeast Asian countries to escape the strict waste discharge controls on factories in Japan that have been forced through by the antipollution movement there.

Will Carter Broaden Concorde Battle?

While efforts by Air France and British Airways to get the Concorde supersonic jetliner into New York's Kennedy airport remain bogged down in U.S. courts, the Carter administration is getting ready to extend landing rights for the needle-nosed noisemaker to ten more cities.

"Government sources" were cited in September 2 news reports as saying that the Concorde would soon get federal approval for use of all U.S. airports with runways long enough to accommodate it. These would include (in addition to Kennedy, and Dulles airport in Washington, D.C.) Anchorage, Boston, Dallas Honolulu, Los Angeles, Miami, Houston, Chicago, Seattle, and San Francisco.

The Concorde's sixteen-month period of trial flights into Dulles expires September 24. Carter and a number of top administration officials—including national security



"Would you mind repeating your ruling on the Concorde your honor? ... one of them passed over while you were talking."

adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski—met August 29 to consider the next steps in dealing with the SST. No official announcement of the results was forthcoming. "The set of options have a secret classification for reasons of national security," Transportation Department official David Jewell told the press.

Carter and his aides apparently fear that adverse action on the Concorde could put wind in the sails of the French Communist Party, which has made enthusiastic backing for the plane part of its campaign for the 1978 elections. The *New York Times* reported September 8:

[House environmental subcommittee Chairman Leo Ryan] told reporters . . . that he suspected that the Administration was possibly about to allow Concorde flights beyond the experimental period to save the costly plane from being an economic failure. A further consideration, he said, may be the protection of the French Government from the threat of Communist political gains in the aftermath of any Concorde collapse. . . .

Opposition to deafening noise produced by the plane has already surfaced in at least three of the cities mentioned for possible extension of landing rights.

A citizens group in Miami said September 5 that it will use "picket lines, boycotts, and court action" to block the Concorde. An attorney for the group said: "We do not intend to allow international politics to shatter the life of south Floridians. . . . If necessary, we will organize the fight against the secret plan to allow the Concorde to land in Miami."

In Boston, the executive director of the authority that operates Logan International airport said September 4 that he would go to court to stop Concorde landings at Logan. And on the same day in the Chicago area, the mayor of Niles, Illinois—a community located near O'Hare field—announced his opposition to the plane.

Selections From the Left

SOSIALISTINEN POLITIikka

"*Socialist Politics*," theoretical magazine of the Social Democratic Youth League and the Social Democratic Student League. Published five times a year in Helsinki, Finland.

Issue No. 3 for 1977 has a rejoinder to the review in the previous issue of the pamphlet by Swedish Trotskyist leader Bo Bergman, "The Kind of Socialism We Are Fighting For." Bergman's pamphlet was recently translated into Finnish under the title "Millaisen sosialismin puolesta taistelemme."

In Issue No. 2 of *Sosialistinen Politiikka*, Aulis Kallio gave the pamphlet a favorable review. Among other things, he wrote that the Trotskyist approach to the analysis of the Soviet Union seemed to him more fruitful than theories popular in the Finnish Social Democratic youth that denied the proletarian class nature of the USSR. (See "Selections From the Left," *Intercontinental Press*, July 4, p. 782.)

In its current issue, *Sosialistinen Politiikka* publishes an article by Juha Savolainen and Pekka Sivonen under the heading "Discussion." The piece attacks Kallio's review and defends denying any proletarian character to the USSR. They write:

Kallio's conceptions represent a simon-pure Trotskyist approach, which, together with state capitalist theories, has dominated debate about the nature of these countries [the USSR and like states] in the far left for decades. While the recent renaissance in European Marxist debate has led to new and interesting conclusions and ways of posing the question, Kallio's article favors an approach that does not attempt to profit from the undogmatic theories bearing on this question.

Many readers of *Sosialistinen Politiikka* probably wondered what this "Ticktivism" was that Kallio claimed often turns up in discussion in the Social Democratic Youth League [and which he rejected as sterile]. In Finland, it is not likely that many people know about Ticktin. Since we oppose all dogmatism, we are not declaring ourselves adherents of any new "Ticktinite" sect, but we think that Hillel Ticktin's views have enriched Marxist discussion in a remarkable way and that they should become known in Finland.

The views in this article are largely inspired by what has been written in the Scottish magazine *Critique* by Hillel Ticktin, Michael Cox, M. Holubenko, and G.A.E. Smith. We think that they break the impasse of sectarian discussion and open up a fruitful perspective for discussion.

Sivonen and Savolainen appear to view the USSR not as state capitalist but as a

new type of bureaucratic society. They say that in such societies repression is "an inherent part of the mode of production, and therefore the productive relationships are bureaucratized through and through."

Arguing against Trotsky's view that a contradiction exists between the rule of the bureaucracy in these societies and their underlying class nature, Sivonen and Savolainen say:

It is not reasonable to make a division in these bureaucratically organized societies between their economic base and the juridic-governmental superstructure, which is determined by their economic base.

Since in the bureaucratically organized system, the class interest of the state leviathan* (the bureaucracy) and that of the proletariat do not coincide, it cannot be claimed that this system is in transition to socialism nor can it be characterized in any way as a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Sivonen and Savolainen go on to explain further why, in their opinion, societies such as the Stalinized USSR cannot be considered transitional to socialism:

The bureaucratic elite has no objective interest in eliminating the oligarchic structures, as would be required for a transition to socialism.

It is interesting that Trotsky's analysis of the USSR is being debated in the youth organization of one of the big traditional workers parties in a country under the shadow of the Kremlin. It is to be hoped that the discussion will continue.

INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES

"*Workers News*," open forum for the class struggle. Published weekly in Paris.

Commenting on the attack by the Soviet magazine *New Times* on Spanish CP head Santiago Carrillo and his response, an article in the July 6-13 issue develops the theory that these polemics reflect a split in the Moscow leadership itself:

From the *New Times* article and from Carrillo's statements, it is clear that the problems of the military and political pressures of American imperialism on the USSR, and the nature and limits of the concessions that can be made to these pressures, lie at the center of the conflicts among the various factions that are tearing each other apart in the Kremlin.

As a whole, because of the very nature of its relations with the masses, and as the expression

*The authors note that the origin of this word is the Hebrew "liwjathan," which means "serpentine," and that in the Old Testament it was used to designate a mythical sea monster.

and the agent of imperialism within the degenerated workers state, the bureaucratic caste in the USSR follows a "restorationist" course, that is, one leading in the long run to the restoration of capitalist productive relations in the USSR itself. But even within the same overall restorationist course, there come times when choices have to be made between capitulating openly and completely and attempting to resist the demands of imperialism.

It is at such times that conflicts within the bureaucracy flare up most violently.

It is in such a context that the *New Times*'s charges of "anti-Sovietism" against Carrillo and his orientation toward NATO must be interpreted. Coming at the opening of the Belgrade conference, this is a conflict over the limits of the military and political concessions that can be made to imperialism. It is clear that Carrillo belongs to the wing that favors the maximum concessions. Carrillo is serving as the spearhead of the most openly "restorationist" wing. It is as the spokesman of this wing that he was taken on by *New Times* and "those who inspired this article." It is, moreover, as part of a faction based in the Kremlin itself that Carrillo dares to respond with such insolence.

ΕΚΦΡΑΣΗ

"*Sosialistike Ekphrase*" (*Socialist Expression*), central organ of the youth affiliate of the Cypriot Social Democratic Party. Published fortnightly in Nicosia, Cyprus.

