

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

Vol. 15, No. 44

© 1977 by Intercontinental Press

November 28, 1977

75¢

Belly-crawling Act

WHAT SADAT GAVE AWAY TO BEGIN



SADAT: Cheered by Israeli parliament.

Thousands of Angry Demonstrators in Tehran and Washington

Shah Wined and Dined by Carter

Sadat Capitulates to Begin

By David Frankel

Insisting that he had come "to establish a durable peace based on justice," Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat told the Israeli Knesset [Parliament] November 20 that "70 percent" of the problem in the Middle East was the result of "a psychological barrier between us, a barrier of suspicion, a barrier of rejection . . . a barrier of illusions. . . ."

If the Middle East conflict was really a product of mistrust and misunderstanding, then perhaps a dramatic gesture like Sadat's trip to Jerusalem could help bring peace to the region.

Unfortunately, the basis of the bitter struggle between Israel and its Arab neighbors is not irrational mistrust or mistaken beliefs. Sadat's diplomatic surprise will certainly help the Zionist state, but it will do nothing to help end the conflict that has plagued the Middle East for decades.

From the point of view of the Israeli regime, Sadat's visit was a major triumph. As the editors of the *New York Times* put it November 16, "Israel's nationhood and right to exist could not be more dramatically acknowledged."

Israel was established in 1948 only by denying the Palestinians—who were a two-to-one majority—the right to have any say in the future of their country. In the process, 700,000 Palestinians were driven out of their homeland.

Although the Zionist state was able to prevent the return of the Palestinian refugees by force of arms, it has never—until now—been able to force the Arab states to recognize its existence as legal and legitimate.

As Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan gloated on the eve of Sadat's visit, "We have waited for this for years."

While supporters of the Zionist state were praising Sadat, its victims reacted to his trip with anger and dismay. Strikes and demonstrations took place in Lebanon, and photographs of Sadat were burned in Palestinian refugee camps in Syria.

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) condemned the visit as a "blow to all the principles of Arab solidarity." Mamoun Sayed, editor of the Jerusalem newspaper *Al Fajr*, told *New York Times* reporter Henry Kamm: "Sadat puts himself on one side and the whole of the Arab world on the other. And we, the Palestinians, will be the main losers."

Even the Saudi regime, which strongly

supports Sadat's attempts to reach a settlement with Israel, felt it necessary to publicly disassociate itself from his latest move. "His decision has placed the Arab world in a precarious position," the Riyadh radio declared.

Of the twenty governments in the Arab League, only those of Oman, Morocco, Tunisia, and the Sudan backed Sadat.

The anger on the part of the Arab masses was understandable. Until Sadat's trip, the Israeli regime had suffered a long period of diplomatic reverses. The most dramatic of these was the decision of the UN General Assembly to invite PLO leader Yassir Arafat to the United Nations in November 1974, and the UN vote the following year branding Zionism as a form of racism.

These votes, and others like them, reflected growing international sentiment against the aggressive and expansionist policies of the Israeli regime, and its racist treatment of the Palestinians living under its rule.

On the very day that Sadat stated his willingness to go to Israel, more than 110 persons were murdered as Israeli warplanes blasted towns and villages in southern Lebanon. The savage raids, and the testimony of reporters who refuted Israeli lies that the raids were directed against "terrorist bases," made headlines in newspapers around the world.

But Sadat chose to ignore the raids. Why did he go ahead with an action that he knew would take the heat off the Israeli regime in regard to the Lebanon raids, as well as helping to counter Israel's international isolation?

Commentators in the capitalist media have talked about Sadat's "courageous" decision. But to the extent that courage is involved, it is the courage of desperation.

Four years have passed since the October 1973 Middle East war—four years in which Sadat has been promising the Egyptian people that concessions to American imperialism and reliance on U.S. diplomacy would win back the Arab territory occupied by Israel in 1967 and open the road to a solution of the conflict with Israel. The only thing Sadat has to show for his pains so far is a small sliver of the Sinai Peninsula.

One of Sadat's promises was that the Geneva conference on the Middle East would resume by the end of 1977. But during a visit to Washington shortly before Sadat's offer to come to Israel, former

Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres summed up the situation by saying, "Santa Claus will come before Geneva does."

Moreover, the military option that Sadat exercised in October 1973 has been effectively closed by his all-out reliance on Washington. Soviet arms supplies have been cut off, while the only thing Sadat has received from the Pentagon has been a few transport planes. Meanwhile, U.S. military aid to Israel continues at the rate of more than \$1 billion a year.

At the same time, Sadat's promises of economic improvement through removing restrictions on foreign investment and private capital have not borne fruit.

New York Times correspondent Marvine Howe reported in an August 22 dispatch from Cairo that Sadat's economic "policies have dramatically failed to improve the quality of life of the average Egyptian. In fact, to all appearances, the social disparities have increased."

Thus, Sadat went to Jerusalem on his hands and knees, begging for a concession from Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin.

Speaking only nine days after the murderous Israeli raid in Lebanon, Sadat admonished the Knesset that "you must give up the dreams of conquest and the illusion that force is the only way to deal with the Arabs."

Similarly, Sadat called for respect for the rights of the Palestinian people while rejecting their main demand—the establishment of a united Palestine in which both Jews and Arabs could live together. His conciliation of the Zionists was further underlined by Sadat's failure to mention the PLO in his speech.

However, Sadat's abject performance got him nothing. Begin simply restated the Israeli regime's long-standing claim that "everything is open to negotiation." Begin didn't even bother to mention the existence of the Palestinians. On the issue of Israeli withdrawal from the territory occupied in 1967, Begin said, "President Sadat knows . . . that we have a different position than his with regard to borders between us and our neighbors."

On the surface, Begin's hard-line stance seemed to be at variance with the policy of the Carter administration. According to a November 17 dispatch by *New York Times* correspondent Hedrick Smith, Carter urged Begin "to take a conciliatory line this weekend to insure that Mr. Sadat does not return home empty-handed from his bold peace mission."

"High officials said privately that they believe the Israelis should make some concessions to match the major symbolic and substantive concessions being made by Mr. Sadat in making the trip to Israel," Smith added.

Fear in Washington that Arab anger over Sadat's trip could lead to his downfall

was compounded November 17 by the resignation of Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy, one of Sadat's closest aides. Sadat designated Minister of State Mohammed Riad as Fahmy's successor, but after thinking things over for a few hours, Riad resigned as well.

But if there was disagreement between the Carter administration and Begin over whether to bolster Sadat's position at home by tossing him a bone, the fact remains that the type of "concessions" envisaged by Washington would hardly make a qualitative difference in the situation.

Although Washington has played soft cop since the October 1973 war, in contrast to the harsher stance of the Israeli regime, it has been unrelenting pressure from American imperialism as much as Israeli threats and intransigence that has forced Sadat to capitulate. U.S. aid, after all, has been crucial in the continuation of Israeli occupation of the territories captured in 1967.

Nor can Moscow be exempted from blame in this. The Kremlin, which refused to give full support to any attempt to regain the occupied territories by military means, has long pressed for Arab acceptance of the Israeli state.

Painful as it may be to those millions whose hopes were raised by the talk about peace from Sadat and Begin, it must be said that Sadat's visit to Jerusalem was not a step toward peace. On the contrary, by strengthening the Zionist state and aiding it in its battle for legitimacy, Sadat's trip was a blow to the prospects for real peace in the Middle East.

As long as the Zionist state exists, it will continue to come into conflict with its Arab neighbors, regardless of any negotiated agreements and peace treaties. The basic reason for this is the existence of 3.5 million Palestinians.

In order to maintain Israel as a Jewish state, the Zionist regime must continue the policy of expropriation of land, limitations on democratic rights, and expulsion of "excess" Arab population that has characterized its dealings with the Palestinians from the beginning.

At the same time, Israel comes into conflict with the Arab masses because of its role as an imperialist outpost in the Middle East.

Peace can be won in the Middle East, but not by endorsing the dispossession of the Palestinian people and recognizing Israel. Of course, what the Israeli regime and its backers in Washington demand is precisely such a "peace"—one that can only lead to new wars.

The real fighters for peace, despite the self-serving rhetoric of Carter, Sadat, and Begin, are those who continue to oppose the Israeli state and demand the establishment of a united Palestine where both Arabs and Jews can live together. □

In This Issue

Closing News Date: November 21, 1977

IRAN	1300	Thousands March in Tehran as Shah Visits White House—by Fred Murphy
SOUTH AFRICA	1301	Cover-up Unravels in Murder of Steve Biko—by Ernest Harsch
SOVIET UNION	1302	Carrillo Muzzled at Moscow Gathering —by Gerry Foley
	1308	Grigorenko to Visit U.S. for Medical Treatment
CHINA	1303	Trotskyist Still Behind Bars After 25 Years
	1311	The Eleventh National Congress of the CP—by Kai Chang
USA	1306	Lea Tsemel Speaks Across the Country
	1308	Marroquín Appeal Wins Broad Support
	1309	Filipina Nurses Win Release on Bail
LEBANON	1307	"Nothing Is Left of Azzije"
GREECE	1307	Giannis Felekis Faces New Frame-up Charges
FRANCE	1309	"Not One Weapon, Not One Soldier Against Polisario!"
IRELAND	1310	Debate on National Question
	1319	Petition for Socialist John McNulty
NICARAGUA	1314	The Rising Opposition to Somoza's Dictatorship—by Fausto Amador
NEWS ANALYSIS	1298	Sadat Capitulates to Begin —by David Frankel
AROUND THE WORLD	1304	No Future in Terrorism
CAPITALISM		
FOULS THINGS UP	1320	French Workers Strike Over Pesticide Pollution
DRAWINGS	1297	Anwar el-Sadat; 1313, Hua Kuo-feng —by Copain

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

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, Matilde Zimmermann.

Business Manager: Pat Galligan.

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

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

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it

reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material stands on the program of the Fourth International.

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

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

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

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

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

Copyright © 1977 by Intercontinental Press.

Thousands March in Tehran as Shah Visits White House

By Fred Murphy

While Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi—the self-styled “King of Kings and Light of the Aryans”—was on a state visit to Washington, D.C., November 15 and 16, thousands of university students were taking to the streets of Tehran to protest his dictatorial rule.

The demonstrations were the largest by students in Iran since at least 1973. They were described by *Washington Post* correspondent William Branigin in a November 16 dispatch from Tehran:

Iranian riot police today forcibly broke up a procession of several thousand dissident marchers in the second day of violent university incidents linked to demonstrations in Washington against the visit of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. . . .

The incident followed a clash last night in which a crowd of some 2,000 dissidents at Aryamehr University began shouting anti-shah slogans. . . .

Last night's clash grew out of a poetry reading at Aryamehr University on Tehran's west side in which Sayid Soltanpour, a leftist writer who was released from prison here earlier this year, was to have read his works. About 4,000 people were admitted to the gathering, which was organized by the Writers Association of Iran,* one of several newly emerged dissident groups.

Two thousand more persons were locked out of the meeting when police closed the gates to the university. Fifty persons were arrested later in the evening.

The 4,000 people in the university then refused to leave until the rest had been freed and staged a sit-in through the night at the school's gymnasium where the poetry reading was scheduled.

Today demonstrators marched from the university toward central Tehran to protest the police action and were joined by students from Tehran University, which students boycotted in sympathy. The demonstrators—some estimates put the number as high as 10,000—were stretched in a long line down the sidewalk when the police charged.

Witnesses said thirty to forty persons were injured when the police, numbering about 500 and armed with clubs, assaulted the peaceful demonstrators without warning. Fifty persons were reportedly arrested at this action, sixteen of whom were later released.

While the demonstrations in Tehran were taking place, similar protests by



Nancy Cole/Militant

Part of demonstration of 5,000 in Washington, November 15.

Iranian students and supporters of human rights in Iran greeted the shah on his arrival in Washington.

More than 5,000 persons—many of them masked to prevent identification by SAVAK, the Iranian secret police—gathered in areas near the White House November 15, chanting, “Shah is a murderer. Down with the shah”; “Iran, the future Vietnam. U.S. get out of Iran.” Signs carried by the protesters read, “There are 100,000 political prisoners in Iran” and “Expose Carter's human rights hypocrisy.”

The sidewalks immediately adjacent to the White House grounds had been reserved by the federal authorities for several thousand pro-shah Iranian students and Iranian-Americans. This crowd waved American and Iranian flags and chanted, “We love our king,” and “Long live the shah.”

Many of the pro-shah demonstrators told reporters they had received free air tickets, hotel accommodations, and \$100 in spending money—supplied by the Iranian government or by rich Iranian businessmen. “The Shah of Iran is the first White House visitor to bring his own picket line with him,” columnist Mary McGrory said in the November 15 *New York Post*.

Not all the members of this rent-a-crowd had friendly greetings for the monarch, however. “You know,” one Iranian student

told a *Washington Post* reporter, “he [the shah] paid the air fare plus expenses and \$300 to anyone who would come to show their support for him. I'll take his money and demonstrate against him. To hell with him.” Others were quoted as saying they were only taking advantage of the opportunity for a free trip to Washington.

The demonstrations continued November 16, the second day of the shah's visit. Several thousand anti-shah protesters gathered in Lafayette Park and were dispatched in smaller groups to various points along the shah's itinerary. News reports indicated that pro-shah crowds were considerably smaller on the second day.

On November 15, as a twenty-one-gun salute was being fired to mark the shah's arrival on the White House lawn, fighting broke out between the two groups of demonstrators. Police fired tear gas, and it wafted over the lawn to where Carter was welcoming the shah. This caused some discomfort for their entourage and moved Carter to apologize for the “temporary air pollution.”

No tears were shed by the champion of “human rights” for the tens of thousands of political prisoners and torture victims in the shah's jails, however. White House Press Secretary Jody Powell said the

* For reports on demands by the Writers' Association for official recognition and the support these demands have generated both in Iran and internationally, see *Intercontinental Press*, July 18, p. 826; and September 12, p. 981.

subject of human rights "did not come up" in the shah's first meeting with Carter. After a second meeting Powell said the shah was taking some measures "in support of that ideal." Asked if Carter was satisfied with Iran's progress on human rights, Powell would say only, "We have avoided throughout this process any overall judgment of any country."

The two heads of state no doubt felt they had more important matters to discuss. Three topics stood out in news reports on the shah's visit:

- *Arms:* The shah arrived with a \$7.5 billion shopping list, anxious to purchase radar planes, jet fighters, military transport planes, and naval patrol boats. The Iranian government is the Pentagon's best customer abroad—more than \$18.2 billion in weapons have been sold to Tehran since 1972.

Carter reportedly told the shah that "Iran's security is a matter of the highest priority," and that he would therefore "work closely with Congress in meeting

Iran's security needs." Congress balked earlier this year at a \$1.2 billion sale of radar aircraft to Tehran, but Carter forced through a second vote approving the deal.

- *Oil prices:* Perhaps as a quid pro quo for Carter's pledge to continue lobbying for Tehran's arms purchases, the shah announced he would actively oppose any increase in world oil prices at the December meeting of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. Before his Washington visit, the shah had indicated he would only be a "spectator" at the OPEC gathering.

