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Israeli Protests Demand 'Peace Now!'



Wide World Photos

Part of antiwar rally of 45,000 in Tel Aviv April 1, one of largest demonstrations in Israeli history. Signs read,

"Peace Now!" "Settlements Are an Obstacle to Peace." See news article on page 444.

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Moscow Steps Up Attack on Helsinki Groups

The Polemic Between Peking and Tirana

Castro's Account of Cuban Role in Ethiopia

NEWS ANALYSIS

Why Carter Took That Trip Abroad

By Jon Britton

Jimmy Carter, accompanied by wife Rosalynn and daughter Amy, flew back to Washington April 3, completing a week-long trip to Latin America and Africa. According to the capitalist press, the journey had the two-fold purpose of boosting the president's sagging popularity at home and, as *New York Times* reporter Terence Smith put it, "to establish close working relationships" with some of "the third world countries that count the most."

It is true that Carter is becoming a very unpopular figure in the United States. The day after he left on his 14,565-mile junket, the latest ABC News/Louis Harris poll showed that his overall rating by the American public was 62 to 36 percent negative, down from 58 to 41 percent negative in February and a 67 to 21 percent positive rating a year ago. On handling the economy, he was rated 72 to 24 percent negative.

What the media pundits failed to explain, however, was why Carter decided to take the trip when he did, why the journey would enhance his public standing back home, and why it was necessary to strengthen ties with a bunch of puppets in the first place.

In fact the timing of the trip was most revealing as to its real purpose, which was to divert public attention from embarrassing happenings at home and abroad. One

of these was the blitzkrieg invasion of southern Lebanon by U.S. imperialism's Israeli client state, about which an expanding list of horrors is coming to light. Another was Washington's unsuccessful effort, using the Taft-Hartley Act and phony scare stories about impending power shutdowns and mass layoffs, to break the coal miners' strike. The recent jump in food prices hasn't helped Carter's poll rating either.

In furtherance of his diversionary aim, Carter, with the full cooperation of the three major television networks, met with the presidents of Venezuela and Liberia and the military rulers of Brazil and Nigeria, made a number of hypocritical speeches and solemn pronouncements, waved to crowds provided by local politicians, laid wreaths, and engaged in other media-worthy antics.

Upon arriving back at Andrews Air Force Base in Maryland, Carter said that "the day of the so-called 'Ugly American' is over. I never saw a subtle gesture or sign or poster or indication of anything except friendship."

The *New York Times* was closer to the mark when it admitted that the manufactured media event was a "largely symbolic mission" and "not much to write home about." □

Vanessa Redgrave Wins an Oscar

By Matilde Zimmermann

The movie moguls are up in arms about Vanessa Redgrave's "disruption" of the Academy Awards spectacular April 3. The *New York Post* hardly exaggerates when it says, "everyone in the entertainment establishment wants to lynch her," for the remarks about "Zionist hoodlums" in her acceptance speech.

A highly talented artist, Redgrave had been nominated for the Oscar by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences for her supporting role as an anti-Nazi fighter in the movie *Julia*. She was the clear favorite to win.

But Redgrave—who is a member of the Workers Revolutionary Party, a British sect that claims to be Trotskyist—financed and narrated a documentary entitled *The Palestinians*, which is now being shown in London.

Because of her support for the Palestinians against Zionist aggression, a reaction-

ary campaign was organized to deny her the Oscar. Studios were pressured to boycott her films and blacklist her for future work.

The effort to deny Redgrave the prize because of her anti-Zionist views continued right up to the night of the awards presentation. Several hundred members of the Jewish Defense League, a Zionist strong-arm formation, picketed outside the Los Angeles hall where the extravaganza was taking place. Swastika-wearing Nazis picketed as well. Supporters of the Palestinian Liberation Organization held a counterdemonstration. Five hundred policemen ringed the demonstrators.

The situation today is quite different from what it was twenty-five years ago, when Hollywood personalities were blacklisted and hounded because of their political views. Redgrave won the prize in spite of the hysteria whipped up against her.

Academy Award acceptance speeches traditionally consist of a list of thank-yous to producers, directors, family, and friends. Redgrave began hers:

"I thank you very, very much for this tribute to my work. I think Jane Fonda and I have done the best work of our lives, and this, in part, is due to our director, Fred Zinneman. It is also due to the fact that this is a true story and we believed in what we were expressing. The courage of two women who were prepared to sacrifice everything to fight the racist and fascist Nazi regime.

"You should be very proud that in the last few weeks you stood firm and you refused to be intimidated by the threats of a small bunch of Zionist hoodlums whose behavior is an insult to the stature of Jews all over the world and to their great and heroic record of struggle against Fascism and oppression. I salute that record and I salute all of you for having stood firm and dealt the final blow against that period when Nixon and McCarthy launched a worldwide witch hunt against those who tried to express in their lives and their work the truths that they believed in."

Holding her Oscar aloft, she said: "I salute you and I thank you and I pledge to you that I'll continue to fight against anti-Semitism and Fascism."

Thundering applause greeted her remarks.

Backstage, Redgrave told reporters she hoped that *The Palestinians* would be shown on American television. "I'm quite confident the American people want to know the truth and have been denied the truth."

She added: "I am opposed to Zionism. Of course, I'm on the side of the Jews who have struggled in a most glorious struggle against fascism."

Reaction was swift. Playwright Paddy Chayefsky lashed out at Redgrave later in the ceremonies for "exploiting the occasion of the Academy Awards. . . ."

Singer and actor Theodore Bikel called her "an active participant in [the PLO] terrorist campaign."

Comedian Alan King said that if he had been on the stage, "I would have gone for the jugular."

Lester Persky, Redgrave's current producer, said, "I thought about firing her," but indicated he would have to content himself with "telling her, 'cut out the politics and learn your lines.'"

What seemed to burn the moneyed interests the most was the fact that Redgrave took advantage of a television audience of 70 million in the United States—and reportedly 300 million worldwide—to defend herself against the witch-hunting campaign. In doing so, she struck a blow against the Zionist invaders of Lebanon and in favor of the Palestinian victims of the blitzkrieg. □

Confucius 'Rehabilitated'

By John Pederson

In mid-March, the China news agency Hsinhua announced the "rehabilitation" of 10,000 Shanghai residents who had suffered persecution during Mao's "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." The victims included top leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and their families, friends, and associates; lower-ranking cadres of the party; as well as teachers, students, and workers. (See *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, April 10, p. 410.)

More recently, signs have appeared that another target of Mao's ferocious drive against education and culture is being restored to respectability. Confucius, the Chinese philosopher who lived from 551 to 479 B.C., was vilified as a "demon" by Mao's closest collaborators (now referred to in China as the "gang of four"). Posters around the country portrayed him as a rapacious villain. Red Guards stormed into the village of Chu Fu, where he was born 2,500 years ago, and destroyed the shrine erected in his honor. A 1974 broadcast declared: "Although Confucius is dead, his corpse continues to emit its stench even today. Its poison is deep and its influence extensive."

Now, however, the *People's Daily* has announced that Confucius had been wrongly condemned. According to a report in the April 10 issue of *Time* magazine, the party newspaper recalled that Mao himself had often quoted the ancient philosopher, saying that everyone should "learn from Confucius's attitude of inquiring into everything."

This latest "rehabilitation" is part of an expanding effort by the Hua Kuo-feng regime to undo the enormous damage wreaked upon education, research, and other cultural and scientific activities by Mao's attempt to impose a kind of cultural blacklist on the Chinese workers state in the interest of bureaucratic thought control.

The present rulers calculate that a freer cultural atmosphere and a resurgence of scientific and technological progress will strengthen China's relatively stagnant economy and win for themselves a measure of mass popularity.

However, the "thaw" is also likely to lead to growing demands for genuine workers democracy in China, which will pose a serious political threat to the bureaucracy.

When the bureaucratic tops issued an invitation in 1957 to "let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend," a torrent of criticism was unleashed. The defeat of that upsurge helped consolidate the ruthless despotism that the current rulers are now trying to live down.

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Protests Continue in Israel Over Invasion of Lebanon

By Michael Baumann

Protest continued to mount as the Begin government's occupation of southern Lebanon neared the close of its fourth week April 8.

The human toll of the Israeli blitzkrieg—1,168 dead, an unknown number wounded, and 265,000 refugees—has provoked distress and outrage both around the world and in Israel itself.

Fresh revelations about the murderous scope of the operation, such as Washington's confirmation April 7 that Israeli bombers used U.S.-supplied fragmentation bombs on a Palestinian refugee camp, can only increase this opposition.

Israel itself is deeply polarized. The clearest sign of this came April 1 when 45,000 persons, mostly of military age, rallied in Tel Aviv in one of the largest demonstrations in Israeli history. The demands of the action were for "Peace Now!" and a return of the territories occupied by Israel after the 1967 war.

There can be no doubt that the antiwar sentiment expressed at the rally represents "a new element in Israeli political life," correspondent Amnon Kapeliouk reported in the April 4 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. Only a few weeks previously, he said, such slogans would have drawn a crowd numbering only in the dozens. "But on Saturday the 'peace meeting' filled the largest square in Tel Aviv, the Kings of Israel Plaza."

Kapeliouk described how the protest had come about:

Among the leaders of this new movement are the "flower" of Israeli youth. Students at the University of Jerusalem, they were for the most part officers in elite units during their military service and were, in some cases, awarded medals after the 1973 war. Today they believe that the great hope evoked by the visit of President Sadat has been lost by the refusal to make the necessary territorial concessions.

On March 7, five of them wrote a letter to the prime minister, which was signed by some 300 officers in the reserves. They received 7,000 telephone calls of solidarity, gathered 10,000 signatures on their petition, and, with the "peace meeting," have taken their action another step forward.

In their letter to Mr. Begin they wrote: "We are perplexed by a government that prefers a Greater Israel [i.e., an Israel that would stretch to its "biblical" borders] to peace. We urge you to take the road to peace."

Saturday, at the speaker's stand, these political novices repeated . . . before a throng that included several Labor Party deputies and even some from Dash [a party in Begin's governing

coalition] what they had already said in their letter and subsequently explained in the course of numerous interviews:

"There must be no misunderstanding. If a war breaks out we will do our duty without hesitation, but we will set out with doubts because we will not be certain that the government has done everything in its power to prevent this war, preferring a Greater Israel to a reasonable compromise. The settlements do not justify the horrors of a new war."

The organizers of the demonstration were astonished at the size of the turnout and have been encouraged to plan another rally, William E. Farrell reported in the April 7 *New York Times*. He spoke with one of the leaders:

"Suddenly we found ourselves leading a kind of movement," said Pzali Resheff, a law student. "We didn't really organize it well—it means that people in Israel feel that people have got to do something." . . .

Expressing surprise that peace sentiment had suddenly coalesced into "a kind of movement," Mr. Resheff said he knew of supporters from across the country's political spectrum, including some who voted for Mr. Begin and his Likud bloc. . . .

A number of other antiwar demonstrations have been held, including picket lines in front of Begin's home with protesters carrying signs saying "We Are Worried," and "Peace Now!"

On April 6 at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, about sixty demonstrators picketed a ceremony awarding Begin an honorary doctorate. According to a report in the April 7 *New York Daily News*, they shouted "Peace yes! Occupation—No!" They also shouted that Begin's honorary degree was a "doctorate for war."

'What Makes You Think We Are Going to Fight?'

Open signs of dissent began to appear among Israeli youth in January, when eighty high-school students wrote Begin a highly critical open letter. "We run the risk of entering a war that will not be inevitable," they said. "What makes you think that we are going to fight in a war that to us does not seem just?"

Several commentators pointed to disaffection among the troops sent to Lebanon. "Soldiers are returning embittered over what the Lebanese underwent as a by-product of the Israeli operation, which caused more suffering to civilians than to the intended target," correspondent Teddy

Preuss said in the Labor Party daily *Davar* at the end of March.

"I am drained, morally drained by it all," one soldier returning from Lebanon told the military correspondent for the Israeli daily *Maariv*. "I'm sick of all the killing and the houses reduced to rubble."

An indication of the concern such sentiment has aroused in Begin's government can be gauged from its reaction to the peace rally.

On April 2, the day after the rally, Finance Minister Simha Ehrlich denounced the gathering as "smelling of a military putsch."

Borrowing a slander from the arsenal developed by the Johnson and Nixon administrations during the Vietnam War, Ehrlich charged that the "Peace Now!" slogan was one of appeasement and was "all too reminiscent of the slogan used by Neville Chamberlain after his agreement with Hitler. . . ."

Again like his American counterparts who pursued a hated colonial war, Begin has seen his public support erode sharply, particularly among the more politically active sectors of the Israeli population. Amnon Kapeliouk reported in the April 4 *Le Monde*:

According to a poll published in the March 28 issue of the independent daily *Haaretz*, 59% of those questioned are satisfied with the prime minister, as opposed to 68% in January and 79% in December. Generally in Israel prime ministers enjoy the support of far more than 50% of those questioned. According to the present poll, most of those who are dissatisfied have a university education, a higher than average income, and are of European or American origin.

Israeli Troops Dig In

Despite Begin's claim April 3 that Israel had already begun a "significant thinning-out" of its forces in Lebanon, and a subsequent announcement that a partial withdrawal would take place in two stages beginning April 11 and April 14, there is every indication that he intends to keep the occupation forces in Lebanon for a long time to come. *Le Monde* reported April 5:

On the ground, despite claims to the contrary, most foreign correspondents speak of a strengthening of the overall military apparatus in place. For example, the AFP correspondent says that southern Lebanon is gradually being transformed into an armed camp in which the "blue helmets" [United Nations forces], Israelis, and

Cluster Bombs—The Target Is Unprotected Civilians

The effect of cluster bombs on unprotected civilians in Vietnam was described by Donald Duncan in the May 1967 issue of the American monthly *Ramparts*. The following are major excerpts from that report.

* * *

The Lazy Dog prototype was first used in Vietnam in 1954, dropped from French Navy *Privateer* planes—gifts to the French from the United States. Bernard Fall commented that the French "had been equipped with new American 'Lazy Dog' anti-personnel bombs, whose thousands of razor-sharp splinters have a deadly effect on unprotected humans. . . . They are still used in Vietnam in 1965-66."

The pineapple and guava, so dubbed by the Vietnamese, appear to be refinements of the LD. The pineapples are carried in tubes under jet aircraft, with 25 bombs to the tube. Depending on the aircraft, each plane can carry up to 20 tubes. When released, the pineapples sprout winglets which either stabilize their descent or increase the dispersion pattern. The pineapple explodes on contact and spews 240 steel balls ten meters in all directions. The steel balls are 6.3 millimeters (approximately 1/4 inch) in diameter and hit with a velocity comparable to shotgun pellets fired at a distance of three to four yards. The discharge from one aircraft creates an elliptical killing zone five football fields

long by two and one half football fields wide.

The steel balls have no effect on military structures. They cannot pierce cement and can penetrate earthen or sandbag military revetments only to a depth of two or three inches. The one thing they can penetrate effectively is human flesh. Because of their shape and/or velocity, once they tear into the body they move in a complex path, doing great damage and complicating removal. There are cases where people have been hit by as many as 30 pellets.

Evidently developed in 1962, the first reports of usage of these bombs date back to January 1965. The justification for their use was to knock out anti-aircraft positions. Such installations are usually protected by sandbags, and the pellets have as little effect on them as they do on the weapons. The military crews weren't hurt—only unprotected civilians were damaged. Since the bombs have no ground penetration, and because they explode on contact, people soon learned that there was relative safety in the nearest open ditch. A variation was then adapted involving mixed bomb loads—HE or napalm was used to flush people into the open and then the pineapples were dropped. . . .

The guava, although smaller than the pineapple, is far more effective. Each guava holds from 340-600 steel pellets, and because it is smaller, more can be carried by each plane. From the stand-

point of the pilots it is much safer to use, since it can be dropped from much higher altitudes. But that isn't the only refinement.

The guavas, or bomblets, are carried in a "mother" bomb. After release the "mother" breaks open at an altitude of approximately 3200 feet to spew forth her "fruit." . . . When the guavas are 30 feet from the ground they explode, hurling their steel "seed" not only outwards but also downwards.

Those bombs which do not explode in the air can still explode on contact, making them at least as effective as the pineapple. In addition to providing safety for the pilots, and having fewer duds, the guavas also have a longer killing zone—up to the length of ten football fields. The real advantage, however, is that because of the air bursts people in open ditches are no longer protected.

There is another advantage afforded over other types of bombs which is not to be overlooked; rest assured the military hasn't. Unless the pellets hit a vital area such as the brain or heart they do not necessarily kill their victims. One man can bury one or more dead, but it takes at least six or ten people to care for a wounded man, and this in turn ties up facilities and drains supplies. The cries of the wounded and the parade of mutilated survivors can have a debilitating psychological effect on the others.

Palestinians are consolidating their positions.

French paratroopers in the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) have begun to erect earthworks and dig trenches in the positions they occupy around the city of Tyre. The Israelis, a few hundred meters away, are doing the same and they scarcely give the impression of preparing to leave. . . .

According to the American UPI correspondent, the Israeli forces have installed networks of barbed wire around villages in the south of Lebanon so as to establish better control over them.

Wave of Strikes

Another indication of growing dissatisfaction with the Begin government is the recent sharp increase in labor actions protesting its austerity policy.

These include a ten-week strike by the entire merchant marine, one of the longest in Israel's history; rotating strikes by the staff of El Al, which have paralyzed the state-owned airline; a strike by journalists that shut down the country's twenty-two dailies; a strike by journalists and program editors that shut down the country's three radio stations and one television

station; and a one-day "warning" strike by 60,000 teachers April 5, which gave one million students a holiday.

Government employees have been among the most militant, *Le Monde* correspondent Kapeliouk reported April 4:

In industry an agreement was signed ten days ago between . . . Histadrut [the state-run "labor federation"] and the employers, granting wage increases on the order of 12.5% to 15%. However, wage demands by government employees are far higher than that. The increases being demanded—by the journalists, among others—are often in the range of 50% to 100%. The government estimates that the cost of meeting all these demands would be a budget deficit of five billion Israeli pounds [about US\$300 million] and an increase in inflation.

Cluster Bombs Dropped on Refugee Camp

In the United States, opposition to the invasion of Lebanon has begun to be reflected among elected officials—a telling sign of the depth of the sentiment.

This has taken the form of senators and congressmen urging the Carter administration to "clarify" whether Israel's re-

liance on American-supplied weapons in Lebanon constituted a "legitimate" use of this supposedly "self-defense" arsenal.

For Washington, the most embarrassing question to have been asked so far came from Representative Paul McCloskey of California, who in the early 1970s sought to make a name for himself as an opponent of the Vietnam War.

Referring to news reports* that Israeli jets had bombed the Rashidiyeh refugee camp with cluster bombs—a devastating antipersonnel weapon developed by the Pentagon for use in Vietnam (see box)—McCloskey asked the Carter administration for confirmation or denial.

He was told that the reports were true but gave little cause for concern. Israel, when informed of his question, had acknowledged that the cluster bombs should not have been used in Lebanon and "apologized." □

*See, for example, the report by Jonathan C. Randal in the March 20 *Washington Post* (quoted in *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, April 3, 1978, p. 388).

Amnesty Campaign for 10,000 Brazilian Exiles

By Fred Murphy

Ten thousand citizens of Brazil live in forced exile outside the country. Five thousand are political refugees—persons “banished” by the military dictatorship or persons who fled the regime’s brutal repression. Another 5,000 are the spouses, relatives, and dependents of the political exiles.

The Brazilian government often refuses to renew the passports of these exiled individuals, thus making it difficult for them to find work and secure proper identification. Brazilian consulates and embassies abroad have refused to provide birth registration for children born to exiles, despite constitutional provision of citizenship to all persons born of Brazilian parents. Some exiles have had to send their children back to Brazil in order to obtain birth certificates.

In addition to the exiles, there are almost 5,000 more persons (4,893, according to lists compiled by Brazilian newspapers) who have been stripped of all political rights under the military’s “Institutional Acts”—arbitrary decrees that often violate the country’s constitution and that have formed the “legal” basis for the totalitarian state constructed by the armed forces after they seized power in 1964.

In recent months a campaign has developed in Brazil demanding amnesty for all these victims of military repression.

A large meeting held in São Paulo February 14 publicly launched the Comitê Brasileira pela Anistia (CBA—Brazilian Committee for Amnesty).

“We will struggle for all the victims of the laws of exception,” said Iramaya Benjamin, executive secretary of the new organization, “because today the entire Brazilian nation demands a broad, general, and unrestricted amnesty.”

Benjamin is the mother of Cesar Queirós Benjamin, who was arrested for “subversive activities” in 1971 at the age of seventeen, held prisoner for five years, and then deported to Europe in 1976 on a passport valid for only five days.

