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Free Shcharansky, Ginzburg, Pyatkus!

By Marilyn Vogt

Three more members of the Helsinki monitoring groups were sentenced to long prison terms in trials held in the Soviet Union the second week of July.

The three—Anatoly Shcharansky and Aleksandr Ginzburg, founding members of the Moscow group, and Viktoras Pyatkus, a founding member of the Lithuanian group—were all convicted on charges of “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.”

Shcharansky, in addition, was framed up by the Stalinist rulers on a charge of “high treason in the form of espionage,” which carried a possible death penalty.

Shcharansky, tried in Moscow, received a thirteen-year term—three years in prison and ten years in a strict-regime labor camp—for the espionage charge and a seven-year labor-camp term on the “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda” charge. The two sentences are to be served concurrently.

Ginzburg, tried in Kaluga, 100 miles southwest of Moscow, received a term of eight years in a strict-regime labor camp.

Pyatkus, tried in Vilnius, capital of the Lithuanian republic, received a fifteen-year term—ten years in a labor camp followed by five years’ internal exile.

All three were tried in courtrooms closed to the public, packed in advance with spectators handpicked by the Kremlin’s police.

The trials, particularly of Shcharansky and Ginzburg, received extensive international publicity, in part because President Carter and the U.S. State Department chose to focus on Shcharansky’s case as an example of human-rights violations in the USSR.

All three civil-rights activists were arrested in 1977 after the Stalinist rulers began to try to crush the monitoring groups. The groups, beginning with the Moscow group formed in May 1976, had developed in four other Soviet republics and were bringing together in common struggle sectors of the human-rights movements that had previously worked separately. Initially, the Kremlin was unable to launch a campaign against them because of the support they had won from trade-union and prosocialist forces in Europe.

In early 1977, after Carter sought to present himself a champion of the human-rights movement in the USSR, the Kremlin moved to the offensive. Ginzburg’s arrest February 3, 1977, was followed by a systematic campaign of arrests of Helsinki group members in five republics. This was

accompanied by a press campaign attempting to portray the dissidents as agents of imperialism.

In March 1977, the government newspaper *Izvestia* carried an “Open Letter” from a physician, Sanya Lipavsky, who claimed that while pursuing efforts to emigrate to Israel he had become involved with dissidents who worked with the Central Intelligence Agency. All five dissidents named were active in the Jewish movement for emigration, and official commentaries on the letter carried a distinctive anti-Semitic tone.

However, neither the Lipavsky letter nor the subsequent official commentaries on it reveal any evidence to substantiate the charge that the dissidents had engaged in espionage or worked for the CIA.

The tactic the Kremlin was using amounted simply to defining samizdat as “state secrets,” and making passage of these bulletins to foreign correspondents equivalent to “espionage.”

On March 15, 1977, Shcharansky, one of the five activists named in Lipavsky’s letter, was arrested and charged with treason.

In June, Carter denied that Shcharansky had ever worked for the CIA. He then made the Shcharansky case part of the State Department’s anti-Soviet campaign that followed.

The net effect was a serious blow to the Soviet human-rights movement. Carter had handed the Kremlin a ready-made opportunity to place the victimization of Shcharansky not in its true context of the Stalinist oppression of the Soviet masses, but rather in the context of Washington’s threatening stance.

The trials of all three dissidents were a mockery of justice. Shcharansky, for example, was not allowed to call any witnesses in his defense, had no attorney (he had rejected the court-appointed lawyer), and was seldom allowed even to cross-examine prosecution witnesses.

The evidence used by the Kremlin to support the “anti-Soviet activity” charge against all three defendants consisted of documents issued by the Helsinki groups. But these documents are neither anti-Soviet nor antisocialist in their content. They simply describe instances of violations by the Kremlin rulers of human rights guaranteed by the Helsinki accords.

For Ginzburg, the eight-year sentence to a hard-labor camp could mean death. This is the third prison term he has received for

exposing political persecution and championing democratic rights in the USSR. He was sentenced to a two-year term in 1960 for putting out an underground poetry journal and to a five-year term in 1968 for circulating a “white book” exposing the injustices of the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial.

Released in 1972, Ginzburg was constantly harassed by the KGB and denied the right to live with his wife and two children. After Solzhenitsyn’s expulsion from the Soviet Union in 1974, Ginzburg agreed to act as head of a fund Solzhenitsyn established to aid families of prisoners in the USSR. This activity was defined at his trial as financing “criminal elements, including murderers, former members of gangs and henchmen of the German fascists who took part in mass killings of Soviet citizens.”