- *Nuclear reactors:* As part of his program to build twenty nuclear power plants in Iran, the shah wants to buy eight reactors from U.S. companies at a cost of between 20 and 35 billion dollars. Before approving such a sale, Carter wants assurances that Tehran will forgo the reprocessing of spent nuclear fuel for plutonium. Jody Powell said "important progress" was made in talks on this subject. □

Cover-up Unravels in Murder of Steve Biko

By Ernest Harsch

Steve Biko, the young Black leader who died in police custody September 12, had been kept naked in his cell for nineteen days before being subjected to more than fifty hours of round-the-clock interrogation by his captors. He had also been handcuffed and placed in leg irons on orders of the security police. These were among the revelations that came out in the first few days of an official inquest into Biko's death that opened in Pretoria November 14. The contradictory and inconsistent testimony of the police officers responsible for Biko's detention and interrogation also further undermined the apartheid regime's efforts to cover up its involvement in his murder.

The original cover-up attempt began the day after Biko's death, when Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons James T. Kruger suggested that he had died after a one-week hunger strike. However, subsequent evidence revealed that Biko drank several times, ate at least half a bowl of porridge, and never even threatened to embark on a hunger strike. In addition, the official autopsy report listed brain damage resulting from a severe blow as the primary cause of death.

As a result of these exposures, the South African racists were forced to alter their story. Kruger then admitted that Biko had died of brain damage, but suggested that his injuries may have been self-inflicted.

During the inquest itself, the police presented a different version of this account, claiming that Biko "accidentally"

hit his head against a wall during an alleged struggle with his interrogators. But under questioning from Sydney W. Kentridge, a lawyer for the Biko family, the police contradicted each other and retracted some portions of their testimony. In eleven earlier affidavits, none of the five interrogators mentioned that Biko may have hit his head against a wall, nor did they tell doctors about it after the signs of his physical deterioration became obvious (the brain damage caused blood clotting and ultimately kidney failure).

Referring to the alleged struggle between Biko and the police, Kentridge commented, "Perhaps it never happened." He suggested that the story may have been concocted after the fact to explain away injuries incurred during a police assault. "We are going to submit that while in the custody of the Special Branch he [Biko] was smashed up."

Nor does the police account of Biko's head injuries explain the autopsy's findings that he had suffered a mass of minor burns, bruises, and abrasions on at least twenty-five different parts of his body at various times in the period from eight days to twelve hours before his death.

What the police did admit, however, was nevertheless revealing of the routine treatment meted out to Black political prisoners by the Vorster regime's jailers. Besides keeping Biko naked and shackled for days on end, he was taken on a 750-mile trip from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria, naked and in a semiconscious state, in the back of a

police van. He died several hours later.

When Kentridge asked Col. Pieter J. Goosen, the police commander in charge of Biko's detention, what legal authority he had for depriving Biko of his clothes or keeping him in shackles, Goosen replied, "We don't work with the law; we work with our own powers."

In an attempt to justify the arrest and mistreatment of the young Black leader, the police tried to portray Biko as a "terrorist" who had advocated arson and had conspired to initiate a guerrilla campaign against the regime. Under questioning, documents the police tried to introduce as evidence of their charges were shown to have been dated *after* Biko's death.

Kentridge termed the police accusations an effort to "convict a man you could never convict in his lifetime. . . . What we have here is a smear prepared after Mr. Biko's death."

In light of the obvious lies and distortions in the police testimony, Kentridge told the magistrate presiding over the inquest, "There are only two questions that arise, and they are as important as any other questions in this inquest: where did the cover-up start, and how high did the cover-up go? When we have the answers to these questions, it will tell us a great deal as to what happened to Stephen Biko in the custody of the security police."

In an effort to unravel the cover-up attempt, Kentridge asked the magistrate to subpoena Kruger and other high officials to testify at the inquest. The magistrate, however, refused to call Kruger for questioning and denied Kentridge's request that Kruger's initial statements that Biko may have died of a hunger strike be entered as evidence.

Whatever the final verdict in the inquest, there is little doubt among South Africa's Black population that Biko was murdered by the police, as have been so many other Black political prisoners. From 1963 until just before Biko's death, forty-seven prisoners were known to have died in detention, twenty-three of them in the past year and a half. While the inquest was in progress, yet another, eighteen-year-old Bonaventura S. Malaza, died while in detention by the security police in Krugersdorp.

These frequent killings are in fact part of the regime's overall repressive policies, designed to terrorize the Black population.

But judging from the mood among the Black spectators at the inquest, this campaign of intimidation has been far from successful. Winnie Kgwane, the first president of the now-outlawed Black People's Convention (of which Biko was a key founder), walked down the aisle on the first day of the inquest waving a portrait of Biko. About 100 Blacks responded with clenched-fist salutes. Outside the courtroom, they later sang Black nationalist songs. □

Carrillo Muzzled at Moscow Gathering

By Gerry Foley

The celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the October Revolution in Moscow was used by the Kremlin as an occasion for stepping up its pressure against the "Eurocommunist" party leaderships.

The move by the Soviet CP leaders that was most widely commented on in the world press was the decision not to let Spanish Communist Party leader Santiago Carrillo speak at the November 3 commemoration ceremony.

Following the furor in the international press, *Pravda* editor M. Afanasyev claimed that Carrillo had not been allowed to speak because he arrived late and that there was, of course, no intention to rebuff him or censor his views.

In a November 7 statement, the Secretariat of the Spanish CP rejected Afanasyev's arguments. It said that the Soviet authorities had known well in advance when the Spanish delegation and Carrillo would arrive, and that the dates had in fact been arranged in discussions with the *Pravda* editor himself when he was in Madrid in October. The statement noted:

"On arriving in Moscow, Santiago Carrillo gave a copy of his speech to the Soviet officials. On the morning of November 3, this text was in all the translators' booths. Nonetheless, the meeting was adjourned without giving Carrillo a chance to speak."

The Spanish CP leader said that his speech did not differ much from that given by the Italian CP head Enrico Berlinguer.

However, in his book "*Eurocommunism and the State*," Carrillo did make some statements that went further than anything said by the leaders of the other West European CPs that have been trying to dissociate themselves from the dictatorial regimes in the USSR and East Europe. He said that the Soviet Union could not be called socialist and that the workers did not actually rule the country.

The other Eurocommunist leaders have not defended Carrillo's characterizations of the Soviet regime, and the Kremlin has made clear that it considers such statements to go beyond what can be even grudgingly tolerated.

The Kremlin also chose the Carrillo leadership as one of the main targets in its 1968-69 campaign to bring to heel the West European CPs that criticized the invasion of Czechoslovakia. In a pattern that has been repeated in other countries, it encouraged a split of some unconditional Moscow supporters as a threat.

On November 7, the leader of the slavishly pro-Moscow group, former civil war

colonel Enrique Lister, held a news conference in Madrid, following his return from exile in the USSR. At the news conference, Lister announced his determination to wage a "fight to the death" against Carrillo. The Lister group has not been active since the split, and Carrillo has said he thought the Kremlin was keeping it "in the ice box."

The representatives of a series of unconditionally pro-Moscow splinter groups were given recognition in the commemoration ceremony. In its November 6 issue, *Pravda* printed the speech by Rolf Hagel, secretary of the Workers Party—Communists of Sweden, which split from the official party at the end of February 1977. (See "Split in Swedish CP Over 'De-Stalinization,'" *Intercontinental Press*, March 21, 1977, p. 288.)

Hagel made a declaration of total loyalty to Moscow and a thinly veiled attack on the Eurocommunists:

"We will never make the slightest concession to the new anti-Sovietism, whose advocates find one or another so-called dissident in the Soviet Union and organize noisy campaigns about so-called violations of the rights of these 'dissidents.' These campaigns are intended to divert attention away from such gross violations of human rights in the capitalist countries as unemployment, slum housing, and economic insecurity. These campaigns are designed to split and weaken the mighty international movement against the arms race and for peace and the détente.

"Therefore, the fight against anti-Sovietism is a fundamental part of the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence. For the Swedish Communists, the ideas and principles of proletarian internationalism that have always guided the Communist movement have been and will remain our guiding star."

The November 5 issue of *Pravda* published the speech of Lars Werner, chairman of the official Swedish CP, who said, among other things:

"We are fighting for a socialism that will strengthen and extend democratic rights and freedom. We are obliged to participate in every movement, to build every movement, that corresponds to the interests of the working people. We are fighting against any limitation of the people's democratic rights and for the extension of these rights in all spheres."

The Kremlin could not simply excommunicate the Eurocommunist CPs and

replace them with the splinter groups. But by granting the recognition to the splitters that it did, the Kremlin ended up allowing a scarcely veiled factional confrontation to unfold before the eyes of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The very conformity of the Soviet press makes any nuance of difference stand out dramatically.

In particular, Berlinguer's speech, published in the November 3 issue of *Pravda*, must have caught the eyes of Soviet readers:

"Our experience has led us, like other Communist parties in capitalist Europe, to the conclusion that democracy today is not just the ground on which the enemy can be forced to retreat but represents in itself a historic and universal value on which an original form of socialism is to be based.

"Our united struggle, in which we are winning more and more support from other socialist and Christian forces in Italy and Western Europe, is aimed at establishing a socialist society that will guarantee individual and collective civil rights and religious freedoms, an ideologically neutral state, and the possibility for the existence of various parties and of pluralism in social, cultural, and intellectual life."

Although Berlinguer stressed that such conclusions were the product of specifically West European experience, a lot of *Pravda* readers must certainly have thought that the right to hold divergent views and have more than one political party would be a good idea in the USSR as well.

Neither the Kremlin nor the Eurocommunist leaders have been able to keep from being pulled onto dangerous ground by their factional tug of war. Moscow's latest attempt to step up its warnings to the Eurocommunists seems only to have hastened the very thing it fears. It has brought the theme of socialism in freedom, which the Eurocommunists raise for their own opportunistic reasons, still more forcefully to the attention of the Soviet people.

1,000 in Montréal Protest Harassment of Homosexuals

One thousand persons demonstrated in downtown Montréal October 22 to protest a police raid the previous evening on a bar frequented by homosexuals.

The police rounded up 150 persons in the raid and booked them on "morals" charges. They also used threats of blackmail to get other patrons to sign phony statements saying that they had been "solicited."

When demonstrators took to the streets the following evening, the police tried to disperse them by using clubs and by driving patrol cars and a fire truck into the crowd. Several demonstrators were hospitalized for injuries.

Chinese Trotskyist Still Behind Bars After 25 Years

[The following article, written by Greg Benton, appeared in the November 9 issue of the London daily the *Guardian*, under the headline "Teng's comrade still behind bars."

[For further information on the case of the imprisoned Chinese Trotskyists see "Open the Doors of Mao's Political Prisons," *Intercontinental Press*, April 28, 1975, p. 546; "Free the Imprisoned Chinese Trotskyists!" *Intercontinental Press*, October 6, 1975, p. 1315; and "Demand Mao's Heirs Free the Chinese Trotskyists!" *Intercontinental Press*, October 4, 1976, p. 1380.

[See also the pamphlet *Revolutionaries in Mao's Prisons*, by Li Fu-jen and Peng Shu-tse (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1974. 23 pp. \$0.50).]

* * *

One should not kill too many "counter-revolutionaries," Chairman Mao once said, just a few to set an example. The majority should be put in prison to "reform themselves through labour." For every one such "counter-revolutionary" whose execution has been announced recently in the streets of Peking and other Chinese cities, one can assume that many more have entered gaol to swell the already large prison population.

Perhaps the doyen of "enemies of the Chinese state" still in gaol is Cheng Chao-lin, a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Trotskyist movement.

On the night of December 22, 1952, Chinese Communist security forces, in the course of a nationwide round-up, arrested between two and three hundred Trotskyists, including Cheng, and their sympathisers. An old friend of one of China's present leaders, Cheng is now coming up to the 25th anniversary of his imprisonment.

Cheng's political life began in Paris after the First World War. In a small hotel near the Place d'Italie he and a handful of Chinese emigres met regularly to plan the activities of the new French section of the CCP.

They included Chou En-lai, later to become second only to Mao before his death last year; Teng Hsiao-ping, the twice rehabilitated member of the present triumvirate in Peking (who earned the title of Ph. D. in Mimeography in Paris for his mastery of the duplicator); Chen Yi, later to become Foreign Minister in Peking; and other Communists who have since become



CHENG CHAO-LIN: Imprisoned Chinese Trotskyist leader. Photo believed to have been taken in 1941.

household names in the People's Republic.

Cheng, who was born in 1901, made his way to France as a worker-student at the age of 19. In 1923 he was among the first Chinese to go to Moscow to study at the University for the Toilers of the East. He returned to China in 1924, and became secretary of the Party Propaganda Department and co-editor of the influential party newspaper *Guide Weekly*.

During the 1920s and 1930s translation was a major branch of the Chinese literary scene as young intellectuals strove to acquire Western thought in order to modernise and transform their country. Cheng's skills as a linguist were renowned. Besides his native Chinese he mastered French, German, English, and Russian.

He won prominence in the Communist movement as a writer, a contributor to party journals, and a translator. His translation of Bukharin's ABC of Communism immediately became a standard (and in most cases the sole) Marxist text for a generation of Chinese revolutionaries.

After the defeat of the revolution in 1927 he worked underground in Shanghai as chief editor of the party's principal news-

paper, *Bolshevik*. In 1929 he was expelled from the party as a Trotskyist, together with Ch'en Tu-hsiu (the founder of Chinese Communism) and other prominent leaders.

In 1931, he was elected to the central committee of the Left Opposition of the CCP, but was arrested on May 24 of the same year by the Kuomintang political police and sentenced to 15 years in gaol. He was freed seven years later during a general amnesty proclaimed after the outbreak of war with Japan.

He then returned to Shanghai, where he participated in the underground anti-Japanese resistance while continuing his literary activities. He translated many Marxist works into Chinese, and completed some historical and theoretical studies of his own (including a biography of Ch'en Tu-hsiu and a history of the Chinese reformist movement). He also wrote a novel entitled *Dialogue of Three Travellers*.

In 1949, after a split in the Chinese Trotskyite movement, Cheng became leader of the International Workers' Party. After the establishment of the People's Republic he chose to stay in China to carry out his political work. His old friends in the Government contacted him through the influential Communist leader Li Wei-han, who knew Cheng in Paris and urged him to compromise with them. He refused, and was arrested soon afterwards.

There is no record of the fate of the men and women imprisoned in 1952.

The only reliable news that has trickled out is of Cheng Chao-lin and his wife Wu Ching-chen. When Wu was released from prison in 1957 her legs were paralysed. Cheng, when he was last heard of in 1974, was still in Shanghai in what in the days of the International Settlement was known as Ward Road Gaol.

The post-Mao leaders have gained much public support in China through their denunciations of the suppression of Socialist legality and democratic rights under the "Gang of Four" and their supporters, and have promised a relaxation of political controls.

In 1975, when Teng's influence was to the fore, the Peking Government even gave an amnesty and granted citizenship rights to several hundred people officially described as "Kuomintang war criminals."

Will Teng's leniency extend to his old comrade Cheng Chao-lin? It is, of course, possible that Cheng, now in his 70s, has died since he was last heard of in 1974—if so, will his friends ever know? □

AROUND THE WORLD



No Future in Terrorism

Horst Mahler, now serving time in a West German prison for terrorist activities and a former follower of Andreas Baader, said in an interview published in the November 6 issue of the Rome daily *Il Manifesto* that he had reconsidered his former views.