Iramaya Benjamin outlined some of the goals of the CBA in her speech to the February 14 meeting. As reported in the February 15 issue of *Jornal do Brasil*, a Rio de Janeiro daily that has carried extensive coverage of the amnesty campaign, these include:

“... a precise accounting of the number of political prisoners in the country, as well as of the banished, exiled, and disap-

peared; those stripped of their political rights; those dismissed from work for political reasons; and students punished under Decree 477.”



El Sol de Mexico

GEISEL

Decree 477 was promulgated in 1970. It gives college administrations police powers and the ability to ban a professor for five years and a student for three years for “subversive” activities on or off the campus.

The CBA, *Jornal do Brasil* continued, “will also try to help political prisoners and exiles and will develop a system for legal assistance. It will act independently, but in conjunction with other groups that are fighting for amnesty and human rights.”

Among those attending the CBA’s founding meeting were students, relatives of exiles and political prisoners, attorneys, professors, journalists, and several deputies and ex-deputies from Brazil’s powerless Congress.

One indication of the degree to which even some former supporters of the military regime have come to oppose it was the fact that Gen. Pery Constant Bevilacqua was the featured speaker at the February 14 meeting. Bevilacqua served as minister of the Supreme Military Tribunal in the early years of the dictatorship, but

was forced into retirement in 1969 under the hard-line regime of Gen. Arthur Costa e Silva.

In his speech, Bevilacqua said he considered amnesty the number-one political problem facing Brazil. He cited a number of examples, from the history of Brazil and other countries, of governments canceling sanctions against their opponents.

Other groups have also been campaigning for amnesty in Brazil. These include the Peace and Justice Commission, a body set up by the São Paulo diocese of the Catholic Church; the Order of Brazilian Attorneys; and the Women’s Amnesty Movement.

As a result of the prominent press coverage given to the amnesty campaign, and particularly the Peace and Justice Commission’s widely publicized charge that 10,000 Brazilians are in forced exile, Gen. Ernesto Geisel’s government was forced to issue a public statement February 17. It read, in part:

“Regarding the recently publicized statement that 10,000 Brazilians are resident in improper conditions abroad and are prevented from returning to the country, the Government considers it necessary to clarify that:

“It is absolutely false that 10,000 Brazilians are exiled.

“The truth is that only 128 Brazilians are prevented from returning to the national territory, as a result of being banished. These persons left the country after acts of political terrorism, in exchange for the liberty of Ambassadors from friendly countries.”

The 128 persons referred to were political prisoners released to meet demands of guerrilla groups that carried out a series of kidnappings of the American, West German, Japanese, and Swiss ambassadors in 1969 and 1970. A total of 130 prisoners (including two citizens of other countries) were released, deported, and declared “banished” from the country. The best known among these is the journalist Flavio Tavares, who was jailed in Uruguay last year and released in January.

The government’s February 17 statement continued:

“All the other Brazilians living abroad for allegedly political reasons—whether their political rights have been suspended or not—find themselves in that situation voluntarily. . . . In reality there are no ‘exiled Brazilians,’ but rather Brazilians who expatriated themselves. . . . Many of these persons left the country to avoid

proceedings instituted against them, or to escape prison sentences, or to get out of completing sentences imposed on them by competent tribunals. Any of these persons can return to the country whenever they want and, if such is the case, defend themselves before the law here."

In other words, anyone ready to be thrown into the dictatorship's jails—where torture of political prisoners is standard practice—is welcome to return to Brazil.

So as to leave no doubt about the mean-

ing of the statement, presidential spokesman Col. Toledo Camargo followed it up by declaring that there was "no proposal for amnesty now under study at the governmental level."

Geisel's hand-picked successor, intelligence chief Gen. João Baptista de Figueiredo, told *Jornal do Brasil* February 23 that he would not grant general amnesty when he takes over in 1979. He charged that the amnesty campaign was being carried out by "a certain group of people

[who] don't want political liberalization." (The best Figueiredo could do was to promise to consider repeal of some of the "Institutional Acts"—as long as there was "another group of mechanisms that offers the necessary guarantees.")

Thus the military regime has made no concessions so far to the growing sentiment for amnesty. But the very fact that it has been forced for the first time to state clearly its policy toward the exiles could itself be a spur to the amnesty campaign.

Two Ukrainian Dissidents Given 12-Year Sentences

Moscow Steps Up Attack on Helsinki Groups

By Marilyn Vogt

Two more members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group* have been sentenced. On March 29, Mykola Matushevych and Myroslav Marynovych both received twelve-year terms—seven years in a strict-regime labor camp followed by five years' internal exile. The decisions were handed down after a closed trial in Val-sikov in the Ukrainian SSR.

Marynovych, an electrical engineer born in Kiev in 1949, and Matushevych, a historian born in Kiev in 1946, were founding members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, which was formed November 9, 1976. They were arrested April 23, 1977, soon after the Kremlin rulers began their crackdown on Helsinki Monitoring Groups in February 1977.

Two other founding members of the Ukrainian group, Mykola Rudenko and Oleksiy Tykhy, were arrested February 5, 1977. They were sentenced July 1, 1977, also to long terms.

Rudenko, a fifty-eight-year-old former Communist Party member and a prolific writer, received a twelve-year term—seven years in a labor camp and five years' internal exile. Tykhy, fifty-seven years old, received a fifteen-year term—ten years in a labor camp and five years' internal exile.

All four were convicted on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. Their activity had been to defend imprisoned democratic-rights activists and to defend the Ukrainian language and culture against Russification.

*These committees were started in Moscow in May 1976, with similar groups soon forming in the Lithuanian, Georgian, Ukrainian, and Armenian republics. Their aim is to "foster compliance with the humanitarian provisions" of the Helsinki accords, and their main activity has been to gather information from Soviet citizens about the Kremlin's violations of the provisions.

Two other members of the Ukrainian group, Petro Vins and Lev Lukyanenko, have also been arrested but have not as yet been brought to trial. Vins, a newer member of the Ukrainian group and son of an imprisoned Baptist leader, was arrested in mid-March 1978. Lukyanenko, a founding member of the group, was arrested in December 1977.

Two years before this new arrest, Lukyanenko had been released after serving a fifteen-year term for "treason," handed down in 1961. At that time he had been working on a draft program for a Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union that would work for a referendum for an independent Soviet Ukraine. He and six others were arrested before the union was ever formed.

The harsh terms these dissidents have received is a continuation of the Kremlin rulers' savage treatment of Ukrainians who oppose the Stalinist policy of Russification of the Ukrainian SSR. Stalin's heirs call this opposition to Russification "bourgeois nationalism" and "anti-Soviet activity."

In Memorandum No. 1 of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, the nine founding members summarized why these charges are false.

Defense of the Ukrainian language and culture from Russification is not bourgeois nationalism, they explain. The Ukraine is nationally oppressed by Russians and "it is known that V.I. Lenin insisted on differentiating between the nationalism of the oppressed nations and the nationalism of the oppressor nations," they state.

Even the demand for an independent Soviet Ukraine, grounds for treason charges according to the Kremlin, is totally in keeping with the right of a republic to secede from the USSR as granted by the Soviet Constitution.

This is not "anti-Soviet activity," they point out, and add:

"... the separation of a republic from the Soviet Union does not necessarily have to weaken Soviet rule. On the contrary, this rule could find greater support among the populace—the republic remains soviet . . . but is completely independent. In this case, there is absolutely no agitation against Soviet rule. . . . We could cite dozens of quotes from Lenin, which show that it is precisely in this *voluntariness* that one should interpret the spiritual and political nature of the Soviet Union."

Yet, they show, millions of Ukrainians have perished "from the first years of Stalinist dictatorship" for defending the Ukraine against Russification, and thousands are now imprisoned for championing this fight.

Thousands of these Ukrainians have been and continue to be confined in the Mordovian prison camp, many of whom, sentenced to long terms, never return to their homeland.

"One thing is known," the memorandum says, "in the past half century, more Ukrainians have died in Mordovia than Mordovians were born." □

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Refuse to Support Boycott of World Cup Football Match

Argentine Stalinists See Hope in 'Videlism'

By Livio Maitan

[The following article appeared in the March 31 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

Neither the French Communist Party nor other CPs are joining the campaign for a boycott of the World Cup football matches.* In this they are following the example set by the Argentine Communist Party (PCA), which is absolutely hostile to the effort.

This hostility does not reflect a mere tactical consideration of the moment. Instead, it flows from the whole orientation of the Argentine Stalinists. Unbelievable though it may seem, they offer critical support to General Videla. This is unmistakably confirmed in some of their recent statements, which have been picked up in the international press and particularly in the Italian press.

In an interview published in *Corriere della Sera* March 14, PCA Political Bureau member Fernando Nadra explains, among other things, that after the overthrow of Isabel Perón his party drew the conclusion that it was necessary to support the most democratic tendency in the new government, in order to oppose the reactionary, fascist sector. "Videla's first statement advanced concrete proposals for reestablishing democracy in Argentina," he said. "The PCA accepted this declaration, demanding that the promises be fulfilled."

An error or analysis? An error of prognosis? No: The PCA later reaffirmed its line and even went so far as to claim—denying all evidence—that "in 1977 the democratic position was reinforced inside the military government, however slowly, while the reactionary position was weakened." What a pity that the superexploited Argentine masses, oppressed by ferocious repression, and the thousands and tens of thousands of the dictatorship's victims have failed to notice this!

Several days after the *Corriere della Sera* interview, this knight of new hopes Fernando Nadra gave another interview,

this one to his Italian comrades of *l'Unità*.

"We start from the idea," he said, "that a struggle is taking place between the elements of the democratic tendency inside and outside the government, and the reactionary and fascist forces inside and outside the junta. Consequently, all our activity is aimed at keeping the latter from gaining the advantage over the moderate forces that could take a step forward. . . ."

"It could be said that the moderate forces made an advance in this struggle in 1977 by consolidating 'Videlism,' the sec-

tor most disposed to reopening a dialogue with the political forces. It holds a perspective of quite a broad convergence and a civilian-military form of government. . . ."

On March 27, Videla's spokesman got right to the point and said that "the period of military rule will not be short, because it is not limited to the restoration of order. . . ."

We are waiting for the PCA's comments. Will it continue to explain its conceptions of a "lesser evil," "policy of alliances," and "openings" to a military team that has imposed and continues to maintain a bloody dictatorship?

We don't know what records will be broken in Argentina at the World Cup matches. But meantime, the PCA has already broken, singlehandedly, all the records for opportunism, treachery, and political blindness! □

Thousands March Throughout Brittany

Protests Continue Against 'Black Tide'

The "black tide" continued to wash onto Brittany's beaches more than three weeks after the supertanker *Amoco Cadiz* went aground on rocks off Portsall, France, March 16. The ship's 68 million gallons of crude oil have brought economic and environmental disaster to the northern coast of Brittany—an area almost entirely dependent on the fishing and tourist industries.

The failure of the French government to prevent the world's largest oil spill—despite promises of effective measures repeated after smaller but still serious spills during the past twelve years—has produced a series of angry demonstrations throughout Brittany.

The largest action was held March 27. Twenty thousand persons marched through the streets of Brest, the main city of the region, in the biggest protest in Brittany since May 1968.

The demonstration was called by the Communist and Socialist parties, the union federations CGT and CFTD, and eight other organizations, including the Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Communist League.

The main demands were for preventive measures to avoid another catastrophe, full compensation for all persons thrown out of work as a result of the oil spill, and the rejection of any special "black tide" taxes the French government might impose to avoid holding the oil companies fully responsible.

More demonstrations were held in Brittany during the following days, largely at

the initiative of far-left and ecology groups.

On March 29, 4,000 persons demonstrated in Nantes, and 1,000 high-school students marched in Saint-Brieuc. In Paimpol, 700 protested.

Four thousand demonstrated in Rennes on March 30, and the same day 2,500 high-school students in Quimper held a silent march. In addition to a number of far-left and ecology groups, the CP's student organization and the National Union of French Students supported the march in Rennes.

Also on March 30, 4,000 youth gathered at the marine prefecture building in Brest for a march to the National Employment Agency. A speaker explained the destination: "Instead of having volunteers clean up the beaches, they should hire the unemployed at 2,400 francs a month. . . ." Youth unemployment is high in Brittany—of 52,750 persons reported seeking work in February, more than 40 percent were under twenty-five years of age.

Another large action took place in Brest April 1: 10,000 marched in a demonstration called by the Committees Against the Black Tide and supported by trade unions and political parties. Among the demonstrators were several leading figures from the Socialist Party. Although it had lent its name to the March 27 action in Brest, the SP had failed to participate in that protest.

Thousands also demonstrated in four other Brittany cities on April 1: Morlaix, Saint-Brieuc, Saint-Malo, and Lorient. □

* European human-rights activists are organizing a boycott of the June 1978 World Cup football (soccer) matches, scheduled to take place in Buenos Aires, as a means of protesting repression in Argentina. For more information, contact the Comité pour le Boycott de l'Organisation par l'Argentine de la Coupe du Monde de Football, 14 rue de Nanteuil, 75015, Paris.—IP/I

Selections From the Left

**lutte
ouvrière**

"Workers Struggle," Paris weekly supported by a grouping of militants who view themselves as Trotskyists in orientation.

The division between the CP and SP is a "false explanation of the defeat" of the left in the French elections, Jacques Morand writes in the March 25 issue.

"In fact, what was needed for the left to win was to convince a small percentage of voters who continued to vote for the right on the first round, or, in any event, on the second. . . .

"How is it possible to state that those people would have voted for the left if the left parties had not fallen out? Even if Mitterrand and Marchais had looked like the picture of unity, the scarecrow of the Common Program disrupting the economy—or, more likely, of Communists in the cabinet—would still have been brandished, and would have been just as convincing, if not more.

"The fact is that inasmuch as there was no radicalization in the country—that is, to the extent that a large portion of those voting for the right, disgusted and desperate, were not prepared this time to vote for the left—there might perhaps have been only one way for the left to win. . . . That was to appear even more to the right, to sugar-coat the promised changes even more, to show that the Communist Party would have no weight in the future government of the Left.

"We will certainly not be the ones to criticize the Communist Party for having quarreled with the Socialist Party so that this does not happen again."

Morand adds that "all those who are now moaning over the division and the 'shattered dynamic of unity'" are in fact "covering up this fundamental fact: the elections are a rigged game. Even though a majority of workers regularly vote for the left, it is well-nigh impossible for the left to win a majority, except very infrequently, in unusual periods."

An editorial in the same issue by Arlette Laguiller closes by stating: "Giscard talks of an opening, but what we must do is drive a wedge into their unjust system.

"The workers have the strength for this on their own ground—not in elections, but in struggle."

**INFORMATIONS
OUVRIÈRES**

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

An article in the March 22-29 issue offers

the following assessment of the outcome of the French elections:

"And so, on this March 20, the results are in.

"The Stalinist leaders of the Communist Party must think they have done a good job.

"To prevent the working class from pooling its strength in a victorious way to sweep out the Giscard-Barre government and its false 'majority,' they used any and all means.

"Any and all means!

"To prevent an SP-CP majority, they reached into the entire arsenal of division: a fierce refusal for weeks of a mutual pledge to stand down unconditionally, a furious polemic against the SP, support to Gaullist candidates in the name of 'the union of the French people.' . . .

"Now the Stalinist leaders of the CP, who wanted this outcome, are saying, 'next time.'

"They left no stone unturned. But they could not prevent an intense class polarization from being expressed on March 12 and 19. A polarization of class against class, not along the lines of division of the Union of the Left: the bourgeois candidates 'of the left,' Gaullists and Radicals, were flattened, while the workers concentrated their votes among the workers parties, the CP and SP. . . .

"A chorus of commentators have made much of the fact that, according to certain figures, the transfer of votes on the second round was not done consistently.

"Actually, in most instances, it would appear that transfers of votes between CP and SP candidates in 1978 were substantially the same as in previous legislative elections.

"On the other hand, what's clear is that large blocs of undecided voters, who had abstained on the first round, did vote on the second round (800,000 additional voters), but did not give their votes to workers candidates. That is probably the most notable result of the CP leaders' frenzied campaign of division."

**tribune
socialiste**

"Socialist Tribune," weekly magazine of the United Socialist Party. Published in Paris.

An article by François Turquan in the March 23 issue assessing the outcome of the French elections concludes that the right-wing coalition "was able to pass off its internal divisions as minor compared to the dismemberment of the left."

Both sides are to blame, he says: "The CP's attitude roused the old demons of

anticommunism" by virtue of the "Stalinist character of the polemical methods used against the Socialists, whence the low number of votes transferred to the SP on the second round."

But "the point is not to whitewash the SP, while heaping blame on the CP, as the Socialist right will not fail to do" in drawing the lessons of "six years of applying a strategy for unity, which for it was nothing more than a means for coming to power."

In Turquan's view, "the problem is not a moral one, but a political one. . . . The SP is a Social Democratic party. It has a reformist strategy and a long tradition of compromise with the bourgeoisie. . . . But it reflects a current within the working class that rejects the prospect of a decisive confrontation with the bourgeoisie. . . . So the problem today is still how to change the orientation of this section of the working class, particularly through relations with the organizations that reflect it. The CP's method was not the right one."

An editorial by Michel Mousel, after outlining the views of the Self-Management Front and the PSU, concludes on this optimistic note: "We said that self-management would not simply emerge from the voting booths. Let's not shed tears over the outcome along with those who also perhaps mourn the loss of seats and portfolios. We have other things to do. New struggles await us. That is where we belong. It is there that we have the best opportunity to elbow aside the policy of failure."

L'étincelle

"The Spark," magazine of the Communist Workers Organization. Published weekly in Paris.

Commenting on the French elections, an article in the March 23 issue points to the "bitterness and rage of the workers, cheated out of what could have been a modest victory—getting rid of this bunch, this right wing that wallows in continuity," so as to bring about "better conditions of struggle so that things really change."

The victory of the right stems solely from the "impotence, the treachery of the reformists, their evasions and divisions, both real and artificial, but which often amount to mere squabbles over influence. Now that the time has come for an evaluation, the workers should make one of the CP's and SP's electoralism. After having chosen to capitulate in struggles, paving the way for the demoralization of those

who had placed all their hopes in the left, they chose the path of political capitulation. For the essence of their policy runs counter to workers unity. The only way that such unity can be forged is to win the majority of workers to the class struggle by means of the class struggle. . . .

"The workers cannot trust the CP and SP, be they united or divided, to bring about their class unity, and, under their leadership, people's unity. Overcoming political divisions among the workers must be the business of the workers themselves and of revolutionists. Sooner or later, they will be able to impose this on the reformists."

commune

A weekly paper reflecting the views of the Communist Committees for Self-Management. Published in Paris.

In the March 23 issue Maurice Najman lists the following as the causes of the defeat of the left in the French elections:

"Division and demoralization on the part of the workers, loss of confidence in the ability of the workers parties to win, thus a weakened capacity to draw in the less politicized sectors of the class, still less those who could only be attracted by the audacity and irresistible force of anticapitalist workers unity. That is the main point. All the rest—the maneuvers of the right, its ability to exploit this or that opening, conniving by the media, and so on—is secondary.

"Today it should be clear to everyone that those to blame for the victory of the right are the leaderships of the workers parties, especially the CP. The lessons of their policy, of their strategy, are beginning to be drawn. A task of first priority should be to publicize the initial conclusions. What is at issue is not the policy of unity between the CP and SP, but its conciliatorist character, its electoralist methods, its fear of being 'outflanked,' its rejection of rank-and-file unity, its constant compromises with the bourgeoisie, their parties and institutions."

Najman concludes:

"In this new context—that is, with greater difficulty, but with the experience and lessons of these elections behind us—we must build workers unity from the bottom up and reactivate the desire for self-management in practical terms—and that is something no one else can do for us."

Socialist Action

Published twice monthly in Wellington, New Zealand.

International Women's Day activities in New Zealand centered around the issue of abortion, according to the March 24 issue.

Wellington women organized "the biggest demonstration for abortion rights the city has yet seen." The protest consisted of a "spirited march, swelling to almost 1,000 people. . . ."

"The bulk of the demonstrators were women, noticeably housewives, office workers and student women. The number of Pacific Island and Maori women was also up. . . ."

In Christchurch, 300 marched and 500 rallied for women's rights. "The main focus of the march was opposition to the new anti-abortion laws, but the protest also spoke out against discrimination against women in areas such as employment and education."

An all-day program of events was presented by University Feminists in Auckland.

The fight to defend abortion rights in New Zealand continued after International Women's Day. The March 24 issue also includes a report on the Women's Abortion Rights Conference held in Auckland March 18-19. More than 180 women attended and adopted a proposal for a national mobilization September 15 to protest restrictive new antiabortion legislation that goes into effect in New Zealand this year.

An Phoblacht

"The Republic," weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the Provisional republican movement. Published in Dublin.