The August 26 issue comments on the situation opened up in Cyprus by the death of President Makarios:

From the period of the buildup for, and the actual waging of, the struggle against British imperialism until his death, Makarios influenced the course of Cyprus more than any other figure. The Makarios phenomenon was not simply the history of a personality but the product of a historical period through which, with variations, many countries that have won their independence since the Second World War have passed.

Nasser, Nkrumah, and many other such figures were parallel phenomena in their respective countries. What is the nature of the governments headed by such figures? The answer to that question is not a simple one. You have to sort out a series of contradictions in a process of development to identify the real direction of motion. . . . On the one hand, there is a struggle to win independence and extend the rights of sovereignty. On the other, maintaining the capitalist system in the present imperialist period creates constant pressure for greater collaboration with imperialist capital.

In the figure of Makarios, this contradiction found a kind of resolution. His longstanding policy of balancing diplomatically among the conflicting international interests made him an instrument able to reconcile these contradictions. Domestically, he was able to play the same kind of balancing game among conflicting interests because of the economic growth exper-

enced after the establishment of the republic.

However, if Makarios was able to resist the plots and attacks of the right, this was owing to the massive growth in the numbers and strength of the left. This growth was such, in fact, that the left could justly have claimed a mandate to rule. This development, on the other hand, came into conflict with the conservatism of Makarios and thus led to his well-known policy of "conciliation" toward the rightist plotters, a policy that aroused disgust in the masses that supported him.

This balancing game came to a tragic end in July 1974, with the coup and the invasion. The absence of an organized citizens' militia under democratic control paved the way for this catastrophic turn of events. However, the Cypriot people mobilized and made it impossible to stabilize the government set up following the coup. Makarios returned triumphantly after five months.

In the new conditions, Makarios tried desperately to reestablish the same balance between conflicting forces. Now it was a much more difficult undertaking, as was shown by the various shifts in his policy on the Cyprus question. His statements promising a long struggle were undercut by his attempts to make a deal with the Turkish Cypriot leadership and came to the fore again only after this proved impossible. . . .

Makarios's death leaves a great void, one no personality can fill. Already the right is preparing to seize power directly to impose the solution it was unable to impose while Makarios was still alive. The anti-imperialist forces here must unite around a bold program of economic and political struggle to oppose the intrigues of imperialism and its agent, the Cypriot ruling class. This has to be a program for putting the economy and the defense of this island in the hands of those who will fight for the rights of the Cypriot people—in the hands of the people themselves.

Ang KATIPUNAN

National newspaper of the Union of Democratic Filipinos. Published twice monthly in Oakland, California.

A front-page article by Victoria Luna in the August 15-31 issue reports that the International Commission of Jurists, a Geneva-based human rights organization, has published the findings of a team that investigated the human rights situation in the Philippines during three "missions of inquiry" since 1975.

The report, published July 30, details a broad range of human rights violations by the martial law regime of President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

Among the basic rights denied to the Filipino people, the report enumerates the right of a people to elect their government, the right of *habeas corpus*, freedom of the press, the right of labor to strike, and the right to travel abroad. It notes that freedom of speech and information have been stifled through arrests of opponents to the regime and the denial of access to the media to those at liberty. . . .

. . . The jurists described torture techniques used on political prisoners, mentioning, among others, water torture, sexual abuse of women,

electric shock, prolonged isolation in chains, and beatings. . . .

Coming just three weeks before the World Peace Through Law Conference, the findings cannot help but infuriate Marcos. The Philippine government has for the last two months been actively engaged in a human rights offensive to prove to the outside world that the regime in the Philippines is benevolent, that the face of martial law is a smiling one.

The government clearly regards the upcoming conference as the climax of this campaign. The International Commission of Jurists' report, however, like the recent arrest of three Filipino journalists and Marcos' continuing refusal to live up to his own "humanitarian" pronouncements, strips away the smiling mask of Marcos' "New Society" revealing beneath it the leering death's head which is the true face of martial law in the Philippines.

Internationalen

"The International," central organ of the Communist Workers League (Swedish section of the Fourth International). Published weekly in Stockholm.

The September 2 issue reports on the conference of the World Congress of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) held in Kiruna, Sweden, during the last week in August.

The WCIP was founded in 1975 in Port Alberta, Canada. At its founding, it set the goal of gaining the right to represent the disinherited "native" peoples in the United Nations General Assembly. The following aims are listed in its program:

Achieving unity among the native peoples.

Strengthening the organizations that serve as vehicles for the political and cultural expression of the native peoples.

Assuring an exchange of information among the native peoples.

Eliminating the possibility for physical and cultural genocide.

Defending the political, economic, and social rights of the native peoples.

Kiruna, the site of the congress, is in the northern region of Sweden where many Lapps live.

Internationalen reports on the congress:

There were about thirty delegates from all over the world, Indians from Latin America and Canada, Lapps from the north, Aborigines from Australia, and Eskimos, or Inuits, according to the native name. Unfortunately, there were not as many delegates as had been hoped for. Representatives of Indian groups in Peru and Guatemala were not allowed to go abroad by their governments. There were no representatives from the militant North American Indian groups. It was speculated that these have plans to form their own international organization because the WCIP is not militant enough. Conflicts of this type also arose over the question of what the agenda of the congress should be.

The organizers had agreed beforehand that the delegates should be divided up into three work groups to discuss primarily various aspects of the UN. Some delegates opposed this orientation, saying, "We are not here to discuss

the UN but our own situation and how it can be changed." But these voices were quickly silenced and discussion came to center around formal points. The conference also voted down a proposal that representatives of native peoples who had been forced into exile should have votes—that is, Chilean and Bolivian exiles.

A delegate from Costa Rica motivated this decision with the argument that "we cannot get involved in politics in this conference."

Domingo Paue, the representative of a Chilean Indian group and an exile in Sweden, answered this argument by saying, "You all run the same risk as we did of being forced into exile at any time. If you desert us, we will have to turn to another organization."

The demands of the various "native" peoples coincide on many points. The conflicts that appeared reflected mainly different conceptions of how the struggle should be waged for these demands. Some seek to set up various national and international government bodies to supervise the implementation of treaties. These participants view the struggle mainly as lobbying in the various UN bodies. They were opposed by Indians who have taken part in struggles against a common enemy in their countries together with other layers of the population. The latter believe that the only solution for the problems lies in struggling together with other oppressed people, for a socialist society. The experience from Chile above all shows that it is as part of general mobilizations that the "native" people's demands gain real weight and can begin to be won.

rouge

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

A front-page editorial in the September 3-4 issue reports that the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) has called on the French government to grant political asylum to Miguel Angel Apalategui, an imprisoned Basque militant threatened with extradition to Spain.

Apalategui has been on a hunger strike since July 31. Demonstrations demanding his release have been held in both Spain and France, including a march of 20,000 persons in San Sebastián on August 19 and in Marseilles on September 5.

The editors write:

Now that the case is to be tried on its main issues in mid-October, the announcement of the bail hearing has aroused interest, at least on the part of the local press. "The Apalategui affair could take a favorable turn," wrote *Le Provençal* in its August 31 issue, just as the Aix district attorney's office was announcing that Apala would attend the hearing on Tuesday, September 6, despite his hunger strike.

In this way, numerous factors are converging to undercut all mobilizations in support of the Basque militant, at a time when a very broad and massive current of the public both in the Basque country and in France, as well as humanitarian organizations and political parties in the workers movement have come out in opposition to Apalategui's detention.