"We thought that the people were not strong enough to liberate themselves," Mahler said. "Unable to identify with them, we had found another identity in the third world. From then on, we no longer felt like Germans, but like a 'fifth column' of the third world in the Western capitals. . . . The people weren't moving, we thought, because they were afraid of the state. Therefore, they had to be shown that the state was vulnerable."

This was an error, Mahler said, because "the people also identify with the state. They see it as theirs because it gives them security and assistance."

Today, the former terrorist added, "the revolution can only be made with the majority of the people."

Mahler vigorously condemned the recent hijacking of a Lufthansa airliner. "We started out protesting against the Mylai massacre, but the Red Army Faction risked another Mylai—the murder of women and children—solely to free someone whom the people do not identify with."

Stakhanov Dies

Aleksei G. Stakhanov, a Soviet coal miner whose name became synonymous with efforts to introduce giant speedup campaigns in Soviet industries, died in Moscow on November 5 at the age of seventy-one.

Stakhanov's fame began the night of August 30, 1935, when he reportedly mined 102 tons of coal in one shift of five hours and forty-five minutes, an output fourteen times greater than the standard rate.

Stalin launched a campaign urging workers to follow Stakhanov's example. Those who did so received special privileges as a reward.

IMF Cracks Whip in Portugal

In exchange for handing over the second \$50 million chunk of a \$750 million loan promised to the Portuguese government, International Monetary Fund negotiators have demanded a new round of austerity measures.

The loan is intended to cover a portion of

Portugal's balance-of-payments deficit, estimated to have exceeded \$1 billion in 1977.

One of the conditions laid down by the IMF was that the Portuguese government "balance the budget" by cutting public spending and holding down wage increases to 15% or 20%. The inflation rate is expected to reach 30% in 1978.

According to a recent poll, discontent with the government's handling of the economic crisis is growing. Sixty-six percent of those interviewed thought the economic situation was getting worse, while only 5% thought it was improving.

More Steel Layoffs in France

A French treasury official announced November 3 that layoffs in the steel industry, already scheduled to reach 16,000 by the end of 1979, might include an additional 10,000 in the following years.

"That's the maximum number we can tolerate," the official stated.

Rohana Wijeweera Freed

Sri Lankan Prime Minister J. R. Jayewardene announced November 2 that Rohana Wijeweera, the central leader of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front) has been granted amnesty, along with all other persons arrested at the time of the 1971 uprising.

In that year, the JVP led an abortive



Far Eastern Economic Review

WIJEWEERA

uprising against the Bandaranaike government. Supported by Washington, Moscow, and Peking, Bandaranaike crushed the revolt by massacring thousands of youths and arresting at least 18,000 persons.

Julius Tomin on Hunger Strike

Julius Tomin, a Prague philosopher and signer of Charter 77, began a hunger strike on November 4 to protest his repeated subjection to police interrogations.

Tomin is a founder of the "Jan Patocka University," an unofficial school set up by several dissident professors to teach students who were denied entry to universities on the basis of their political convictions or those of their parents.

Sakharov's Stepson Harassed

Soviet dissident Andrei D. Sakharov announced November 10 that his stepson, Aleksei Semyonov, had been expelled the previous week from the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute on grounds that he had failed a compulsory military training examination twice and had broken military discipline.

"I categorically declare that what happened to Semyonov was entirely caused by his relationship to me and is revenge for my public activities and an attempt to put pressure on me," Sakharov stated.

Bursting at the Seams

A report recently made public by the French prison administration revealed that the number of persons behind bars had risen from 27,165 in 1975 to 33,260 in 1977, an increase of 25 percent. Nearly 18 percent were immigrants.

In Paris alone, 25,528 persons are currently being held in prisons designed to accommodate 21,000. The report noted that the problem of overcrowding was being aggravated by the "noticeable increase in the number of medium and long-term sentences."

Amnesty International Harassed in Poland

Police in the city of Lodz detained and questioned three members of the Polish chapter of Amnesty International, according to a report in the November 1 issue of *Le Monde*. The three—Adam Woiciechowski, Zbigniew Sekulski, and Andrzej

Woznicki—were picked up for gathering signatures on Amnesty International petitions.

Wave of Strikes in Tunisia

Workers in a dozen Tunisian cities began a series of rotating strikes on November 9 at the call of the single trade-union federation, the Union Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens (UGTT—General Union of Tunisian Workers).

The strikes, which union sources said were 100 percent effective, were described as without precedent in the country's history. In Tunis, one- or two-hour work stoppages took place in the building, textile, metal, petrochemical, and hotel industries. On November 10, transportation, bakery, bank, utility, and public transportation workers went on strike.

The incident that touched off the strike wave was a public death threat made against the general secretary of the UGTT, Habib Achour.

Food Subsidy Hits \$20 Billion

The East German press agency reported November 8 that the government is spending nearly a third of its annual budget, or around \$20 billion, to subsidize consumer prices.

Prices for basic food items, such as bread, meat, and milk, as well as utility rates, transportation costs, and rents, have not gone up in twenty years.

An effort to reduce such subsidies in neighboring Poland in June 1976 was rescinded within twenty-four hours following nationwide strikes and demonstrations.

Iranian Writers Win Support

Several well-known French writers and intellectuals, including Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, have sent a message of support to a group of prominent Iranian writers, poets, critics, and social scientists.

On June 13, forty Iranian intellectuals sent an open letter to the prime minister of Iran, demanding the restoration of free speech and the right to reactivate the Writers' Association of Iran as a gathering place for discussion and the free exchange of ideas. On July 19, a second letter was sent, this time with ninety-eight signatures. (For the text of both letters, see *Intercontinental Press*, July 18, 1977, p. 826, and September 12, 1977, p. 982.)

The message read in part: "... we wish to fully express our solidarity with our Iranian intellectual friends, and we heartily support their demonstrations for these demands."

Death Toll Under Marcos

President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines declared November 7 that "thirty to fifty thousand civilians" had died since 1973 in the course of the

government's efforts to stamp out Muslim rebels in the south. Between 500,000 and 1,000,000 persons have been made homeless by fighting, according to a report in the November 10 issue of *Le Monde*.

Dzhemilev To Be Retried

Soviet authorities are preparing a new trial against Mustafa Dzhemilev, according to a recent statement by dissident Andrei Sakharov reported in the November 12 issue of *Le Monde*.

Dzhemilev, a Crimean Tatar, is currently serving a two-and-a-half-year sentence in a labor camp under extremely harsh conditions for his defense of the right of the Crimean Tatars to return to their homeland.

Amnesty International Lifts Carter's 'Human Rights' Mask

Amnesty International announced November 5 that it is investigating the cases of eighteen prisoners in the United States who may "have been framed on criminal charges."

They include Richard Mohawk and Paul Skyhorse, members of the American Indian Movement, sentenced in California for murder; the Wilmington 10, all but one of whom are Black, convicted of burning a white-owned grocery store in North Carolina in 1972 and sentenced to up to thirty-four years in prison; and Gary Tyler, a young Black who received the death sentence in Louisiana.

Amnesty International said that Tyler "may have been wrongly convicted of killing a white youth and that the reason for this miscarriage of justice may have been [his] ethnic origin."

Sadat Stops Payments to Moscow

The Egyptian government announced October 26 that it was suspending repayment of its military debt to the Soviet Union for ten years beginning January 1, 1978.

Cairo said the reason for its decision was that Moscow had refused to allow the payments to be spread out over several years, while declining to fill any further Egyptian orders of arms and replacement parts.

Prison Rebellion in Spain

Revolts by common prisoners broke out in several Spanish prisons on November 2 and 3, according to a report in the November 5 issue of *Le Monde*.

A few days earlier, authorities suppressed a rebellion by common prisoners in the model prison of Barcelona. Ten prisoners were injured, as well as two cops and two guards. Around 200 prisoners were evacuated.

As in the revolts at Carabanchel prison and other prisons in July, the common prisoners were demanding that a series of

amnesty measures for political prisoners, the most recent of which was adopted October 14, be applied to them as well.

Ginzburg To Be Tried

Soviet writer Aleksandr Ginzburg, a member of the Moscow Helsinki monitoring group who has been held in prison since February, may soon be tried for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation," according to a report in the November 3 issue of *Le Monde*. Ginzburg's wife, Irina, was recently interrogated for one-and-a-half hours by the Soviet secret police and informed of the charges against her husband.

Dissidents Lodge Protest Against Frame-up Trial

Three signers of Charter 77 recently sent a letter to the Czechoslovak parliament protesting the October 18 convictions on charges of "subversion" of four leading dissidents, according to a report in the November 13-14 issue of *Le Monde*.

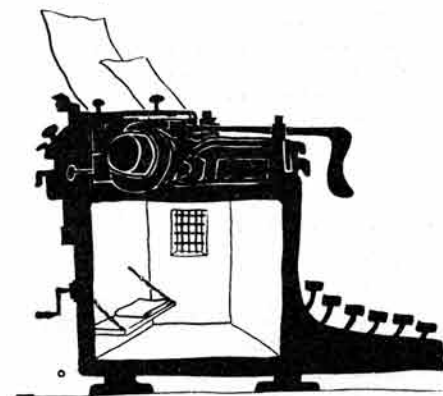
The letter, signed by Ladislav Hejdanek, Jiri Hajek, and Marta Kubisova, said that the trial had "harmed the prestige and interests of the country abroad." It also said that the charge of subversion was completely groundless because the four defendants, Jiri Lederer, Vaclav Havel, Frantisek Pavlicek, and Ota Ornest, had frequently made clear their commitment to socialism.

Writers Imprisoned in 55 Countries

Six hundred six writers in fifty-five countries have come under official persecution for their dissident beliefs, according to a study released November 2 by the American chapter of PEN, the international writers' association.

They include 471 writers known to be imprisoned, and twenty-two others in psychiatric hospitals in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries.

Argentina is cited by the report as the country where repression against intellectuals is the harshest, with 199 writers imprisoned or kidnapped. Next comes the Soviet Union, with seventy-eight writers who are victims of repression, and Chile, with fifty-seven.



Kommentar

Lea Tsemel Speaks Across United States

Israeli human-rights attorney Lea Tsemel concluded a ten-city American speaking tour October 30 in New York. Nearly 300 persons came to the Arab Social Club in Brooklyn to hear her discuss "Political Repression in Israel."

Tsemel, an anti-Zionist Jew born in Jerusalem, belongs to the Committee of Democratic Lawyers and the League for Civil and Human Rights in Israel.

Tel Aviv's brutal treatment of Palestinians after the 1967 Middle East War convinced her Israel was a "colonialist, oppressive regime," she has said.

"I am not only a lawyer. I happen to be active in the anti-Zionist left in Israel. I consider myself a socialist and a revolutionist."

Since 1973 Tsemel has been one of several lawyers who have gained international attention for defending Palestinian freedom fighters, Arab students, "security" prisoners, and others victimized by the Israeli regime.

In June the London *Sunday Times* printed allegations of torture made by several of her clients. The story stirred international protest and forced the new Begin government onto the defensive.

In their reply to the charges, Israeli officials made a special but unimpressive effort to discredit the testimony of Tsemel and a colleague, Felicia Langer.

At her talk in Brooklyn, Tsemel described specific violations of Palestinian rights carried out by the Zionist regime.

She told the gathering that despite Prime Minister Begin's recent claims to the contrary, her clients are still regularly tortured during interrogation.

In the occupied territories, the system is even more draconian. "People can be imprisoned under administrative detention without being brought to court. They can be held without charges for unlimited periods," she explained.

Tsemel also described the conditions at Ashkelon prison that provoked a two-month hunger strike by Palestinian prisoners earlier this year. She had defended some of the strikers and publicized their grievances.

"They still have no beds," Tsemel said. "Terrible medical care. And nothing to read but one Arabic paper published by the Israeli government.

"Some of the prisoners have been kept thirty, eighty, even one hundred people to a crowded cell twenty-two hours a day for ten years. . . . It's as though they were sentenced to the death penalty in monthly installments."



Anne Teesdale/Militant

TSEMEL: Speaking in New York.

The Zionists have also stepped up suppression of Palestinian protests on the West Bank, Tsemel said. She recounted a "sick joke" circulating in Israel. "Arab children must have wings," it goes, "since so many of them are shot by Israeli troops who are only firing their rifles into the air."

What lies behind the systematic repression of Palestinian rights under Israeli rule?

"Israel today is not only the land of the Jews," Tsemel explained to an audience in Albany, New York, "but the land *only* of the Jews. But the 'Indians' of the Middle East—the Palestinians—are alive. So Israel had to be built on the confiscation of their land, on the expulsion of people from their homeland, on racism."

In all, Tsemel spoke directly to more than 3,000 persons on her tour and was extensively interviewed on radio, television, and in the press—including the nationally circulated magazine *Ms*.

Highlights from the tour included:

- **Boston.** More than 200 persons—including 40 Arab students—attended a meeting for Tsemel October 18 at Harvard University. The following day a meeting at Boston University was attended by about seventy persons.

Media coverage in Boston included interviews with five radio stations; four newspapers, including the *Boston Globe*; and a television station that taped a twenty-minute interview.

- **Houston.** Issa Khalaf, a Palestinian and a member of the Organization of Arab Students joined Tsemel in speaking to about 120 students at the University of Houston.

- **San Francisco.** A meeting of 120 in San Francisco's Arab community was cosponsored by the Arab American University Graduates (AAUG), National Lawyers Guild, Organization of Arab Students, and the Socialist Workers Party. In addition, another 240 persons heard Tsemel in meetings held in San Francisco, San Jose, and Berkeley.

Tsemel's meetings were organized by Viewpoint Speakers Bureau. A number of her engagements throughout the country were also sponsored by leading supporters of Palestinian rights. At the University of Tennessee, her talk was arranged by Prof. Fouad Moughrabi, national president of the AAUG.

Abdeen Jabara, a leader of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, helped organize a meeting of 200 for Tsemel at the University of Michigan. Jabara recently was part of a National Lawyers Guild delegation that visited Israel to investigate abuse of Palestinian rights.

James Zogby, another AAUG activist and leader of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, cosponsored a meeting for Tsemel in Los Angeles.

Other organizations that cooperated in promoting Tsemel's tour were the Middle East Information Center in San Francisco and the Middle East Research and Information Project in Washington, D.C.

The reaction of American Zionists to Tsemel ranged from unsuccessful attempts to disrupt several of her meetings to curiosity about what an anti-Zionist Jew had to say. In New York City Tsemel met with the Jewish Socialist Community organization, and in Los Angeles she was interviewed by *Israel Today*, the largest Jewish magazine in southern California. □

New Job Hazard

Government authorities in Japan have recognized a new occupational disease and granted medical and salary compensation to a victim, Mrs. Hisako Fukuda of Nara, Japan. The *Mainichi Daily News* reported October 12:

"Mrs. Fukuda was a clerk at a rice shop in Nara from August 1974 to March this year. Her job was to fill out triplicate forms from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.

"She said that she was required to press hard with a ball-point pen in order to print clearly on all three sheets.

"Last December, she developed a stiff shoulder. Her right hand became numb in January this year and she had difficulty opening and closing the hand in March, and could not hold kitchen utensils."

'Nothing Is Left of Azziye'

[After the Israeli bombing of Azziye November 9, *Le Monde* special correspondent Lucien George visited the ruins of the former Lebanese village and interviewed survivors of the raid. His report was published in the November 12 issue of the Paris daily, from which the following excerpts have been translated by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Nothing is left of Azziye—not a piece of a wall, not a twisted pillar, not a half-way caved-in roof. Everything is at ground level, mingled with the earth plowed up by the shells.