The March 15 issue reports:

"Thomas Trainor (20), Ballyoran Park, and Denis Kelly (31), Churchill Park, both of Portadown, were shot dead as they walked home on March 8, by a Crown assassination squad. Trainor was the third member of his family to have been murdered by agents of the Crown.

"In April, 1975, his mother, Dorothy, a Protestant, was killed and his father, Malachy, a Catholic, injured, in a local public park in another gun attack, during the truce [between the Provisionals and the British forces].

"Shortly afterwards his brother, Ronald, died following a bomb attack on their home.

"The March 8 killing was a typical example of the Crown's vendetta against one particular family, a tradition which goes back in Ulster to the 16th century at least.

"The two men were walking along the Armagh Road railway bridge when the murderers, believed to have been UDR [Ulster Defense Regiment, a Protestant militia incorporated into the British army] men, sped past on a motorcycle, the pillion passenger opening up on them with a Sterling submachine gun.

"Go ndéana Dia trocaire ar a n-anamacha [May God have mercy on their souls]."

Incidents such as the March 8 shooting have been increasing over the last few months. A pattern has emerged that points to a British policy of assassination. London's clandestine "counterinsurgency" unit, the Special Air Services, is active in Northern Ireland and has recently been reinforced.

iskra der funke

"Spark," a bulletin in defense of the rights of national minorities. Published five times a year by the Salzburg Solidarity Committee, Salzburg, Austria.

The editorial in the first issue explains the aims of the new publication:

"We are publishing *Iskra/Der Funke* primarily because of the need to provide more regular and extensive news about the struggles of the national minorities in Austria than it has been possible to do in the occasional leaflets and pamphlets published heretofore.

"Most of all, the fact that in the last five years the government has adopted a more repressive policy toward the Slovenes [the largest and most militant national minority in Austria] . . . as well as the fact that the Carinthian Fatherland Service and 'patriotic organizations' have been conducting a big campaign against the Slovenes, reinforced our conviction that a counterweight was necessary.

"Before and after the campaign for boycotting the language referendum in 1976 [which was designed to show that there were not enough Slovene speakers to warrant bilingualism in the historically Slovene areas] . . . in the actions against the National Group Law in the summer of 1977 and in the actions against the attempts to prosecute Slovene activists, many democratic-minded and progressive persons have joined the movement for minority rights.

"Many who are not yet in the existing solidarity committees follow the work of the various committees, citizens initiative groups, and the organizations of the minorities with sympathy and interest. We will try to serve their needs by ongoing reports from the other provinces, information about demonstrations, and by offering selections from the press of the Carinthian Slovenes."

Socialist Challenge

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

The March 30 issue reprints a statement by the director of the Institute of Race Relations, A. Sivanandan, in reaction to parliamentary proposals for tightening immigration policy.

The proposed restrictions are contained in a report of the House of Commons Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, released March 21. They include introducing a quota for Indian immigration; restricting the right of children and fiancées of "settled" immigrants to enter; and instituting tough internal controls, perhaps involving an identity card system for immigrants.

According to the Institute of Race Relations: "The report [of the Select Committee] signals not a departure from Government policy but a logical extension of it. Immigration laws since the '60s have in part been about keeping out black labour that Britain no longer required, but they have also been about transferring black immigration from 'settler migration' to 'contract labour'—the importation of so many units of labour as and when necessary—a system which incurs less cost to the State. . . ."

"The Select Committee Report, in a multitude of ways, opens the door to massive State attacks on black people—attacks which will affect, not merely their civil rights, their economic livelihood, and their security, but also their right to family life in the UK. . . ."

"Perhaps the most damaging aspect of the report is the new emphasis on the harassment and surveillance of the black community. From the village in the Indian sub-continent to the British social security office, blacks will be checked, stopped and scrutinised."

IRR director Sivanandan concludes that the Select Committee has proposed "creating an intolerable Pass Law society for black people in Britain."

COMBATE

"Combat," organ of the United Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist League and the Communist League, Fourth International. Published weekly in Madrid.

The March 16 issue comments on the recent sentencing of four members of the Els Joglars theatrical group in Barcelona to two years in prison for "insulting the army!"

"The necessary response to this attack on freedom of expression is to demand the release of those sentenced and also to . . . demand the abolition of the Francoist legislation that permits trial by military tribunals. It is also necessary to fight against the government's deliberate policy of limiting freedom of speech.

"After long years of struggle in which

we won amnesty for political prisoners, although it is not yet complete, and the right of exiles to return, although not for all, four more persons are going to jail for a crime of opinion. And to the list of exiles have been added Albert Boadella [producer of the group, who escaped from prison by walking across a narrow ledge sixty feet above the street] and Ferrán Rañé.

"These facts show the limits of the UCD's [the ruling party of Premier Adolfo Suárez] kind of democracy. The length of these sentences . . . representing the sum of three eight-month sentences for the same crime, makes this attack all the more outrageous.

"The fact that the Francoist laws are being maintained is shown by the fact that this case was tried before a military tribunal, which handed down the sentence. . . ."

"In the Moncloa Pact [a social-contract-type agreement between the Communist and Socialist parties and the government], the government promised to modify the Code of Military Justice and establish one single court system. Four and a half months after the signing of this pact, the government keeps putting this off. This confirms what we said at the time about the famous quid pro quo concessions the government was supposed to have given [in return for the SP and CP agreeing to accept an austerity policy]. Recall how quickly, in contrast, the economic provisions of this pact, such as the wage freeze, were applied. . . ."

"The demobilization that followed the signing of the Moncloa Pact has given Suárez's party a free hand to apply its notion of democracy, to build up a preventative arsenal—laws, police, tribunals—that can guarantee the "stability" of the institutions of the state.

"This is not the first time the workers movement in this country has faced such an attack. And in this case, as in others, our main weapon is mobilizing in a united way. . . ."

Another article reported that a series of demonstrations protesting the Els Joglars verdict had already taken place. Some 5,000 students demonstrated on March 7 in downtown Barcelona. On March 9, about 25,000 persons attended a rally at the Central University in the same city, an action which *Combate* described as "the most massive student demonstration since 1975."

The Catalan members of parliament issued a call for a week of protests in support of freedom of expression, and the unions came out in support of it. The plant committee in the giant SEAT automobile complex issued a communiqué protesting the verdict, and had it read in all the shops.

On March 12, about 10,000 persons attended a rally in Madrid in support of freedom of expression, where a Trotskyist leader spoke, along with representatives of other organizations.

DIRECT ACTION

Socialist weekly published in Sydney, Australia. Presents the views of the Socialist Workers Party (Australian section of the Fourth International).

The issue dated March 16 reports on International Women's Day demonstrations in five Australian cities.

Direct Action says of the largest demonstration, a march of 2,000 women in Sydney: "This year's march was bigger than last year's. It was also more focussed on political demands in response to the increasing attacks on women's jobs, reduced funding for women's services, threats to abortion, etc."

Close to 1,000 persons marched and rallied in Adelaide. "The march set off under a banner proclaiming the major demands of this year's IWD in Adelaide: 'Women's right to work,' and 'Abortion stays on Medibank.' . . . People enthusiastically sang feminist songs and chanted slogans like 'Women demand the right to work,' 'Stop Fraser's war on women,' 'Free, safe contraception and abortion on demand,' and 'Not the church, not the state, women will control their fate.'"

Women in Hobart "celebrated IWD with street theatre, singing and leafletting in the city centre at lunchtime on March 8" and with other activities on March 9 and March 11.

In Brisbane, Queensland [where all street demonstrations have been declared "illegal"] 350 persons attended a rally March 11 to hear speakers address various aspects of women's oppression. The march following the rally was marred by a split, in which 200 demonstrators decided to march along the sidewalk as planned, and the rest undertook to march in the street. Fifty demonstrators were arrested by police.

Noting that the same thing had happened at an antiuranium rally, *Direct Action* comments: "Demonstrations in Brisbane are increasingly limited to those who are willing or able to risk arrest. Women responsible for childcare cannot afford to be arrested and leave children unattended. Women are at risk in employment and most likely to lose their jobs if arrested. Women are more likely to be harassed in the city watch-house.

"Women must continue to agitate around their demands, adopting effective strategies. The tactics adopted on March 11 were not effective and took attention away from the needs of the women's movement."

More than 500 persons attended an International Women's Day rally in Melbourne. Their march through the city following the rally stopped at the Queensland Tourist Bureau to show solidarity with Queensland women.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



Huge Turnout in Basque Antinuclear Protest

Tens of thousands of persons chanting antinuclear slogans in Basque rallied March 12 to protest a nuclear power plant under construction at Lemóniz, Spain, twenty-five kilometers from Bilbao.

The rally was held near the villages of Plencia Gorilz and Mundia. Estimates of the size range from 50,000 to 150,000, making the protest one of the largest ever held against nuclear power.

(The biggest demonstration against a nuclear plant in history also occurred in the Basque country; 200,000 marched in Bilbao last July against the Lemóniz plant. See *Intercontinental Press*, August 1, 1977, page 886.)

The March 12 rally was preceded by a three-kilometer march. Among the chants were "Ez, ez, ez, zentral nuklearik ez" (No, no, no; no nuclear plant) and "Oa, oa, oa, centrales a Moncloa" (Nuclear plants to Moncloa, the government palace in Madrid).

While the rally was taking place in a field several kilometers from the nuclear construction site, fishermen from the

Basque ports of Ondarroa, Bermeo, and Leiquetio converged by boat on Lemóniz and joined in protesting the plant by the sea.

The action was organized by the Antinuclear Committees of Euskadi—a coalition involving twenty-nine organizations including political parties, trade unions, and youth groups. Representatives of committees from all four Basque provinces spoke at the rally, and greetings were brought from antinuclear groups in Madrid, Galicia, Catalonia, Estremadura, and West Germany.

One of the speakers, Juan María Bandres, was a member of the Cortés (parliament). He said he would propose to the Basque General Council (the region's governing body) that a halt in construction of the Lemóniz plant be ordered and a debate opened on nuclear power.

The 1800-megawatt, twin-reactor complex at Lemóniz is being built for the Iberduero company by the U.S. corporation Westinghouse. Target date for completion is 1979.

reasons refuse to sell the raw materials or to act as intermediary in fuel enrichment, reprocessing, or other phases, the 900 billion pesetas [US\$10.8 billion] invested in building the twenty-five plants projected for the Spanish state would be useless.

In the second place, what kind of logic identifies political autonomy with productive self-sufficiency in every field? Are we perhaps to stop drinking coffee or exporting Basque steel products in an autonomous—or even independent—Euskadi?

Capitalist Profits vs. Safety

Iberduero—and Oliar—are trying to blackmail us: "Either energy, with its 'inevitable' risks, or else slow impoverishment and in the long run general misery." We should note at the outset that we don't make a principle out of opposing the peaceful use of nuclear power *in general*. Rather, we are against the use that capitalism makes of it (as well as they way it is utilized in the workers states—lack of safety, no information, no democratic consultation of the population).

The case of the Spanish state in particular reveals the fatal effects of the concrete way nuclear power is being used. Ten companies organized in a consortium (UNESA) control 92 percent of total electric power production. Iberduero monopolizes the supply in fourteen provinces in the northern part of the peninsula, including the four provinces of southern Euskadi. Energy policy, investments, research, plant-site selection, and so on, are all determined by the interests of these private companies and not by the interests of the populace.

Nuclear power has three advantages for the capitalists:

1. Large amounts of capital are required, which are at the disposal of only the biggest monopoly groups. (Sixty-five billion pesetas [US\$780 million] is being invested in the Lemóniz plant alone.)

2. They can recover the increased costs by raising prices, because of their monopoly position.

3. Nuclear power assures their political dominance.

In addition, the ecological damage done by the nuclear industry can be converted

Basque Country Says No to Nuclear 'Blackmail'

[The following article appeared in the February 9-16 issue of the Spanish Trotskyist weekly *Combate*. The introduction is by *Combate*; the translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

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Antinuclear sentiment is growing in Euskadi. Antinuclear committees sprang up throughout the region after the Civil Guard murdered David Alvarez, who was trying to sabotage the Lemóniz nuclear plant. Radicalization is deepening—Iberduero's offices in Plencia were pelted with rocks during a demonstration. The company has been put on the defensive and has had to resort to pseudonationalist arguments to justify the plant. Our correspondent in Euskadi responds in class-struggle terms.

* * *

'Technical' Arguments or Capitalist Arguments?

Oliar, the industries minister, has declared that installation of nuclear plants is "necessary if we want to avoid economic stagnation."

Iberduero, the company building the Lemóniz plant, has also taken up this argument, giving it an autonomist twist: "In the context of Basque autonomy, failure to remedy the present situation would lead to the Basque country being dependent on other regions—the ones that export energy."

The Committee for a Nonnuclear Basque Coast has already thoroughly answered these arguments: In the first place, if any energy source leads to foreign dependence—concretely, dependence on uranium and technology from the United States—it is nuclear energy. Should the United States for economic or political

into a new source of profits—the pollution-control industry.

Sites for power plants are chosen on the basis of commercial criteria, not the interests of the population. Lemóniz is twenty-five kilometers from greater Bilbao (population one million) and in a zone officially designated as “rural and parkland.”

Given the present state of technology, for a plant to be profitable it has to be unsafe and polluting. In other words, to guarantee fully the impossibility of accidents and sabotage, to eliminate satisfactorily all risk of thermal pollution of the air and water, and to get rid of the solid radioactive wastes, such investments would be required that the power plants would no longer be profitable.

Corruption and Manipulation

Iberduero remained silent when 150,000 persons chanted “ez, ez, ez, zentral nuklearik ez.” But the company is now proposing a debate on nuclear policy—four years after construction work on the Lemóniz plant began. From its position as both judge and party to the dispute, Iberduero pontificates about the dangers of making Euskadi nuclear-free. But in order to impose its policy of accomplished facts it has even found it necessary, in complicity with the government, to violate the legality of the system itself. This provoked one of the most scandalous cases of administrative corruption yet brought to light. (Others, even more grave, have no doubt been covered up.)

The Vizcaya provincial government—two of whose members, García Tejedor and Marcelo Ruiz, are also, respectively, employee and member of the board of directors of Iberduero—changed the designation of the land where the plant was being built without any consultation with the local population. The change was made three years after construction work began.

Profits for Them, Pollution for Us

The various ecology and antinuclear groups have scientifically demonstrated the irreversible effects of radioactive pollution on the environment and on human beings: alteration of the wildlife population, a rise in cancer and leukemia cases, effects on pregnancies, and so on. The influence of radiation remains in an area for centuries. The lifespan of a power plant is twenty-five to thirty years; after that it must be hermetically sealed. It will then be necessary to maintain military vigilance for centuries to prevent sabotage. Even today police surveillance is exhaustive. The Civil Guard machine-gunned two engineers during an inspection last week, and Civil Guard jeeps patrol all day inside the installations.

Those charged with the task of “scientifically” justifying capitalist chaos try to convince us that “these minimal risks are fully compensated by the expected social

benefits.” (In December, the anticorruption commission of Spanish television denounced the existence of a company called AGUEROP that produces programs aimed at “creating a favorable image for the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.”)

They also try to convince us that the logic of private profit is the only one possible in our society. Certainly, energy is indispensable for socioeconomic development, and all possible energy sources must be considered. But we do not agree that the present capitalist system, which implies a specific form of energy use and a specific kind of development, has to be the only possible way to structure a society.

Even today it would be possible to conserve 40 percent of the energy used for heating, if buildings were properly insulated. Also, much of the energy produced from petroleum could be conserved if there was a rational means of mass transportation. With techniques already developed, industrial furnaces could consume half the coal they use up today.

Many products, such as automobiles, could last three times longer than they do at present. But the need to constantly increase demand leads to forcing the consumer, through advertising, to change prematurely. And if the appropriations were not handed over to private capitalists, it would be possible to devote a much greater portion of national income to research into nonpolluting energy sources (sun, wind, etc.). As the first step, all energy sources and related processing industries (refineries, etc.) would have to be nationalized.

The rapid and massive response by the sidents of the Deva valley and Guipúz-

coa as a whole forced the provincial government to reject the installation of a plant in that area. The same thing has occurred in Tudela. In the case of Lemóniz, two big demonstrations, the statements of residents associations and ecology groups, and other such protests have so far been insufficient to force Iberduero to halt construction. Relaunching of mobilizations is urgent. The municipal elections will present an especially good opportunity to alert broad layers of the population about this question. In face of popular pressure, the majority political forces have no alternative but to take part—even the Basque government is discussing the question these days

Mobilize Against the ‘Accomplished Facts’

In an assembly held in Plencia the day of David Alvarez’s funeral, representatives of the antinuclear committee of the area called for building similar committees in all the towns and neighborhoods of Euskadi. Today the antinuclear committees can be a lever for forcing Iberduero to halt work. This would be a first step until a debate could be held in which the parties, unions, neighborhood associations, and so on would take part. Then a final decision could be made about what to do—abandon the project completely, replace it with a conventional thermal plant, or some other alternative.

Enriched uranium for the Lemóniz plant is expected to arrive in March. Because it will soon be too late, and because “it is better to be active today than radioactive tomorrow,” a powerful response is urgent.

Ammonia Cloud Routs 1,000



Progressive

A seal on a pump at the Plant Life Services factory in Marion, Ohio, ruptured March 30, spreading a cloud of ammonia gas over the west side of the town. About 1,000 persons were evacuated from their homes. Four persons were injured.

Plant Life Services manufactures fertilizer.

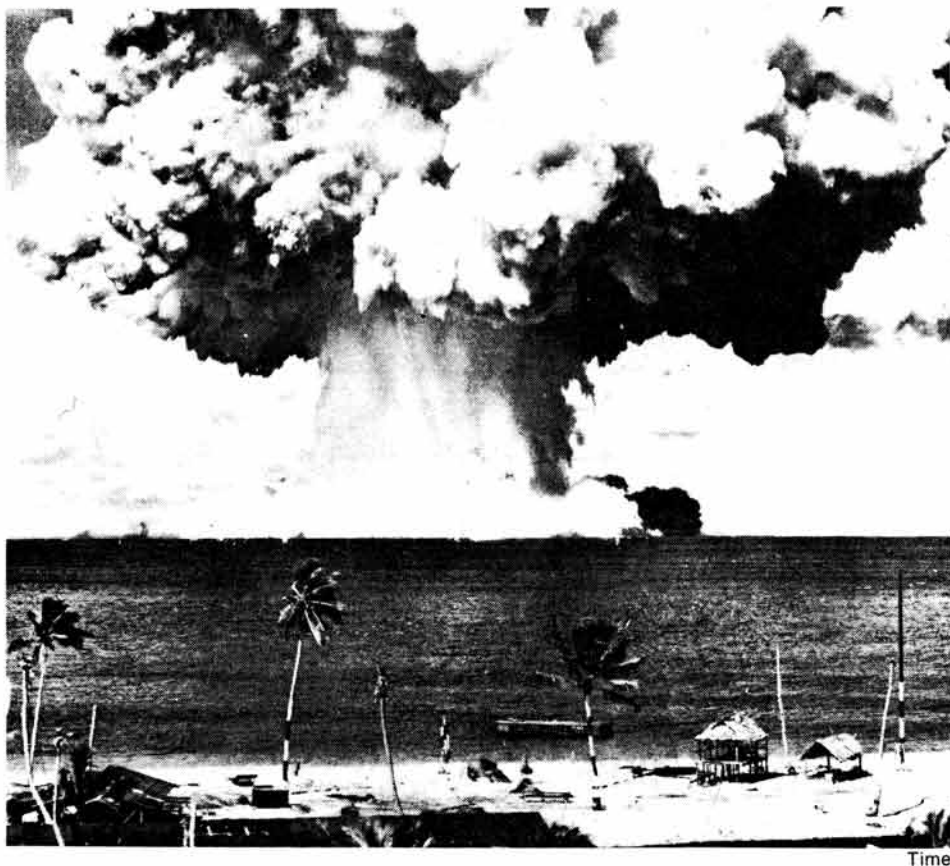
Explosive Derailment in Arkansas

Fifty cars of a 116-car Cotton Belt freight train left the rails in Lewisville, Arkansas, early on March 29. A tank car filled with highly toxic vinyl chloride exploded, two locomotives crashed into an oil storage plant causing another explosion and fire, and two other tank cars holding less hazardous chemicals also blew up.

The blasts rattled windows eight miles away. All 1,700 residents of Lewisville had to evacuate their homes. Three trainmen suffered minor injuries.

Bikini Island Still Radioactive After Thirty Years

By Matilde Zimmermann



Bikini Island, 1946: One of twenty-three U.S. atom-bomb tests.

In 1946, the South Pacific island of Bikini was forcibly evacuated by the American government and pounded with nuclear weapons. The Pentagon had decided that the homes, health, and livelihood of a few hundred Micronesians mattered little when measured against the need to test and perfect atomic bombs.

Bikinians are still suffering the cruel consequences.