As long as Apala is not free, as long as the threat of extradition has not been removed by granting him political asylum, support must not and shall not falter.

AROUND THE WORLD



Five East German Dissidents Exiled

On August 27, the East German government expelled five dissidents to West Germany. Those exiled were Helmut Nitsche, Karl-Heinz Nitschke, Gerulf Pannach, Christian Kuhnert, and Jürgen Fuchs.

Helmut Nitsche, a professor at the University of East Berlin, had been arrested in April. Following his arrest, he sent a letter to President Carter calling attention to the lack of respect for human rights in East Germany and asking for Carter's intervention on his behalf.

Karl-Heinz Nitschke, a physician, was arrested in September 1976. He initiated the Movement for Human Rights, which collected the signatures of seventy-nine persons on a petition addressed to the government.

Pannach and Kuhnert are musicians, part of a group called the "Ranft-Combo Gruppe." The French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* described it as "quite popular among the youth for its acerbic diatribes against the arbitrary acts of the state apparatus." The two musicians had also taken part in protests against the expulsion of the communist songwriter and folksinger Wolf Biermann.

Jürgen Fuchs is a young writer, who was arrested in November 1976 following his publication of a book critical of the East German regime. (Fuchs's description of his interrogation by the "Stasi" appeared in *Intercontinental Press* earlier this year: see "How the Political Police Grilled Jürgen Fuchs," February 21, p. 168.)

Along with Pannach and Kuhnert, Fuchs was an associate of Robert Havemann, a physicist who is one of the best-known East German dissidents. Havemann is at present under house arrest in East Berlin.

Thai Students Face Death Penalty

Eighteen students went on trial before a military court in Thailand August 26 on charges of high treason, murder, procommunism, and offenses against the monarchy. They were arrested October 6, 1976, in the course of a police attack on demonstrations at Thammasat University, shortly before the coup that brought the present military regime to power.

Among those on trial is Sutham Saengpratoom, former general secretary of the National Student Center of Thailand. All face possible death sentences.

The students' parents sent a letter to President Carter August 5, asking him to

intervene on their behalf. "Please expedite your action since all detainees are facing severe penalty without any hope of obtaining a fair and impartial trial," the letter said. The parents announced August 30 that they had received no reply.

On September 2, 105 members of the Japanese Diet issued a statement addressed to Thai Premier Thanin Kraivichien. It said in part: "We, members of the House of Representatives and House of Councillors of Japan, sincerely request your government to stop the military trial of 18 students and citizens arrested in connection with the October 6 incident and to release all political prisoners arrested since October 6 last year, or at least to give them an open, fair trial in a civil court where all evidence concerning the charges will be made public and where the defendants are given full right to their defense. We request this strongly because these are basic rights that should be guaranteed to any citizen in any country."

Police Harass Israeli Trotskyists

Israeli authorities escalated threats against the political rights of anti-Zionist activists in early July.

Police summoned editors of two Israeli Trotskyist newspapers, *Avant-garde* and *Spark*, to stations in Tel Aviv and Haifa.

It has not been unusual for Israeli cops to harass political activists this way by warning them of possible charges against them. What is new was the severity of the threats made against Yigal Schwartz, the editor of *Spark*.

Schwartz was warned by Tel Aviv police that if he continued his political activities he might be charged with "sedition against the security of the Israeli state."

Under this vague formula, individuals in Israel can be prosecuted for a variety of serious crimes, including treason.

The police did not accuse Schwartz of carrying out any specific illegal act. They did, however, detail a number of his completely legal political activities as a basis for their threats.

These included holding discussions with Arab students and distributing leaflets.

Since both actions are perfectly legal, the police threats against Schwartz and other Israeli Trotskyists are clearly an attempt to harass them because of their ideas and intimidate them with admitted surveillance of political activity.

This harassment and surveillance is

further proof that the Israeli garrison state cannot tolerate the full exercise of the democratic right to free speech by its anti-Zionist critics on the left.

Amnesty International Demands Freedom for Wilmington 10

In a statement released August 9, the United States chapter of Amnesty International called on North Carolina Governor James B. Hunt to grant an immediate pardon to the Wilmington 10.

The ten prisoners—Benjamin Chavis, Marvin Patrick, Connie Tindall, Jerry Jacobs, Willie Earl Vereen, James McKoy, Reginald Epps, Wayne Moore, Joe Wright, and Ann Shephard Turner—were sentenced in 1972 to up to thirty-four years in prison on charges stemming from the burning of a white-owned grocery store during a rebellion in the Black community of Wilmington in February 1971. All but one of the prisoners are Black.

Released on bail in 1972 and 1973, the prisoners were reincarcerated in February 1976 after the United States Supreme Court refused to hear their appeals.

Amnesty International adopted all ten prisoners as "prisoners of conscience" after the main prosecution witness retracted his testimony against them, stating that he had made a secret deal with state officials in exchange for false testimony. Two other prosecution witnesses subsequently also retracted their testimony.

A Bolivian lawyer, Dr. Luis Reque, who attended hearings on the case on behalf of Amnesty International, stated that "... there is reason to believe that the Wilmington 10 have been denied a fair trial."

Henry Ford: 'Sorry.'

Henry Ford II, chairman of the Ford Motor Company, has apologized for the "regrettable" error his firm made in failing for four years to recall 424,000 automobiles with dangerously defective fans. A Detroit-area mechanic was killed earlier this year when the fan flew apart on a Ford car he was repairing (see "Don't Open the Hood," *Intercontinental Press*, August 1, p. 887).

Henry Ford told a September 1 news conference that "We just made a mistake and we don't have any excuses.

"It's regrettable that we did not get onto this more quickly," Ford said. But I can't guarantee you that something else might not happen at some time."

Unexpurgated Text of Castro-Walters Interview—2

[*Second of four parts*]

[Among the questions of top interest in this section of the interview that Fidel Castro granted to Barbara Walters is the perspective for socialism in the United States. Castro considers that a socialist victory in the USA is inevitable. However, he is pessimistic about its immediate prospects. He concedes that the socialists in the United States may have a different view.

[It is quite hazardous to predict what country will be the next to undergo a socialist revolution; it is still more hazardous to name a country in which it is excluded in the immediate future. The case of Cuba itself constitutes a striking example. While the obstacles to an early socialist victory in the United States are formidable, the potential political power of the working class and its allies is greater by far. Moreover, while fresh victories may well occur in other countries first, the final battle between capitalism and socialism as world systems will obviously be fought out on American soil.

[The most effective way to prepare for the coming showdowns is to stubbornly carry on with the task of building a revolutionary party. Castro can hardly be blamed for not discussing this question with Barbara Walters. But then other means are available to him to indicate whether he still believes that guerrilla war represents a shortcut or whether he has shifted to the Leninist view on this question.

[In the discussion over democracy, Castro easily disposes of Walters's arguments. It was pure arrogance on her part to lecture the Cubans on this point, particularly in view of the continued blockade maintained by Washington. This in itself denies the Cubans their democratic right to engage in trade for essential goods produced in the United States. The status of democratic rights within the United States also leaves much to be desired. It is a field of struggle in which Walters is rather conspicuous—for her absence.

[Nonetheless, Castro does not stand in a very good position. The interview lacked a third voice, the voice of those who support the revolution in Cuba, but who are compelled to remain silent in the face of mistakes or wrong courses that injure the revolution.