Still, when you enter the small valley ringed by hills where Azziye stood—a hundred kilometers from Beirut and twenty kilometers from the Israeli border—you get an idea of what this hamlet of agricultural workers was like. Over the last few months, some 200 refugees from border towns were added to the original inhabitants, plain, rough-mannered people, caught up in turmoil beyond their understanding. A total of 300 men, women, and children living off their labor in the fields, mostly on the property of a former Lebanese premier, Saeb Salam.

The account by the survivors, most of them wounded and in the hospitals in Tyre, makes it possible to reconstruct village life before the Israeli planes, coming from the sea five kilometers away, bore down on Azziye. Most of the men were working in the orchards, often several kilometers away; some children had gone off to school in a neighboring village, which saved them from the massacre. But others, many of them, not in school, were playing near the houses. In one of these, fifteen persons were gathered to say goodbye to a relative who was leaving for Beirut. A few women were at the fountain.

Suddenly—at 7:40 a.m.—a torrent of iron and fire fell from the sky. The planes bore down and fired their shells. There were sixty in all, and the hellish salvo went on for forty minutes. The explosion of a device by Palestinian bomb experts while we were present gave us an idea of what hell it must have been.

The villagers, at first believing that the attack was not aimed at them, took cover in their homes—an illusion of shelter. The houses collapsed on top of them, and the only ones who escaped death were those who did not get in in time, or who were able to get out. A woman reported: "My husband Ahmed shouted to me, 'Run to the caves.' I managed to take my two children

by the hand and run toward the caves. I never saw Ahmed again. I don't know what happened to him." He was probably one of the fifteen bodies that were still under the ruins the day after the attack, already giving off a smell of decay. But Zahiya Ghannam, aged thirty, in her hospital bed in Tyre with a little girl on each side, wants to go on believing that her husband has disappeared and that he will come back. References to the "caves," small openings in the mountainside, come up in many of the accounts. But those who managed to reach them were few.

No Military Objective

Dib Taha Kassem, returning from the fields, did not know where his wife and eleven children were, or even which of them were dead or alive. Halima, aged forty, had fled Maruahin, on the border, with her blind husband and five children. Death caught up with them. Her husband and two oldest children were killed.

Everywhere the Americans are held responsible for the savage killing, and our colleague from the *New York Times* bore the brunt of this in every conversation.

The destruction of Bordj-Shemali and Rashidiya, near Azziye on the outskirts of Tyre, was less extensive. But there too, there were many deaths. Houses were destroyed, ripped apart, sometimes partially caved in.

Why Azziye? Why those 400 square

meters at Bordj-Shemali or those others at Rashidiya? No one is capable of explaining the Israelis' choice. "Saeb Salam knows very well that there were neither training bases nor stores of ammunition at Azziye. Let him tell it to his Saudi friends so they can repeat it to the Americans, and they, in turn, will tell it to the Israelis," Mohammed Khana, a thirty-year-old agricultural worker wounded in the back and both legs, told us. Of course, since Azziye is now nothing but ruins, it is hard to say what its buildings contained. But if a store of ammunition had been there, even underground, it would have exploded, and there would be nothing left but a huge crater. A store of military vehicles would have left rusted carcasses. But there was no trace of either one. Not a single military objective, not in Bordj-Shemali either. The reporters on the scene can testify to that without much chance of error.

Two Hypotheses

In talking to the wounded, it is also clear that 80 percent of the victims were Lebanese. Lebanese who no longer know where to go to escape from the tragedy pursuing them, driven from the south to Beirut and back again at the mercy of events, and who, as it turned out, did not flee in such great numbers these last few days, since there is no haven left to them.

Two hypotheses come up again and again in conversations: that the attackers might have made an error, but no one believes this; or that it was a blind, brutal reprisal action. However, the Palestinians are unanimous in saying that the harder they are hit, the greater will be their determination to fight "until the world ends." □

Held on Greek Prison Island

Giannis Felekis Faces New Frameup Charges

Greek Trotskyist leader Giannis Felekis was arrested October 23 for "moral responsibility" in clashes between anarchist groups and police during protests against the deaths of Red Army Faction leaders in West Germany. Several days later he learned that he had been sentenced *in absentia* several months earlier to two years on a prison farm.

The scandalous secret judgment was based on an April 1977 article in *Ergatike Pale* (Workers Struggle), of which Felekis was the editor. The article had criticized a sixteen-month sentence handed down to a political activist in a trial that even the

judges admitted was not free of irregularities.

According to a report in the November 17 edition of the Athens daily *Eleutherotypia*, the secret conviction had been handed down after testimony by a court official that Felekis was unknown at his listed home address. But in an appeal hearing November 17 his attorney presented evidence that Felekis did in fact live there, and was even arrested on the "moral responsibility" charge at the address in question.

A new trial on the charges surrounding

the April article was set for November 28. Felekis has been refused provisional liberty and is being held in the Aegina Island prison.

The arrest of Giannis Felekis is part of a crackdown on left organizations launched by the Caramanlis government, which has taken advantage of the hysteria being whipped up against "terrorist sympathizers" in West Germany. Three other editors of radical newspapers have also been charged under the "moral responsibility" law. This piece of repressive legislation is similar to the "antiwrecker" law in France, which permits prosecution of the organizers of actions at which violence occurs, even if they bear no direct responsibility for such incidents.

Felekis is at present the editor of *To Odophragma*, (The Barricade) which replaced *Ergatiké Pale* as the organ of the Greek Trotskyists following the fusion of the OKDE, the Greek section of the Fourth International, with another Trotskyist group, the KEM, in July.¹

The formal charges against Felekis are based on an article in *To Odophragma* marking the tenth anniversary of Che Guevara's death, as well as on the OKDE's publication of resolutions from the Fourth International's Tenth World Congress.

Felekis was in prison when that congress was held in February 1974, having been jailed by the military dictatorship after student protests in late 1973. He had earlier been imprisoned by the regime from May 1969 to August 1973.

The OKDE has asked that telegrams demanding freedom for Giannis Felekis and the other radical journalists be sent to Greek embassies or to the Greek government.² □

1. OKDE—Organosis Kommouniston Diethniston tes Ellados (Organization of International Communists of Greece); KEM—Kommounistiko Epanastatiko Metepo (Communist Revolutionary Front).

2. Protests may be sent to Premier Constantine Caramanlis, Parliament, Syntagma Square, Athens, Greece, with copies to OKDE, Kerameïkou 28, Metaxourgiou, Athens, Greece.

Copies Missing?

Keep your files of Intercontinental Press complete and up-to-date. Missing issues for the current year may be ordered by sending 75¢ per copy. Write for information about previous years.

Intercontinental Press
P.O. Box 116
Varick Street Station
New York, N.Y. 10014

Granted Six-Month Travel Permit by Moscow

Grigorenko to Visit U.S. for Medical Treatment

The Kremlin rulers have granted dissident communist Pyotr Grigorenko permission to spend six months in the United States. He is making the trip for medical treatment and will be accompanied by his wife Zinaida, who is also a dissident activist, and by his stepson Oleg.

According to a report in the November 12 *Washington Post*, Grigorenko told foreign correspondents in Moscow that "he is aware that there are 'many excellent doctors' in the Soviet Union, who could perform his . . . operation adequately. He added, however, that because of possible complications arising from his infirmities of age and health, he wants to have the operation near his step son" who lives in New York City.

Grigorenko, now seventy-one years old, is a veteran fighter for the abolition of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the reinstitution of workers democracy.

For his uncompromising demand for a return to the principles of Leninism, he was demoted in the early 1960s from the rank of major general, expelled from the Communist Party, arrested, and confined in a madhouse. Kremlin "psychiatrists" declared that he suffered from "reformist ideas" and an "overestimation of his own personality."

After his release in 1965, he joined

Aleksei Kosterin, a Bolshevik since 1916 who had survived seventeen years in Stalin's camps. As internationalists and Bolsheviks they drew world attention to the plight of nationalities such as the Crimean Tatars who had been deported from their homelands during World War II and were still denied the right to return.

In May 1969, Grigorenko was again arrested, declared to be still suffering from his previous "mental disease," and sent for a second indefinite term of compulsory psychiatric treatment. His case became internationally known and the Stalinist rulers were forced to release him in June 1974.

Since his release, despite his poor health, Grigorenko has continued to take an active role in the democratic opposition. In May 1976, he helped organize the Committee to Supervise Compliance with the Helsinki Accords, in Moscow, and he has continued to support the group's work despite the Kremlin's offensive to crush it.

Citing Moscow's practice of depriving dissidents of Soviet citizenship while they are traveling abroad, Grigorenko made clear he had no intention to emigrate permanently.

"We would not have accepted a visa if we didn't have the assurance of being able to return," he said. □

Mexican Activist Facing Deportation From U.S.

Marroquín Appeal Wins Broad Support

The campaign being conducted by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) on behalf of Héctor Marroquín Manríquez continues to gain support.

Marroquín is a Mexican political activist currently serving a three-month sentence for "attempted illegal entry" in the Maverick County Jail, Eagle Pass, Texas. The U.S. government wants to deport him back to Mexico, where he faces frame-up charges of murder and "subversion." He has requested political asylum, on the grounds that his life would be in danger if he were handed over to the Mexican authorities. Persons facing similar charges have in the past been summarily executed or tortured, or have simply "disappeared."

USLA recently published a partial list of the signers of the "Appeal for Asylum" being circulated on Marroquín's behalf.

The list contains 225 names and includes such prominent social activists, civil libertarians, and academic figures as Vernon Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement; *Black Scholar* publisher Robert Chrisman; Ruth Gage-Colby; poet Allen Ginsberg; artist David Levine; Michael and Robert Meeropol, sons of "atom spy" frame-up victims Julius and Ethel Rosenberg; Latin American affairs expert Prof. James Petras; and Puerto Rican author Prof. Juan A. Silén.

Among many well-known figures in the Chicano movement in the southwestern United States supporting Marroquín's appeal are Eduardo Morga, national president of the League of United Latin-American Citizens; Prof. Armando Gutiérrez, director of the Chicano Legal Defense Fund; Judge José Angel Gutiérrez of

Zavala County, Texas; Manuel Archuleta and Juan José Peña, leaders of the New Mexico Raza Unida Party; and Mario Cantú, a leader of the antideportation struggle in San Antonio.

USLA has been gathering signatures for a special appeal to be sent by mailgram to Immigration and Naturalization Service

Director Leonel Castillo before Thanksgiving Day, November 24. It reads:

"Historically Thanksgiving was a holiday for giving thanks for a bountiful harvest. Now it is more a time for family reunions. We ask that you give the Marroquín Manríquez family reason for giving thanks by releasing Héctor Marro-

quín Manríquez so that he might be reunited with his wife, baby son and parents for this holiday."

To add your name to USLA's "Appeal for Asylum" or to make a financial contribution, or for more information, contact USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, N.Y. 10003. □

Statement of French LCR

'Not One Soldier, Not One Weapon Against Polisario!'

[In November 1975, Spain ceded its former colony in the Western Sahara to Morocco and Mauritania, in violation of the right of the area's inhabitants to determine their own future. Since then, a guerrilla organization, the Polisario Front, has been fighting to win independence for the area.

[In May of this year, Polisario commandos raided a mining center in Zouerate, Mauritania, capturing six French technicians. On October 25, two more French nationals were captured.

[The French government has seized on this latest incident as a pretext to beef up its military presence in Africa, in preparation for a possible attack against the Polisario Front. Paris has sent troops to reinforce its garrison in Dakar, Senegal, south of Mauritania; has sold Mirage jets to Morocco; and has put its 11th paratroop division on permanent alert.

[We are reprinting below the text of a resolution passed on October 30 by the Central Committee of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist League), French section of the Fourth International. We have taken the text from the October 31 issue of *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

On Saturday morning [October 29], Interior Minister Christian Bonnet expelled eight representatives of the Polisario Front from France. This step is consistent with the policy of French imperialism against the national liberation struggle of the Saharan people, as was recently shown once again by the calling of an emergency cabinet meeting at the Elysée Palace to consider military intervention in the Western Sahara.

In this way, French imperialism wants to protect its enormous interests in the area. It supported—in fact, encouraged—the annexation of the Western Sahara by Morocco and Mauritania in order to insure its monopoly over the area's vast mineral riches. It arms, trains, and supports the Moroccan and Mauritanian armies in their

war of extermination against the Saharan people.

But in face of that people's resistance, the armies of Hassan II and Ould Dada are in trouble, and have called on their protector, Giscard d'Estaing, for help. So the latter has seized on the pretext of the kidnapping of French technicians in Zouerate to consider providing direct support to the Mauritanian and Moroccan armies, as he recently did in Zaïre.

This dual operation—expelling eight representatives of the Polisario Front and threatening military intervention—comes in the context of the hysterical campaign unleashed after the recent events in West Germany. The meaning is clear: to present a people struggling for its liberation from the colonial yoke as a gang of terrorists.

The expulsion of the Polisario Front

militants, coming on top of the threat to extradite the attorney Klaus Croissant,* also has a clear meaning: to eliminate in practice the right of asylum in France for progressive and revolutionary militants.

Faced with this policy on the part of French imperialism, the entire workers movement and democratic forces must be on the alert to respond immediately.

Not one soldier, not one weapon against the Polisario Front!

Lift the expulsion order against the eight Polisario Front representatives immediately!

Full support to the Saharan people's struggle! □

*On November 16, Croissant was extradited to West Germany.

30,000 Protest Frame-up in Poisoning Case

Filipina Nurses Win Release on Bail

Two Filipina nurses convicted of poisoning patients in Michigan were freed on bail November 5 as the result of an active defense campaign.

Filipina Narciso and Leonora Perez were on the staff of the Ann Arbor Veterans Administration hospital two years ago when thirteen patients mysteriously died of respiratory failure. The nurses were accused of poisoning the patients—and more than thirty others who did not die—by injecting them with a muscle relaxant.

The nurses have won broad support for their defense effort, particularly from the Filipino community and women's movement. Members of the Philippine Nurses Association and coworkers at the VA hospital have participated in the campaign.

Supporters of Narciso and Perez point out that the hospital administration and the FBI were under considerable pressure to explain the patient deaths. The nurses

singled out as the murderers were two of the most vulnerable people around—young Asian women who were not U.S. citizens.

The prosecution spared no expense in the effort to prove the two Filipinas guilty. Some \$250,000 went for chemical analysis. Seventy-eight witnesses were put on the stand to pile up the evidence that the prosecutor himself admitted was "circumstantial." In the end, not one piece of direct evidence connected the nurses to the crimes. In fact, the testimony tended to establish their innocence.

A victim who recovered said that the last thing he remembered before his collapse was a man running from his room. Another person testified that the nurses were not nearby when a fellow patient (who later died) suffered breathing failure. A nurse supervisor confessed to the killings before she committed suicide in February 1977.

It became apparent during the trial that

almost any doctor, nurse, worker, visitor, or even patient had access to the victims and to the drug allegedly used as the poison. No motive for the killings was ever presented, except that Narciso and Perez were "overworked" and wanted to pressure the hospital to hire more staff.

On July 13, after a three-month trial, Narciso and Perez were convicted on several counts of poisoning and conspiring to poison patients. They could receive life sentences. An alternate juror, present throughout the trial, called the conviction

"an incredible and incomprehensible miscarriage of our system of justice."