Ginzburg suffers from a heart ailment and stomach ulcer. The sixteen months he was forced to serve incommunicado in pretrial confinement took a heavy toll on his health. His wife, Arina, was shocked when she saw him at the trial, for he was thin and pale and his hair had turned completely gray. Yet despite his poor health, or perhaps because of it, he was forced to stand throughout the four-day trial.

Viktoras Pyatkus, arrested in August 1977, is the first member of the Lithuanian Helsinki group to be tried.

Pyatkus, who served fourteen years in Stalin’s camps, has been harassed by the secret police for a number of years for defending victims of political repression and for his interest in Lithuanian historical questions, which he frequently writes about. His arrest reportedly prompted numerous protests in the Lithuanian republic.

Shcharansky, a computer specialist, has been a leading figure in the Jewish movement for emigration since his application for an exit visa was denied in 1973. He is fluent in English and played a key role as an interpreter between dissidents and foreign correspondents, a major reason why the Kremlin chose to victimize him.

His wife, Avital, emigrated to Israel within days after they were married in 1974 because her exit visa was about to expire. Anatoly played an important role in linking the Jewish movement for the right to emigrate with other dissident currents.

At his trial, Shcharansky said that the security police had offered to let him emigrate and join his wife if he would agree to help them crack down on the Jewish emigration movement. He denounced the treason charge against him and declared: “I do not acknowledge any guilt. I consider the charge absurd.”

The trials of the three activists prompted a week-long stream of protests from Carter and the State Department, and resolutions of condemnation from the House of Representatives and Senate. In the midst of this

self-serving display, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young caused a sensation by acknowledging in an off-hand remark what everyone knows to be true—that there are countless political prisoners in the United States too.

In a July 12 interview with the French Socialist Party daily *Le Matin*, Young expressed surprise over the uproar from the White House about the trials in the USSR.

"After all," he said, "in our prisons as well there are hundreds, perhaps even thousands, of people whom I call political prisoners. I myself was sentenced ten years ago in Atlanta for having organized a protest movement." He equated the democratic-rights movement in the USSR with the civil-rights movement in the United States.

This simple statement of fact provoked a storm of protest from Washington. Secretary of State Vance, architect of the Pentagon's saturation-bombing program in Vietnam, personally reprimanded Young, who was made to issue a statement to the effect that he hadn't exactly meant what he had said the day before.

Meanwhile, awareness of the real meaning of the trials—as a further attack on the movement for democratic rights in the Soviet Union—prompted protests from labor unions and prosocialist forces around the world. These included condemnations of the trials by the Communist parties of France, Britain, and Italy.

The Italian CP, in its statement, said that democracy and liberty are "inseparable from our concept of socialism." The British CP daily *Morning Star* said that such repression by the Kremlin "plays directly into the hands of every enemy of the Soviet Union."

The American Communist Party, on the other hand, continued its slavish adherence to Moscow, merely relaying in its newspaper, the *Daily World*, the Kremlin's official reports condemning the dissidents.

The three trials and the harsh sentences handed down to the dissidents show that the imperialist governments are not the force the democratic-rights movement in the USSR should look to for allies. The intervention of politicians from imperialist governments on the side of the dissidents only lends credibility to the Kremlin's charges that the dissidents are agents of imperialism and makes it easier for the Stalinist rulers to crack down on advocates of democracy.

It is up to the labor, civil-rights, and prosocialist forces throughout the world to take the defense of Soviet dissidents into their own hands, to expose the imperialists' cynicism in claiming to represent the cause of human rights, and to expose the Stalinist rulers in the Soviet Union as a bureaucratic caste that must stifle all demands for democratic rights in order to maintain its privileges and monopoly of political power. □

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Thousands Cheer Blanco's Return

By Fred Murphy and Gus Horowitz

LIMA—Hugo Blanco returned to Peru July 16 and thousands turned out to greet him. There were 2,500 at the airport in the morning and about 5,000 at a rally in the late afternoon. But the most moving welcome of all was that of the thousands of people who lined the march route, several miles long, from the airport to the rally site in the center of town.

These were the common people of Lima—the working people, the poverty-stricken, who stood outside their homes, who leaned out their windows, who came hurrying in from the side streets to catch a glimpse of Hugo Blanco, their Hugo. “The incarnation of our people’s struggle,” as one work-worn man put it. They came to wave streamers, to clap, to wave or to raise their fists with Hugo, and even to join in on the march alongside him for a while.

The truck on which Blanco rode would stop for a few moments and someone would rush up to bring water, an orange, something to eat, or to hold up a baby for Hugo to kiss.

These were the people who gave Hugo Blanco’s slate more than 400,000 votes—12 percent of the total—in the June 18 Constituent Assembly elections. These were the people who, in greeting Hugo Blanco, were at the same time coming out to celebrate their own victory.

But what value will this electoral success have? This question was undoubtedly on the minds of many, and Blanco spoke to this point at the rally in Lima’s Plaza de la Unión.