Ten years ago the U.S. government gave the battered island a clean bill of health. An official of the Atomic Energy Commission said in 1969 that radioactivity in Bikini was "less than Denver, Colorado." Now the Interior Department admits that the water, soil, crops, and air—as well as the bodies of those who returned to Bikini—are contaminated with radioactive poisons.

Twenty-three nuclear bombs were exploded over the Bikini atoll, including, in 1954, the United States' largest nuclear

weapon, a 15-megaton hydrogen bomb nicknamed "Bravo."

Bikini is one of a chain of tiny islands encircling a lagoon. World War II warships sunk to the bottom of the lagoon by the nuclear blasts became the largest single source of plutonium pollution in the world. Several of the islands in the chain were destroyed.

Most of the evacuated Bikinians ended up on Kili, an isolated and crowded island 450 miles from their home, where they were barely able to eke out an existence.

Then, in 1968, President Johnson announced that radiation levels on Bikini had dropped below danger levels and that resettlement could begin. An Atomic Energy Commission survey the following year concluded that "there is virtually no radiation left, and we can find no discernible effect on either plant or animal life."

Resettlement began in 1972. Forty new houses were built along the lagoon shore,

50,000 new coconut palms were planted, and a number of families returned. But in 1975, islanders who wanted to build houses away from the lagoon shore were warned against it. A radiological survey had revealed that the interior of the island was still dangerously "hot" with radioactivity. (The entire island covers only two-thirds of a square mile.)

The same 1975 survey found that the breadfruit and pandanas grown on Bikini were too radioactive to eat. Coconuts, the third staple food, were pronounced safe, however.

According to John de Young, Interior Department senior staff assistant for Pacific affairs, the 1975 survey actually showed that Bikini Island would not be suitable for long-term habitation for thirty-five to fifty years.

In late 1975 Bikinians filed suit in Federal District Court in Honolulu to try to force the government to determine once and for all whether human beings could live in Bikini, take immediate steps to protect the health of the seventy-five persons who had returned, and resolve the resettlement issue for the 700 still in exile.

As a result of the lawsuit, the government agreed to make an aerial radiological survey that would be much more accurate than ground surveys in pinpointing radiation and determining its level of intensity. But the Defense Department balked at spending \$2 million for such a survey, and it has not yet been made.

A ground survey conducted in 1977 showed dangerous levels of strontium 90 in well water and revealed for the first time that the coconut crop was contaminated with radioactivity. Physical tests showed abnormal amounts of radioactive strontium, cesium, and plutonium in the bodies of persons living on Bikini. All three are known to cause cancer.

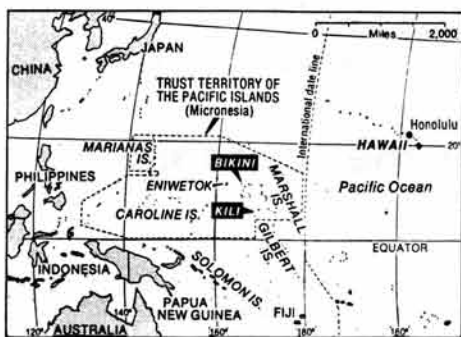
The Interior Department, which administers the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, insisted that none of the islanders had suffered any ill effects from the alarming rises in the level of the three radioactive substances. At the same time it very quietly asked Congress for \$15 million to move people off Bikini.

"It is now clear," said a department statement in March 1978, "that for the foreseeable future the island of Bikini in the atoll should not be used for agricultural purposes, particularly for local consumption, and should not be considered a residential area."

Meanwhile the government is continuing to repatriate residents of Eniwetok, another atoll in the Marshall Island group that was evacuated for the nuclear weapons tests. The *Washington Post* of March 23 explains that this involves "locating and removing plutonium pockets" and keeping returnees away from "the plutonium-contaminated areas." The *Post* points out that "plutonium dust, deposited in the soil, can easily be stirred into the air and then inhaled. . . ."

Only the islands in the immediate area of the tests were evacuated. The residents of Rongelap, for example, 110 miles east of Bikini, remained on their island. Their fate was different from that of the uprooted Bikinians, but no better.

The fallout on Rongelap from the March 1, 1954, Bravo blast was estimated at 175 rads. At that time, such a dosage was not



New York Times

thought to cause long-term damage. Twenty-four years later, thirty-three of the eighty-two inhabitants of the island at the time of the explosion have thyroid disorders, some of them cancerous.

Children suffered the most. Nineteen of the twenty-one residents who were under twelve when Bravo was exploded had developed thyroid tumors or problems by 1978. In addition, the youngest child on the island at the time of the blast had died of leukemia.

Abnormal rates of thyroid problems are also evident on Utirik, almost 300 miles east of the Bikini atoll. Scientists suspect that the lower incidence on Utirik, as compared to Rongelap, may mean only that the lower doses of radiation take longer to have their effect.

A report in the April 3 issue of *Time* magazine called the Interior Department's handling of the Bikini affair "an embarrassing blunder." It seems a rather mild way of describing a third of a century of mistreatment whose final toll in human suffering will not be known for decades. □

Condemn Apartheid Regime

5,000 in South Africa Mourn Robert Sobukwe

At least 5,000 Blacks turned out in Graaff-Reinet March 11 to pay their last respects to Robert Sobukwe, one of South Africa's best-known African nationalist leaders, who died of lung cancer February 26.

Sobukwe was the founder of the now-outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and an organizer of the mass antigovernment demonstrations in 1960, during which police gunned down sixty-seven persons at Sharpeville.

Arrested and imprisoned until 1969, Sobukwe was then exiled to Kimberley. There he was confined under a "banning" order that prohibited all political activity and made it illegal for him to be quoted within the country.

The funeral provided an opportunity for Black activists, both young and old, to mourn his death and to reaffirm their opposition to the white racist regime. About 300 youths led the funeral cortege down Graaff-Reinet's main street, shouting their hatred for the white oppressors and especially for Prime Minister John Vorster.

While a number of the participants were followers of Sobukwe from the 1950s and 1960s, there were also dozens of prominent adherents of the militant Black Consciousness movement, which drew some of its inspiration from Sobukwe's nationalist ideas. A key founder of the Black Consciousness movement, Steve Biko, was murdered in police custody last September

and a month later the most important organizations adhering to the movement were banned.

Although Sobukwe can still not be legally quoted in South Africa, even after his death, many of the speakers at the funeral cited his attacks against the system of white supremacy.

One of the most outspoken was Ishmael Mkabela, a former associate of Biko's who spoke as a representative of the Soweto Action Committee, a newly formed group that is attempting to organize resistance to the Vorster regime in Soweto, the large Black township outside Johannesburg. His remarks brought shouts of "Power!" and clenched fist salutes from the audience.

In the same spirit of militancy, the participants in the funeral had earlier denounced Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the titular head of the Kwazulu Bantustan (an African reserve), who is a prominent collaborator with the white regime. Claiming that he had been invited by the PAC office in London, Buthelezi attempted to attend the funeral as part of his efforts to build up an "anti-apartheid" image for himself. He was condemned as a "sellout" and greeted with such cries as, "You are Vorster's man!" and "Government stooge, get away from here!"

Three Black youths were reportedly wounded by one of Buthelezi's aides during a brief scuffle. Buthelezi subsequently left, along with Sonny Leon, a

leader of the Coloured Labour Party, who has also collaborated with the regime.

At the end of the funeral, Sobukwe, whose coffin was draped with the yellow, green, and black flag of the PAC, was buried in a segregated cemetery just outside the city. □

Kapuu Assassinated in Namibia

Chief Clemens Kapuu, a government-backed tribal figurehead, was shot to death March 27 in a Black township outside Windhoek, the capital of Namibia. According to the police, his two assailants managed to escape.

Besides claiming to "represent" the Herero people, Kapuu was a leader of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, a coalition of African tribal figures and white politicians that is negotiating with the South African colonialists for the installation of a formally "independent" administration in Namibia. One of the alliance's main purposes has been to try to bypass the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), the main Namibian nationalist group fighting for the country's independence from South African rule.

The day after Kapuu's assassination, Police Commissioner Brig. Victor Verster suggested that SWAPO may have been responsible for the killing. However, SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma, speaking in Lusaka, Zambia, denied that the group had been involved. □

Two Recent Issues of the 'Chronicle'

By Marilyn Vogt

This Russian-language underground journal from the Soviet Union is an invaluable source of information on the various opposition currents in the USSR. The *Chronicle*¹ has appeared roughly four times a year since April 1968. For a year and a half in 1973 and early 1974 circulation was suspended because of an intensified police crackdown on the dissenters. But in May 1974, all the back issues were released at once, and since then the *Chronicle* has appeared with regularity.

The 244 pages of news in these two issues of the *Chronicle* contain accounts of thousands of people in the Soviet Union who are protesting the antidemocratic policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy—censorship, religious persecution, restrictions resulting from the internal passport system, imprisonment for ideas, national oppression of non-Russians, and absence of trade-union rights.

Russification—the systematic imposition of Russian language and culture on the non-Russian peoples in the USSR who are over half the population—has given rise to increasing opposition. Ukrainians, who head this opposition, constitute the majority of the political prisoners in the USSR.

The Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, in a memorandum dated December 6, 1976, quotes one estimate that 60 to 70 percent of the political prisoners in the Mordovian forced labor camp, one of the main such camps, are Ukrainians.² Within the prisons and outside them, opposition to Russification produces numerous protests.

• Three Armenian political prisoners in the Mordovian camp issued a statement December 5, 1976, demanding the legalization of the National Unity Party of Armenia and a referendum on Armenian self-determination. The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR), is one of fifteen

republics making up the Soviet Union. Fifteen other political prisoners, most of them Ukrainians, sent a statement to the Soviet government supporting the Armenians' demands.

• On May 5, 1976, a number of Ukrainian political prisoners went on a one-day hunger strike to mark the one-hundredth anniversary of the banning of the Ukrainian language by the Russian Tsar. The hunger strikers were dramatizing the discrimination against Ukrainians today.

• On June 22, 1976, Georg Gimpu, a political prisoner in the Perm forced-labor camp, sent a statement to the Soviet government "about the fate of Soviet citizens of Romanian nationality"—Moldavians. The Moldavian SSR, a territory inhabited by Romanians, was annexed by Stalin prior to World War II. Gimpu demands that the Soviet government allow the reunification of Romanians in Romania with Romanians in Moldavia. He says this should be easy because the economic systems in the Moldavian SSR and in Romania are the same.

• At the end of 1976, in a protest to the government, 300 Volga Germans described their mass deportation from their Volga homeland in 1941 by Stalin, the refusal of the Soviet government to allow them to return to the Volga area or to emigrate to West Germany, and their constant harassment by the police.

• For several years Crimean Tatar families have defied official prohibitions and tried to return from places of exile to live in Crimea. Stalin deported their whole population from Crimea in 1944, and Stalin's heirs have refused to grant the Crimean Tatars the right to return. When individual families try to return, they are denied living and work permits and then arrested for passport violations or their homes are demolished and they are expelled from Crimea.

According to *Chronicle* No. 44, for "passport violations" twenty-nine Crimean Tatars were exiled for two to five years; nine were sentenced to compulsory labor for about two years; three were sentenced to probation and three received one-year terms of imprisonment. The *Chronicle* states this is a partial list of convictions which occurred mostly in 1976.

After one of the Crimean Tatar families was expelled from Crimea, the public prosecutor tried to justify the expulsion to other Crimean Tatars in one village. He said: "If you meet these families half-way and don't bother them . . . a frightful

number will come here. You understand? And then they'll say 'give us schools in our native language, kindergartens in our native language,³ and so on. . . ."

Return of Crimean Tatars to Crimea disrupts the bureaucrats' Russification programs.

Such incidents as these are reported by dissidents virtually unknown abroad. But it is chiefly through the more prominent dissidents in Moscow that news about these and similar protests receive international publicity at all.

In the early days of February, 1977, the Stalinist rulers began arresting some of the more well-known civil-rights activists in Moscow and those working with them in other areas. The focus of the attack was the Helsinki Monitoring Groups first organized by Moscow defenders of democratic rights in May 1976, and later by activists in the Ukrainian, Georgian, Lithuanian and Armenian republics.

The purpose of the groups is to oversee the Kremlin rulers' compliance with the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Accords. It was not that these activists took the accords seriously, the founders of the Moscow group have explained. But since the Kremlin had signed the accords and printed them in the official Soviet press, then why shouldn't its violations of these accords be exposed, both within the USSR and abroad?⁴

By the end of 1976, the Moscow group had issued at least fifteen documents showing specific ways the Soviet government was committing violations of the human rights of individuals and sectors of the population like Crimean Tatars or Jews.

These Helsinki groups drew together activists from currents of the dissident movement that had previously been isolated from one another. For example, the general democratic-rights currents linked up with those protesting religious persecution and with those who wished to emigrate but were forbidden to. The Moscow-based currents linked up with those opposing Russification in Kiev, Tbilisi (in the Georgian SSR) and in Vilnius (Lithuanian SSR).

3. "Documents of the Helsinki Monitoring Group Number One." (Some of the texts are translated into English but most are in Russian.) Khronika Press, New York. p. XII.

4. *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*, No. 3 (London), pp. 14-15.

1. *A Chronicle of Current Events*, No. 43 (dated December 31, 1976) and No. 44 (dated March 16, 1977), Russian-language underground journal from the Soviet Union. Available in Russian from Khronika Press, 505 Eighth Avenue, New York, New York, 10018. \$5 each. 123 and 132 pages, with name index.

2. "Declaration and Memorandum No. 1 of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords." Kiev, Ukrainian S.S.R. Translated from the Ukrainian by the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee, Washington, D.C. p. 4.

To document violations of human rights, the groups undertook activities the Stalinist regime had never allowed. *Chronicle* No. 43 explains:

From the very beginning of its activity, the group has been receiving from individuals written statements concerning violations of the humanitarian provisions of the [Helsinki Accords] Final Act. The number of statements to the group is growing quickly. People arrive from far away to appeal for help to the leader of the group or to one of its members. Contacts with non-Muscovites gave rise to a type of work for the group called 'declared' trips. The group declares to correspondents in Moscow that on the group's instruction, a fact-finding trip will be made to the scene of a specific violation of human rights.

At least four such fact-finding trips were made by members of the Moscow Helsinki group as of December, 1976. To the Kremlin such concern for accuracy on the part of dissenters is embarrassing for it undercuts the charge that these dissenters are engaging in "anti-Soviet fabrications and slander."

During 1976, the dissident movement was to a certain extent shielded by the international defense work for Soviet dissidents undertaken by leftist and trade union forces in Europe, where even European Communist Party leaders felt forced to condemn instances of the Kremlin's repression. This European-based defense work, centered in France, actually compelled the Kremlin rulers to free two prominent imprisoned dissidents, Leonid Plyushch and Vladimir Bukovsky in 1976. International pressure from left-wing and working-class forces helped hold back the Kremlin's repressive arm and helped the democratization movement in the USSR grow.

The contrasting tone of these two issues of the *Chronicle* reflects two contrasting phases in the dissident movement—the first as 1976 drew to a close and the movement was on the rise (*Chronicle* No. 43); and the second as the Kremlin cracked down in the early months of 1977 (*Chronicle* No. 44).

Chronicle No. 44 sounds a note of alarm. Dated March 16, 1977, it begins with a chronology showing the escalation of repression, including the wave of arrests of some key activists that started February 3, 1977. The *Chronicle* editors seem to date the onslaught of the new wave of repression with "the exchange" of Vladimir Bukovsky for Luis Corvalán, a Chilean political prisoner, December 18, 1976.

In fact, although it was international defense work for both victims of political repression that won their release, Moscow and Washington, and the Washington-supported military government in Chile collaborated to make it appear otherwise.

By simultaneously releasing these two political prisoners in the form of an "exchange," their jailers were able to appear

as humanitarians, and Bukovsky—along with the Soviet dissidents—was falsely painted as anticommunist and pro-Pinochet.

The *Chronicle* editors and many democratic-rights activists, at least in Moscow, know about the activities in France and throughout Europe which won Bukovsky's release. The *Chronicle* acclaims Laurent Schwartz, one of the organizers of the October 27, 1976, Paris meeting where a leader of the French Communist Party called for Bukovsky's release.

Schwartz is referred to by the *Chronicle* as "one of the greatest mathematicians of contemporary times, well-known also as a social activist of left-wing views." And since the left-wing defense work had developed in Europe, more and more Soviet dissidents directed appeals for help to foreign Communist parties.

But within the Soviet dissident movement, the "exchange" sowed confusion, as it was intended to do. It disoriented some Soviet dissidents whom the Kremlin Stalinists deliberately keep ignorant of world events. Instead of looking to the left abroad for help, some turned again to capitalist governments.

The confusion caused by the "exchange" also began to hurt efforts in the capitalist countries to build support for the Soviet dissidents among people of the left and humanitarian views who began to view the dissidents as Pinochet supporters.

During the last weeks of December 1976 and in January 1977, the Kremlin took advantage of the confusion, stepping up the searches and interrogations of Helsinki group members. On January 21, 1977, prominent dissident physicist Andrei Sakharov sent a letter to President Carter documenting specific cases of repression.

On February 1, the Soviet press ran an article labeling some prominent dissenters as criminals. One of these dissidents, Aleksandr Ginzburg, a member of the Moscow Helsinki Group—was arrested February 3.

Two days later Carter answered Sakharov's letter, expressing his "concern" for human rights. On that same day, three more prominent dissidents were arrested.

On February 12, the Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* accused dissenters of being in league with "reactionary forces" abroad. This was the opener in a daily press campaign attacking the dissident movement.

Carter received Bukovsky in Washington on March 1. Three days later, the Soviet government daily *Izvestia* printed a letter purporting to "prove" that some prominent dissidents, including members of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group, were CIA agents.

On March 15, the day before *Chronicle* 44 went to press, one of these dissidents was arrested, later to be charged with treason, punishable by death. This activist

Anatoly Shcharansky is still awaiting trial.

Eleven Helsinki group members are now imprisoned, two have already been sentenced to long prison terms. In addition, a number of prominent activists have been forced into exile.

But the numerous protests within the USSR following the arrests, many of which appear in *Chronicle* No. 44, testify that the democratization forces are far from defeated.

In a March 1977 statement, the Moscow Helsinki group stated that their original analysis had proved correct and that more and more people in the USSR perceived the Helsinki Accords as a legal basis around which to fight for human rights. The number of individuals and groups using the Helsinki Accords as a tool to fight for their rights "continues to grow."

On June 29, 1977, five Helsinki group members issued a statement condemning the sentencing of two other members, Mykola Rudenko and Okeksi Tikhi, to long prison terms. They condemned the police campaign to frame-up dissidents, and they condemned Western correspondents who support the Kremlin's claim that "the opposition movement in our country has collapsed."

Western correspondents who relay these KGB (police) claims, the five stated, are helping to lay the basis for the KGB to "deal decisively with the prominent members of the civil rights movement in the USSR, to slander . . . the opposition in our country. . . . We declare before the whole world that these claims are groundless. Due to arrests and emigration, our group has been numerically reduced by half. With great pride in our leading people, we point out that as a result of the repression we have gained many new friends, some of whom have expressed a desire to join the group. . . . The groups live on. . . ."

On October 30, 1977, at a press conference in Moscow attended by several dozen dissidents, two of these "new friends" were present. Two workers from Armenia, Ambartsum Khlgatian and Shagen Arutunian, announced they had joined the Armenian Helsinki Monitoring Group.

According to a report in the October 31 issue of *Rouge*, the daily paper of the French Trotskyists, the two workers noted the predominance of intellectuals in the dissident groups, saying that this made it particularly necessary for "representatives of the working class, the most active social force" to join them.

This holds all the more for working-class forces abroad. They must step up their defense of those fighting for democratic rights in the USSR. This can help the dissidents decisively in their long struggle to cleanse the first workers state of its parasitic overgrowth. □

Behind Defeat of the Left in French Elections

By Jean-Claude Bernard

PARIS—The March 1978 legislative elections in France ended by maintaining a majority in favor of the policy that the governments of the Fifth Republic have carried out for twenty years.

One year ago, such an outcome appeared very unlikely, even to bourgeois observers. In fact, since the signing of the Common Program in 1972 by the Communist Party, Socialist Party, and Movement of Left Radicals, a tiny bourgeois party, the workers organizations advanced steadily in the elections. After having lost the 1973 legislative elections, and failed to win the 1974 presidential elections by less than 1% of the vote, the Union of Left triumphed in the 1976 cantonal elections and the 1977 municipal elections.

The Election Results

The first round of the legislative elections substantiated these gains. For the first time since 1946, in this type of election, the workers organizations came close to an absolute majority. They obtained the highest percentage in the history of bourgeois French republics.