[One cannot deny that in a small fortress under heavy siege from the world's biggest imperialist power, proletarian democracy can suffer. Once the revolution is consolidated, however, there is all the more reason to foster proletarian democracy as a means of strengthening the revolution.

[Castro goes so far instead as to imply that permitting party members to form groups, tendencies, or factions amounts to counterrevolutionary action. Such a stand simply echoes the position of the antidemocratic Soviet bureaucracy, lowering the appeal of the Cuban revolution to the oppressed in other countries.]

* * *

Journalist. Do you think that the United States will one day be a socialist country?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Yes, some day.

The United States was an English colony at one time. If an Englishman had been asked then if the United States was going to be independent some day, the English Crown would have said—before Washington came along—that no, it was always going to be an English colony.

Later, the colonies freed themselves and created a nation, but it was a slave-owning country. If it were possible to have asked a slave owner what he thought, he would have said, "No, slavery will never disappear." However, an enlightened man at that time would have said that some day slavery would end. Slavery ended; salaried workers came along; capitalism came along and developed tremendously; the huge multinational enterprises developed. And, if a reasonable man were asked now if this will last forever, he would have to say no, not forever. Some day, the capitalist system in the United States will disappear because no social system based on classes has ever been eternal.

Some day, class societies will disappear. This is the sense in which I say this.

However, you don't have to worry. I can't see any short-term change toward socialism occurring in the United States.

Journalist. In my child's generation?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Realistically. . . . Look, in general, those who have thought about social change have always imagined that it would take place much more rapidly, very quickly. History has shown that social change does not come about so quickly.

If I were to say that the United States would turn socialist in your children's generation, I could be rightly accused of being an optimist. I think that this won't happen even in your children's generation.

Now, I don't know what the Marxists, the socialists, in the United States think. They may have a different opinion. They may have hopes that it can occur.

However, I can tell you one thing: nobody will force it on you; nobody can force this change on you.

Do you believe in democracy?

Journalist. Yes.

I was wondering whether any people might think that Cuba might have a democracy around the same time we have socialism.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. No, not a democracy U.S.-style. We will not have a capitalist, bourgeois democracy. That's for sure.

However, if, some day, the majority of the people in the United States want socialism, I ask myself the following: will the CIA agree? Will the Pentagon agree? Will the multinational companies agree? Will the power elite agree?

Journalist. It wouldn't matter if they all disagreed if the people chose and they voted for it. Because we do have free elections.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Yes, I admit that. Every four years, the two parties in the United States. . . .

Journalist. Not every four years. We have local elections; we have Senate elections every two years. It is not just every four years we elect a president. And we are not a country run by the CIA.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. No, I'm not contradicting you. I was referring to the seat of power, the presidency.

Every four years, the two traditional parties present their candidates and elect their president. And they have elected some. . . . Let's say, I think that they made a good choice when

they elected Roosevelt; when they elected Nixon,¹ they made a great mistake.

Journalist. What do you think of Richard Nixon?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I believe we've spoken about this on other occasions. I said that there's not much point in talking about Nixon now that he hasn't been president of the United States for some time; but I always thought that Nixon was a deceitful man and that he was a mediocre politician, a trickster. I think that the facts have borne this out. I think that the best thing Nixon can do is try to be forgotten.

Journalist. You don't think he should have done those interviews?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. What was the purpose? What were the results? Was anybody convinced that Nixon is an honorable man, by chance? I think that his attempt to justify himself has rather produced indignation.

Journalist. Do you think that the United States is an enemy?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. No, it's the United States that considers itself to be an enemy of ours.

Journalist. Yesterday, you and I went to a farm together. The children did not know that I was from North America. They said, "Fidel, Fidel, hit the Yankees." You said, "Ah, they're not being impolite; they did not know you were from there." But they thought that would please you. And you are teaching your children about Yankee imperialism and to hate the Yankees. We don't teach our children to hate Cuba.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Well, when we teach the children that the United States is an imperialist country, I think that we're teaching them the truth.

As for what you have just said, that's true; it happened. That has been a slogan ever since Playa Girón, ever since the October Crisis, ever since the plans of aggression, ever since the time of the CIA, ever since the assassination attempts. It's an old slogan.

Journalist. But it lives.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. An old slogan that has persisted for all these years. Now, the children also know—as do the workers, the peasants, the whole people of Cuba knows—that the United States acts as an enemy of Cuba and that the United States maintains a severe economic blockade against Cuba. They know this. There are slogans. Often, in many public meetings, there are slogans that catch on and then are repeated; it's not the children. . . . It's not the children.

Journalist. I was not insulted. . . .

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I know, I know. It's not the teachers who teach the slogans to the children. That one is a slogan of the people as a whole, used at big rallies. Then they are repeated. Very often you go to a meeting, and they come up again and are repeated.

Consider the following: when those Cubans died in such a dramatic way a few months ago, and the story behind those events had to be made known, it was logical that the people should harbor feelings of rejection and condemnation. Words become a symbol. I told you that if they had known you were from the United States they would never have said it. Why? Because

those children are educated, and our people are an educated people; they are no longer illiterate; they have acquired general and political culture. One of the characteristics of our people is their hospitality, their respect for visitors. If they had known, they would never have said anything, out of courtesy. That is what I wanted to say. The whole thing amused you and amused me, too.

Journalist. I want to go away from politics for just a few moments.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. If you like, you can visit that school and ask the children what they think, talk to them and ask them if they meant anything against you by saying what they said. You can see for yourself.

Journalist. I wish we had time.

I want to, if I may, ask you, before we go back to politics again, some personal questions. For you are a man of mystery to us.

First of all, why the mystery? You come from nowhere, you seem to disappear; we hear you have no one home. You are a man of secrets and mystery.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I suppose we could say that we're up against the mystery theory, no? I ask myself. I am the first to ask, where is the mystery, and who invented it? There are things we had to do from the start of the Revolution. If we were about to make a trip, for example, why give the CIA and its terrorists advance notice? Why should we have given them advance notice at that time—over ten years ago—when the CIA used all means and resources to assassinate me? What obligation did we have to make the CIA's work easier? Obviously, we were forced to take precautions.

Besides that, you say that I appear and disappear. Is that the image you have of a punctual man? We meet at such and such an hour, in such and such a place, in such and such an office. That is not really the important thing. Why must it be made into a mystery? Nothing is more alien to me than mystery. I like things to be free of protocol and solemnity, I like them to be as simple and as natural as possible. That's the way I am and how I live.

Journalist. Recently, your sister was on American television. You have a sister Juanita who lives in the United States. She was very critical of you. She has written to President Carter about you—that you are a monster who should be destroyed. . . .

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Just imagine!

Journalist. I have two questions.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Listen, don't you think it's monstrous for a sister to say something like that about her brother?

Journalist. Yes, I wonder why?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Well, let me tell you something. We are brother and sister in that we are the children of the same father and mother. We have the same blood but different ideas. I am a socialist and a Communist—even though she claims in her passion, that I am not a Communist. She has other political ideas; she's an enemy of socialism and communism; she's active and passionate in her militancy, in her struggle against communism. That explains her very critical position toward me.

I know she wrote a letter to Carter against relations with Cuba—and the letter was published. In actual fact, it's a mistake to try to identify Castro as the symbol of all the evil in the world. But this is not a basic issue. I am a citizen of this country of nine and a half million inhabitants. I will tell you the following, very much in keeping with my convictions: I have nine and a half million brothers and sisters, brothers and sisters in ideas, homeland and revolution. Those are my true brothers and sisters. There

1. In the transcript as it appeared in *Granma*, the name Nixon is spelled throughout with a swastika in place of the "x," a procedure we are unable to duplicate with our typesetting equipment.—IP

are millions of children here, and they are our true children, for whom we struggle and work.