“Our positions in the assembly will have no justification,” Blanco said, “unless we use them to carry forward the struggles that the workers are carrying out every day in the factories, in the shanty-towns, in the countryside, in the streets. . . . If we don’t use our posts for this task they won’t be worth anything.”

Blanco was interrupted many times by chants and hand-clapping during his twenty-minute speech. He called for support to the teachers strike, unity of the workers parties—especially of the UDP (Democratic People’s Union), the FOCEP (Workers, Peasants, Students, and People’s Front), and the Aragón faction that has broken with the bourgeois generals of the PSR (Revolutionary Socialist Party).

Unity is possible, Blanco explained, on the basis of a clear class stance, without any reliance on capitalist forces. Along these lines, he said, pressure can also be put on the Communist Party to break from its false strategy of seeking allies among

bourgeois parties and “socialist” generals.

Finally, speaking as a Trotskyist to members of Trotskyist groups in the crowd, Blanco urged reunification of the various Trotskyist groups in Peru.

Referring to the so-called “Blanco phenomenon” that has been made much of in the Peruvian press, he pointed out that in the last sixteen years he had been politically active in Peru for only twenty months and that despite this the people have gone on struggling. “So it is not Hugo Blanco who is responsible for these struggles but the Peruvian masses,” he said.

The broad spectrum of speakers and organizations represented on the march and rally reflected the potential for united action that Blanco called for. The first speaker to address the rally was Sánchez Vicente, president of the Lima teachers union. The vast majority of Peru’s 140,000 public high-school teachers have been on strike since May 8, demanding recognition of SUTEP, their national union, and a 100 percent wage increase. Support for SUTEP’s strike was a central theme of the rally.

Peasant leader Andrés Luna Vargas of the CCP (Peruvian Peasant Federation) welcomed Blanco’s return and spoke of Blanco’s leading role in the 1962-63 peasant struggles in La Convención valley. Blanco is a member of the CCP’s Executive Committee along with Luna Vargas.

Interview With Hugo Blanco

[The following interview was conducted in Paris June 20 by Marcelo Zugadi. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

The results of the Peruvian Constituent Assembly elections were reported on June 19. Twelve candidates of the Workers, Peasants, Students, and People’s Front (FOCEP) were elected out of a total of a hundred deputies making up the assembly.

The FOCEP slate included candidates of differing views and was headed by Comrade Genaro Ledesma, a fighter for socialism who does not belong to any party. But the names best known to the broad masses were those of avowed Trotskyists. One of these was our comrade Hugo Blanco, who has a long history of dedication to the

Alfonso Barrantas Lingán, president of the UDP, urged unity between the UDP and the FOCEP and read a message from exiled leaders of the UDP in Paris.

Socorro Ramírez, a leader of the Colombian teachers union and a revolutionary-socialist candidate for president in the recent Colombian elections, brought greetings to the rally. Her call for “a socialist Peru, a socialist Colombia, a federation of socialist republics of Latin America” was met with loud applause.

Representatives of the Trotskyist organization FIR-POC (Front of the Revolutionary Left—Workers and Peasants Party) and POMR (Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party) also spoke. The FIR (Cuarta Internacional) was also present with a contingent at the rally, along with other, smaller Trotskyist groups.

Antonio “Chango” Aragón was at Blanco’s side throughout the day. During the 1962-63 peasant struggles, Aragón was a leader of the Peruvian Trotskyist movement. Today he heads the wing of the PSR that split July 5 from the party of so-called progressive ex-military officers. Aragón’s PSR includes the bulk of the party’s trade-union and peasant leaders.

Aragón told the rally that the new PSR is “against reformism, against caudillos, and at the side of the UDP, the FOCEP, and the popular struggle.”

Hugo Blanco was the last speaker. He followed Enrique Fernandez, like Blanco a leader of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party) and a newly elected FOCEP deputy in the Constituent Assembly.

The rally, which had begun with chants of “Tierra o Muerte!” the famous slogan of the peasant struggles led by Hugo Blanco in the early 1960s, ended by chanting the closing words of Blanco’s speech: “Socialismo o Muerte! Venceremos!” □

fight for socialist revolution. This once again won him a vote of confidence from the Peruvian workers. Some 70% of those who voted for the FOCEP slate cast their preference votes for him.

But in order to understand the real importance of this vote, you have to hear Comrade Blanco himself explain the conditions under which these elections were held:

The elections were totally rigged, because illiterates had no right to vote. It is as if the illiterates are supposed to be responsible for the inability of the various regimes to educate the people.