Picket lines and protest demonstrations have occurred, including coordinated actions in a number of cities on October 11. Sixty persons picketed a November 2 court hearing on a defense motion for a mistrial; they presented petitions in support of the nurses bearing 30,000 signatures. A few days later, the young women were released on \$78,000 bail. The judge postponed ruling on the mistrial motion. □

Time to Follow the Example of Engels

Debate in Ireland on National Question

An important section of anti-imperialist intellectuals and youth in Ireland are involved to one degree or another in the movement to promote the study and use of the Irish language.

Most of the population of the country was forced to abandon Irish by the progressive destruction of the native society at the hands of the English rulers, in particular in the wake of the great famine of 1848, which forced much of the still Irish-speaking population to emigrate.

However, the movement to revive Irish has played a central role in modern Irish nationalism. The Dublin regime is forced to pay it a certain lip service, and about 27 percent of the population of the formally independent Irish state have described themselves in official surveys as fluent in the language. Nonetheless, Irish is accorded only the most marginal role in public life, even in the communities where it is still the language of most of the people.

In recent years, with the upsurge of the anti-imperialist struggle, more radicalized youth have been attracted to the Irish language movement, and a greater interest in socialism in general has been developing in these circles. But there has not yet been much political debate about socialism in the Irish-language publications and the columns that are a regular feature in most newspapers in the formally independent part of the country.

However, Deasún Breatnach, one of the country's leading journalists writing in Irish and editor of the Dublin paper *An Phoblacht*, which reflects the views of the Provisional republican movement, has begun to challenge representatives of various socialist points of view to debate the main questions of the Irish revolution in Irish.

In its November issue, *Socialist Republic/Poblacht Shóisialach*, which reflects the views of the Movement for a Socialist Republic (Irish section of the Fourth International), published an article by Seán O Tuama, an Irish language activist sympathetic to Trotskyism. This article was in reply to a criticism by Breatnach of the Marxist attitude to the national question. O Tuama writes:

"According to Deasún, Engels laid out the Marxist view of the national question when he distinguished between 'historical nations,' which had established their own states, and 'history-less nations' such as the Bretons, the Scots, the Basques . . . which had been completely crushed. According to Engels the 'history-less nations' were only the 'fragments' of nations, whose sole role was to be used by counter-revolutionists against the revolutionary forces of his time.

"It is true that Engels said this, and there was more bourgeois pragmatism than devotion to democracy at times in Marx's own views on the national question. . . .

"But these attitudes ran totally counter to the Marxian method of historical and political analysis.

"It was when Marx and Engels took up the Irish question in the 1860s that we see them lay the basis of the correct Marxist theory on the national question. Marx and Engels supported the Irish people fully against the British imperialists. They participated in the campaign to free the Fenian prisoners. Engels began to write a history of Ireland, and is said to have learned some Irish."

O Tuama does not explain how Marx and Engels's thought evolved on the national question. He does not explain either what he means by Marx's "bour-

geois pragmatism," which supposedly conflicted with the method developed by the founder of scientific socialism. He writes that Lenin developed "the democratic aspects" of Marx and Engels's theory on the national question but that the Russian revolutionist also suffered from "pragmatism."

Such pragmatism, O Tuama writes, led Lenin to violate the national rights of some nationalities during the civil war. However, O Tuama recognizes that Lenin considered such measures "only temporary" and "necessary to save the revolution."

Many Irish revolutionists tend to be skeptical about the Marxist tradition on the national question because of the role sectarians and reformists claiming to be Marxists have played on the Irish left, using scholastic misinterpretations of Marxism to argue for capitulation to "progressive imperialism."

One such group is the Irish and British Communist Organization, which presents itself as the interpreter par excellence of Stalin's book on the national question and has made a speciality of attacking "nationalist ideology." It argues, for example, that there is no Welsh nation because there has never been a Welsh national market. O Tuama's response to such arguments was as follows:

"Another problem related to Lenin's theory is that his definition of a nation (it was Stalin's actually but the book was written under Lenin's direction) is too economic. . . . The sort of error some Marxists have made on the basis of this definition is to deny that countries such as Brittany, where the bourgeoisie has been absorbed by imperialism, are not nations."

O Tuama defends the Marxist tradition against Breatnach's criticisms, but remains skeptical about whether Marxists fully understand the national question as it relates to small nationalities in the old capitalist states of Western Europe in particular.

"It is clear that the Marxist view of the national question is more complex and positive than Deasún admits. It is also true that Marxists have to take a critical new look at the negative sides of their theory in view of the rise of national movements throughout the world, and especially in Europe. These are democratic movements and important for that reason alone. It is also clear that they are breaking up old imperialist states. They are objectively, and often subjectively, anticapitalist."

The Irish Trotskyists are obviously interested in seeing this discussion develop among socialists in the Irish language movement. The discussion should also be interesting to revolutionists in other countries. Perhaps, if the discussion deepens, it will inspire non-Irish socialists to follow the example of Engels and learn a little Irish. □

The Eleventh National Congress of the Chinese CP

By Kai Chang

[The following article appeared in the October 5 issue of *October Review*, a Trotskyist monthly published in Hong Kong. The translation is by Reed.]

At the Eleventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) [August 12-18], as was the case in many previous congresses, all the delegates "unanimously adopted" the reports given by the top leadership and "elected" the new Central Committee according to the results of the "consultations."

In the past ten years, every congress has been declared a great success in the "struggle between the two lines." Every congress without exception has declared that the line passed at the previous congress was absolutely correct. However, in each case, one of the central leaders who reported to the previous congress has been declared by the next to have been a "Kuomintang special agent," a "renegade," and so on.

Starting from the Ninth National Congress [held in April 1969], each congress declared at its conclusion that it had been a congress of "unity and victory." But subsequent facts have proved that the Ninth and Tenth congresses were arenas in which the various cliques and factions that still held power in the party struggled against each other. The resolutions "unanimously adopted" were merely the shell of temporary agreement, while underneath were to be found antagonistic forces in struggle. The shell soon broke and exposed this core.

Starting from the Ninth Congress, the delegates for the congress and the new Central Committee members were produced after "repeated and thorough consultation" at all levels (i.e., among the various cliques and factions). These consultations were actually bargaining and spoiling agreements. This manner of selecting delegates was even written into the party constitution and official documents at several congresses.

The Eleventh Congress also inherited this "tradition," which transforms the highest organ of power from its proclaimed expression of full party democracy into a privileged instrument in the hands of the faction leaders who hold power.

The first half of Hua Kuo-feng's political report discussed the "eleventh struggle between the two lines in the party," i.e., the struggle with the "gang of four." Hua cited many quotations from Mao Tsetung to prove his own correctness, to separate Mao from the "gang of four," and to use

Mao's words to strike at them. But many of the quotations used by Hua had been reiterated incessantly by the "gang of four" while they were in power. What this actually proves is that the "gang of four" were then transmitting, explaining, and executing Mao's directives. It was Mao's wish that they struggle against cadres such as Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

Mao's relation to the "gang of four" was one of intimate connection, not opposition. This is not to mention the well-known fact that Mao himself had stage-managed their rise to the highest positions of power.

Hua sought in his report to conceal these contradictions, which made rags and tatters of his position, by explaining them away.

For example, he quoted Mao's statement: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. Right inside the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road."

Hua explained that Mao did not mean that a bourgeois class had formed inside the CCP; that was only a distortion by the "gang of four." But Mao had said that the *bourgeoisie* was inside the CCP; and that could only mean a bourgeois class. Mao had explicitly said it was a "class," and not just individual bourgeois elements or "representatives" of the bourgeois class, or a "class" that had not yet formed and so could not be termed a "class."

Mao Tsetung and his supporters had singled out one group of bureaucrats from the politically and economically privileged bureaucracy as a whole and labeled them the "bourgeois class." (This label was almost exclusively confined to those bureaucrats who had dissenting political ideas.) Mao's allegation, of course, was untrue.

But Hua did not refute this theory at all. Instead, he praised it as "a scientific thesis" that "summed up the experience of Stalin's struggle against Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Bukharin." This turned truth upside down. Hua here depicts the struggle of the representative of the privileged bureaucracy, Stalin, against the representatives of the antibureaucratic left, Trotsky and Zinoviev, as a struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

Hua Kuo-feng accused the "gang of four" of having "exploited every political movement launched by Chairman Mao to do something different." Since all the political movements of the past decade were "launched" by Mao, Hua's words

objectively told the whole country and the whole party that the ringleader who had caused the disturbances in China in the last ten years was Mao Tsetung.

If what Hua said was true, that the "gang of four" had done "something different" and sought to "divert the course of each movement," then why didn't the highest leader—the party chairman—and the majority of the Central Committee members resolutely oppose and stop them? Were they all sleeping? Or didn't they dare to oppose the four? Or were they unable to stop the four? Simply to raise these questions shows that Hua's after-the-fact explanations are nothing but evasions aimed at escaping responsibility and concealing the truth.

Let us look at Teng Hsiao-p'ing's attitude. Hua "reported" that Mao Tsetung "entrusted him [Teng] with the responsibility of presiding over the day-to-day work of the Central Committee during Premier Chou's grave illness."

But wasn't Teng in this same period the main target in the "Great Debate over the Revolution in Education," and even more so in the campaign against the "Right Deviationist Attempt to Reverse the Correct Verdicts"? Wasn't the Politburo resolution dismissing Teng from all duties "suggested" by Mao and "unanimously adopted" by the members of the Politburo? If all of this took place at the instigation of "slander" by the "gang of four," were all the members of the Politburo—and especially the party leader who "suggested" the action—so dull-witted that they were taken in by slander? Should the "gang of four" bear all the responsibility?

In this report, read to the assembled delegates of the national party congress and then published for the whole party and country, the new leaders did not offer a single explanation for such a grave mistake. This bore no resemblance to the practice of self-criticism that Teng said he was for in his closing speech at the Eleventh Congress.

When Mao seized power in the name of the Cultural Revolution from "those in authority" headed by Liu Shao-ch'i, achieving his "great victory," the Cultural Revolution for all practical purposes came to an end. Afterward, Mao continued to advertise the "ideals" (more accurately, the illusions) of the Cultural Revolution. These were never realized, but with the death of Mao and the collapse of the "gang of four" they vanished altogether.

This "movement," the Cultural Revolution, had tormented masses of people like a nightmare and its consequences were widespread. Today the bureaucracy needs to put an end to the confusion and to reestablish control and stabilize its ruling status. This is completely different from the spirit of confusion and rebellion of the Cultural Revolution.

Moreover, a large number of old bureaucrats, headed by Teng, have been gradually reinstated in power. They resent the injuries and blows inflicted on them by the Cultural Revolution and they hope to reverse the verdicts passed on them.

It is against this background that Hua announced at the congress that the Cultural Revolution is now over. This signifies that the new leadership is going to bury the policies and spirit of Mao's Cultural Revolution. They made their change of course explicit, which means that they will not be able again to play this kind of trick in the future [i.e., they will be unable to effectively revive the radical demagoguery of the Mao period]. This signifies the thorough defeat of the Cultural Revolution.

Hua announced the "victorious conclusion" of the Cultural Revolution, which was, of course, an effort to conceal its actual failure. In the eyes of the people of the whole country, this was just an ironic way of saying just the opposite.

A Call for Stepping Up the Purge

In the second half of his report, Hua again played the old tune of "the situation is excellent," both domestically and internationally. He also proposed his "Eight Musts" as the main combat tasks for the present and the coming period.* Let us look at them one by one.

The first "must" was to "carry the great struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' through to the end." But the "gang of four" had been under arrest for some ten months and their diehard supporters in other areas had been purged. After such a large-scale and long-term purge, they still stress the struggle against the "gang of four" today. This signifies that they will not only continue to purge persons and policies related to the "gang of four," but more important, they will frame this charge against all antibureaucratic individuals and independent factions or mass organizations.

The second task was to "do a good job of Party consolidation and rectification." As Yeh Chien-ying said in his report [on the new party constitution], this was to solve "the serious problem of impurity in ideology, organization and style of work among party members." Under this point Hua said the CCP must "unswervingly overcome and correct such erroneous

tendencies as the negation of proletarian Party spirit and Party discipline and indulgence in bourgeois factionalism, sectarianism and anarchism."

This shows that these tendencies and factional activities, independent of the party leadership, are serious and widespread. Hua now faces a challenge from the broad layer of lower party members who do not trust him or follow him blindly.

The third task was to consolidate the party's leading bodies at all levels. Hua pointed out that there was "a grave impurity in the composition of some leading bodies," and this must be shaken up organizationally. "However, for most leading bodies the problem is mainly one of making them stronger ideologically."

This is to say that the majority of the party leadership at all levels have ideological problems and that an ideological consolidation is required. This problem in ideology is caused by the long and incessant faction struggles and vacillations in policy.

The Central Committee made one mistake after another, but it never admitted this openly or offered a true explanation. Moreover, the various levels of the party leadership, in carrying out the orders and directions from the top, surely meet with slowdowns, boycotts, or even direct opposition from below, and so they feel more directly the pressure of the contradictions and confrontations between the rulers and the ruled.

All of this contributes to confusions and contradictions in ideology among the various levels of party leadership. Unless the confusions and contradictions of the objective reality vanish or at least diminish greatly, the ideological problems will still exist at different levels and they cannot be solved simply by "consolidation."

The fourth task was to push the national economy forward. Here, Hua proposed that one of the present basic tasks was to develop "socialist economy." This is a significant change, more practical and beneficial than the emphasis in the period before Mao's death. He said that "capitalism has been rampant in recent years in a number of places and units," admitting that this [economic mismanagement] had been "injurious in varying degrees to certain economic enterprises owned by the state or the collective and caused degeneration in a few of them."

This reveals that the situation of the state and cooperative production units is far from "excellent," and shows that the party leadership should bear much of the responsibility for present conditions.

To change this situation fundamentally, the masses engaged in productive work must be allowed to exercise real power in supervising and controlling production. The workers should be made to intimately feel that a planned economy and promot-

ing production are closely related to their own interests. But Hua evaded this crucial problem entirely.

Hua was intent only on repeating the great empty words of Mao and urging the people to follow them closely. He said that "the point now is how to really enhance this enthusiasm," and "encourage genuine enthusiasm, not sham enthusiasm." This is to say that the present problem is that the people do not have genuine enthusiasm.

But how to encourage it? The answer is a great improvement in the livelihood of the toiling masses, who have existed for a long time at a low standard of living. The report, however, on one hand stressed that "the communist attitude towards labour should be energetically encouraged through ideological education," which was in the style of the "gang of four." On the other hand, it urged the people to engage in "hard struggle, diligence and thrift and increase production as fast as possible," adding that "the livelihood of the people should be improved step by step on the basis of increased production."

This means that the problem of improving the living standards of the people is to be delayed until after a future increase in production. But this policy of procrastination is based on wishful thinking and will soon prove to be impracticable. It will have to be changed under strong pressure from the masses who demand an increase in their wages and an improvement in their living conditions.

Under the Maoists, such epithets as "bourgeois scholars," and "comprador vassals of things foreign," etc., were flying all around. Scientific research was slighted, and scientists, teachers, and researchers suffered blows. Today there has been a change in this condition. The report suggested that free rein be given to scientific and technological research. This change is welcome, but the problem lies in how to put it into practice. Hua defined his fifth task: "We must make a success of the revolution in cultural and educational spheres." Hua said for the first time that Mao had, in 1975, remarked that "model operas alone are not enough" and that "no longer are a hundred flowers blossoming."