I have had many brothers in this struggle. Those who went with me to the Moncada and died there are my brothers; those who were with me in jail are my brothers; those who came on the *Granma* with me are my brothers; those who fought in the Sierra Maestra are my brothers; those who fought and died at Girón are my brothers; those who fought in the Escambray and in Angola are my brothers. All those who have died defending just causes anywhere in the world are my brothers.

Raúl is my brother twice over, a brother in the struggle and a brother in ideas. Raúl doesn't have a post in this Revolution because he is my blood brother, but because he is my brother in ideas and because he has earned it with his sacrifice, courage and capability.

I have a different world view. My family is very large. My family isn't only Cuba; the Angolans are members of my family, as are the liberation movements in Africa. My family is made up of all the progressive and revolutionary peoples of the world. I have the privilege of having a huge, limitless family: the family of all the revolutionaries in the world.

You will understand that perhaps some might be struck by the fact that somebody could attack another for his ideas even though there were blood ties between them, but I have a very different view. It's too bad, and I'm sorry for her that she should do these things, but actually I can't say that I give the matter much importance.

However, I would be very hurt if it were said that I had a sister in Cuba who had stolen, who had privileges, who had become a millionaire. But that I should be attacked because we haven't allowed such things and because we're revolutionaries doesn't discredit me—it doesn't even hurt me.

Journalist. One of the things that your sister said, one of the things that some Americans believe, is that you did not become a Communist until after you had control of the government; that, when you were in the mountains, the people didn't know you were communist—not even at the beginning—so that you deceived people. I would like to ask you, when did you become a Communist? You have heard this, I am sure.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Yes, of course! I have heard it thousands of times, and it amuses me very much. This is confusing persuasion with deception. If it were said that I helped a lot in swaying the people in favor of socialism and communism, that would be telling the truth. But that I deceived the people? How is it possible to fool anyone and make him a Communist through deceit? A people can only become socialist and communist through persuasion.

If I had become a Communist yesterday—yesterday—it wouldn't matter. If I had become a Communist after the victory of the Revolution, it wouldn't have mattered, as long as I was a sincere Communist. Now then, isn't it odd! What am I being charged with? Being a Communist, or not being a Communist? Which one is it, then?

I am not especially interested in clearing this up, but I can tell you for your information that I have discussed this on other occasions. I became a Communist on my own, before reading a book by Marx, Engels, Lenin or anybody else. I became a Communist by studying capitalist political economy. When I developed some understanding of these problems, the system seemed so absurd, irrational and inhuman that I simply began to work out different methods of production and distribution on my own. That was when I was a third-year law student at the University of Havana.

I will tell you something else, because I don't conceal my life or my background—there's no need for me to make anything up, you see? If I were a deceitful man and my ideas were not deeply felt and sincere, I would never have been able to convince anybody in this country. Because I can tell you, when the Revolution came to power, the majority of the people were not socialist or

communist—but my ideas were socialist, they were communist.

I was born into a family of landowners; I went through my elementary and secondary education in religious schools; I was a political illiterate when I arrived at the University of Havana; nobody instilled ideas in my head—they developed from my own analyses and thinking. I deeply regret not having had political guidance and education as a child, that I had to discover all of it by myself. I arrived at these convictions and became what you could call a utopian Communist. Then I encountered Marxist literature: *The Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels, the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Perhaps there are still some people around—in Cuba, or even abroad—who had the patience to listen, at times for hours, to all my criticisms of capitalist society, when I hadn't even read a Marxist document.

Naturally, when I encountered Marxist literature, it made a big and immediate impact on me.

Before the Revolution, our program was not yet a socialist program; but those who read the Moncada program, drawn up in 1953, long before the victory of the Revolution, those who read it carefully and analyze it in detail will see that, first and foremost, it was a program of national liberation, a very advanced program which was very close to socialism. I'd say it was the most advanced that our people could have understood at that time and in that situation.

Our program was not yet a socialist one, but I already had deep socialist and communist convictions.

When the Revolution triumphed, the people were not socialists or Communists. They had been deceived too much, really fooled. They had been too poisoned by anticommunist and McCarthyite propaganda; overly poisoned by bourgeois newspapers, bourgeois value judgements, bourgeois literature and films, that came exclusively from the United States.

It was the period of McCarthyism, therefore the people were not socialists or Communists yet. What made them into socialists and Communists? The laws and work of the Revolution, persuasion and education.

This is the historical reality.

One day, historians will cast aside gossip and devote themselves to writing history as it happened. Today the people are socialists and Communists, and there is total agreement between the people, the Party and the leaders. That is a fact, and nobody will be able to change it—I assure you, nobody will be able to change it. Nothing can change that fact, even if millions of tourists from the United States come here.

Journalist. Mr. President, you have said that a man should not remain in office for too long lest he become arrogant. Could this happen in your case?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Well, it seems that I have to talk to myself, right? I am without worries in this respect and absolutely convinced that such a thing couldn't happen, because all my life I have struggled against myself, or rather, I have made a constant effort at self-improvement. I went through all the stages—childhood, adolescence, youth and so on. In each one, man can fall prey to some of those things such as arrogance and vanity. I have always been very much on the alert against such feelings, or at least I realized when I was getting carried away by them.

My view is that, the more one matures and struggles, the more one is imbued with an idea or purpose, those factors with which we are born—because one is born with them—fall by the wayside; at least that's what has happened with me. It has always been said that power corrupts, that power makes men arrogant and haughty, and it has not only been said, it has actually happened in many cases.

But it should be remembered that we have a doctrine. I am not a caudillo, whose influence and power is based on personality or personal appeal. My power and strength are based on ideas, on a doctrine, on convictions. Do you understand? We are educated in

this spirit. That is, in our ideas we have a sort of religion, if you will.

I've already mentioned my philosophy in that phrase of Martí. I don't think there's much danger of my succumbing, for subjective as well as objective reasons.

When the Revolution triumphed, my personal power was very great, because I was the head of a victorious army. A war is not carried out using collective methods, so to speak, or generally democratic methods. The person in command assumes the responsibility and makes the final decisions. Right after the victory, because of our convictions, we immediately set about creating the conditions to bring other organizations closer to us, set up collective leadership and create a Party. We did all those things. Even before the Moncada, we had a small collective leadership in our movement. Then came the war and then, following the victory of the Revolution, this whole process of institutionalizing the Revolution. Practically at the very start, we established a leadership group from among the most capable leaders of our movement and other movements. We have always spoken out against personality cult and the deification of men. We ruled out statues, naming streets after leaders and all other manifestations of personality cult.

So that, in my case, far from acquiring more and more power, I increasingly shared that power. Therefore, because of the institutions we have created, because of our convictions and mentality, that danger does not exist.

Journalist. But children kiss you. The people shout, "Fidel, Fidel." You are a legend.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Right, but what do I understand from their shouting "Fidel" or their kissing or applauding me? I can't think that it's because of any merit of my own. In that case, they see me as a symbol.