The denial of votes to illiterates is still worse because it is one of the manifestations of the cultural oppression suffered by a large part of the population of Peru, who do not speak the language of the conquest.

tadores. They speak Quechua or Aymara, or other less widely spoken languages. So, since they neither speak nor write Spanish, they cannot participate in electing the government.

For example, I am a member of the leadership of a peasant confederation, and most of the rank and file of the organization could not vote. We know that if they had, they would not have voted for the right!

Obviously not. That was why the military government deprived three million persons, out of a total adult population of eight million, of the right to elect their representatives to the Constituent Assembly.

The left as a whole (FOCEP, the UDP,¹ and the CP) got 22% of the vote. This goes up to 28% if you include the PSR,² a bourgeois party that put forward a demagogic reformist program and gets its support from sections of the poor masses. But if we take into account the 40% of the citizenry represented by the illiterates, it is clear what sort of situation the military government is in. Hugo Blanco continued:

It cannot be said that the peasants were kept from voting because they had no political consciousness. In the great struggles of the 1960s and in the present ones, they have proved that they have a high level of political consciousness.

Another feature of this electoral farce is that soldiers can't vote, although this government and all the putschist regimes have ruled in the name of the armed forces. It might be said that generals can't vote either. OK. But for every general, there are thousands of soldiers. When the generals want to vote, they have tanks, which don't know how to read and write.

Besides using such methods to give a distorted view of the opinion of the people, the sort of economic power and control of the media that the right has in Peru is obvious, as in all capitalist countries. This gives the right an advantage in elections.

There are many other examples of rigging. For example, very little time was allotted for getting slates on the ballot. A climate unfavorable to exercising democratic rights prevailed throughout the campaign. Before the time for turning in petitions to get on the ballot, there were prisoners and exiles who could not participate in the campaign to collect signatures. Under the pressure of the masses, the government was forced to let exiles be nominated as candidates. Many of us exiles were nominated. This forced the government to let us return to the country, even though it did not release the prisoners.

1. Unión Democrática Popular (Democratic People's Union).

2. Partido Socialista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Socialist Party).

Role of Revolutionists in Parliament

Question. What does it mean for a member of the Fourth International to be elected a deputy to the Constituent Assembly?

Answer. I think that this is a very important opportunity and that if this assembly ever gets to function, at least for a month, it will give us a chance to show something that many revolutionists have already shown in history—how we revolutionists use bourgeois parliaments. But a lot of time has gone by since Liebknecht and many others provided examples of this.

It is necessary to show the masses anew how a revolutionist can use parliament as a fulcrum for organizing and mobilizing the masses independently of the bourgeoisie. We have to clearly differentiate ourselves not only from the representatives of the bourgeoisie but from the reformists, who see the parliament as their main arena. They see their task as improving the bourgeois laws, and when they succeed in

getting some changes they think that it is a great triumph for them. They do not see that any such changes are a victory for the masses who fought and forced the bourgeoisie to make concessions and accept some of their demands, demands that would have to be met even if there were no reformists in parliament.

So, what counts is not the verve of some parliamentary figure, or the oratorical talent of another one. What counts is the strength the masses have thrown into their struggle against the class enemy in the streets, in the factories, and in the countryside. The retreat that they force the class enemy to carry out is reflected in the laws adopted by the bourgeois governments, whether or not there are representatives of the left in parliament. So, I think we have to differentiate ourselves very sharply, to act in such a way that the difference is clear between the way we use parliament and the way the reformists do.

Another example of rigging is that only 19,000 of the 47,000 signatures turned in by FOCEP were recognized as valid. By that time, there were only ten days remaining before the deadline date for certification. In ten days, we had to collect 21,000 signatures to come up to the 40,000 required. What is more, the police arrested people collecting signatures and tore up their petitions.

As if this were not enough, after the government guaranteed that all the slates would have the right to present their views in the media, it denied this right to FOCEP and the UDP. Subsequently, it had to restore our rights in order not to totally discredit the elections.

Finally, a few days before the elections, the government jailed a large number of candidates and other political and trade-union leaders. It deported candidates of three different slates—FOCEP, the UDP, and the PSR. It held others prisoner, and persecuted many more. On the very day of the elections, General Leonidas Rodríguez, chairman of the PSR, was arrested as he was going to the polls, and deported to Argentina. On the same day, the number two candidate in the FOCEP slate, Comrade Hernán Cuentas, was also jailed.

It should be noted, moreover, that when we were arrested, the government proclaimed a state of siege, a curfew, a suspension of constitutional guarantees, and banned election campaigning. Subsequently, the campaign was allowed to continue, the state of siege and the curfew were lifted. But the suspension of constitutional guarantees was maintained. All this

shows the undemocratic character of the elections and the climate of intimidation in which they took place.

It is in this context that we have to look at the results. We think that it was a big victory that FOCEP was able to come in third, with 12% of the votes.