But at that time Teng had criticized the model operas and the field of art for "permitting only a single flower to blossom." He was attacked as opposing Mao's policies and branded antiparty and a counterrevolutionary.

Then Minister of Education Chou Yung-hsin had suggested some revisions in Mao's educational policy in order to raise the standards of higher education. He was persecuted as "undermining Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in education" and trying to incite a right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts. The source of this wind was Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

Now, the report stressed that in order to make China a powerful modern country it

*Hua Kuo-feng first put forward the slogan of the "Eight Musts" at a Central Committee work conference in March 1977 as a list of the central priorities of the new regime.—IP

is an urgent necessity to educate and train a large number of people. Therefore education must be promoted at a faster tempo and its quality must be raised. To achieve this, Mao's line and policy in education must be significantly changed. However, Hua Kuo-feng still called [on the party] "to establish a proletarian educational system that adequately expresses Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary educational line" and insisted on maintaining "Chairman Mao's educational policy."

Moreover, he stressed continuing to apply Mao's directive that young people be sent to the countryside. That is, the practice of sending educated youths to the countryside will not be changed. This will surely have continuing grave consequences on the development of education.

Promote Democracy or Strengthen Dictatorship?

The seventh task Hua proposed was to "promote democracy and strengthen democratic centralism." Hua quoted Mao from 1957: "Say all you know and say it without reserve," "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words."

But everyone knows that Mao used these words to lure people to speak and then convict them afterward. These quotations immediately call to mind the warning of Mao's violation of his own teaching. What guarantees, either of political credibility or of a legal nature, does the new leadership offer for this appeal?

Furthermore, the sixth task was to "strengthen the people's state apparatus" and "strengthen our public security work." This was a slap at "promoting democracy." According to Marxism-Leninism, under the regime of the proletarian dictatorship there should be a "withering away of the state" (see Lenin's book *State and Revolution*). New China has been established for twenty-eight years. Yet the CCP still needs to strengthen the state apparatus and public security work.

This means intensifying the suppression of the people. And not only rightists, but more generally, the workers, peasants, and revolutionary elements. The election of another long-time "security" work specialist [Wang Tung-hsing] to the Politburo Standing Committee reflects the emphasis the new leadership places on security work.

Thus the "promotion of democracy" and the "strengthening of the socialist legal system" are revealed as lies. This is the best answer to those who still foster hope in the new leadership for greater democracy.

The entire long report was filled with quotations from Mao. This shows that Mao's heir is trying his best to claim Mao's heritage in order to draw on his authority and prestige. Hua is also trying in turn to preserve and defend Mao's authority and prestige. So, while in practice a number of

the government's policies are now in contradiction to Mao Tsetung Thought, the red flag of Maoism is still being waved.

The revised party constitution adopted at the Eleventh Congress is significantly



HUA KUO-FENG

different in its increase in the demands on party members, its restrictions on party membership, and its disciplinary examinations.

First, in the section on party membership, there is a new item 6: Members should "refuse to take part in and moreover oppose any factional organization or activity which splits the party."

Second, an addition states that applicants for party membership must be "carefully examined" and they must go through a probationary period, thus imposing strict restrictions.

Third, it provides for establishing commissions to inspect discipline at all levels to "be responsible for checking on the observance of discipline by party members and party cadres and struggle against all breaches of party discipline."

These clauses and policies are obviously aimed at the general party members and lower cadres. If there were not a generalized and serious situation of lax discipline and anarchy, these additions to the constitution would have been unnecessary.

But these additions will further limit and deprive the general party membership of their democratic rights. The result will be to intensify the struggle inside the party.

Between the Tenth and the Eleventh congresses, the CCP's membership in-

creased from twenty-eight million to thirty-five million, i.e., by a quarter. At the same time, the membership of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee was reduced from nine to five. When the Central Committee plenum is not in session, the Standing Committee exercises the power and duties of the Central Committee. In this way, five persons can decide every important issue of the party and the state. Among these five, only one was elected as far back as the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee [1969].

Leaders who were long in central or important posts are no longer there, but the present problems are said to be the greatest since the founding of the People's Republic of China.

The new leaders of the CCP advocate in words a collective leadership. But they practice just the opposite. The whole of the power is concentrated still further in the hands of only a few persons.

Of the two most powerful members of the Standing Committee, one, Hua Kuo-feng, in his funeral oration for Mao, attacked the other, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, as having fostered a "restorationist conspiracy" and having an "antirevolutionary revisionist line." Hua then even lumped Teng together with Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao.

Now, although Hua has in practice come to adopt some of Teng's previously criticized policies, the differences between them will not vanish overnight. Even from the point of view of this existing conflict it might be thought that the CCP would have expanded the Standing Committee in an effort to establish collective work and a broader leadership group. But just the opposite happened. This lays the basis for further disputes and struggles.

At this congress a new top leadership has been formally established. The powerful factions in the party have for the moment made mutual concessions and reached agreements. A period of comparative peace will follow, with the introduction of some more practical and useful policies. There will be an improvement in the national economy.

But the congress has also revealed the basic weaknesses of the bureaucracy, the existence of serious disarray inside the party, and the existence of many severe problems and questions. These cannot be fully overcome.

In the near future new developments will sharpen the present social contradictions in China and they will become more acute. The attitude of the workers and peasants toward the new leadership will change from its present stance of "wait and see" to open disappointment. This will produce irrepressible struggles for the improvement in living conditions and for democratic rights. In the end these will converge in an antibureaucratic revolution.

August 30, 1977

The Rising Opposition to Somoza's Dictatorship

By Fausto Amador

Early in September, a report startled all sectors of society in Nicaragua. Somoza, the country's notorious dictator, had suffered a heart attack. The possibility of his sudden passing was greeted by all the workers with a mixture of satisfaction and uncertainty. How would the huge vacuum left by Somoza's death be filled?

Anastasio Somoza Debayle is the son of Anastasio Somoza García, who established himself in power in 1934, following the murder of Augusto César Sandino, and founded the longest-lasting dynasty of dictators in the history of Latin America. Ever since, the real power in the country has been concentrated in the hands of the Somoza family.

The Somoza Regime and the State

An agile politician, the elder Somoza was able to maintain himself in power by keeping a wary eye on successive rivals in the army and police and eliminating them, by buying off and discrediting opposition political figures, by making pacts and alliances with the bourgeois parties that opposed him, and by shifting back and forth between periods of terror and phases in which political concessions were made that permitted the exercise of some democratic rights.

For example, in the 1940s, Somoza recognized the class-collaborationist character of the then recently founded Partido Socialista Nicaragüense [PSN—Nicaraguan Socialist Party, the local Communist Party]. Taking advantage of this, he managed to get the support of the newly emerging workers movement by making certain concessions, such as passing a labor code that promised the right to organize and to strike, as well as the right to a minimum wage.

With the backing of the PSN, Somoza got a huge vote in the elections, and immediately afterwards he outlawed the Communists. Likewise, he was always adept enough to gain a cloak of legitimacy for his regime. He held elections, and on occasion let puppets controlled by him take the presidency.

Nicaragua's history has been plagued by U.S. military interventions and civil wars. Anti-imperialist feelings and struggles are enshrined in the popular tradition. At the end of the 1920s, Augusto César Sandino became the leader of a stubborn civil war against the government of Adolfo Díaz, a protégé of the Americans. The state

apparatus presided over by Díaz had been completely undermined and was in the process of collapsing. The foreign debt had reached such proportions that the United States took over the customs office, the banks, and the issuance of money in order to channel the government's income directly into paying off the debt.

The war waged by Sandino, which had massive support from the peasantry and a brilliant military leadership, prevented the reconsolidation of the state, accelerated its crisis, and made it necessary for Washington to resort to a large-scale military intervention into Nicaragua to salvage the remaining fragments of a completely broken-down state apparatus. The direct, massive intervention of the U.S. army swept away even the shadow of a state presided over by Díaz. The entire burden of the war, public administration, and running the government passed into the hands of the invader army.

During the years of the Sandino war, the primary objective of the imperialists was to reconstitute a viable national state. The limitation of the Sandino war to the countryside, the small size and weak organization of the urban working class, the war-weariness of the middle classes, and defeats suffered by the peasant movement elsewhere in the region (30,000 peasants massacred in El Salvador and a bloody repression against the peasants in Honduras) enabled the U.S. forces to isolate the Sandino army, build up a new state armed force (the National Guard), and finally to murder Sandino, completely destroy his army, and massacre his peasant supporters.

The job of the National Guard was to rebuild the totally bankrupt state apparatus. Anastasio Somoza García was put at its head.

The first years of the Somoza dictatorship thus represented a long process of building up the indigenous state apparatus that had been destroyed by the Sandino war and the years of U.S. military occupation. The process of rebuilding this state was thus bound up with the consolidation of the dynastic dictatorship of the Somozas. The salient political result, of course, was an identity between the rebuilt state apparatus and the Somoza dictatorship, which cast the state it built up in its own image.

The Somoza regime today is not merely a form of dictatorship to which the ruling classes resorted to deal with a dangerous

or unstable situation. It is the central institution around which the entire Nicaraguan state apparatus pivots. After holding state power almost a half century, the Somoza family has become the backbone and the indispensable authority for the entire power structure.

The Somoza dictatorship, moreover, is bound up in the same way with the very structure of the army, the National Guard. It has molded all the institutions of the state: ". . . in the ministries and at the top levels of administration and the army, a swarm of scoundrels has gathered; a pushy, suspicious breed, greedy for loot, who strut around in their gold-braided uniforms as if they were great dignitaries. . . ."

It is the state apparatus that is the center for bribery, extortion, prostitution, gambling, contraband, and organized crime. And among the bosses of these operations are all the officers of the National Guard, the functionaries in the state administrative apparatus, and the professional politicians that serve the regime.

In the lower echelons of society, the ranks of the National Guard know that they can rob ordinary citizens with impunity. They know that in the highlands they can plunder the peasants or force them to leave their land.

Corruption infects the state apparatus from top to bottom. This goes so far that all officials from the lowest functionaries of the administrative apparatus to the magistrates in the judicial branch usually get the bulk of their income from bribes.

For almost fifty years, the Somoza family has been the kingpin of this entire "society" of crooks and parasites who infest the state apparatus at all levels.

As time has gone by, rival cliques and special groups have been developing in all sectors of this "society." In the army, you find rivalries between the established officer caste and a new layer of jackal puppies that want to take the places of the old dogs. The professional politicians of the regime are finding their path to the juiciest political posts blocked, as more and more these posts are being reserved for retired army officers. Offering the older military men such sinecures is a way of getting them to retire without a fuss, and thus free the posts the younger officers are pressing for.

Whole cliques of politicians fight each other over privileges. Thus, recently there

was a notable confrontation between the chairman of the joint sessions of congress, Cornelio Hueck; and Montenegro, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies. The struggles for the prefectships of the major cities, where illegal activities offer the most appetizing rakeoff, inspire the most abject bootlicking and the most sophisticated intrigues. The officers and politicians at the centers of control try to build up their own clique of "loyal" people whom they then try to put in "key" posts as their "pawns."

In this whole gigantic conglomeration of rivalries, intrigues, and internecine struggles, the Somoza family plays the role of the final authority accepted by all. It is the pinnacle and balancing piece of a pyramid of gangsters.

Somoza, along with his family, represents the greatest economic power in the whole of Nicaraguan society. Using the state apparatus for their own profit has enabled them to build the strongest and most diversified economic group in the country. Nicaragua's only cement company, its only shipbuilding concern, and its only airline are all the exclusive property of the Somoza family. The Somozas rank among the biggest coffee growers, the biggest ranchers, the biggest rice producers, and the biggest sugar growers. They own the biggest banana plantation and the biggest fishing fleet. They have interests in the textile industry, in plastics, and in metal fabrication. They have their own financial institutions and their own bank. They are the biggest landowners, and there is no industry they don't have a finger in. They own several radio networks and television stations, as well as the *Novedades* newspaper publishing company. These are just the barest outlines of their vast economic empire. It employs thousands of persons, and within its administrative apparatuses it has created another "society" of specialists and professionals, who also serve as a social base for the regime.

Nonetheless, the Somoza family has no direct heirs to whom it could leave the political power. The old Somoza García had two legitimate sons, a daughter and another son born out of wedlock, who was left to grow up as an illiterate peasant. The daughter married Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa, who was sent to Washington as ambassador in order to get him away from the country and thus keep him from getting any political ambitions.

Of the two legitimate sons, Luis, the eldest, who was also president twice, died of a heart attack in 1967. That left only Anastasio and his illegitimate brother, José. Starting shortly before Luis's death, they tried to educate José (he can read and write now) and they gave him one military promotion after another until, in a period of a few weeks, they made him the highest officer in the army after Anastasio. The military accepted José because the "chief"

gave them no choice, but he is quietly held in profound contempt by all the officers and has no share in the family's economic power.

Anastasio, for his part, has several sons, but they are all too young and have no experience either in the state apparatus or in keeping an eye on the various bandit gangs that make up the regime and form its base of support, or in balancing them off against each other. Obviously, in these circumstances, Anastasio's heart attack has raised fears of his death, which would immediately disrupt the equilibrium of the regime and create a crisis of authority whose outcome could not be predicted.

The Ruling Class and Somoza

The attitude of the ruling class toward the Somoza regime has depended on the contradictory shifts in the social and political role played by the dictator. For the bosses, the Somoza regime presents particularly favorable conditions for capital accumulation. They can steal the peasants' land, savagely persecute unions, break strikes, and subject the workers to a permanent reign of terror. All this makes possible a high rate of profit for the big owners as a whole. But, on the other hand, Somoza himself represents a rival in all the major fields of business against whom the other capitalists cannot compete.

Since he holds the state apparatus in his hands, Somoza always alters the rules of the economic game in his favor. He channels the loans made by the state and by the imperialists toward the companies he owns. He sets special tax rates for his own interests. He grants his own companies all the state licenses. He builds roads and public works to benefit his own holdings. In this context, anyone who fails to associate himself in one way or another with Somoza finds his profits and possibilities for expansion directly threatened. On the other hand, all of those who do go into partnership with Somoza have to realize clearly that he is going to take the lion's share. Balancing between these two contradictory sides of the Somoza regime, all sections of the ruling class have always ended up working out a *modus vivendi* with the dictator.

In recent years, however, new conditions have arisen that have affected the attitude of the ruling class and even of American imperialism. The Somoza regime is beginning to become an intolerable burden for all sections of society. The robbery, murder, bribery, and all of the corruption on which the regime is based is undermining the society as a whole and becoming a grave threat to the social order itself. The Somoza dictatorship and the lack of democratic rights has promoted the growth, and stimulated the appetite, of the vast parasitic "gangster society," which is becoming more and more unbearable for the population.

The thousands upon thousands of daily abuses, the unpunished crimes, and the scandalous luxury of the "grandees" have been promoting a prolonged molecular process of growing opposition to the regime. From the church and Catholic groups to sectors of the big landowners, businessmen, and industrialists; from the peasants to the newest sections of the urban proletariat—throughout the society, a vast silent conspiracy against the Somoza regime is brewing.