The children have schools, but I didn't build them; they were built by dozens or hundreds of workers. They have camps, but I didn't build them; they were built by hundreds of workers. I don't produce the wealth of the nation which makes it possible to feed, clothe and provide shoes for those children; it is produced by the workers, by millions of people. Millions of people deserve the credit. The problem is that people can't thank millions, so they thank one—but it never occurred to me that I deserved the credit. I won't deny that I am deserving of credit for the role I have played, the leadership in which I have participated, for my having influenced events. But this doesn't mean that I deserve credit for the work of millions of people.

Journalist. Do you think that you will be president until you die?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I wouldn't want to be.

Journalist. But do you think it will be a long time? Do you have any thoughts as to a successor?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I don't think I would have the right to resign—what choice would I have? I wouldn't have the right to resign. It seems to me that it would be an act of selfishness on my part if I were to resign in order to rest, write and live a less tense life, so I couldn't do that. However, if I felt incapable or incompetent, it would be my duty to resign, and, if I didn't realize this, most likely my comrades would replace me.

As long as I am capable and can be useful at a post—this or any other one—and the Revolution demands it of me, it is my duty to do the work. How long will it be? I don't know when I will die. I don't know whether it will be tomorrow or tonight, in an accident, or whether I will die a natural death—I can't know. Perhaps, if I am capable up until I die, I will be on the job until then. If I'm going to have a long life, then, most likely I won't be president until I die.

Now then, what I do oppose completely are personality cult, one-

man rule and the turning of men into gods. There are many examples of this even in revolutionary processes. But our Revolution has been organized, safeguarded and protected against those dangers.

Journalist. In our country, we think Cuba is Fidel and Fidel is Cuba.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. And I will tell you why. You are great believers in the theory of the role of individuals in history—in my opinion, you exaggerate their role. You tend to view the work of peoples as the work of one man. You respect, admire and venerate Washington—and rightly so—but he didn't make independence possible on his own. Independence was won by the people of the United States.

Could we really say that Washington alone deserved the credit for the independence of the United States? Or was it due to the efforts of hundreds of thousands of people who struggled?

Journalist. But after Washington, we had elections. In this sense you are not elected. There are some people who think of you as a dictator.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. And what is a dictator? I don't think of myself as such.

Journalist. A man who has almost total control, a man who runs a country, a man who allows no dissent, a man who has the most and almost total power. Is that Fidel Castro?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Yes, but only on one count: a man who leads; but not a man with total power, not a man who makes decisions on his own. I'm none of the other things: I am a leader, but by no means have I total power through one-man rule.

Journalist. You allow no dissent.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. It isn't me—that's not what's involved. It isn't true anyway. Why say me? We have a revolutionary process, a Revolution, a Party, a Party program and leadership. There can be dissent within the Revolution. Dissent and debate are allowed in our Party; people can dissent in our assemblies. Now, there is a principle: the minority must bow to the will of the majority. This is a political principle called democratic centralism. The people of the United States are not very familiar with these terms, and I don't want to start being rhetorical or using terms which the people of the United States won't understand.

Journalist. Let me be specific. Your newspapers, radio, television, motion pictures are under state control! The people can dissent in their meetings, in their congresses, but no dissent or opposition is allowed in the public media. Why—if you are so sure that everyone is happy with the way things are? And also, if you wanted to change it, I believe that you could.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. We don't allow dissent? Aren't 18 years of counterrevolution organized by the United States enough? Who says there's no opposition to the Revolution? It has been opposed by the United States—by its press, radio and TV and by thousands of counterrevolutionaries.

Journalist. But I'm talking about your country.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. The revolutionaries are here, on this side. The opposition is on the other side, on the other side of the Florida Strait. There's been a great deal of opposition—undeniably.

Journalist. You tell me the people want the socialism, they want the country this way. Fine, I believe you. Then why not

allow dissent in the newspapers, or an opposition paper; dissent on radio or television?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Well, you'd have to consult the people. This is all relative because for example, in the United States who owns the newspapers; to whom do they belong?

Journalist. The papers belong to a great many different people. Many times the editors do not follow the political point of view of their owners. There are all different kinds of papers, magazines—underground, overground.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. But they all have owners—without exception. The TV stations have owners, either individuals or big enterprises; radio stations have owners; magazines and newspapers have them. Now, let me ask you, if the management of your television station wanted to, could it dismiss you and hire somebody else? Who's the boss at the station where you work, and who's the boss of every newspaper in the United States? The owner.

Journalist. Not the owners. Usually, the editors, individual editors. There are papers owned by people, and the paper itself has a different point of view than the owner.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Yes, but the paper is run by the owner or by the editor he names. Who names the editor? The owner.

Journalist. Not necessarily.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. The company.

Journalist. Not always. Sometimes it's a board, sometimes it's a group, and also a journalist can be fired by the board. But can we get back to Cuba?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. An owner.

Journalist. Before we change American papers, could we get back to the question?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I don't have any plan to change the papers in the United States—none at all. In Cuba the people are the owners. Now, ask the people if they would agree to the papers' being used to promote counterrevolution.

Journalist. I can't believe that there is not somewhere one student, some students who might not like to have an opposition paper to say they would like this or this change. And it's against your law.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Look, Barbara, we don't have the same conceptions as you. Naturally, our concept of freedom of the press is different from yours, and I tell you so honestly, since I have absolutely nothing to hide. If we were asked whether a paper against socialism could be published here, I will tell you frankly that the answer would be no. The government, Party and people would not allow it. In that sense, we do not have the freedom of the press that you do in the United States, and we are pleased that this is the case. We do not have the scandals and commercial propaganda you have in the United States—none of it. Our mass media serve the Revolution. Now, as long as the Revolution is developing and as long as there is hostility toward Cuba and counterrevolution supported by the United States—as long as this struggle persists, we will simply and categorically not allow any paper to be published that is against the Revolution.

Besides, who would finance it? Can you tell me that? The CIA or the . . . ?

Journalist. I sometimes feel that you feel everything comes back to the CIA.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Well, the CIA has 5,000 million dollars to use for subversion, murder, counterrevolution, espionage. That's a lot of money. The CIA has more money than the total value of our exports; it spends more on those things every year than the total value of Cuba's exports. And you don't want me to think about the CIA. The CIA organized plans to assassinate the leaders of the Cuban Revolution for over ten years, and you don't want me to think about the CIA. I am not the only one—people all over the world think about the CIA.

Journalist. When do you think . . . or do you have proof of the last CIA attack against you, or the last plan perhaps to assassinate you?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. The last plan I remember in which the CIA was obviously and unquestionably involved—because it was carried out by people very closely linked to the CIA, and the weapons were shipped via the U.S. embassy in Bolivia—was in 1971, during my trip to Chile. It was in November 1971, when I visited Chile under the Popular Unity Government. Those elements were very active. They used Venezuelan journalists' documents and transported different kinds of weapons, some through the U.S. embassy in Bolivia. They had rifles with telescopic sights, machine guns and so on. They even had a television camera with a weapon perfectly connected inside. It was even positioned in front of me, like that camera is now, but they didn't shoot. They also had rifles in an apartment, but they didn't shoot them either—an element of demoralization, of fear, was always present.

Then they learned that I was going to Peru, and they tried to go there when I made a technical stopover. I also was going to make a technical stopover in Ecuador, and they quickly found out about that too and tried to carry out the attack there. As far as I know, that was the last operation of this kind, but that was in 1971.