Within the workers organizations, the overall results indicate a small but significant shift to the left. The far left—represented by the United Socialist Party (PSU); Workers Struggle (LO); and the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), which had signed a pact to divide up the election districts with the Communist Workers Organization and Communist Committees for Self-Management—received 3.3% of the vote. This figure is identical with the 1973 vote; however, the majority of those who led the PSU at that time have since joined the SP.

The CP obtained 20.6% of the vote. This represented a loss of less than 1% compared with 1973, after having conducted, in an atmosphere of division, an election campaign against austerity of the right and the left. The Socialist Party made the biggest gains of any party, topping its 1973 vote by 3.7%. However, its vote was lower than expected, and lower than it had been for three years.

The first round of the legislative elections proved that the social stratum supporting the government was in the minority. But these results came as a great surprise, because everyone expected much greater gains for the workers organizations. According to most of the forecasts, their vote should have topped 52%, which

Results of First Round

For the first round, the following figures were supplied by the Ministry of the Interior:

48.34% of the vote for all of the candidates supporting the government and those of the far right.

2.14% for the ecologists.

2.11% for the Movement of Left Radicals (MRG).

1.1% for various candidates classified as left opposition.

46.45% for the workers organizations (CP, SP, far left).

This breakdown does not take into account the fact that the bulk of the votes for the Left Radicals came from districts where the SP did not run a candidate and called for a "Radical" vote. Without exception, the SP's directive was obeyed, which means that the kind of votes that went to the MRG was not qualitatively different from those that went to the SP.

Moreover, the 1.1% of various opposition leftists is very heterogeneous, because it includes the left Gaullists in disfavor, for whom the CP called for a vote in two districts, and a few independent candidates supported by the CP, SP, or far left.

Consequently, leaving aside statistical sleight-of-hand by the Ministry of the Interior, and the political maneuvers carried out by the CP or SP, which led some "worker" voters to vote for bourgeois candidates, the percentage of "working-class" votes on the first round may be estimated at more than 49%.

No such figure has ever been attained in the life of the Fifth Republic. It is the highest percentage recorded in the history of bourgeois republics.

Previously, the highest percentage attained was in 1946, immediately following the Second World War.

is the threshold necessary to insure a majority of seats in the National Assembly, according to the current election setup.

The fact is that the way election district lines are drawn has gone virtually unchanged for the past twenty years, despite major social transformations that have decreased the proportion of farmers and increased that of urban wage workers in the working population. In addition, a massive vote fraud was engineered by the government, which used absentee ballots from French citizens living abroad to reverse the outcome in districts most threatened by the CP and SP.

Accordingly, even though the results of the first round delivered a rebuff to the Giscard regime they foreshadowed a defeat on the second round if the political situation remained constant.

The immense majority of the working class believed that its organizations would win the elections. This hope was betrayed by the leaderships of the CP and SP, who clawed one another to pieces during the six months prior to the elections, rather than concentrating their forces against the bourgeoisie.

The division between the CP and SP took its toll on the first round. As soon as it was clear that they no longer offered a

political alternative, the undecided sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and the most backward layers of the working class transferred their votes to the rightist coalition. This is what explains why the SP's gains were smaller than expected. In the two weeks prior to the first round, the SP appears to have lost 2% to 3% of the electorate.

The second round magnified this trend. Granted, the Union of the Left stitched together a political agreement whose only purpose was to protect the CP and SP's parliamentary blocs. It glossed over all past differences, and could have been signed prior to the September 1977 breakup. But neither the CP nor SP really campaigned between the two rounds. The leaderships of these two parties did nothing to revive the momentum toward unity.

Orders came down from the leaderships of the two main trade-union federations, the CGT (Confédération Générales du Travail—General Confederation of Labor) and CFDT (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor) that there were to be no joint trade-union appeals for a vote for the workers organizations. The CGT's weekly paper, with a circulation of more than one million, gave no front-page

directives on how to vote, contrary to its long-standing custom.

In the Paris metropolitan area, not a single city-wide rally was organized, either jointly or by one of the big workers organizations. The only meeting in Paris was the one called by the LCR, which had thrown all its efforts into campaigning for a vote for the CP and SP alone.

The lack of a unified campaign and the signing of a political pact that amounted to an utter charade of the Union of the Left allowed the right to regain the upper hand. The government hammered away for a week, trying to whip up real anticommunist hysteria, and to rally the frightened elements from a position of strength. This brought success to the bourgeois parties.

Not only did the outgoing coalition win by a 100-seat margin in the National Assembly, which is made up of 490 deputies; whereas it had been in the minority on the eve of the first round, it went over the top on the second round to win an absolute majority. This reversal of trends between the two rounds is ascribable to the votes of 800,000 persons who abstained on the first round but went over to the right on the second. It was also the result of the failure to transfer votes to the left candidates with the best chances—the bitter fruit of six months of division.

The period since 1968 in Europe, and particularly in France, has been one of unstable equilibrium between the classes. During this whole long period, neither the working class nor the bourgeoisie has won decisive victories. Through advances and retreats, the militancy and politicization of the working class have been reinforced. The growth of the main workers organizations, the CP and SP, has been combined with the development of the trade-union movement, where more and more advanced discussions are taking place, and with the growing implantation of the still-small revolutionary far left among the working class. The magnitude of the economic crisis, and the emergence of the crisis of social relations, are helping to rebuild a workers movement still politically dominated by reformism.

The temporary demoralization of the workers movement in the aftermath of the CP-SP electoral defeat corresponds to the hopes and illusions that brought the French working class to expect an electoral victory for these parties. Whatever the ulterior motives of the CP and SP leaderships, this electoral defeat is a severe political blow to the two parties.

For five years, French politics was dominated by the CP and SP through the vehicle of the Union of the Left, which proposed to administer the bourgeois state. For the moment, neither the CP nor the SP can raise the prospect of a "good Common Program." This momentary lack of an alternative is leading to a new situation, within the context of an unstable equi-

librium between the classes, which remains unchanged.

The Bourgeois Crisis of Leadership

The media are all proclaiming that Giscard is the only winner in these elections. They are hastily covering up the repudia-



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tion of government policy by 15 million voters, and ignoring the fact that the regime's social base has shrunk even further. The Giscard government, which is in a precarious position, cannot carry out any policy but austerity, given the exigencies of the economic crisis still afflicting the European capitalist countries. Widening its social base has thus become an urgent necessity for the bourgeoisie, which continues to be divided into two main factions.

The Gaullist party, which ran in the elections under the emblem of the Assembly for the Republic (RPR), held its ground remarkably well. After having lost the presidential post in 1974, and then the office of premier in 1976, the RPR nevertheless remains the principal bourgeois formation. Not only did it garner 22.5% of the vote, but it is the only bourgeois party with a grass-roots structure that enables it to take on the workers movement. In contrast to this, the electoral coalition hastily set up by the president, under the emblem of the Union for French Democracy (UDF), got only 21% of the vote and is merely a heterogeneous assortment without any real following.

The crisis of the French bourgeoisie stems from political disagreements over what position to take toward the workers movement. For the RPR and its leader,

Jacques Chirac, the widening of the regime's social base can only be accomplished at the cost of a head-on confrontation with the workers movement. Giscard, who has at his disposal the constitutional advantages that go along with the office of the presidency, believes that the necessary broadening out will result from the disintegration of the Union of the Left, particularly the SP. But neither the RPR nor Giscard are in a position to impose their views. The damage caused by the division of the CP and SP has simply provided the president with some additional elbow room.

In the days following the election, it became clear that Georges Marchais and François Mitterrand had granted Giscard a real reprieve. For the first time since the establishment of the Fifth Republic, twenty years ago, the leaders of working-class parties and trade unions went to the Elysée palace to take part in conferences organized by the president. The latter now seems to hold all the cards, and is calling on the French to bring about national unity. Since the president does not have a political party with which to implement his policy, and because the social base of his regime has never been narrower, the "long springtime" Giscard has promised for France will wear itself out as soon as the class relationship of forces comes to the fore in social and political struggles.

A Class-Collaborationist Front

Thus, the elements of the new political situation are not to be sought in the advantages gained by the bourgeoisie, but in the policy to be carried out by the workers organizations. These organizations responded to the period inaugurated by May 1968 by setting up the class-collaborationist front called the Union of the Left. For the sake of the chance of bringing this alliance to power, the CP and SP, backed by the CGT and CFDT trade-union federations, postponed all confrontations with the Pompidou and Giscard governments.

The last government, with the help of Raymond Barre's austerity plan, was able to deal the harshest blows to the working class of the last twenty years. The CGT and CFDT explicitly referred to the changes expected from the 1978 elections as a justification for not transforming the general strikes of October 7, 1976, and May 24, 1977, into a political test of strength with the government.

Now that the elections are over, the CP and SP are temporarily without a political escape hatch for the first time in six years. The leaderships of these two parties are compelled to draw up a balance sheet of their line, both for their own membership and for the majority of workers who demand to know why things have turned out as they have.

Signing the Common Program enabled

French Social Democracy to build a new image for itself as the Socialist Party. The leadership of this party, whose driving force is François Mitterrand, understood that at a time when the workers movement was in an upswing, the SP's only chances for growth lay in an alliance "on its left," with the CP. After its victory in the municipal elections in the spring of 1977, the SP felt that its new position of preeminence allowed it to put its own stamp on the Union of the Left. François Mitterrand talked more and more openly of the need to administer the crisis and make the workers bear the sacrifices.

The continued alliance with the CP allowed the SP to further expand its influence on the working class; its more and more open calls for class collaboration drove voters disillusioned with Giscard back to the SP. The royal road to winning 30% of the vote lay open to the SP. Political commentators talked sagely of conferring the title of leading party on the SP, on the model of the Radical Party between the two world wars, or the Gaullist Union for the Defense of the Republic in 1960. This was less than a year ago, in the summer of 1977.

The polemic opened up by the CP upset these plans. Rather than winning those to its right and to its left, the SP lost on both fronts. Frightened by the CP's harsh tone, many undecided voters fell back on the Giscardist parties. On the other hand, many militant workers were stripped of their illusions regarding the new Socialist Party that had supposedly broken with traditional social democracy.

As far as these hopes are concerned, the SP has suffered a stinging electoral setback. The tears of those who were preparing to occupy government posts manage to disguise the fact that the SP is the only big party that has advanced in the elections since 1973. For the first time in thirty years, the SP has outstripped the CP in the legislative elections. The winning of hundreds of new municipal posts less than a year ago, as well as its increased strength in the trade unions, are among the SP's assets. In order for its growth to continue, the SP now has no other choice than to continue basing its strategy on the Union of the Left. However, the terms of this alliance will be redefined, and this is what will be at stake in the upcoming struggles between currents within the SP.

For nearly twenty years, the SP has tried to appear as the champion of unity among the forces of the left. With the departure of Socialist ministers from de Gaulle's government, the CP, in the person of Maurice Thorez, Waldeck Rochet, and Georges Marchais, respectively, proposed an alliance with the Socialists in order to prepare for the "democratic" changeover from the governments of the Fifth Republic. The CP leadership was able to largely justify to its members the betrayal of the May 1968 general strike by pointing to the

SP's flight when the time came for the decisive showdowns.

The CP's capitulations staked out the long road to a union based on class collaboration—from rallying to the bour-



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geois candidacy of François Mitterrand in 1965, to renouncing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the struggle against France's nuclear arsenal. But in contrast to other periods in history, since 1970 the Union of the Left has no longer benefited the CP, but the SP. The CP's domination over the working class was challenged, both by the SP and by the growing strength of the revolutionary far left among the work force.

Settling Accounts

The CP-SP breakup in September 1977 reflected the CP's determination to turn around this gradual deterioration of the relationship of forces to its disadvantage. At the CP's national conference in January, Georges Marchais spelled out his party's intention to remain outside the government unless the CP maintained its dominance over the working class. To that end, the CP carried out the blackmail operation that led to the election defeat.

The use of second-round withdrawal as a means of blackmail was accepted in the end by CP members as a temporary tactic that was not meant to endanger the electoral victory of the Union of the Left.

Despite mutual accusations by Georges Marchais and François Mitterrand, election-eve polls still put the left way

ahead, and the stock market continued to drop in expectation of the government's defeat.

While the results of the first round took CP members by surprise—the slapdash agreement of March 13 showed that the so-called fundamental differences between the CP and SP programs could be overcome when it was a matter of retaining assembly seats—the resounding defeat on the second round caused severe shock.

The more the sectarianism of the CP's election campaign had been favorably received among militant workers ready to do battle with the Social Democracy, the more the final outcome of the elections put the CP in a defensive position with the workers.

The betrayal of the May 1968 general strike was the event that launched the rapid growth of the revolutionary far left, but the fact remains that the bulk of CP members closed ranks around their leadership.

The politicization process that has been taking place among the working class for the past ten years will not allow the CP leadership to get off so easily this time. The workers and members of working-class organizations are demanding a real accounting from their leaderships.

Profound stirrings are going to unsettle the workers organizations, particularly the CP. This will not be limited merely to strata of the youth and intellectuals, as was the case in the crises of 1956-58 and 1968. The CP leadership will have to draw a balance sheet of all areas of its activity, particularly in the labor movement, where the CGT was forced to line up bureaucratically with the CP's positions. The unrest will be felt in all of the CP's areas of work.

Because of the momentum built up by the workers movement, which has needs other than administering the bourgeois state, the CP will not be able to go on denouncing austerity in the arena of workers' struggles. For those who might question the validity of that statement, the hasty visits to the Elysée palace by Georges Séguéy (head of the CGT) and Georges Marchais bear witness to the CP's determination to channel struggles into the mainstream of bourgeois institutions.

The fact is that no other policy is possible for the CP but to seek new fronts of class collaboration involving the SP. Since it did not succeed in smashing the SP in the short run, it has no choice but to form a new alliance with it.

The division that has opened up between the CP and SP is nowhere near ending. It will break out again in the trade-union movement, and the unity accords between the CGT and CFDT, in effect since 1966, may well be rewritten. The trade-union leaderships, because they are in much closer contact with the masses, will have a much harder time trying to maintain the divisions. The CFDT, whose leadership in its majority is close to the SP, is getting

ready nonetheless to lay the groundwork for a more "responsible" bargaining stance. Not to be outdone, the CGT general secretary hastened to give an interview to *Le Figaro*, the most reactionary bourgeois daily, in which he too came out as a champion of "responsible" labor relations.

All of these efforts stand a good chance of foundering in the face of working-class resistance to austerity. Such is the reality of the class struggle, which will reemerge once the temporary phase of demoralization is past.

Workers unity to put across working-class solutions to the crisis—that was the thread running through the LCR's activity throughout the election campaign. More than ever, it remains a pressing task.

Workers' resistance to austerity—which will continue to be applied as in the other European capitalist countries—cannot be victorious unless the divisions are overcome. What is involved are political and trade-union divisions, as well as those arising from the divergent assessments the workers will make, according to their level of consciousness, of the test they have just gone through. Militant unity against austerity requires trade-union unity first and foremost. Propaganda for trade-union unification is going to run up against the obstacle of the repellent image, for many workers, of the CGT's bureaucratic lineup with the CP. In this situation, the practical fight for trade-union democracy—which will be aided by the discussions that will reach into the major union federations—must necessarily be combined with propaganda for a single trade-union federation.

The trade-union leaderships are beginning to tone down union demands, calling for a "realistic" approach to the new situation created by the electoral defeat of the SP and CP. That is one more reason for fighting uncompromisingly to make sure that workers' demands are not watered down, for explaining that the working class has its strength intact to put across its demands, on condition that it find the way to unity and mobilization.

National mobilizations of the working class will emerge from a renewal of the working-class offensive, which will be built up through partial and local struggles.

The battle for the demands and unity of the working class based on its political parties and trade unions is a matter for direct agitation. Explaining the necessary political solution is essential right now, because the workers have not really been defeated by the electoral setback of their parties, and because they still have the strength to bring down the government.

Workers unity still requires unity of the CP and SP, but it also requires drawing a balance sheet on the six years of the Union of the Left.

It was both a coalition with a bourgeois organization, and a series of top-echelon discussions, turning the workers into helpless spectators. The lessons to be drawn include the need to break with all bourgeois organizations, which, like Robert Fabre (leader of the Left Radicals), switch hats once the election has been lost, and the need to organize unity at the grassroots, bypassing the differences in outlook of Socialist, Communist, and revolutionary

workers. The lesson to be mulled over is the inability of the workers to influence the course of events once the hope for change has been relegated to the leaderships of the CP and SP.

The revolutionary far left, having already given evidence of its strength in numerous struggles, confirmed its growing influence with its significant electoral showing. But it failed to measure up to its obligations, for it confronted this decisive political test in a divided and often disoriented way.

To avoid new defeats, large sectors of the working class must be pried loose from the CP and SP. Workers unity to throw out the regime cannot take shape unless a revolutionary workers party sets out to build it and stimulates self-organization on the part of the working class.

A thoroughgoing debate on strategy is taking place in the workers movement. Over and above the events of the last six months that made it possible for the government of the Fifth Republic to be returned to office, a discussion has begun on the means for putting across working-class solutions to the crisis.

The LCR, in campaigning for unity of the workers and their organizations around their demands, refused to single out either the SP or CP as the most to blame for the divisions between the two parties. Ten years after May 1968, the magnitude of the shock waves created by the defeat of the CP and SP is paving the way for a new battle to build the revolutionary party, based on the experience and gains of the Fourth International. □

From \$1 Fine to a Year in Jail

Court Increases Sentence for Cops Who Murdered Chicano

Three Houston cops convicted of killing a young Chicano were sentenced March 28 to one year in jail. Federal Judge Ross Sterling handed down the sentences, which caused an uproar in the Chicano community.

The three police arrested Joe Campos Torres in May 1977, beat him up, and then drowned him. "Let's see if that wetback can swim," said one of the cops as they pushed Torres off a thirty-foot embankment.

The Justice Department had been forced to intervene and try the police on federal civil-rights charges after Texas state courts refused to produce anything beyond misdemeanor convictions. But the one-year sentence imposed by the federal judge was in the same spirit as \$1 fines slapped on the cops by a state judge last year.

In fact, Judge Sterling suspended en-

tirely the longer sentences associated with the felony convictions for causing Torres's death. The one-year sentences were handed down for the misdemeanor of the beating.

And, as one grinning Houston police officer said after the sentencing: "They won't be there [in prison] but six months."

According to the Administrative Office of U.S. Courts in Washington, D.C., the one-year sentences are little more than federal judges in Texas usually impose for unauthorized border crossings by Mexicans.

The Chicano community in Houston, which has been fighting for justice in the Torres case since the circumstances of the killing became known, was shocked and angry.

The victim's mother, Margaret Torres, complained, "It's just a slap in the face.

It's just getting away with murder." A Houston rally of 500 persons April 2 protested the token sentences. The mostly Chicano crowd heard Ruben Bonilla, state director of the League of United Latin American Citizens say, "The President should be in Houston, Texas, not Brazil or Africa" pressing for human rights.

The sentences have embarrassed the Justice Department, which had promised to deliver the evenhanded justice that racist Texas courts were apparently incapable of meting out to cops who kill Chicanos. In a formal motion requesting a review of the sentences, the Justice Department warned, "This public perception of inequality and the belief that the life of a Mexican-American citizen has little value can only do damage to the respect for the laws and for the belief in justice." □

'Political Struggle Should Be Brought Into the Trade Unions'

[At the close of the Milan provincial assembly of shop stewards, a vote was taken. A motion to reject the document presented by the confederation leadership, and to put forward a different proposal centering on shortening the workweek and defending wages, received 443 votes.

[These 443 delegates represented 25 percent of those voting, but made up more than 50 percent of the delegates actually elected in the plants, since the majority of those present at the gathering were trade-union functionaries appointed from above.

[On February 18-19, a workers conference sponsored by Democrazia Proletaria (DP—Proletarian Democracy), which includes Avanguardia Operaia (Workers Vanguard), Partito d'Unità Proletaria (PdUP—Party of Proletarian Unity), and the Lega dei Comunisti (League of Communists), was held in Milan.

[This conference reflected the extensive discussion going on within the Italian trade-union movement. In particular, a section of trade-union leaders who disagreed with the CGIL-CISL-UIL* leadership's latest "turn" spoke out publicly for the first time. The leadership has openly sanctioned layoffs (in the guise of "mobility of excess labor"), and has decided to hold back wage demands, spread them out over time, and establish a rigid framework under the leadership's control for the struggle around collective bargaining agreements, which for the last fifteen years have been the mainstay of the biggest working-class struggles in Italy.

[This division, which represents a shift in tactics within the unions, and reflects a division in the "trade-union left," had a major impact on the national trade-union assembly in Rome, which concluded the voting on the document by the CGIL-CISL-UIL leadership. In spite of bureaucratic screening (in some provinces, a delegate assembly was not even held, and of the nearly 100 members of the Milan delegation, only three represented the opposition, which numbered 443 delegates in all), the national assembly recorded 12 votes against the document and 103 abstentions, all accompanied by statements criticizing it from the left.