Despite the government's maneuvers, the vote totals demonstrate the failure of what has been called "the Peruvian revolution." They put a question mark over the ability of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists to bring about a readjustment of the political situation and to transfer the government from military to civilian hands.

Peru has an unemployment rate of 45% and a foreign debt of \$4.5 billion. It has been forced to submit to an austerity plan by the International Monetary Fund, which does not seem willing to refinance its foreign debt or grant new loans. The country's foreign currency reserves are totally exhausted, and it is caught in the vise of "stagflation." Thus, the "Peruvian revolution" is coming to a rather inglorious end.

It is true that the latifundia have been liquidated and that the big landed estates have been turned over in large part to the peasants organized in farmers associations. But the crisis of agricultural production has not been overcome, and the bourgeoisie is not capable of giving impetus to development of the country. This makes it impossible for the exploiters to stabilize their political control of Peru.

Velasco Alvarado's "revolution" has changed neither the system of production nor the essential way of life of the pea-

sants, who make up 40% of the economically active population. Moreover, the "nationalizations" have only increased the country's dependence on international finance capital, under whose control the key enterprises are now falling.

On the other hand, the crisis of production in agriculture has driven thousands of peasants to the cities, especially Lima, which threatens to be overwhelmed by its surrounding "barriadas," or shanty-towns.

In February 1975, the inhabitants of these "barriadas" descended on Lima, taking advantage of a police strike. They invaded the city and sacked and burned the big stores. The starving had risen up. But the most important thing was that not only did this revolt inaugurate a new upsurge in mass struggles but after this the shanty-town dwellers have fought alongside the workers in the big nationwide strikes.

It was this situation that forced the military government to promise elections in 1980. The results of the June 18 vote have shown that this is not the best solution for them. But, as Hugo Blanco says:

It is clear that the bourgeoisie is in crisis and that it has no coherent alternative. The calling of elections was a victory for the masses, even though the masses did not demand this. Neither the PPC nor APRA³ have any other solution to offer but to accept the diktat of the IMF.

The alternative that is being raised among the bourgeoisie is going back to the sort of government the country had under Velasco Alvarado. This is proposed by the PSR, which some people call a left party and which has suffered repression at the hands of the regime. But no significant section of the bourgeoisie supports it.

The times are no longer favorable to reforms. The government cannot afford the luxury today of carrying out the sort of reforms Velasco Alvarado did, for example. The day for that is past. Today it has no choice but to accept the orders of the imperialists without making any protest.

The economic situation is stripping this regime of all its prestige. Other sections of the right are taking advantage of this to attack the regime and demand a share in the government. This is why it is likely that a civilian-military cabinet will be formed, made up of representatives of the two rightist forces that came out on top in the elections—that is, the PPC-far right and APRA.

The government imposed a lot of restrictions when it called these elections. It knew that the left was very divided. There is no strong left party. There are only

small groups. So, it thought that if it required a large number of signatures for a slate to get on the ballot, the left would simply not be able to participate. It was going to be able to look democratic, explaining that if the left did not participate it was because it did not have enough popular support to do so, and the government was granting full freedom.

Contrary to what the government expected, two large left blocs were formed. In part, this was because of the need to meet the government's requirements. But fundamentally it was because of the upsurge of the mass movement, and the demands of the masses that the left unite. Despite everything, it was possible to get these two left slates on the ballot.

Among the candidates of the two left slates and that of the PSR, there were some exiles. The government found itself forced to say that they could be candidates and then to grant an amnesty to all of them. This was also a result of the mass struggle, because the people have continually demanded that the exiles be allowed to return and the political prisoners be released. For example, when the workers who were fired [for their participation in a general strike] went on a hunger strike demanding their jobs back, they also raised the demand for the return of the exiles.

The turn to elections in Peru is one example of a process that we have seen many times in Latin America in recent years. The bourgeoisie and the imperialists are obliged to set it in motion. From the beginning it tends to go out of control, polarizes the classes, and forces politically weak governments to take their last resort, to turn to force and deny the most elementary democratic rights.

Let's look at the slates in the elections. What is the APRA? It is the oldest party in Peru. It started out as a petty-bourgeois anti-imperialist party at a time when the working class was still weak. It ended up being a pro-imperialist party. Of course it still uses some reformist slogans and reformist arguments.

APRA has lost a lot of its strength as a result of its capitulation. But it retains a certain aura because of the repression it has suffered under several governments. It has been subjected to persecution and repression, sometimes more than the CP, because at times it was further to the left. This has left an imprint on the memories of many people.

This tradition gives APRA the experience, confers prestige on it, and enables it to maintain an organization. That is, in the smallest Peruvian village there is at least one APRA member who does a minimum of political work, even if it is only for elections.