The CIA's plans lasted over ten years, and I don't know when they were halted. Its people have very subtle ways of operating. Sometimes they operate directly; at other times, through terrorist organizations which more or less follow the CIA's guidelines. They use direct and indirect methods. I am still not sure that the CIA has ceased its plans. I have not received a message from the CIA informing me that the plans have been halted, nor have we received any apology from the Government of the United States for having spent over ten years plotting to murder leaders of the Revolution. In spite of the fact that the Senate investigated and confirmed a small part of the CIA's plans, no U.S. administration has ever apologized to the Cuban Government for these deeds.

Journalist. Do you feel now, under Jimmy Carter and a new director of the CIA, that there are still orders being given to assassinate you?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I don't know the new CIA director; he was not my classmate; we didn't go to military academy together. Carter must know him better. However, you asked me if Carter had plans of this kind, and I will tell you sincerely, in keeping with my opinion of him, that I am sure he doesn't.

Journalist. In 1971 Richard Nixon was president, and do you think there were still . . . do you think he was ordering attacks against you?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Nixon is a different story. We can't compare Nixon with Carter. Nixon did many things: he had a hand in the whole Girón affair, and he also had a hand in the overthrow of Allende's government. The CIA played an active part, and so did the Pentagon. There's talk about the CIA, but not a word about the Pentagon. The Pentagon has kept up very close

relations with the Chilean army. That whole counterrevolutionary plan led to Allende's assassination. So, I ask, who's responsible for all this? The Government of the United States, the CIA and the Pentagon. That happened during the Nixon administration and had Nixon's full consent. Therefore Nixon was a man who wouldn't stop at anything. I remember the time of the negotiations with Vietnam. Every time the United States wanted to get something, it stepped up the bombings. We will never forget the bombings by the B-52s. At the time of the Paris talks, the United States sent the B-52s on hundreds of missions to weaken the Vietnamese position. Hundreds of thousands were murdered. You could expect anything from Nixon. You people know that very well.

Journalist. Do you think that Nixon ordered or approved specifically assassination attempts against you?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Look, Barbara, I don't know how the machinery works; I don't know how you go about ordering a murder in the United States; I don't know what the mechanism is, whether an order is written out or the CIA director is told in a conversation, whether he is told directly or indirectly. That's something I don't know. But I can assure you that, if such assassination plans existed and Nixon was aware of them, he didn't change them.

Journalist. I would like to talk about your life in the mountains before the Revolution.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. You mean during the Revolution.

Journalist. I mean during the Revolution, before your success, before your victory.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Our victory.²

Journalist. You're speaking English, you know.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Only a little bit. If I say my victory, it's not my victory. It's not *my* victory it's our victory, a victory in common.

Journalist. Your country's victory.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Our people's victory.

Journalist. You don't need a translator.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Sometimes. Most of times.

Journalist. You understand me very well.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Most of times. Is that the right way to say it in English?

Interpreter. Yes.

Journalist. I have read that you said your happiest time in life was up in the mountains.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I think that, in a way, it was one of the happiest times. Mainly, because the struggle was a very hard one; living conditions were very difficult. It was an all-out struggle for survival.

I believe that, in those circumstances, man gives the best that's in him. The constant risks that were faced in war, the effort that had to be made . . . and, of course, everything was simpler then. Also, I feel at home when I'm in action—maybe because I'm

mainly a man of action. That stage included a number of political and organizational aspects, but there was also plenty of action. That's why I think it was one of the best periods that any of us had. After that, life changed: comes the government and different kinds of tasks, which don't involve so much action: more paper work, more meetings—a different way of life.

Of course, this doesn't mean that my present life doesn't have its incentives. Where is the incentive in this institutionalized life of ours? I would say that it's in the work of the Revolution, in the things that can be done for the people.

We get satisfaction not out of our private lives but out of the work of the Revolution. In the earlier stage, our lives—at least, in my opinion—were more interesting than when we became engaged in governing.

Journalist. What was the worst time for you; what was the darkest time?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. In what sense? During the war, or after we came to power?

There were very difficult moments after the attack on the Moncada garrison, when we were defeated—let's say we had a setback, a hard setback. Many comrades died, and just a small group of us remained, some of whom were taken prisoner. Those were very bitter days.

Prison—but we made good use of prison: we used it to study, to plan the future. Of course, we were absolutely sure of what we were doing and were ready to do whatever was needed—and we were persevering.

Later, we had another bitter time, a second setback, when, three days after the landing of the *Granma*, the enemy caught us in a surprise attack and broke up our forces completely. Those, too, were very bitter times, very difficult moments. I don't want to go on about this except to say that they happened.

Then we got together again. There were two men with me, and we only had two rifles. Later on, Raúl and I met up; he had several men and five rifles. We had seven rifles, all told. That's when we began to feel happy again, sure that we were going to win. And that's the way it turned out.

The two hardest times—not just for me but for all the comrades—were those two: the setback following the Moncada and the setback following the *Granma*. I don't remember any other period that was as bitter or as difficult as those.

Journalist. What, if anything, makes you cry?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. If what?

Journalist. What, if anything, makes you cry?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Everybody cries more than one time, for one reason or another. You cry when a person you love dies; sometimes you also cry during moments of emotion with the people, on a historic date. There are many moments of emotion. I'm not going to say that I cry outright, although there are times when I have to hide my tears.

As for letting the floodgates loose, as they say, for purely sentimental reasons—I don't know; I haven't had an experience of that kind for a long time.

Journalist. Are you a lonely man?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. In what sense? The loneliness of power?

Journalist. Well, sometimes when you're in power . . . most of the time you're at the top of the mountain.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I detest solitude, absolute solitude.

2. The italics indicate that Fidel was speaking in English.—*Granma*

Journalist. You mean, being alone.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Yes, yes.

Journalist. Why?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Perhaps it's that man has need for company. I think that it was Aristotle who said that man was a social animal. It seems that I belong to that species.

Journalist. Were you in solitary confinement in jail?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Yes, yes. I spent many months in solitary. I had the company of the mosquitoes, and my cell was in front of the place where the bodies of those who died in prison were kept before they were buried. Every so often I had the company of a corpse, and, every day, that of millions of mosquitoes. But I always had some book or other; I studied, and I adapted. The fact that I detest solitude doesn't mean I'm not able to stand it.

Journalist. Do you have private times, times to relax?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Yes, of course. That's only logical.

Journalist. What do you do?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. A lot of things: I read, practice sports, go skin diving, see a film, talk with friends, meet with journalists. (Laughter.) I do a lot of things.

Journalist. You were 34 when the Revolution took place. You are now 50.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. I think there's a slight mistake. It was January 1, 1959. I think I was 32.

Journalist. You were 32 when the Revolution took place. You are now 50.

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Now I'm 50, according to my estimates.

Journalist. There are some questions about your estimates. . . .

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Yes, I know but I have my figures, which are the least flattering ones. Some say I'm younger, because . . . but I'm 50, and I'm satisfied.

I never thought I'd live half a century, never!

Journalist. You didn't?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. No, really, I didn't. I've never made long-range plans concerning my future.

Journalist. Fifty is a mellow age for a man. Are you very different now from then?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Well, I think that I was an ignorant youngster when I was 32.

Journalist. At the time of the victory of the government you were ignorant?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Yes, of course.

I look at myself—comparing the experience we all now have with what we had then, we all see ourselves as ignorant youngsters at that time.

Of course, we had an idea about what we were doing and what we wanted to do; and, of course, it has been shown that our ideas were basically sound. However, when we compare the experience we had 18 years ago with what we have now, we have to consider ourselves to have been ignorant youngsters at that time.