[These new circumstances also had an impact on the Democrazia Proletaria con-

ference (DP had played a positive role at the Milan trade-union assembly). However, the report did not center on this important experience, which marked a turning-point relative to DP's usual lack of independent initiative with regard to the "trade-union left."

[The reason for this became clear during the debate, in which Elio Giovannini, the national secretary of the CGIL and one of the leading representatives of the "trade-union left" (and in the Partito d'Unità Proletaria), urged that the differences not be allowed to harden, while in contrast to this, other remarks (mainly by activists from the south) smacked strongly of an ultraleftist rejection of work in the trade unions.

[In his warmly applauded remarks, Vittorio Foa, to his credit, correctly polemicized against both positions, on the basis of his long experience as national secretary of the CGIL in the 1960s. Members of the GCR (Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari—Revolutionary Communist Groups, the Italian section of the Fourth International) who were present at the conference, including an Alfa Romeo worker whose contribution was well received, asked Vittorio Foa a series of questions on behalf of *Bandiera Rossa*, their weekly paper. This interview, which we are publishing below, deals with the central themes of revolutionary work in the trade unions today.]

* * *

Question. In your speech at the DP conference, you talked about work in the trade unions based on your long experience in the CGIL leadership, saying that it was equally necessary to arrive at compromises, but to keep up heavy pressure while doing so. We would like to come back to this point, which seems to us to be one of the major weaknesses in the practice of the far-left groups over the last few years. We would also like you to tell us what you think in particular of the possibility of more stable forms of organization within the trade unions, not made up of revolutionists as such, but of a tendency formed on a class basis.

Answer. Based on my long experience in the trade unions, I am convinced that no practical possibility exists today of creating a viable mass organization as an alternative to the trade unions. If you want to have political mass actions, you have to go through the trade unions, knowing that they are heavily conditioned by their institutional integration into capitalist society. As the labor market has become a sellers'

market for labor power—that is, as the strength of the working class has increased—one of the capitalists' weapons for fighting back has been the institutionalization of the trade unions, by entrusting them with the role of controlling and curbing the working class.

I am convinced that by realistically starting from this assessment—that is, of the process of involution, of institutionalization of the role of the modern trade union—political struggle should be brought into the trade unions, with all the clarity of an internal opposition. This requires that the opposition maintain contact with the majority to avoid becoming isolated, by sometimes clearly demarcating and differentiating itself, and at other times, on the contrary, constantly seeking possibilities of unity, each time it is possible to help the collective consciousness take a step forward.

Nowadays we are seeking a widespread defiance, as well as a tendency to give up and turn away from trade-union activism. Membership is declining; activism and participation, still more. The most effective way we can fight back today is to develop a more distinct opposition, to show that it is possible to be active in the union while upholding a different line. I do not believe it is necessary to build a revolutionary organization inside the trade unions; I am thinking of a trade-union class opposition, nonideological, a "class-struggle" component that should become a tool for the trade-union opposition.

There are numerous examples of this in the industrialized countries, in England for instance (the Minority Movement), and I think it is important and possible to do it. Of course, this poses some problems, since the trade-union majorities will accuse us of being factionalists. What counts, in my opinion, is also reasserting the right to organize a discussion of lines opposed to that of the majority.

Q. What about the hypothesis of there being a third caucus in the CGIL, which has come up several times?

A. I do not think it is necessary to create a caucus, but neither should we be paralyzed by the fear of being considered a caucus so that we constantly exercise self-censorship. If it is necessary to proceed to a rudimentary type of organization around alternative lines, it is better to do so. The history of caucuses is often one of leadership posts, a petty and unsavory history, really, of posts and internal wheeling and

*Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro—Italian General Confederation of Labor; Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Liberi—Italian Confederation of Free Trade Unions; Unione Italiana dei Lavoratori—Italian Union of Workers.

dealing. It is better to avoid this type of activity.

Q. You mentioned that it is impossible for DP to organize its forces on its own, which it seems to me raises the problem of doing mass work correctly so as to draw together the enormous receptivity that exists on certain questions, but also touches on another, relatively major problem—the existence of different revolutionary left currents, and therefore the need to establish forms of unity in action.

A. Earlier, I went further into an analysis of what the proletariat is today, and of its contradictions, of the processes of unity at the social level. You spoke of the processes of unity among the political organizations. Obviously, I am convinced of the necessity and possibility of unity in action. I think that the process of unity should not be forced in organizational terms, because I was very shaken by the experience of the fusion of the PdUP and Il Manifesto, where, in practice, we carried out a unification at the top, purely at the organizational level, you might say, without ascertaining our relationship to society, without making our own criticisms of our past, of our errors. In practice, we tried to glue together shards of broken pots. Today, it would be very bad if the attempt at regroupment began with the organizations, so to speak, instead of with social reality.

Therefore, I think: unity in action wherever possible; extend common areas of work and debate the differences without the slightest hesitation; no attempts at exclusion. But I also think we have a long way to go in working together in this society before going on to organizational experiments, that may turn out to be a little premature and break down.

Q. But I was speaking entirely of unity in action, and referring in particular to the following problem: we consider the renewal of DP, its reorganization, as positive. But the problem of unity in action of all the radicalized layers to the left of the reformists cannot be reduced to that.

A. To be sure. I am convinced that we must deal with the question of unity in action, and anyway, in practice I do not think we have ever rejected it. I would even say that the conception we should have of ourselves, as a current that is being built openly, should be based on respect for the other formations that exist.

Q. What type of approach do you think it is possible to take toward the question of a correct tactic toward the big reformist parties, which you also, I believe, consider to be workers parties, in spite of their leadership?

A. I have the impression that it is not possible to think we will be able to get the Italian CP to set its sights on the right

target merely by challenging its political positions. We are in a phase where we will probably need hard tests. To be blunt, we need defeats, or rather, we don't need defeats, but it is only through defeats that we can hope to get substantial changes in the policy of the Italian left, both the old and the new. It is quite clear today that if the CP is on the road to defeat in its policy of historic compromise and its relations with the Christian Democracy—as I think it is—we will not benefit from it. It will be a defeat for all. Our job, then, is to lessen the gravity of this defeat as much as possible.

How should we confront the CP? Generally, I do not think we should become involved in ideological confrontation, for example, only considering demands that are incompatible with the system and rejecting all those that are compatible with it. I think our starting point should be the needs and demands of the masses. If these demands turn out to be incompatible with keeping the system on an even keel, the tendency of the reformists will be to oppose the demands, to protect the system.

In this respect, we should support the opposing point of view, and, so to speak, confront the CP on this question, which is the fundamental question today where the capitalist system is concerned. We should do this not by using ideological terms, but by discussing it in practical terms. If we think that the workers should take the lead, that there should be actions around economic, social, moral, political, and civil-rights questions, how can they be organized without disturbing the relations of production?

We should have no illusions about the possibility of the CP rapidly changing its position. Even if it absorbs partial defeats, the CP will not return to the opposition; or if it does, it will not be a class opposition. In order for the CP to resume talking in class terms, through ups and downs that I cannot foresee, there will certainly have to be very profound upheavals in society.

Q. During the campaign for the June 20, 1976, elections, which was badly organized and disunited, the DP raised a slogan that everyone interpreted in his own way, namely, for a "government of the left," which was partly connected to a tactical objective—forcing the CP and SP to opt for a different governmental solution than the one they had chosen, one that better corresponded to the interests of their ranks. What do you think of this now?

A. Speaking for myself, I was deeply convinced of the correctness of this slogan. I supported it wholeheartedly, even when it was raised in a way that had flaws, in an institutional, electoralist way. Of course, I think that a government of the "left" is at any rate preferable to other governments, whether they be of the right, center-right, center-left, or historic com-

promise. Still, we can now see more clearly that even a government of the left would not introduce elements of a class policy. That is something we should recognize. Consequently, the question of a government of the left should not cover over this fact.

In my view, while accepting the idea that a government of the left is always preferable to other solutions on a tactical level, nevertheless, today it is necessary to concentrate on questions that can highlight our class positions and thus feed the contradiction that exists between the CP's policy and a class opposition, which now must be rebuilt and shifted to the political level, including the parliament.

Q. Then what is needed is to resume discussions of program and also of what strategy to propose to the workers movement.

A. As I see it, yes. That is what seems to me to be very important. In other words, we polemicize with the CP because it says "trust in politics" (which means trust in parliament, in the parliamentary parties); "forget these struggles, which can't solve anything." We responded mechanically, rejecting politics and confining ourselves to struggles. That is an error. We must manage to establish a close tie between social struggles and a political program.

But the point is this: we are very afraid of mediation and institutions, because all the mediation boards and institutions are capitalist. The problem is to establish mediation procedures and institutions that belong to the working class, to our class. That is the real problem, which is not impossible to solve. The history of the workers movement has recorded important moves in that direction. Even the birth of the Communist parties after the First World War was, at bottom, an attempt to win back, and to win back for the working class, its own tools of mediation, its own institutions. There you have, in my opinion the problem, in simply a new and different form today. □

Kenyan Cops Arrest Demonstrators

In defiance of the Kenyatta regime, students at the University of Nairobi staged an antigovernment protest March 3 and called a boycott of classes. Police, who had taken up positions around the university, arrested about twenty demonstrators.

The protest was held on the third anniversary of the murder of Josiah Mwangi Kariuki, an opposition member of Parliament who had been openly critical of the Kenyatta regime. Subsequent investigations suggested that police and government officials may have been involved in his killing.

AROUND THE WORLD



Bhutto Appeals Death Sentence

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the former prime minister of Pakistan who was ousted in a military coup in July 1977, was sentenced to death by the High Court in Lahore March 18 on charges of having ordered the murder of a political opponent in 1974. (The father of the intended victim was actually killed in the assassination attempt.)

Bhutto appealed the sentence a week later and the Supreme Court of Pakistan agreed to hear the appeal in early May.

Using Bhutto's trial as a pretext, the military junta led by Gen. Zia ul-Haq had earlier postponed promised elections. It also extended its repression in the weeks before the verdict was announced, banning all political activity, arresting hundreds of political activists, including many Bhutto supporters, and severely censoring the press. Troops were prominently deployed in the streets of Lahore and other cities.

Despite the crackdown, there were a few sporadic demonstrations by Bhutto supporters to protest the death sentence.

A number of foreign governments, including those in Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Libya, are reported to have made appeals to Zia to spare Bhutto's life. Washington expressed its "concern." Amnesty International has also called on Zia to commute the sentence.

Bhutto's regime was itself extremely repressive and he is certainly guilty of many crimes against the Pakistani peoples. But his death sentence is part of the current junta's own repressive policies and its efforts to terrorize the population as a whole.

Zia has already introduced widespread flogging of political dissidents. And on March 22, just a few days after the verdict against Bhutto was announced, three persons were publicly hanged in Lahore (on criminal charges), only the second time that a public execution has been staged in Pakistan's history. One official commented that it was to "educate" the population.

Videla Calls for 'Dialogue'

On the second anniversary of the 1976 military coup that brought him to power, Argentine dictator Jorge Rafael Videla called on "the most representative figures of national life" to join him in a "working dialogue" to discuss a "proposal to the nation" on governmental changes.

Videla indicated that a few political

parties might be allowed to resume legal functioning as part of a process toward a "pluralistic" society. He also said that the present members of the ruling junta—the army, air force, and navy commanders—would be replaced later this year, and the junta would designate a "fourth man" to serve as president. According to the March 31 *New York Times*, "Army sources said there was no doubt that General Videla would be chosen."

Dar es Salaam—400 Students Expelled

Using tear gas and clubs, Tanzanian police attacked a student demonstration at Dar es Salaam University March 5. The students had rallied to protest salary hikes for government officials, members of parliament, and officials of Tanzania's sole legal political party, the Chama cha Mapinduzi (Revolutionary Association).

After regrouping, the students continued their march. Several hundred were then arrested and 400, a fifth of the university's total enrollment, were expelled. Those who have been expelled will be unable to get jobs with the government or with the state-controlled corporations, a serious restriction since the state is the largest employer. One of those expelled was Emmy Nyerere, a son of President Julius Nyerere.

In response to the arrests and expulsions, about 30 percent of the students conducted a boycott of examinations. More demonstrations were also held. On March 11, President Nyerere ordered the dissolution of the student association at the university.

U.S. Arms for Siad Barre?

On March 18, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Richard M. Moose arrived in Mogadishu for a series of meetings with Somali President Mohammed Siad Barre, reportedly to discuss improved relations between his regime and the Carter administration. The visit came shortly after the Somali military withdrawal from the Ogaden desert region of eastern Ethiopia.

The results of the discussions between Moose and Siad Barre were not publicly announced. Although Moose declared upon his departure March 23 that the two governments "share important common objectives" and expressed the belief that "we will find ways to work together," he gave no details.

At the beginning of the visit, American reporters speculated that one of the topics that would be discussed was the American offer to supply Siad Barre with "defensive" weapons.

The White House has openly pressed for Somali political concessions as a precondition for such arms aid. In a March 9 news conference, Carter said that Somali authorities would have to make "a renewed commitment not to dishonor the international boundaries of either Ethiopia or Kenya before we would be willing to discuss with them economic aid or defensive supplies."

Such a public pledge could be politically costly for the Siad Barre regime, since it claims to represent the aspirations of the Somali population for the unification of all Somalis, including those in Ethiopia and Kenya, within one state.

To strengthen its bargaining position, Mogadishu has hinted that it might renew ties with Moscow if Carter proves unwilling to supply the desired arms assistance.

Pakistani Workers Strike

On February 16, workers in Lahore observed a two-hour *hartal* (work stoppage) in many of the city's industrial enterprises and held rallies to publicize their demands.

As in many of the strikes in Pakistan over the past two months, the workers protested the January 2 massacre of dozens of textile workers in Multan. They demanded an inquiry by a panel of high court judges and workers' representatives, the bringing to trial of the mill owners and government officials responsible for the killings, and adequate financial compensation for the families of the murdered workers.

The striking workers in Lahore also protested against increasing layoffs, factory lockouts, cases of nonpayment of dues, and arrests of workers. They threatened to take action from the "Khyber to Karachi" if their demands were not met.

On the same day as the Lahore strikes, television workers took over all television stations in the country except the one in Karachi to press their demands for higher wages and other benefits. The following day police stormed the stations and ended the occupations. Twenty-four of the protesting workers were sentenced to jail by military tribunals.

Fidel Castro's Account of Cuba's Role in Ethiopia

[In a speech given in Santiago de Cuba March 15, on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the Baraguá Protest,* Fidel Castro concluded with remarks on the conflict between Ethiopian and Somalian forces, and the Cuban government's role in it.

[Two weeks earlier, on March 2, the Ethiopian government acknowledged for the first time the aid of Cuban forces, placing the Cuban government, Castro said, "in a position to do the same."

[A summary of the Ethiopian and Cuban military operations appeared March 14 in *Granma*, the daily newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party. However, a number of details on the overall Cuban role are reported for the first time in Castro's speech, including the efforts made by Havana to bring the conflict to a peaceful resolution.

[For reasons of space, we have omitted the portion of Castro's speech dealing with historical matters. We have used the text published in the March 26 English-language *Granma* weekly review.]

* * *

I was saying that a detailed report was published yesterday. We might point out that it has been a tradition in our revolutionary process to report on the facts and tell the truth. Every citizen who read those reports yesterday knew there wasn't a single lie there. This has always been our practice from the time of our struggle in the Sierra Maestra and all during these 20 years: the truth, confidence in the people and information for the people. The Revolution works with the masses, merges with the masses and the truth. That's why nobody had any doubts that what *Granma* said yesterday was the truth and nothing but the truth. (APPLAUSE)

Some imperialist news agencies have said that the Cuban people officially found out about our internationalist aid to Ethiopia yesterday. Well, if they want to say "officially," yes, we admit it; but unofficially—in the way we know about things and the way we do things and know how to do them among ourselves—everybody knew about it a long time ago. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

It was the same with our internationalist aid for Angola. The people know about it because we don't do things any other way than with the people. Of course, there are situations in which certain things can't be published officially, because if you must undertake a complicated and dangerous operation you must do so in a discreet manner; there is no need to go around telling everybody about it. (LAUGHTER) But, who if not the workers and peasants of our reserve forces and the soldiers and officers of our regular forces fulfilled this mission? (APPLAUSE) All the combat units knew about it and so did all the reserve units. And, as was the case with Angola, there weren't 1,000 or 10,000 but hundreds of thousands of our compatriots who were willing to fulfill this internationalist mission. (APPLAUSE)

We never do anything behind the backs of the people. Very often the masses are told about many things that are not published on the front pages of the newspapers through the Party and the mass organizations.

What would the Party and the leadership of the Party be able to

do without the masses? We are glad that our masses are very discreet, (APPLAUSE) because there are times here when a secret is known to millions of people and nobody else besides those millions of Cubans finds out the secret. (APPLAUSE)

That is the Revolution; that is the spirit of our people, the heritage from Maceo and the Baraguá Protest. That is the spirit of 1868 and 1895, which is present in our people.

We don't speak of the heroes of the past as if they were tourists in history or mere passive onlookers of the feats of others. Our people can speak of those heroes because they have many present-day heroes. (APPLAUSE) They can speak of their brave *mambí* independence fighters because they are a people of *mambí* fighters. (APPLAUSE) They can speak of their heroes of the past because they are a people of present-day heroes who fulfill their duties without ostentation! (APPLAUSE)

Our Revolution isn't seeking glory or prestige; it simply fulfills its internationalist postulates and principles! (APPLAUSE)

Of course, we couldn't discuss our internationalist aid to Ethiopia publicly until the Ethiopians did. As long as they felt that keeping quiet was the right thing, we did likewise. When the Ethiopians discussed the matter publicly, we, our Party, were then in a position to do the same. It wasn't going to be a secret known to millions of people forever. Now it's a national and international secret. (LAUGHTER)

Fine. We mustn't boast about this. We have no intention of boasting about anything. First of all, we would like to say that we deeply regret the conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia; we did all we could to avoid it. Roughly a year ago, around this time—perhaps it was later than March 20, I don't remember exactly—we organized a meeting in Aden between the leaders of Ethiopia, Yemen and Somalia and ourselves in an effort to solve the problems between Somalia and Ethiopia, precisely to avoid a war; to avoid a development which would constitute a betrayal of the international revolutionary movement; to prevent the leadership of Somalia, with its territorial ambitions and aggressive attitude, from going over to imperialism. We weren't able to prevent it.

In Somalia, there were two forces: forces of the right and forces of the left. For many years they talked to the masses about socialism and progress, but there was a powerful reactionary group in the government, right-wingers who advocated an alliance with imperialism, Arab reaction, Saudi Arabia, Iran, etc. They gradually caused the left-wingers to lose ground in the country, upholding, as reactionaries always do everywhere, the banner of chauvinism. Since they lack a social, political and revolutionary doctrine, reactionaries resort to playing upon people's basest instincts, and they especially resort to chauvinism.

History is filled with examples of this. What did fascism do in Italy and Germany? It extolled racial prejudice. Instead of combating racial prejudice, which is what the revolution does, fascism exalts prejudice and turns it into hatred. That's what the fascists did in Nazi Germany. In the name of nationalism, territorial ambition and racial prejudice, they unleashed the occupation of Europe and the invasion of the USSR. What were German soldiers doing in Stalingrad, 1,500 kilometers inside the border of the USSR? How can men be dragged into such madness? On behalf of narrow nationalism, chauvinism, hatred between nations and territorial ambition.

All reactionaries throughout history have resorted to those methods. Those were the banners upheld by the reactionary faction in the Government of Somalia: national hatred, chauvinism, territorial claims, the idea of a Greater Somalia—which would include Djibouti, a third of Ethiopia and part of Kenya—when all African states, with a great sense of the practical, have

*On March 15, 1878, Antonio Maceo, a leader of the Cuban struggle for independence, met with Spanish officials in Baraguá and refused to accept a peace pact that—after ten years of war—not only failed to grant the island independence but did not even provide for freedom for the slaves.

wisely agreed on the inviolability of the borders left by colonialism. Those who are familiar with the situation in Africa know that in every African nation there are tribes who live on either side of a border. There are many African states that haven't left the tribal stage completely behind yet. Setting the precedent that a country could use force to seize territory which it was claiming would have been disastrous for Africa as a whole. That's why the African states have said that there must be no border changes, much less border changes through the use of force.

Chauvinism, however, isn't the only thing which explains the timing of the attack. Ethiopia was ruled by a feudal regime for many years, and that regime was done away with by the Ethiopian Revolution. Ethiopia is a country in which peasants make up 85 or 90 percent of the population. Before the Revolution and practically up to 1973, even slavery existed in Ethiopia. Those who weren't serfs or peasants tied to the land and oppressed by the landowners might well have been slaves.