The other slate was the PPC one, which represented the right, those who criticize

the regime from the right. The PPC criticizes the reforms carried out by Velasco Alvarado, it criticizes the standard liberal economic policies, it criticizes the cooperatives and the nationalizations. Another reason it got a big vote was that the other right-wing slate, the Acción Popular slate of Belaúnde Terry, withdrew. The AP opposed the Constituent Assembly elections, demanding that presidential elections be held immediately. It may be that a lot of people on the right now think this was a smarter position. The left wouldn't have been able to participate in presidential elections, at least not in the way it did.

The Frenatrac,⁴ led by the commercial bourgeoisie in the interior of the country, put up another demagogic slate in its fight against the big landowners in the region. It attracted a major part of the peasantry and of the population of Juliaca, a city in the south of Peru. There was a rebellion in that city, and this group seemed to be involved in the struggle. Actually it held the struggle back. But these illusions about it explain why it got a certain number of votes.

The Christian Democracy [PDC] and Revolutionary Socialist Action [ARS] are parties that supported the government of Velasco Alvarado. The verdict is clear. They got 2% of the vote.

As for the PSR, it is the heir of the Velasco regime. It is led by military figures who were in the left wing of Velasco's government and who claim to represent it, while saying that they are critical of it. The party is made up of people who worked for the Velasco government, not just functionaries but people who engaged in struggles, leaders of people's organizations, and so forth.

They thought that they could take advantage of the process that went on under Velasco, get up on the back of his horse and push ahead the limited reforms that the regime permitted. They thought that having to shout "all hail Velasco" in order to do that was a small price to pay. The same logic that led them to try to work in the government inspired them to form the PSR. In this party, as I have said, there is a gamut that goes from the generals who were ministers to the type of leaders that I have just described.

In certain sectors, there were many illusions about the strength this group could have. These illusions were especially strong when a big demonstration occurred at the time of Velasco's funeral. It is significant that the PSR got only half as many votes as the FOCEP. Now, the PSR is probably going to lose all its forces. It is made up of opportunists, in the political sense of the word, who argued that the PSR was the only left party that had a chance. After the FOCEP vote, that argu-

3. Partido Popular Cristiano (People's Christian Party, the Peruvian Christian Democratic party); Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (American People's Revolutionary Alliance).

4. Frente Nacional de Trabajadores y Campesinos (National Front of Workers and Peasants).

ment will have to be abandoned, and they are going to have to change their tactic.

The Communist Party gave the government critical support, trying to hold back the workers' struggles. It identifies with the Velasco period. And the kind of vote it got shows that the people feel no nostalgia for those times. There is another important thing about the CP's relation to the mass upsurge. Its betrayal at the time of the general strike last November (which was broken by the CP after all the union delegates voted for it) was the last straw. This provoked a split in the party, leading to the formation of the CP-Majority. Most of the major trade-union leaders belong to the new group and it has considerable strength.

The CP-Majority ran in the elections in a bloc with the UDP. It said that although the UDP's slogans were different from those it used, the content was the same—that is, the line toward the national bourgeoisie and so on.

Let's talk now about the UDP and FOCEP, which were the left fronts. The UDP is a political front that claims to follow democratic centralism. Its political line and government slogan were adopted by majority vote. And it is the Maoists that have the majority, the Vanguardia Revolucionaria, sections of the PCR and of the MIR.⁵ There are two Trotskyist groups in the UDP—the FIR-Fourth International and the FIR-Combate.⁶ But these are small groups and they couldn't swing any weight.

The UDP's governmental slogan is for a "revolutionary people's government," that is, it is a version of the Maoist slogan of a "bloc of four classes" (workers, peasants, the middle class, and the national bourgeoisie).

FOCEP is a front united around three basic points:

1. Class independence. That is, we must not join together in the elections with bourgeois forces. So, the FOCEP, unlike the UDP, made no appeal to the PSR, the PDC, or the ARS.

2. The need to mobilize and organize the exploited masses.

3. A workers government.

Over and above these three points, each component party can campaign for its own views. At one point, FOCEP asked the UDP to be allowed to join the latter front so as to assure the unity of the left. It offered to let the UDP have most of the candidates if it would grant FOCEP the right to put forward its own governmental slogan. The UDP refused, saying that in order to be in their front you had to accept

5. Partido Comunista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Communist Party); Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Movement of the Revolutionary Left).

6. Frente de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (Front of the Revolutionary Left).

A Revolutionary Election Campaign

Question. What kind of election campaign did your party carry on inside the FOCEP?