Now we have a little more experience; but, if I live ten years more, maybe when I'm 60 I'll say that I was absolutely ignorant when I was 50.

Journalist. I have one final question. Will you ever shave off that beard?

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. In exchange for what? The lifting of the blockade? (Laughter.)

Journalist. Yes, we will stop the blockade, you shave off the beard. I don't think that would make America do it. . . .

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. Well, maybe we would import Gillette razor blades again, wouldn't we? I don't know if they're still being made in the United States.

Do you know why we grew beards? Because we didn't have any razor blades. But, with the passing of time, a guerrilla came to be known by his beard. It was more difficult to infiltrate a spy, because he had to wait many months to let his beard grow. Therefore, it became a useful thing, and finally it became a symbol.

After the triumph of the Revolution, a lot of people started shaving. Then regulations appeared in the army requiring the men to shave. Little by little, I became one of the few left with a beard, and I stuck with it.

But what happens? When gray hair starts appearing, it begins in the beard, and it's more noticeable. Therefore, my idea now is to wait as least until my beard's completely white. After that, I'll have to make a decision: whether to dye it or to shave it off.

Journalist. And the country can vote. . . .

Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. The country? That's a purely personal affair. Don't forget human rights! (Laughter.)

[To be continued]

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London Playwright Depicts Lenin, Trotsky

By Sam Gordon

There is nearly always some reflection of the social scene in England on the London stage. Over the years—one is tempted to say the centuries—social struggle and the theatre have grown up side by side. The reality could not help influencing the art.

Over the past year, there have been a growing number of plays in the London theatre—some six or seven—touching on social themes, from the strikes of 1974 to the possibility of a fascist government in Britain. The state of the class struggle in Britain, never quiescent in the recent years of economic crisis, naturally makes for sustained interest, particularly among the young, in social themes as they are seen by a number of talented dramatists.

State of Revolution,* the latest play of this type, deals with a much more challenging theme than most. Nothing less than the Bolshevik revolution. The play is by Robert Bolt, one of the more well-established playwrights in the West End, and is novel for that very reason, too. Nearly all other plays on revolutionary topics are by comparative novices.

State of Revolution spans the period of the revolution from 1917 until Lenin's death, with a sort of prelude scene laid in Maxim Gorky's villa in Capri at the time of the Bolshevik cadre school. On the whole it is faithful to historic fact.

Nevertheless, though historically not to be faulted, the play is not a great play. It does not even rise to the level of Bolt's own better historical plays and scripts like *The Lion in Winter* or *Vivat Vivat Regina* or *Mrs Lamb*. The dialogue is often banal and stilted, and out of character with the people depicted. Lenin was certainly hard on Lunacharsky and the "God-seekers," but he would hardly have used petty obscenities to confound them. He used logic, reason, dialectic. It was a bit too difficult for Bolt to catch the sound of that argumentation, let alone distill it.

The author does catch Lenin at his characteristic polemical attitude in the scene picturing the Central Committee debate on the famous Brest-Litovsk peace proposals. That inexorable, driving logic that brooked no revolutionary poses, no impertinent sentimentality, but drove home the unavoidable need to act on the basis of cold, brutal, ugly fact—that trait of Lenin Bolt has grasped and depicted in masterly fashion. One might almost say

this scene is worth the whole play.

Lenin certainly is the best-drawn character in the piece, so that the actor playing that role turns in a first-rate performance, the best in the cast. Other heroes of the revolution are, however, drawn with less sensitivity, sometimes as near-caricatures.

Trotsky is shown as a rather dyspeptic, acid-tongued super-students' leader type. One could only with the greatest difficulty recognize in Bolt's Trotsky the great, stirring propagandist appealing to the workers of the world from Brest-Litovsk, or the inspirer of the victories of the Red Army. Especially unconvincing is his Kronstadt appearance.

Stalin, on the other hand, is shown as some kind of nitwit who stumbled into power with Trotsky's reluctant consent. Not an inkling of the man's wiliness or manipulative talent in exploiting the figures around him is even hinted at. In fact, it is hard from this performance to even begin to imagine why Stalin ended up as he did.

The women in the play are shown as token Bolshevik leaders, more interested in their men really than in the revolution. Krupskaya is depicted as almost a *hausfrau* type, when historians at least are aware of her extraordinary political qualities, and not solely of the fact that she was Lenin's companion.

Alexandra Kollontai, on the other hand, is pictured as a sort of revolutionary hoyden—even Lenin makes snide remarks about her—and one would not guess from the performance that she was a great revolutionary figure in her own right, a leader of left oppositions to Lenin within the Bolshevik Party; above all, an original and effective pioneer in the struggle for women's rights.

Of the minor characters, Felix Dzerzhinsky, head of the Cheka, the early political police, is best developed, and therefore also well acted. Gorky is nearly always on the scene—the play begins at his villa in Capri—but his character never comes to life. In the end he just wants to go back to Capri—Lenin's cruelties, the cruelties of the revolution, are too much for him. It would require another play, to be sure, to show how Gorky could reconcile himself to Stalin's cruelties.

While not incorrect in detail, the scene of Lenin at the Finland station doesn't quite come across. In truth, it is probably beyond the reach of all but the most gifted to convey the import of such an event, in which a revolutionary leader comes face

to face with the revolutionary reality and finds he has to reeducate his own followers before taking the helm. Nor is Lenin's argumentation for the New Economic Policy given a fully convincing and impressive form—most of the points were really left for Trotsky to make, and his lines were not very pregnant with meaning. The same can be said of the scenes around the "Georgian affair," which brought Lenin and Trotsky together particularly closely, shortly before Lenin's death. It is doubtful whether the average spectator could make head or tail of the politics of this episode.

The most gripping scene in the play was that of the 1921 Kronstadt revolt that preceded the New Economic Policy. Lenin's talk with the peasant-sailor lays the political ground for an understanding of the flare-up and of the dilemmas it faced the Bolsheviks with. The appearance of Trotsky, while in itself unsatisfactory dramatically—he recites his manifesto in robot fashion—does give a smattering of the military problem. But most striking of all is the reading of General Tukhachevsky's report on the crushing of Kronstadt at the meeting of the Central Committee. The rendition here is full of real pathos and lofty poetry. It is the only scene in which the play reaches the heights of genuine tragedy.

What is Bolt trying to tell us with this play? It is hard to say. Since the greatest success he achieves is with the characterization of Lenin, perhaps it is Lenin's revolutionary realism as the heritage of the revolution that he wants to show to later generations. In any case, the play is not in the same class as the great revolutionary historical dramas of the past, like Georg Büchner's *Danton's Death* or Bertold Brecht's *Galileo*.

It may well be that this is not Bolt's last word on the Russian revolution. From the fragmentary nature of *State of Revolution* one would guess this is probably so. He certainly has a feel for this greatest event of our century. As he has explained somewhere, he was "brought up in a Communist household." From the presenter's words one is given to understand that the presentation is set at a meeting of the Young Communist League in the thirties. Perhaps there is still a drama to come that will deal with the conflict in the revolution after the final scene in this play, which shows Stalin and Trotsky shaking hands in 1924 . . . □

Censors on the Run

The Federal Police of Brazil began taking applications June 1 for fifty-eight positions as "censorship technicians." Applicants were required to pass exams on philosophy, history, Brazilian culture, and other subjects. They also had to pass physical tests including a 2,000 meter run to be finished in less than twelve minutes.

*Currently being staged at the Lyttleton auditorium, National Theatre, London.