Thus, the Ethiopian Revolution meant an extraordinary change for the people of Ethiopia; many millions of exploited peasants were liberated, and the bondage of the exploited masses ended. They didn't have a very large working class, but it was also liberated by the Revolution. Women, who were especially oppressed and subjected to terrible injustices, were liberated by the Ethiopian Revolution.

The Ethiopian Revolution not only did away with feudalism; it also decided to advance toward socialism.(APPLAUSE) One of the most important events to take place in Africa during the last few years was precisely the Ethiopian Revolution.

Ethiopia is a country that has suffered a great deal. It was one of the few African countries that were able to maintain their independence for centuries, fighting resolutely until the Italian fascists, who at all costs wanted colonies of their own, invaded Ethiopia in complicity with the colonial powers of Europe. But Ethiopia is a nation of fighters. By the end of the last century they had already defeated the Italians, who were unable to take over the country. However, in 1935, thanks to their technical superiority, the availability of many resources and the complicity of imperialism, the Italian fascists seized Ethiopia. The Ethiopians fought very hard during the years of occupation, for the Ethiopian people are characterized by their courage and fighting spirit.

Given those circumstances and at the exact moment when the Revolution took place—rather, not exactly then, but when the most radical and revolutionary people took power—was when Somalia launched the attack.

Previously, Ethiopia with its Emperor was an ally of the United States, of imperialism. During all those years the right-wing faction in Somalia never dreamed of invading Ethiopia. Why? Because they didn't want to mess with imperialism. When the Revolution took place but its exact nature hadn't been defined yet, they still didn't dare attack Ethiopia.

In February 1977 the most important, radical and revolutionary elements, headed by Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam (APPLAUSE) took over the leadership of the Ethiopian Revolution and announced their intention to build socialism, and it was then that the ties between Ethiopia and imperialism were broken. It was at that precise moment that the right-wing faction of the Government of Somalia felt the time to invade Ethiopia had come, because they knew that invading Ethiopia meant cooperating with imperialism in the destruction of a great Revolution and that imperialism would be delighted. Furthermore, they knew that the NATO powers would also be delighted if Somalia helped eliminate the Ethiopian Revolution.

Today we realize that when we met with Somalia's leaders in March of last year in Aden they had already worked out the plan—which they later put into practice—to invade Ethiopia, because they felt that the historical opportunity had arrived since Yankee imperialism and the NATO nations would welcome news of the invasion of Ethiopia with open arms.

You know that there are many revolutionary Arab countries but

that there is also a group of reactionary Arab countries. These reactionary Arab countries were also delighted with the attack on Ethiopia to destroy the Revolution. One of those countries, Saudi Arabia, which is ruled by an archaic monarchy, was one of the most interested in the destruction of the Ethiopian Revolution because when you see your neighbor's house on fire you take precautions. Since an Emperor had been overthrown, the Emperor or King of Saudi Arabia or whatever they call him was very worried about the downfall of the Ethiopian Emperor.

The same thing happened in Iran, a reactionary ally of Yankee imperialism with a criminal and repressive government, a country also ruled by a Shah—Shah means Emperor, King, or well, I'm not exactly sure what it means. (LAUGHTER) It is another feudal monarchy, an absolute monarchy that was also bent on destroying the Ethiopian Revolution and encouraging Somalia to attack.

In view of these favorable circumstances for them, the reactionary faction, who hoped to get a flood of petrodollars from Saudi Arabia and Iran and economic aid from NATO and the United States, took advantage of the fact that there was a revolution in Ethiopia and foisted on this country their policy of war and aggression. This is the Somalian leadership's great crime: invading Ethiopia to destroy a revolution on behalf of the reactionary nations of the area, NATO and imperialism.

But at the Aden meeting the leaders of Somalia solemnly pledged, solemnly committed themselves not to invade Ethiopia ever, not to attack Ethiopia militarily. In fact, they already had everything planned, and the attack began in July.

Ethiopia is a big country, it has a large population, it has soldiers and very good soldiers at that. That's why, in answer to their request, we initially decided to send them a few dozen instructors and advisers—the figure might have come to a few hundred—to train units and teach them how to handle modern weapons of a type they weren't familiar with. Since the Emperor was an ally of the United States, the Ethiopians had U.S. weapons; then they started to receive supplies from the socialist countries which they didn't know how to handle.

We felt that helping them to train their army would be a provisional measure, because when the Ethiopian army has been trained and well armed you can be sure that nobody—nobody—will bother them. You can be sure of that! (APPLAUSE)

Why did it become necessary for us to send fighters? Because of the scope and magnitude of Somalia's aggression. Somalia had been preparing itself for a number of years. It had even been upholding the banners of socialism; it claimed to be a progressive country, an ally of the progressive world—I'm talking about the Somalian Government—and all along it had been building up an army. Somalia had hundreds of tanks, hundreds of artillery pieces, planes, many motorized infantry brigades, and nearly all those weapons and units were used during the invasion of Ethiopia.

At that time, Ethiopia had to struggle all over the country against groups of counterrevolutionary bandits aided from abroad and directed by feudal elements, and against the secessionist movements in the north, that are still getting help today from reactionary countries in the region. Ethiopia was faced with a very difficult situation, with no time to spare. If the Ethiopians had had a little more time, they would have learned how to handle all those tanks, artillery pieces and other modern weapons. We, along with other socialist countries, would have contributed to training personnel. But the critical situation created by the invasion in late November led the Ethiopian Government to make an urgent request that we send tank, artillery and aviation specialists to help the army, to help the country, and we did so.

As *Granma* explained, our specialists started arriving in Ethiopia in mid-December and early January. We sent tank, artillery and aviation specialists, since the Ethiopians didn't have the time to learn how to handle that weaponry in view of the situation. They really didn't need infantry; there were plenty of infantrymen. If some Cuban medium-sized units such as battalions were sent to the east, it was to ensure cooperation with the tank and artillery contingents operated by Cuban personnel, since you must

bear in mind the language problem and the fact that there are times when a tank unit must have cooperation with the infantry assured.

But actually our main support for Ethiopia involved sending specialists. The Ethiopians already have artillery and tank units, and I'm sure that soon they'll have excellent cadres to handle that equipment. They have more than enough soldiers, and training an infantryman is easier than training a tank or artillery specialist. We might add that the Ethiopian infantry is made up of very brave and courageous soldiers who have tremendous fighting potential.

Our cooperation became indispensable, the specialists were sent, and, as was reported in *Granma*, Cuban motorized infantry units participated in the final stage of operations alongside the Ethiopian infantry. (APPLAUSE)

We might point out—as was published yesterday—that in seven weeks practically all the occupied territory in Ogaden was liberated, an area of more than 320,000 square kilometers. (APPLAUSE) The invaders had overrun 320,000 square kilometers, an area three times the size of Cuba! From January 22 to March 14, practically the entire area was liberated; only a few towns were left and their capture was just a matter of time, since the Ethiopian forces didn't have enough vehicles and in many of those places they had to go on foot. So, for all practical purposes, the war on the eastern front has ended.

Cooperation between Ethiopians and Cubans was magnificent. There were artillery units made up of Cuban specialists and Ethiopian personnel. In a few days they started to understand one another by using signs and numbers, and the artillery group was operating smoothly. In spite of the language differences, they got along very well, and there was a great deal of comradeship, confidence and brotherhood, and problems were solved smoothly.

I repeat that we don't want to seem as if we are boasting, as if we were indulging in exaggerated praise for our fighters, but we do think that it's only fair to say that the Cuban internationalist fighters stood out for their extraordinary effectiveness and magnificent combat ability. (APPLAUSE) It is really admirable to see how many sons of our people were capable of going to that distant land and of fighting there as if fighting in their own country. That is proletarian internationalism! (APPLAUSE) Brave and efficient revolutionary soldiers soon struck up a wonderful friendship and close ties with the admirable Ethiopian revolutionary fighters; they were welcomed in an extraordinarily affectionate manner by the Ethiopian people, and I know their leaders are very grateful to our people for this help.

The war against the invaders is practically over. Ethiopia has publicly stated it will not cross Somalia's border. This seems to us completely just and correct, because the war was fought not to invade another country, much less to seize land which belongs to others. It was an absolutely just, defensive war to protect territory invaded by foreign aggressors until such a time as those aggressors could be thrown out. Of course, this means that the attacks on Ethiopia from Somalia will cease, because we can't imagine that any country would be willing to tolerate attacks launched from the borders of another country indefinitely without responding appropriately. But we know the Ethiopian Government was absolutely sincere in its assurance that its troops would not cross the Somali border. Actually, from the military point of view there is no need to do so, since the attacking forces have been completely defeated, and we fully support the position of the Ethiopian Government.

What will happen in Somalia? There's no telling. But it is clear that the right-wing faction, which imposed its aggressive and adventurist line on the Government of Somalia, has suffered a great defeat. Naturally, even amidst defeat the imperialists are trying to encourage this group and are maneuvering. However, there are also progressive and left-wing forces in Somalia, and we shall see what happens in the coming weeks. Of course, this is a matter that only concerns the people of Somalia, not any of us or any other country.

The imperialists have assumed a very hypocritical position during the conflict, because they knew that Somalia was invading Ethiopia right from the start, in July. The United States and the NATO countries knew about it and remained silent; they didn't say a word and they were delighted. They provided weapons for the aggressors—weapons from the United States and from NATO member states—by way of Saudi Arabia, Iran and other countries, and as the Somalians advanced they didn't say a word. When Somalia had occupied nearly all of Ogaden, the imperialists were optimistic; but when the Ethiopians began receiving internationalist aid, when they started to get weapons from the socialist camp and internationalist Cuban fighters began to arrive, the imperialists raised a real hue and cry. Then they insisted that there had to be a meeting of the OAU, the UN, etc., etc., and they talked about the need for a cease-fire. When, though, did they start talking about a cease-fire? When the aggressors started to lose the war.

As long as Somalia's forces advanced, the imperialists didn't say a word. When things started to change after the Ethiopians' first successful battles, when they realized that the situation could change quickly, then they raised the hue and cry and unleashed a propaganda drive all over the world, talking about the Cuban internationalist fighters—the Cuban troops as they call them—in Ethiopia. When the tables began to turn, they started to talk about a cease-fire, something which they hadn't done for all those months when the reactionary aggressors advanced. Of course, the Ethiopian Government quite correctly said that there could be no cease-fire as long as part of its territory was occupied. That's also our revolutionary philosophy: there can be no cease-fire as long as there is occupied territory. (APPLAUSE)

The first counterattacks and the offensive followed, and the enemy troops were roundly defeated. They had to pull out in great haste, leaving behind tanks, cannon, artillery, all kinds of weapons, to escape being surrounded and captured because they had been defeated, completely defeated. We must point out that there was nothing voluntary about the withdrawal of Somalia's troops. If they had stayed four more days, just four more days, virtually all their troops in Ogaden would have been surrounded. Due to the way the revolutionary forces advanced and captured the main communication centers, if the enemy hadn't undertaken a speedy withdrawal, the remains of Somalia's army would have been surrounded in Ogaden. Thus, the aggressors have been forced to leave. They can't fool anybody at all by saying that the Somali Government made the gesture of withdrawing its troops, because had the Somalians not done so they would have lost what little they had left. That's the situation: they left as a result of the military operations in which they were defeated.

That's the truth; there's no need to lie. We feel that the war between Somalia and Ethiopia has ended for the time being since the territory has been liberated. I don't think the Somalians will be stupid enough to fall into the temptation of attacking Ethiopia again on their own; but just as reactionary countries, NATO states and imperialism encouraged them once they might do so again.

We sincerely advocate peace between the two countries. The aim of the war was to liberate occupied territory. We sincerely hope that the people of Somalia will now be able to live in peace and march down the real path of progress and socialism. The people of Somalia have great merits and virtues. As *Granma* explained, Somalia's soldiers aren't cowardly. It is fair and right to say this. They were tough and showed real fighting spirit. They were undoubtedly fooled and poisoned by that chauvinism and the idea of a Greater Somalia. Nobody should think that Somali soldiers are weak or incompetent—but they were defeated. The enemy did not appraise the situation well and made errors of leadership. There's no doubt that the Somali leaders made serious political errors and some military ones, which explain the defeat—not to mention the fact that they were trying to commit a great crime against history. The effectiveness of the revolutionary forces greatly reduced their casualties in combat. It must be said that due to their effectiveness and magnificent combat training, our

internationalist fighters suffered very few casualties.

We are also giving Ethiopia civilian aid. In all, counting doctors, technicians and other health personnel, we've sent—most of them are there—more than 300 medical workers. The country has a population of 30 million, it is very heavily populated, and health conditions are still very poor. We have talked about this on other occasions.

I don't need to say more on this subject. We felt that its importance and implications justified our dealing with it today.

Dear comrades, let's dedicate the last minutes of this ceremony to the Baraguá Protest and Antonio Maceo. From the bottom of our hearts let's dedicate the work of the Revolution to them. To Maceo, Gómez, Céspedes, Agramonte, Martí, Yara, Baraguá and Baire we offer the tribute of our revolutionary efforts, of our generation's revolutionary efforts. To them we dedicate the

Moncada, the Granma, the Sierra, the 13th of March, Girón and the heroic internationalist missions in Angola and Ethiopia. (APPLAUSE) To them we dedicate our efforts and struggles.

On such a day, let's pledge to continue marching forward as we've marched so far, enriching the pages of Cuban history.

Many tasks and efforts await us. Our fighters must intensify their combat training, and our workers must step up their efforts to fulfill all the goals we have ahead of us.

Taking our inspiration from our ancestors, from deeds like this and from Antonio Maceo, let's faithfully fulfill our present-day duties!

Patria o Muerte!
Venceremos!
(OVATION)

The Polemic Between Tirana and Peking

By Guy Desolre

The ideological conflict between Tirana and Peking was spotlighted last summer, with the publication of a sharply worded editorial in *Zeri i Popullit*, the Albanian CP daily, attacking the "theory of three worlds" upheld by Peking.¹

However, the dispute between Tirana and Peking is neither new nor especially recent. For several years (since 1971, in fact), keen observers have noted what were at first nothing more than nuances and differences in emphasis between the Chinese Communist Party's positions on foreign policy and those of the Albanian CP.

After that, the differences continued to deepen, up to the beginning of 1976 and Nixon's second visit to Peking, this time as former president of the United States. A lull set in between March-April 1976 (the Tien An Men incidents and the fall of Teng Hsiao-p'ing) and the end of the year (the ouster of the "gang of four").

The lukewarm congratulations sent by the Albanian government to Hua Kuo-feng upon his designation as chairman of the CP Central Committee, and the silence with which it greeted the ouster of the "gang of four," were an early indication that the power struggle in China would have repercussions on Sino-Albanian relations. The attacks launched by Enver Hoxha from the platform of the Albanian CP's Seventh Congress on the "theory of three worlds" removed all doubt in the matter.

The 'Theory of Three Worlds'

We should first review the main points of the "theory of three worlds," since that is what is at issue. This "theory" was first "officially" formulated by Teng Hsiao-

p'ing as head of the Chinese delegation to the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly dealing with the problems of raw materials on April 10, 1974. The following is the key portion of his remarks:

... all the political forces in the world have undergone drastic division and realignment through prolonged trials of strength and struggle. A large number of Asian, African and Latin American countries have achieved independence one after another and they are playing an ever greater role in international affairs. As a result of the emergence of social-imperialism, the socialist camp which existed for a time after World War II is no longer in existence. Owing to the law of the uneven development of capitalism, the Western imperialist bloc, too, is disintegrating. Judging from the changes in international relations, the world today actually consists of three parts, or three worlds, that are both interconnected and in contradiction to one another. The United States and the Soviet Union make up the First World. The developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions make up the Third World. The developed countries between the two make up the Second World.²

This theory, in fact, is nothing but a justification of the foreign policy China has followed for several years. Since the end of the Cultural Revolution, as the Soviet Union began to be presented more and more as the "most dangerous" superpower, and with Chou En-lai's introduction of "ping-pong" diplomacy, Peking has attempted to justify in theoretical terms the notion that the most important struggle for the world's peoples and working classes is the struggle against "hegemonism," in particular Soviet "hegemonism," and that the primary forces in this battle should come from the Third World countries.

The Chinese government has also tried

to justify the search for alliances with the "second world," which "can be won over," including by means of pressure exerted from within by the right (i.e., the visits to China by Franz-Josef Strauss and Edward Heath). This "second world" (Western Europe, Canada, and Japan) is of specially great importance inasmuch as Western Europe is the primary arena of the contest between the United States and the Soviet Union, which will give rise, according to the Chinese bureaucracy, to the third world war.

Following the Albanian attacks on this theory, it was vehemently restated by Chinese officials, particularly in an editorial in *People's Daily* on November 1, 1977.

We should note—so as not to be misled by the "ideological" appearances of things, that is, by what the Chinese bureaucrats are now saying about their theorizations—that the "theory of three worlds" was already *implicit* (i.e., not stated outright) in the report given by Lin Piao to the Ninth Congress of the Chinese CP in April 1969. At that congress he said that of the two "paper tigers" (American imperialism and Soviet "social-imperialism"), the former was "going downhill more and more."³

Albania Takes Exception

The first thing to note about Albania's reply to the "theory of three worlds" is that it predated the lengthy attack in the *Zeri i Popullit* article of July 7, 1977. At the Seventh Congress of the Albanian CP in November 1976, Enver Hoxha said:

... the terms "Third World," "nonaligned countries," or "developing countries" create the illusion among broad masses struggling for national and social liberation that there they might find a kind of shelter from the threat of the superpowers. But these terms hide the real situation in the majority of these countries, which in one way or another, have ties of political, ideo-

1. "Theory and practice of revolution," *Zeri i Popullit*, July 7, 1977. The Albanian leadership later gave this text wide publicity, reprinting it in pamphlet form in a large number of languages.

2. "Chairman of Chinese Delegation Teng Hsiao-p'ing's Speech," *Peking Review*, April 15, 1974, p. 6.

3. *Peking Review*, April 30, 1969, p. 31.

logical, and economic dependency, both with the superpowers and with the old colonial centers.

He added:

... American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the two superpowers, are today the most powerful and most dangerous enemies of the people, and in this respect they represent the same danger.⁴

In all of their major speeches since then, Albanian officials have struck the same theme. At the Eighth Congress of Albanian Professional Unions, held in June 1977, in Korça, Rita Marko, chairman of the Central Council of Professional Unions, once more refuted the "theory of three worlds."⁵

The second thing to note is that the July 7 *Zeri i Popullit* article scored supporters of the "theory of three worlds" for neglecting the struggle against Suharto and Pinochet, Geisel, and Mobutu, saying that "whoever forgets that it is necessary to combat both the Warsaw pact and the Nato alliance, that it is necessary to reject both the Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) and the Common Market, whoever does this joins their camp and becomes their slave."⁶ This represented a further step in the escalating polemic between Tirana and Peking. The problem, then, consists of determining why this further step occurred at this particular time.

The answer, in our opinion, is to be sought in the Albanian rulers' deliberate step-up in their ideological offensive. In this process, several stages can be discerned, centering on the assembling of the various "Marxist-Leninist" movements around the world, coordination of these movements, and the gradual creation of a pro-Albanian "Marxist-Leninist" current.

It should be noted that the escalation of the polemic since July 1977 has always been accompanied by *silence* on the part of the Albanians as to the identity of the defenders of the "theory of three worlds." At the same time, however, they have not refrained from publishing documents by various "Marxist-Leninist" parties attacking this theory with even greater vehemence (such as a telegram from the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Spain [Marxist-Leninist], addressed to the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party, which calls the theory "rotten"), and comparing the break with supporters of the "theory of three worlds" to the break with Khrushchev's revisionism (the position put forward by the Communist Party of Brazil).

The Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-

Leninist), which publishes the weekly *Nuova Unità*, published in the same issue the *Zeri i Popullit* article and an article openly critical of internal developments in China and attacking Teng Hsiao-p'ing. This article, which appeared at the very moment of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's official rehabilitation, was not republished by the Albanian press, although the Albanian government supports the CPI(ML).

Albanian Irreverence

It must be said, however, that the reason why the escalation of the Sino-Albanian dispute was so hard for some to decipher is that the Albanians employed "Chinese" techniques—relatively sophisticated ones, that is—to express their dissent. As for the Chinese, they remained impassive in face of Tirana's attacks for a long time (up to the November 1 reply in *People's Daily*, and even then they did not specify to whom they were replying, just as the Albanian rulers so far have never explicitly stated whom they are attacking).

The "Chinese techniques" used by the Albanians can be called "indirect techniques," in the sense of 1958, when the Chinese rulers began to attack the Yugoslav rulers while aiming at Khrushchev and the Soviet bureaucracy. Today, in the same way, the Albanians are attacking the "theory of three worlds" without explicitly attributing paternity to its Chinese progenitors. Like the Chinese criticisms of the Soviet Union before 1961, the Albanian attacks were designed to "strike" and "injure" without ever calling the real enemy by name.