So, it is obvious that the ruling class needs a new form of government. The Somoza regime is a time bomb that can be set off at any moment by the radicalization of the masses and divisions within the ruling class itself.

Changing the form of rule in Nicaragua necessarily involves breaking up the "gangster society" on which Somoza bases his power. But these gangsters are armed, and only a violent political revolution can throw them out. Such a revolution would certainly impel into motion broad sectors of the peasantry and the working class, as well as vast strata of the radicalized petty bourgeoisie. The objectives of these sectors in the struggle against the regime will be bound up with their aspirations for bettering their own social and economic status, with their own class interests.

The ruling class and the imperialists find themselves, therefore, on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, there is a pressing need to change the form of the government in Nicaragua. On the other, the growing radicalization of the masses obliges them to adopt a conservative and vacillating attitude toward the regime. In this way, they find themselves forced to protect and bolster a regime they themselves want to oust. The result of all this is a temporary reinforcement of the Somoza regime. But the contradictory effect of this is that the regime is becoming more and more intolerable and the situation more and more explosive. Parasitism is becoming more and more insolent, and its rot ever deeper.

This reinforcement of the regime has enabled it to last much longer than it otherwise could, but it is also causing a more and more acute breakdown of the social order. In order to hold back the mass movement that is being spurred by the Somoza regime, the imperialists and the Nicaraguan ruling class are finding themselves forced to use this very instrument. Unable to adopt another tool without destroying the one they have and being left disarmed in the face of the masses, they are taking a chance on continuing to use the present one to the limit of its possibilities—thus eventually finding themselves disarmed in the face of a much more critical breakdown of the social order.

In this whole process, time plays an

enormous role. As long as the situation remains stable for the imperialists and the bourgeoisie, they can always look for ways to change the rules of the game at their leisure. Somoza's failing heart, however, threatens to deprive them of time and precipitate a power crisis ahead of all expectations.

The Capitalist Political Parties

The political crisis that has been brewing has led to a breakup of the whole range of political parties in Nicaragua.

The traditional bourgeois parties have been the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party. Somoza has used the Liberal Party for his political apparatus. Many years ago, this led to the breakaway of a small anti-Somoza section of this party, which took the name "Independent Liberal Party." In 1971, internal rivalries in the Liberal Party led to the emergence of a current that broke with Somoza and with the party itself. This current was headed by Ramiro Sacasa, a former minister and close relative of Somoza. Sacasa himself has presidential aspirations.

Among the bourgeois opposition, the Conservative Party split into two currents in 1971. The current representing the party establishment, which is headed by Fernando Agüero, made a deal with Somoza. As a result, the Conservative Party was given 40 percent of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies and some posts in the state corporations and municipal governments. In return, it agreed to another presidential term for Somoza, lengthening of the president's term in office, and amending the constitution to let Somoza be reelected.

The other current originating in the Conservative Party, headed by Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, the owner of *La Prensa*, the daily with the largest circulation in the country, organized UDEL (Unión Democrática de Liberación—Democratic Union for Liberation). This party includes the Liberal Party dissidents, the Independent Liberal Party, the Social Christian Party (founded in the 1960s and made up of dissidents from the Conservative Party), and the Partido Socialista Nicaragüense (the Stalinist party).

Since 1972, UDEL has been trying to form a bourgeois anti-Somoza bloc. The PSN's cooperation provides left cover. The UDEL represents in a concentrated way the need the bourgeoisie feels to find some form of rule different from that of the Somoza regime. Likewise, in a concentrated way it represents the timidity with which the bourgeoisie approaches this problem, avoiding any move that might spark a mass mobilization, no matter on how moderate a basis.

Among the political forces and currents in the workers movement, the Partido Socialista and the Frente Sandinista de

Liberación Nacional play the dominant role.

Founded in the 1940s, with the patronage and help of the elder Somoza, the Partido Socialista Nicaragüense has a miserable history of betrayals and collaboration with the regime. In 1944, for example, it supported Somoza in the elections. Although at present the PSN controls the largest trade-union federation, the CGT [General Confederation of Labor], the party has not grown very much and remains a skeleton organization. Its current policy is collaboration with the bourgeois opposition to Somoza.

In 1976, the PSN suffered a major split. One faction, led by Domingo Sanchez, was left in control of the unions. The other faction, led by Natan Sevilla, was left in control of the party apparatus. The political basis for this split is not clear, since the lack of discussion within the party means that different political options necessarily emerge under the mask of personal rivalries. So far, Moscow has not decided to back either faction. It maintains relations with both.

The polemics that led to splitting the PSN down the middle were over whether the party should fight Somoza in order to defend the bourgeois order or should keep this fight muted so as not to endanger the bourgeois order. Neither of the two factions came out against the alliance with UDEL and neither one has questioned the alliance with the bourgeoisie. The split in the PSN is no more than the symptom and expression of the political contradiction represented by the continued existence of the Somoza regime, which is undermining the stability of bourgeois rule.

Although the Sandino war has had no sequel, there have always been sections of society and political groups that periodically attempt to carry out guerrilla actions against the Somoza regime. They have never achieved any real social base, nor have they become a nationally organized political force.

The victory of the Cuban revolution coincided with a radicalization in Nicaragua in the urban sectors, especially the students. Rapidly, these radicalized youth sought and found inspiration and support in Cuba. A Castroist current began to consolidate itself, seeking to repeat the Cuban experience in Nicaragua. However, it had only a sketchy understanding of the social and political conditions that enabled Fidel Castro's group to rise to power.

Out of this Castroist current, organized originally in what was called the Juventud Patriótica Nicaragüense (Nicaraguan Patriotic Youth) arose the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN—Sandino National Liberation Front). The FSLN was founded in 1962 and adopted as its central political axis guerrilla struggle against the Somoza regime.

The founders of the Frente Sandinista had radicalized on the basis both of social

struggles and opposition to Somoza. Several of them, like Carlos Fonseca Amador, a founding member and the main leader up until his death, had been active in the PSN and had broken with it because of its conciliatory attitude toward the regime. For this reason and as a result of the Cuban process itself, the FSLN took on the character at the start of a political group fighting both Somoza and the national bourgeoisie under the banner of socialism.

Since the founding of the FSLN, a lot of water has gone under the bridge. Its main founders and leaders are all dead, except for Tomás Borge, who is in prison. The Cuban government has begun to give enthusiastic support to dictatorial regimes, such as that of Torrijos in Panama and that of Velasco Alvarado in Peru. The Communist parties throughout Latin America have the backing of the Castroist leaders.

The social base of the Frente Sandinista itself has widened to include sections of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie, but not of the workers movement. The present cadres of the Frente have not gone through any process of political education linked to experience with mass movements, such as marked the founding leaders. These newer cadres have only military-technical training. The salient political result of all this has been the explicit abandonment of the goal of social revolution and the issuance of a call for forming a multiclass bloc to fight Somoza. Their criticisms and denunciations of UDEL are not based on the class character of UDEL but simply on UDEL's cowardly way of fighting Somoza.

Nonetheless, because of the capitulationist and opportunist character of the PSN and the total absence of any revolutionary policy for mobilizing the masses, the Frente Sandinista remains the political current most attractive to the radicalized youth in the country.

In 1974, the FSLN carried out a spectacular action, kidnapping several members of the Somoza family and important figures in government and finance. They won a million dollars in ransom and the release of all their imprisoned comrades.

Somoza then declared a state of siege and threw his entire police apparatus and army against the Frente. He succeeded in capturing dozens of members of the FSLN and in murdering the main leaders, including Carlos Fonseca Amador.

Since the declaration of the state of siege, the Frente Sandinista has been subjected to the most severe pressures in its history. These strains have been made more acute by the death of its main leaders and the breakdown of the regime's social base. As a result, the Frente has split into three rival public factions, all completely independent of each other, and each maintaining the old name and claiming to be the "real" Frente Sandinista.

Some rank-and-file activists do not know

what faction they are working with, which shows the paucity of political discussion, either public or internal, in these circles. The largest faction, led by Henry Ruiz, who studied at Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow, seems to favor a putschist line, involving spectacular actions designed to bring quick results. The second faction, led by Jaime Wheelock, is, curiously enough, called "bourgeois" by its rivals and "proletarian" by its members. It seems to be proposing a line of action linked to mass work. The third faction, led by Plutarco Hernández, who gave an interview to the *New York Times*, advocates a classical guerrilla line calling for prolonged struggle, based fundamentally in the countryside. This is the line known under the name "prolonged people's war," which was popularized by Mao Tsetung.

The FSLN factions are responding to the need to come up with policies suited to the crisis emerging in Nicaragua. But they are starting out amid tremendous political confusion about the main problems of making the revolution, the problems that their ranks are running up against in practice.

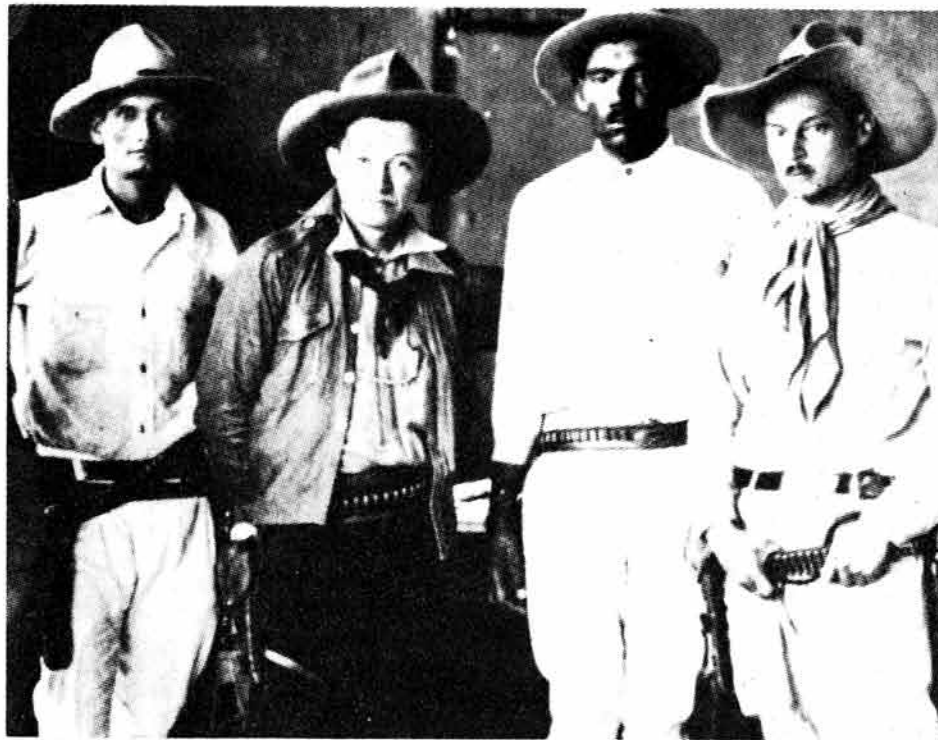
The FSLN has not grasped either the nature of the PSN or Cuba's international policy and its rapprochement with the Communist parties in Latin America. In its fight against Somoza, the FSLN is not struggling for an independent united front of the oppressed classes, who are the only ones who have a fundamental interest in overthrowing the regime. Instead of calling on the oppressed classes to fight Somoza, independently of any section of the ruling class, the FSLN is calling on the masses to form a bloc with the anti-Somoza bosses. It is calling on the masses to form a bloc with the very sectors whose class interests are defended by Somoza's bayonets, even though they may have their differences with him in other respects.

The leaders of the FSLN also have not learned that the masses must learn through their own experience. These leaders still have illusions that they can move the masses to action from the outside, through electrifying actions.

As the FSLN stew in this confusion and is pressured by the new strata coming into its ranks as well as by a situation that is becoming more and more critical, all sorts of currents are appearing within it. The absence of leaders recognized by all, the result of the deaths of the main leaders, only increases these centrifugal tendencies and accelerates the breakdown of the organization. The military defeats that have been suffered, unfortunately, have had a similar effect.

Ripening of Regime's Political Crisis and the Actions of Sandinista Front

Since the Sandinista strikes in 1974, a



Augusto Sandino (second from left).

draconian state of siege has banned political activity. However, this is not the only reason for the lack of mass political activity on the part of all the parties. One must likewise take into consideration the character of the existing parties and their attitude toward the Somoza regime.

UDEL cannot openly confront the regime without running the risk of sparking a mass mobilization, which it fears even more than it does Somoza. The PSN is interested only in defending the bourgeois order and it is not going to initiate any open clash with the regime. The FSLN line does not call for political activity among the masses. Its policy calls rather for activity by its own small and isolated guerrilla forces. Thus, there is no organized political force interested in defying the state of siege by starting political work among the masses.

However, in the absence of political parties interested in mass work, the pressure of the mass upsurge had to find its own forms of struggle and political expression. The advanced sectors of the urban masses moved spontaneously toward religious outlets as a means of expressing themselves politically.

Never before have Christian groups, circles, and organizations become so political. Poor communities and slums organized themselves; forms of underground trade-unionism appeared; political study groups formed; hundreds if not thousands of working-class youths and high-school and university students radicalized. And the starting point and focus for all this were religious positions adopted independ-

ently of the official church apparatus. The pressure of this politicalization was such that even in the reactionary and medieval-minded Pentecostal movement, forms of opposition to the Somoza regime developed.

After the FSLN carried out its December 1974 actions, the repressive response by the government temporarily halted the rise of mass struggles that had been going on since mid-1973. This enabled the Somoza regime to launch a wave of indiscriminate repression against unions and poor-people's organizations, which for a time paralyzed mass action. However, the workers movement did not go through a major confrontation or suffer a serious defeat. The extension of the state of siege itself served to stir discontent and dissatisfaction. Since mid-1976, a powerful new upsurge has been developing, although this has not yet reached the level of nationwide struggles or open confrontations with the regime.

As the masses, in the absence of any political parties, even bourgeois ones, have been finding their way into action through religious backdoors, this pressure has been opening up the road for a revival of political life. The resistance is being broken down at the weakest points in the political, legal, and ideological superstructures of the society. Since Christianity is the "official ideology" of the society on which the regime is based, the masses can organize with greater impunity if they cloak their interests in a Christian garb. Nonetheless, these religious forms are not

suiting to the tasks facing the masses. As the processes deepen, the official church launches its anathemas, revealing what class interests it defends. A polarization develops, which somehow follows class lines, and the masses come to recognize that the interests they are defending have nothing to do with religion.

Once Somoza began recovering from his sudden illness, the state of siege was lifted. Immediately after this, worker activists appeared distributing leaflets in the factories. UDEL began to organize its first rallies. It did so with little enthusiasm, but the masses flocked to these demonstrations. In this context, the FSLN has once again emerged on the scene in a spectacular way, faithfully following the political path it has laid out.

On October 13, a group of about twenty Sandinistas tried unsuccessfully to mount an attack on a military post in the small town of San Carlos bordering Costa Rica. About a dozen of them were killed. The survivors escaped to Costa Rica, pursued by the National Guard, who invaded and bombed Costa Rican territory, provoking an international incident.

On the same day, in Ocotal, on the northern frontier with Honduras, the Frente Sandinista ambushed National Guard units. Two days later, on October 15, a Sandinista commando unit tried to occupy the military base in Masaya, one of the country's largest cities. Several of the guerrillas were killed. Also on October 15, clashes occurred in Managua, the capital, and in Estelí, as well as on the highway that links Managua and Masaya. A few days later an attempt by the FSLN to attack a bank was foiled. A severe repression was opened up in every city in the country, with authorities indicating that they had to counter a general offensive by the Sandinistas.