Answer. A very important aspect of our campaign was systematically exposing the fraud represented by the kind of constituent assembly the bourgeoisie is planning, explaining to the masses that they should not rely in any way on this assembly to solve their problems. We explained that they should rely only on their own organization and their own struggle, that they should not believe that if representatives of FOCEP or some other left slate got into parliament, these deputies would be able to take care of things. We explained that everything would be decided in the arena of the day-to-day struggle waged by the mass organizations.

In addition, we put forward a draft constitution.* It was our program for the society, for the revolution that we are fighting for. But we presented it in the form of a constitution. In it we laid out our proposals. We expressed our view of the armed forces and of the way nationalizations should be carried out—that is, without compensation and under workers control. We presented our view of the woman question, the problem of oppressed nationalities, of economic development, and so on.

We began by pointing out that the crisis in Peru is a crisis of capitalism in ruins, that we should not try to patch this system up but should organize a socialist society, and that the only ones who could do that are the workers

* For an English translation of the text of this document, see *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, June 19, p. 750.

their governmental slogan. In our opinion, it was a class-collaborationist slogan. That's why we're not in the UDP.

Practical experience has provided a clear lesson for the UDP comrades. They not only stopped FOCEP members from joining the UDP, they refused to conduct a joint campaign with FOCEP, and moreover allowed some of the groups represented on their slate to make dishonorable attacks on Comrade Hugo Blanco.

The UDP, which rejected any alliance with the Trotskyists on the pretext that they were "insignificant groups," got 4% of the vote, that is, a third of what FOCEP got.

FOCEP includes independent figures on

themselves. This draft constitution was an important tool in our election campaign.

We have used this document as a means of promoting discussion in the rank-and-file bodies during and after the campaign and for building a congress of labor later on, that is, a convention of workers, peasants, and shantytown dwellers, a convention that would discuss and approve a final draft constitution.

Our document can be considered a first draft presented to the masses so that they can begin discussing and make known their ideas about the sort of constitution they want, which might, or might not, be based on ours. This is so that what the masses decide on will be supported in parliament by those deputies who claim to represent the working class.

The support committees for FOCEP that the PST formed had as their primary task taking up the problems of the social context in which they operated. For example, in factories, the FOCEP committees were to promote the fight to get back the jobs of those who had been fired for their role in the general strike, to win the demands raised by the various unions, to build the general strike, to organize a left opposition to the bureaucracy in the unions, and so on.

In shantytowns, the support committees were to concern themselves with organizing and mobilizing the masses, fighting to get drinkable water brought in, to get electricity and transportation. They were to raise the consciousness of the people, tirelessly reiterating that their problems would not be solved by electing a delegate to the Constituent Assembly but by organizing and fighting for their demands.

the left who have great prestige in Peru. For example, Genaro Ledesma, the chairman of FOCEP and the number one candidate on the slate, is a lawyer who has represented unions, miners, and peasants. He was imprisoned. He was even elected to parliament while in prison. He was in prison several times. He waged a constant fight and never capitulated, as other independent leftists did.

Ledesma is not a Trotskyist. Neither were other comrades on the slate, such as Laura Celler, a lawyer who defended peasants and was also imprisoned several times. Nor was Manuel Scorza, an internationally known writer, who did a great deal to defend the peasant struggles in the 1960s. We think that he has offered important support to the Peruvian class struggle

and served as a means for promoting international understanding of the nature of such struggles then and now. Another candidate on the slate who was not a Trotskyist was Comrade Cornejo, a miners leader from the central part of the country.

You can appreciate this nonsectarian attitude better and see how it contrasts with that of the UDP when you consider that of the 518,000 votes cast for the FOCEP, more than 70% went to Comrade Hugo Blanco. The same attitude has been taken toward deciding on the tasks that this success poses for the revolutionists in Peru.

In the first place, it should be pointed out clearly that it would be very foolish to think that the bourgeoisie is going to let the masses win their aspirations by parliamentary roads. This is why they must rely on their own organization, their own struggle, and their own mobilizations. It is to promote this that we will use the seats we have in the Constituent Assembly.

However, we also have to understand what are the features of the new situation and respond to them politically. This success by FOCEP is going to bring about a realignment in the Peruvian left and in the mass movement in general. It means that the forces in FOCEP, the Trotskyists, and in particular the PST, are going to be seen in a different way. The election results are going to give a new impetus to the reunification of the Trotskyists that has already begun in Peru, and at least those groups that support the United Secretariat of the Fourth International will certainly unite in a relatively short time.

The possibility is opening up also for setting up a broad workers party. We do not think that the 12% of the vote we got was 12% for the Trotskyists, and still less for the PST alone. We think that this vote was for class independence, for an intransigent line of struggle against the bourgeoisie, and for a workers government. Therefore these comrades must be organized around these points. In such a party, we will be a tendency, a current. This is the reality we have to see. We do not delude ourselves. We do not want to fall into any demagogy, proclaiming that a half million people voted for Trotskyism or anything of this sort.