This "Chinese" irreverence, directed against the Chinese, was expressed in a speech by Shehu, who condemned recent anti-Albanian "pressures, blackmail, blockades, and plots," including the "putsch attempt by Beqir Ballaku" (minister of defense, expelled from the CP Political Bureau in 1974 and generally considered to be "pro-Chinese").

But it reached its zenith when President Tito visited China. At that very moment, the Albanians resurrected a *Zeri i Popullit* editorial published at the time that the Chinese attacks on the Yugoslavs were at their height, with the title "Results of N. Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia."⁷ To make it even more biting, they changed the title to "Khrushchev on his knees before Tito," and revealed the author—none other than Enver Hoxha.⁸

Meanwhile, they circulated the article in pamphlet form in Peking diplomatic circles. Publication of this document in a form that was insulting to Hua Kuo-feng and Tito confirmed the deterioration of

relations between Peking and Tirana, while strongly indicating that the improvement of relations between People's China and Yugoslavia had been an important factor in the deterioration of relations between People's China and Albania.

The harshest attacks in the article—"Of the two, it was Tito who stood to gain the most from the meeting taking place and from the publication of an official document"; "Khrushchev is still obliged to retain his mask"; "Khrushchev has now decided to wipe out the socialist camp at one stroke"; "the rapprochement and union with the lackey and agent of imperialism, this lackey fed and maintained by American dollars, constitutes a big step forward toward a rapprochement and union with the master himself: American imperialism"—could be directly translated by substituting Hua Kuo-feng for Khrushchev. Furthermore, these attacks represented a clear reminder to the Chinese bureaucracy of its own past.

Albania's International Relations

Even while the Albanian leaders were attacking their Chinese counterparts in no uncertain terms, as we have seen, and reiterating their position of fierce hostility to Yugoslavia, the relations between Albanians and Yugoslavs, which had vastly improved since 1968 (year of the invasion of Czechoslovakia) in face of the common threat from the Soviet Union, did not themselves deteriorate.

On the Albanian side, the doctrine formulated in 1974 by Enver Hoxha has not undergone any changes:

The Albanian, Yugoslav, and Greek peoples have never been brought to their knees by an outside enemy. These peoples do not have a slave spirit, and they have continually forced recognition of this throughout their long history. The Albanians, the Yugoslavs, and the Greeks are not the kind to sport a pistol for show if either the Americans, the Soviets, or anyone else attacks them and tries to rob them of their liberty and sovereignty. That is why the two superpowers, and the satellite states they have brought under their control, can daydream all they want to. Neither the Yugoslav, nor the Greek, nor the Albanian people will ever permit their soil to be trampled under by the Soviets, the Americans, the Italian fascists, or the Germans.⁹

Likewise, Yugoslav officials stress the necessity of broadening cooperation with Albania, indicating that it is in Yugoslavia's long-term interests to do so.¹⁰ Yugoslav commentators, who no longer publicize all of the ideological attacks on Yugo-

4. Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Seventh Congress of the Albanian Communist Party," Tirana, 1976.

5. *Puna*, organ of the Central Council of Professional Unions, French edition, No. 2, 1977.

6. "Theory and practice of revolution," loc. cit.

7. *Zeri i Popullit*, September 13, 1963.

8. Enver Hoxha, "Khrushchev à genoux devant Tito" *Albanie Aujourd'hui*, No. 5, 1977, pp. 40-46.

9. Enver Hoxha, "Our Policy Is an Open Policy, the Policy of Proletarian Principles," speech to the voters of district 209 in Tirana, October 3, 1974: Tirana, Editions 8 Nëntori, 1974, pp. 74-75.

10. Speech by Ilijaz Kurteshi, chairman of the Kosovo, Yugoslavia provincial assembly, November 22, 1976, in *Radio Free Europe Research*, December 10, 1976.

slavia by the Albanian leadership, consider that these attacks are essentially an expression of internal conflicts among the Albanian leadership, and explain their disinclination to respond as a refusal to intervene in Albania's internal affairs.

The Yugoslav officials' interpretation seems confirmed, moreover, by the attribution of pro-Yugoslav, and even "self-management," positions to some Albanian officials who have been expelled from the leadership. For instance, in a recent issue of the Albanian CP's theoretical magazine, Omer Hashorva again attacked both Yugoslav self-management and the "opportunists" in Albania who support it.¹¹

The status of relations between Albania and Yugoslavia, together with their evolution, should make it possible to concretely evaluate not only the underlying reasons for the rift between China and Albania, but also Albania's position in international relations, which—as is the case with every small country—are "overdetermined" by its relations with its immediate neighbors.

The role of nationalism and the importance of the nationalist element should also be taken into account. Albania is a small country that has succeeded in forging its own national destiny in spite of everything, including the sarcasm of Marx, who predicted that the fate of its inhabitants—that "hardy aboriginal mountain people"—was to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" in the service of neighboring Serbs and Greeks,¹² or the skepticism of Lenin, who saw it only as a passive object of rivalry among other states during the Balkan wars.¹³

The Albanian leadership was held in contempt by the Yugoslavs, kept in the dark by Stalin as to the rupture between Yugoslavia and the Cominform (Albania was the only East European country that was not a member of the Cominform), excluded from the Kremlin's decisions concerning the reconciliation between Tito and Khrushchev, and kept in ignorance as to the incidents that led up to the Sino-Soviet split. Nor were they informed by the Chinese rulers of their decisions, or of the turn that since 1974 has been codified in the "theory of three worlds."

Does this mean that the Albanian rulers have decided to break with the Chinese on all levels? It would be more accurate to say

11. *Rruga e Partise*, September 1977, in *Radio Free Europe Research*, November 4, 1977.

12. Karl Marx, *The Eastern Question* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), p. 6. [Eleanor Marx Aveling and Edward Aveling, who edited this collection of articles on the Crimean War for an edition first published in 1897, incorrectly attributed all of them to Marx. Many were written by or in collaboration with Engels.—IP/I]

13. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1963), vol. 18, p. 340.

that they have taken calculated risks (in expectation of blackmail by the Chinese) that have been carefully weighed in advance and compensated for. As a member of the Trotskyist movement observed on a visit to Albania in 1975:

When you get to know this country a little, you soon realize that the major concern of the Albanians is to rid themselves of this dependency [on the Chinese], which makes their economy very vulnerable, both from the standpoint of maintaining present production facilities and of expanding them. They are putting their motto of "relying on our own strength" to work by building factories to produce replacement parts, putting the emphasis in job training on maintenance and repair of the existing machinery, and then moving as quickly as possible to building workshops for manufacturing all-Albanian machinery (this is the blueprint being followed at the Mao Tsetung tractor plant in Tirana).¹⁴

It was no accident that at the same time Enver Hoxha proclaimed Albania's opposition to the "theory of three worlds," at the CP's Seventh Congress, he also announced that Albania had become self-sufficient in grain production.

It is not clear whether China withdrew aid from the metal-manufacturing complex in Elbasan. But the Albanian leadership's denial of rumors to that effect goes back to the period when they were unsure of China's foreign policy (between the Tien An Men incidents and the ouster of the "gang of four").

On the other hand, it is almost certain that Chinese aid to the construction of the new Fierza dam (which is slated to become the country's major hydroelectric complex) has been sharply curtailed, as attested by the remarks made by the chairman of the University of Tirana Union Committee at the most recent Congress of Albanian Trade Unions. He spoke at length on the construction work that had been undertaken in order to design and produce machines that had had to be imported up to then.¹⁵

As for the Albanian students whose much-publicized departure from China in the summer of 1977 had been presented as a mere "vacation," they do not appear to have returned.

Albania and the 'Marxist-Leninists'

The presence (and absence) of foreign delegations at the congresses held in Albania in recent months are a good indicator of the status of relations between the Albanian rulers and the "Marxist-Leninist" movements or parties around the world. We should look at the Seventh Congress of the Albanian CP (November 1976), the Eighth Congress of Professional Unions (June 1977), and the Seventh Con-

14. "A Trotskyist in Albania," *La Brèche*, Brussels, No. 16/17, pp. 17-18.

15. Speech by Edmund Luçi, *Puna*, June 24, 1977.

gress of the Union of Worker Youth (September 1977) from this standpoint.

In all, thirty-two foreign delegations attended the CP congress. Twenty-two attended the trade-union congress, and nineteen attended the youth congress, most of them sent by "Marxist-Leninist" parties, groups, or organizations (in addition to representatives, at the trade-union congress, of official unions from developing countries such as Syria).

During the meetings that took place at these congresses and outside of them, the Albanians attempted, with the help of representatives from "Marxist-Leninist" groups, to set up an elementary type of interregional, continental, and even international coordination. The reports given to these three congresses attacked the "theory of three worlds," and this reference point became the common basis for the various regroupments and networks that were set up. The "Declaration of Eight Authentic Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America" (November 1976), and the "Joint Declaration of Five European Marxist-Leninist Parties" (October 1977) should be mentioned in this connection.

The first of these declarations is dated from Tirana itself. While the second was made public at a press conference in Paris, it is all but certain that it was drawn up in Tirana (where representatives of all these parties had been received during the preceding weeks, except for the Greek "Marxist-Leninists"), in close consultation with Albanian officials. The latter have begun to travel in an official capacity to international gatherings and public meetings, making their support to one or another "Marxist-Leninist" party public and overt.

Through these contacts, the Albanian rulers have overtly declared their solidarity with a small number of parties, to which they seem to attribute great importance: the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), the largest "Marxist-Leninist" party in western Europe; the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist), led by the Dinucci brothers; the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), which was the first "Marxist-Leninist" group to receive a personal message to its congress from Enver Hoxha, despite its insignificant weight relative to the Labor Party of Spain or the Revolutionary Workers Organization, both of which are pro-"three worlds"; the Communist Party of Brazil (historically the first "antirevisionist" party, founded in 1962); the Communist Party of New Zealand; and other "Marxist-Leninist" organizations of recent origin, as in those countries with which China maintains good relations, such as Iran.

The Albanian doctrine in the area of international contacts was spelled out in the CP's theoretical magazine by the party theoretician Sotir Manushi: "Our party believes that multilateral contacts and

broad gatherings of Marxist-Leninist parties are preferable to bilateral meetings, in that they better serve the ends of the Marxist-Leninist movement.¹⁶ This is certainly unaccustomed talk, and an innovation compared with former practices of the Albanian and Chinese leaderships.

A Pro-Albanian International?

Does this mean that the Albanian leadership is moving in the direction of establishing an international organization of groups that are pro-Albanian and opposed to the "theory of three worlds"? In our opinion, it would be premature to draw this conclusion. The Albanian rulers are too worried about total independence to risk this sort of venture. Nor are they unaware, it seems, of the irresponsible nature of a few of the groups they are associated with (for example, the Communist Party of Spain [Marxist-Leninist], to take the most familiar example).

Nevertheless, given the crisis and disarray that prevails in the Marxist-Leninist movement, we should not overlook the innovative character of the types of relations the Albanian leadership is trying to establish. Granted, it is doubtful that they will be in a position to serve as the rallying point for the kind of movement that will ever equal the support that the Chinese CP enjoys around the world. But in view of the state of the "Marxist-Leninist" movement today, at a time when Maoism has lost a good deal of its credibility, the new style of the Albanians gives them some chances for a small breakthrough, and for winning larger groups away from the Chinese orbit.¹⁷

The very fact the Albanian rulers have not hesitated to confront the Chinese in this area shows they have taken off the gloves in their handling of relations with China, and that they probably expect that, irrespective of such efforts, relations between big China and little Albania are going to deteriorate. It also shows that Enver Hoxha and the Albanian leadership have few illusions as to the "altruistic" character of Chinese aid, which they vaunted so much in the past.

At the turn of the century, a British author, Aubrey Herbert, described Albania as the "Ireland of the Ottoman Empire."¹⁸ Today we might speak of Albania as the "Ireland of Marxism-Leninism." Analogies can be misleading, but this one at least holds for the stubbornness with

which the "hardy mountain people" Marx spoke of assert their independence.

The reasons for these sharp attacks do not, of course, lie in a sudden discovery by Enver Hoxha and the Albanian rulers, or their friends around the world, that the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China has gone counterrevolutionary. Nor do they lie in Albanian irritation over the fact that Teng Hsiao-p'ing (whom Enver Hoxha again strongly denounced at the Seventh Congress, although he did not mention the "gang of four") is one of the authors of the theory of "three worlds." The reasons are to be found in the Albanian rulers' alarm at the practical consequences that Chinese diplomatic policy might have for Albania.

Peking's foreign policy has undergone a radical change from the time when it rejoiced over the breakdown of negotiations between Great Britain and the European Economic Community in 1963, and when it expressed satisfaction over the success of negotiations, followed by the positive outcome of the referendum in Britain, on entry into the Common Market.¹⁹

The Chinese rulers have every intention of strengthening their ties with the "Nine," both politically and economically. Furthermore, they are giving encouragement to the military strengthening of NATO's European allies, even of NATO itself (United States included), in face of what they consider the "main enemy," namely, "Soviet social-imperialism."²⁰ This cannot fail to cause uneasiness among the Albanians.

Furthermore, the gradual strengthening of Sino-Yugoslav relations since 1971 has also provoked Tirana's wrath. It should also be recalled that the Yugoslav question was one of the pivotal points around which the Sino-Albanian alliance against Khrushchev was forged in the late 1950s, the Albanians never having accepted the 1955 reconciliation between Tito and Khrushchev, and the Chinese having violently lashed out at the Yugoslavs at the 1958 congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists (after a two-year thaw in Sino-Yugoslav relations).

However, by mid-1971, Sino-Yugoslav relations had vastly improved, after a series of exchanges in which (as in Sino-American relations) "ping-pong diplomacy" played its part. Since that time, the Chinese press has tirelessly praised the Yugoslav army and its large-scale maneuvers.

Above all, there was the strange communiqué issued during the visit to China of Mirko Tepavac, Yugoslav minister of foreign affairs, which announced China's

19. *Peking Review*, May 13, 1963; July 5, 1971; and June 30, 1975.

20. *Peking Review*, December 21, 1973, highlighting the "need for further improvement" of the NATO forces, p. 21.

final disavowal of all fundamental criticism of Yugoslav revisionism. Through a subtle blend of the Yugoslav diplomats' gusto and Oriental finesse, a "formula of transition" was inserted, making for many possible interpretations of this enigmatic sentence concerning the social nature of the two countries:

During the talks, the two sides stressed that all countries, whether their social systems are *the same or different* and whether they are *big or small*, should base their relations on the principles of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. [Emphasis added.]²¹

It is patently absurd to consider Albania a country led by a "superrevolutionary" party, waging a solitary battle on all fronts, in a relentlessly hostile world in which, according to some, Albania is "mired in utter isolation," or, according to others, has become the sole "beacon" of socialism. The concept of a "beacon of socialism" is incongruous and absurd from a Marxist standpoint, and stems from an essentially religious mode of thought.

The theory of Albania's supposed isolation is also ridiculous, as is the theory, held in Yugoslavia, that "Albania is acting against its own interests" by taking positions on international matters.

Like rulers in every country, those in Albania are acting in accordance with the preservation of their own interests. Viewed in this light, there is a great deal of consistency and cohesion in the line Albania has unwaveringly followed since its break with Yugoslavia in 1948. There is, in fact, a great deal of consistency in the rejection of "mixed societies" (meaning, in Albania, not Soviet-Albanian but Yugoslav-Albanian ties), and in the Albanians' refusal to allow Khrushchev to turn their country into a cultivator of citrus fruits for the Soviet consumer, in their fear of a stratum of specialists and technocrats developing in the plants (against which, since 1966, the Albanian CP has promoted forms of "workers control" in factories), and in their rejection of Yugoslav self-management.

The Albanian rulers fear that the rapprochement between Peking on one side and Belgrade and the Common Market on the other may modify—or set the stage for modifying—the delicate political-military balance of forces that now exists in the Adriatic basin. Such a modification would threaten the real independence of Albania, which it has been able to maintain precisely by playing on the antagonisms between Moscow and Belgrade, Belgrade and Rome, Belgrade and Peking, and Peking and the Common Market. While not underestimating the independent role of ideological factors, it is this fear that constitutes the key to the conflict. □

21. *Peking Review*, June 21, 1971, p. 18.

16. *Rruga e Partise*, March 1977, in *Radio Free Europe Research*, July 12, 1977, p. 10.

17. Some of the steps taken by the Albanian rulers, such as their message to the Chinese leadership demanding that it play a conciliatory role in the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict rather than continue to pour oil on the flames, are likely to enhance their credibility.

18. Quoted by Richard Clegg in the *Times Literary Supplement*, February 25, 1977, p. 205.

Save the Life of Galindo Madrid!

Canadian supporters of civil liberties are fighting the threatened deportation of Galindo Madrid Avilez, a political refugee who faces imprisonment and possible death if sent back to Chile.

An order to deport Madrid, issued last October, was upheld in the Immigration Appeal Board March 6 but has been temporarily stayed pending review by Ottawa. Since a final deportation order could be issued at any time, the Galindo Madrid Defense Committee has been working urgently to publicize the case and bring pressure to bear on the immigration minister to grant political asylum.

Galindo Madrid, twenty-one, is a seaman who left his ship in Squamish, British Columbia, in May 1977 to apply for political asylum. He had fled Chile, where personal experience had convinced him that his life was in danger.

Madrid became a student leader while still in high school in Quintero, before the military coup. He was arrested after the coup on September 18, 1973, and tortured for four days. Still he continued to carry out political activities in the Chilean underground until drafted into the army on January 15, 1975.

Together with other soldiers, he was assigned to cleaning up the Pisagua Concentration Camp so that foreign visitors would not see the evidence of torture and executions.

"At the Pisagua Concentration Camp," Madrid said in a sworn declaration to Canadian immigration authorities, "I observed corpses dumped in open pits or graves, torture rooms, execution stands, and also electrical wires, instruments and equipment for torture. I also observed human remains on the beaches near Pisagua camp and also on the dry and barren hills in the desert to the east of Pisagua. The limbs of most of these corpses had been mutilated and damaged and had broken jaws and smashed skulls. . . ."

"At Pisagua I was personally involved in the removal of execution stands, I was personally involved in the removal of signs and evidence of persecution and torture namely covering up blood on floors and demolishing walls with bullet holes. . . ."

Madrid continued to talk politics to his fellow soldiers in a cautious way. When, after serving the required two years, he was arbitrarily recalled for further military service, he feared that his clandestine political activities had been discovered. It was then he decided to desert and leave the



GALINDO MADRID

country rather than remain where his life might be in danger.

Madrid took a job with a Greek shipping line. He and a friend, Luis Sanchez, attempted to leave their ship in Squamish to apply for Canadian asylum. The ship's captain threatened to hold them on board until they could be transferred back to Chile. Alerted about the urgency of the situation, Squamish longshoremen refused

to handle the ship until the two were allowed to come ashore.

After applying for political asylum, Madrid and Sanchez spoke to the press about the repression they had personally experienced and witnessed in Chile.

The denial of refugee status to Madrid and Sanchez came only a few months after Canada said it was raising its commitment under the Special Chilean Movement program and would admit up to 7,000 refugees.

There was a quick response to the emergency campaign launched in early March, after immigration authorities upheld Madrid's deportation order. On March 10 the British Columbia Federation of Labour sent a telegram to the immigration minister demanding the granting of political asylum. A petition of 359 names was gathered in just three days. A picket of forty persons was held outside the Immigration offices on March 13.

Among the supporters of Madrid's right to asylum are: the B.C. New Democratic Party, the Vancouver chapters of the Committee for Defense of Human Rights in Chile and of Amnesty International, the Vancouver Chilean Association, the Vancouver Committee for Solidarity with Latin America, locals of the United Steelworkers of America and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the Revolutionary Workers League.

The defense committee has asked that letters and telegrams in support of Madrid's right to asylum be sent to The Honorable Bud Cullen, Minister of Manpower and Immigration, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, Ontario. Copies should be sent to the Galindo Madrid Defense Committee, Box 69127, Station K, Vancouver, B.C. V5K 4W4. □

Chilean Socialist Party Leader Exiled

Carlos Lazo, a leader of the Chilean Socialist Party, has been banished from the country by the Pinochet regime for a twenty-year period.

Lazo, who served as president of the state bank under the Allende government, had originally been sentenced to death by a military court for "treason and fomenting sedition in the armed forces." That sentence was later reduced to a long prison term.

On March 27, the dictatorship commuted Lazo's jail sentence and banished him

from Chile. The SP leader was expected to join his family in France.

Peru Copper Miners Strike

Four thousand copper miners and metal workers went on strike against the Southern Peru Copper Corporation in Toquepala on March 27.

The workers are demanding the rehiring of 117 miners fired after the July 19, 1977, general strike, as well as wage increases.

The U.S.-owned company is the largest producer of copper in Peru.