The pressure of the masses, the breakdown of the Somoza regime, and Somoza's sudden illness created an atmosphere favorable to desperate actions. By a series of spectacular moves, the Sandinistas sought to crystallize the discontent and sharpen the existing crisis, sparking a massive uprising against Somoza. Into this operation, they threw all the forces they had (a handful of poorly armed youths), expecting that their action, which was sure to have the sympathy of the masses, would touch off a general insurrection and deal a mortal blow to the stability of the regime.

In the life of any society, things are not so simple as the Sandinistas thought, and in the concrete conditions in Nicaragua they are still less so. The crisis of the regime has not crystallized. The decaying Somoza regime can still count on solid backing by an army in which no splits have yet appeared; by the imperialists, who have been able to find no alternative likely to be viable in the immediate future;

and by the bourgeoisie itself, which forms a common front with Somoza against the masses.

The Nicaraguan masses need to go through the experience of their own struggles, to test their strength against the regime, before they throw themselves into an all-out attack on it. Any action outside the framework of the lives of the masses themselves will inevitably leave them indifferent, or at most will arouse a passive sympathy.

The FSLN actions, thus, were condemned to failure. And in this sense, the pointless deaths of valiant and valuable young rebels were inevitable and tragic. This kind of suicidal action, which can lead to nothing, corresponds to the desperation of the petty-bourgeois layers from which the FSLN recruits are coming. It stands in total contradiction to a proletarian policy.

These latest actions of the FSLN cannot be judged by some abstract standard. They took place, unfortunately, in a quite definite political context. The first forms of open political activity had been emerging. After two years of terror and suppression of all dissident views, a certain margin for free speech was developing in the press, and there were possibilities for organizing in parties. And it was precisely at this time that the FSLN launched its bold stroke.

Thus, by carrying out these actions, the FSLN offered the government a pretext for opening up a general repression, sharpened the defensive reflexes of the ruling class, took the mass movement completely by surprise, and thereby helped the regime mount an attack on the few rights that had been won. These concrete consequences of the FSLN's actions thus ran counter to the interests and objectives of the mass movement.

On January 22, 1967, 80,000 persons demonstrated in Managua to show their opposition to Somoza. The slogans most widely taken up were "No More Somoza Rule," and "We Have Had Enough of Somoza." The National Guard fired point-blank into the crowd, killing about 3,000 persons. The official casualty figures never included more than thirty dead. But to thousands of homes, the sons, mothers, husbands, and wives who went out that morning to express their repudiation of the regime never returned. The demonstration was an election rally organized by the Conservative Party.

When the masses respond to a call to demonstrate against Somoza, no matter where this comes from, they express their deep-seated aspirations. These aspirations include land for the peasants, better housing and better educational opportunities for the children of working-class families, better nutrition—in short, better living conditions for all of them. They express these aspirations in this way because the masses have identified all their suffering and frustrations with the

regime that silences them when they protest, that opens fire on them when they do not stay passive, and that tortures and jails them when they do not resign themselves to their lot.

In making such an identification, the masses are focusing on the correct target. It is true that the fundamental cause of their poverty is the overall organization of society and property in the service of the bosses. But Somoza is the power center of this social organization, and his role in this society is precisely to form the kind of regime that will leave the masses the least possibilities for defending themselves. Thus, the masses identify Somoza with their poverty, and the fight against Somoza is a struggle against all the oppression suffered by the workers in Nicaraguan society.

There is a dangerous illusion involved in the form taken by the masses' aspiration to break their chains. Somoza is the representative of a class power. He represents a form of defending the social order that oppresses the workers in order to assure the profits of the boss class. The real root of this oppression lies in the social organization defended not just by Somoza but also by all the anti-Somoza bourgeois forces in which the masses still have confidence.

In the masses' struggle against Somoza, there is an underlying aspiration for ending the capitalist system. This aspiration is expressed in every strike, in every community mobilization, in every protest action. However, it is still unconscious and incipient. Thus, there is a great danger that at some point a section of the bourgeoisie will be able to install an alternative government, ousting Somoza and his band of gangsters but maintaining the essence of this regime—rule by the boss class—in a different form.

The Somoza regime and its "gangster society" has total control of weapons and has enormous material interests to defend. Thus, if Somoza leaves the scene in the midst of a period of crisis, these elements will seek a way of effectively defending the basis of their privileges and the main guarantor of impunity for their robberies and other crimes—the state power.

If a section of the army, regardless of whether it is allied with any party or factions or groups in the bourgeoisie, tries to impose a solution by means of plots, coups d'état, palace intrigues, or anything like that, it will destroy the equilibrium of a crumbling institution. And in its attempts to rebuild a state apparatus in danger of disintegrating at any moment, it will be unable to prevent the masses from erupting into the political arena.

Today, the masses want only to be able to express themselves, to meet, to demonstrate, to organize freely and without restrictions. Today, they consciously see Somoza as the obstacle to their democratic

liberties and their most elementary civil rights. But that which underlies their need to express themselves, to meet, and to organize freely—that is, the anticapitalist content of their democratic demands—will remain a constant in their struggle against the Somoza regime.

In the whole process now looming up of political crises, violent maneuvers, palace intrigues, street battles, and victories and frustrations for the people, the pressure of such circumstances is going to demand answers from all sectors of society. Testing these answers in practice is going to cause a still greater breakup of all the existing organizations. Big sections of all these organizations will split away, looking for more effective, clearer, and more complete political answers.

The tempos may vary. The ruling class may gain a new breathing space, or it may find itself in a race against time. What will be decisive is the ability of the Nicaraguan revolutionary Marxists to build a mass revolutionary party, in the heat of the conflicts the country is going through, that can bring together those sections of the toiling masses that are looking for an alternative.

The situation in Nicaragua poses the need for a revolutionary party in the same way that it poses the need for the masses to understand that the only alternative to the Somoza regime is a government of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants themselves. The revolutionary party is the social organizer of this consciousness.

The fundamental axis for building the revolutionary party will be the most immediate and clearest aspiration of the masses, their desire to fight to win democratic rights, which requires destroying the Somoza regime and the state apparatus along with it.

The only forces that have a fundamental class interest in winning democratic rights are the worker and peasant masses, and the thousands of oppressed in the cities and in the countryside for whom democratic rights are a means for advancing the fight for their economic demands. The struggle against Somoza therefore requires a bloc, a united front in action of the workers, peasants, and other oppressed sections of society. And this bloc must be completely independent from all sections of the boss class. Fighting against Somoza for democratic rights in a class-struggle bloc, independent of all capitalist parties and groupings, gives this struggle a class content that will be clear both to the oppressors and the oppressed. It will create a clear polarization in society, enabling the masses to see that in reality the so-called anti-Somoza bosses are opposed to their interests.

Any call for an anti-Somoza bloc of the oppressed with sections of the bosses is a deadly trap. It will inevitably become a straitjacket for the masses, giving the

bosses a chance to gain enough of a breathing space to replace Somoza with a capitalist government that will not endanger their interests, which are contrary to those of the workers and peasants. The seething discontent among the people is so great that in order to maintain itself any capitalist government that replaces the Somoza regime will have to turn its guns on the masses, who would then be left politically and organizationally disarmed by such a multiclass bloc.

The FSLN is breaking up into factions that are not even able to explain their differences to the public. The PSN is suffering the same sort of splits under the pressure of the situation. Nicaraguan society as a whole is experiencing a general collapse of all its old values. In this situation, it is necessary to build a bridge linking up the present needs of the Nicaraguan masses and the rich lessons of the October Revolution in Russia, as well as all the traditions of past workers struggles. Such a link of continuity and such lessons, which can raise the class struggle in Nicaragua to higher levels, can only be provided by revolutionary Marxists working in the mass movement, participating directly in the life of the masses, giving conscious expression to the unconscious aspirations underlying their struggles, and enriching their consciousness by drawing the lessons of the masses' own experience.

Somoza's illness, the nervousness of the ruling class, the pressure of the masses, and the suicidal adventures of the FSLN only make it more vital and urgent to build

a party that can express the deepest aspirations of the masses and dispel their illusions by pointing up the lessons provided by their own movements.

All the conditions are ripe for building the revolutionary party. Hundreds, if not thousands, of young workers are looking for political alternatives in order to find a way out of a situation that is more and more in an impasse. Dozens of Christian activists have adopted class positions and identified with the interests of the workers and peasants. But they have not found a form of political organization corresponding to their concerns. All are struggling toward political ideas better suited to the interests with which they identify.

Unquestionably, the most honest and intelligent members of the FSLN, those most uneasy about their present positions, will also form part of the backbone of this revolutionary party. Not only the break-up of the Frente but the motion of these young Sandinistas themselves, who are groping but have not yet found the answers, will lead them to this path. The revolutionary Marxists must make this road easier for them, going out to meet them and showing them the way forward firmly and without any sectarian rigidity.

Many young Sandinistas who are in exile in many countries have the time and the coolheadedness to settle accounts with their own past. They are looking for an open and frank discussion with the Trotskyists. They see this as more and more essential for a serious and honest search for an alternative that none of the FSLN factions has offered them. □

Petition for Irish Socialist John McAnulty

A petition addressed to the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Irish government is being circulated in Ireland and internationally on behalf of John McAnulty.

McAnulty is the general secretary of the Northern Ireland socialist organization Peoples Democracy. He has been in police custody since July 5 of this year, when he was arrested at his home in Andersontown by Royal Ulster Constabulary officers and held under the Emergency Provisions Act. This law gives the police power to hold persons without charge for seventy-two hours.

RUC interrogators questioned him about the political ideas of Peoples Democracy, and then showed him several documents on weapons training and explosives. The police claimed to have discovered these materials at the home of another member of Peoples Democracy three months earlier. They asked McAnulty several times if he knew anything about the documents, and each time he answered no.

Nevertheless, on July 7 he was brought

before a court and formally charged with possession of documents "likely to be of assistance to terrorists" at some unspecified date between January 1976 and March 1977. He has been in custody awaiting trial on this charge ever since.

The following is the text of the petition being circulated:

"We, the undersigned, wish to draw your attention to the continued imprisonment of John McAnulty, General Secretary of Peoples Democracy. McAnulty was arrested on July 5, 1977, and his trial has been postponed indefinitely. If past precedents are followed he will be held for anything up to 18 months before his case is finally held.

"John McAnulty's case is clearly a case of political harassment and we call upon the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Irish Government to press for his immediate release."

To add your name to the petition, or for more information, contact Peoples Democracy, c/o Connolly Bookshop, Avoca Park, Belfast 11, Ireland. □

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



French Workers Strike Over Pesticide Pollution

Two hundred workers at the Littorale plant in Béziers, a city of 90,000 inhabitants near France's Mediterranean coast, went on strike November 7, vowing not to return to work until safety conditions in the plant improve.

The plant, which is owned by Union Carbide, manufactures a pesticide that is sold to beet growers. Its basic ingredient is methyl isocyanate, a highly toxic and flammable substance. Since September 15, four workers have been hospitalized for poisoning as a result of inhaling the methyl isocyanate fumes.

Since March, when city officials first gave the go-ahead for production of the chemical, an antipollution group in Béziers has been trying to alert public opinion to the dangers involved in shipping and storing the product and its ingredients, but such efforts met with little success at first. Workers from the plant came to heckle a public forum organized by the group, accusing it of wanting to shut down the plant and take away their jobs.

Now, however, this attitude has changed. "At first we were sore at the *écologes* [environmentalists], or else we didn't take them seriously," one worker was quoted as saying in the November 12 issue of *Le Monde*. "But they were right. Now we're demanding work, but with no pollution."

700 Protest Québec A-Plants

The first antinuclear demonstration to be held in Québec took place on October 22, according to a report in the November 9 issue of *Lutte Ouvrière*, a Trotskyist fortnightly published in Montréal.

The demonstration was organized by the Antinuclear Common Front, an umbrella group composed of twenty-two Québécois environmental and political organizations. The 700 participants focused their protest on the two nuclear reactors in operation at Gentilly.

"Representatives of the common front emphasized the danger of radiation and its effects on the environment and population, of thermal pollution, and of the storage of radioactive wastes. For example, the Gentilly reactors produce extremely radioac-

tive plutonium wastes, with a half-life of more than 24,000 years. Right now, Hydro-Québec has the means to store them for only 100 years. These plants are very expensive (\$1.1 billion for Gentilly II), and furthermore, they must be dismantled after thirty years," *Lutte Ouvrière* reports.

Mutant Plants Discovered Near Japanese Reactor

Surveys of plant species growing near a nuclear power station in Takahama, Japan, have shown a big increase in mutations over a year's time. Mutant cases of spiderwort (*Tradescantia reflexa*) were up by 17 percent over the normal occurrence of mutations.

According to New Asia News, Sadao Ichikawa of the Genetic Institute of Kyoto University "pointed out that receptivity to radioactivity of this plant [spiderwort] is similar to that of human beings on the cell level, and that one cannot deny the possibility that a similar effect may occur in human beings."

Electric Utility Ran Spy Operation

Beginning in 1973, the Georgia Power Company kept secret files on persons company officials considered "subversives."

Writing in the November 7 *Washington Post*, Bill Richards cited company records showing a three-day "background investigation" into a consumer organization headed by Ralph Nader.

"Other entries into the security unit's monthly case log . . . showed similar requests for investigations of 'news media' and others apparently outside the normal scope of the company's operations.

"Former company security officers who were part of the investigative section told *The Post* that among the names included in Georgia Power's investigative files were one of the state's leading consumer attorneys, the head of the state ACLU [American Civil Liberties Union] chapter and several persons who opposed construction of a Georgia Power nuclear plant."

John Taylor, a former security official for the utility, called the files "a dirt-gathering operation." Taylor was fired by

Georgia Power shortly after giving a sworn deposition on the company's security operation.

Another investigator recently fired by Georgia Power, William Lovin, told Richards that the company was "equipped with a number of expensive devices such as secret beepers which could be planted on cars to be tailed, night photography equipment and company cars equipped with switches to alter headlight and tail-light configurations for night tailing."

Lovin said he had also seen electronic gear for telephone wiretapping and room bugging. "Georgia Power investigators were so well-equipped, said Lovin, that local FBI agents once complained that the utility was way ahead of them in its surveillance ability."

Besides carrying out its own snooping, Georgia Power paid \$4,770 in 1976 to an outfit called Research West, which, according to Richards, "has been publicly identified as specializing in providing information on various left-wing groups and individuals."

The utility's files also contained material from *Information Digest*, a right-wing spy bulletin published by John and Louise Rees, individuals with a history of activity as police informers. The Reeses' magazine was found by a New York State Assembly investigation in 1976 to be "serving as a clearing-house of information on the left for police departments, and forming an underground link among them."

Richards reported that Georgia Power security director Arthur Benson called John Rees "an old personal friend," and that Rees had been given use of a company van for a trip from Atlanta to Washington after spying on a meeting of Georgia Power opponents.

Georgia Power is now under investigation by the state's Public Service Commission, and lawsuits against the utility are being threatened by persons who may have been spied on by the company's investigators.

Georgia Power Vice-President George W. Edwards has denied that his company ever engaged in "spying on innocent private citizens." But the utility still maintains a staff of nine plainclothes investigators with a budget of \$750,000.