The creation of a broad workers party would be a great step forward. Within such a mass workers party, we would, of course, be a current, but an important and respected one. We would be precisely the current that led the way to the regroupment of all these forces. And if they could come together to wage an electoral battle, they can also unite to fight the real battle that has to be fought day by day in the arena of the class struggle. We hope that the majority of the forces in the UDP will also be prepared to join in this regroupment.

We will also call on the CP to come into this workers party. Even if it refuses because it thinks that it should support the government and because it does not want to follow a policy of class independence, we will still appeal to it to come in. Likewise, we are going to appeal to the working-class ranks of the PSR to come in. As I said, this is a bourgeois party that bases itself on the experience of the first phase of the military government. But it has a large following of workers and peasants.

We will call on all these forces to come in, and also on the abstentionist sectors that conducted propaganda for socialism outside the framework of the elections, for example, several Maoist groups, a faction of the MIR, and so on.

Today, the discussion is no longer about participating or not in the electoral process. We have participated in it, we have shown how the elections can be used. Now it is time to form a big workers party. We are going to call on them to join us in this task.

In this perspective, the newly elected deputy to the Constituent Assembly placed the results of the Peruvian election in a broader context:

I think that Peru is the clearest proof that there is a new upsurge taking place in Latin America. An upsurge in the Latin American struggle occurred at the time of the Cuban revolution, and I think that in 1977 another upsurge has begun. I can cite some examples. In Puerto Rico, struggles are going on of a kind that had not been seen in many years. I was there and so I was able to get an appreciation of that.

In Nicaragua, a general strike shook a dictatorship several decades old, and there were armed struggles in at least two villages, conducted not by guerrillas but by the armed masses resisting the repressive forces. In Guatemala, peasants and other sections of the population have been putting up a strong fight.

In Colombia, there was a general strike last September, and struggles have been continuing since. One of the indications of what is going on is that our comrade Socorro Ramirez was able to participate in the recent elections. Extremely important workers struggles have also taken place in Brazil, as well as student mobilizations that the government has been unable to crush.

In Argentina, major strikes have occurred. In Chile, there was a strike at the El Teniente mine and other struggles of a lesser importance, as well as a May Day demonstration. In Bolivia, a hunger strike forced the government to grant an amnesty, to open up a certain liberalization, and to call elections. In Ecuador, the sugarcane workers got the support of the students and other sections of the population.

This makes a whole number of countries

in Latin America where working-class combativity is on the rise, and I think that not a single example can be cited of any major setback since last year. You can say that in some countries the situation is stagnant but not that there is a decline. So, there is a general upturn in Latin America, and undoubtedly the Peruvian developments will have repercussions in other countries.

One difference can be noted with respect to the previous upsurge in which the Cuban revolution was an important factor. Since it seemed that this revolution had been accomplished by a group of guerrillas who had made the revolution for the masses, the upsurge at that time became marked by attempts to try to apply such an approach elsewhere. The mass movement was not thought of as a process that would lead to the victory of the revolution, but instead people thought in terms of a group of courageous guerrillas determined to make the revolution who would take up the armed struggle.

I don't want to talk about the responsibility of the reformists, because that goes without saying. The reformists, who have held back the masses and continue to do so, obviously bear the main responsibility for the defeats. But I think that this guerrillaist conception that I spoke of was a factor in these defeats, because a large section of the vanguard shared these illusions. It was drawn into guerrilla actions in which it was sure to be crushed.

In Peru, today, the ultraleft is incapable of carrying out terrorist actions, and this has enabled the masses to gain strength. There have been cases of telephone wires being cut, of fires being set, and establishments being sacked, including banks. But this has been done by the masses in their struggle. The repression focused on such incidents is seen by the masses as repression directed against them because of the struggles they are waging. So, the actions as such are not what is decisive but the way in which they are carried out, when, and by whom—by the masses or a small vanguard group.

There is another characteristic, I think, of this new upsurge. That is, collective struggle by the masses for their demands. You can confirm this by looking at who stands in the forefront of this struggle. It is those elements that give genuine leadership to the masses. It is those forces, Trotskyist or not, who give militant leadership to the masses.

I think that the question I raised, the question of a mass workers party, is on the agenda in many Latin American countries and that we should strive to put it in the forefront. The present generation of revolutionists in Latin America has already gone through the experience of reformist experiments, in the case of Chile and many others. It has already seen how this approach leads to failure, how following a

peaceful, parliamentary, and legalist road paves the way for a Pinochet-style coup.

This generation has also seen ultraleft methods tried; they know what isolation from the masses means. They have seen attempts to carry out rural guerrilla warfare according to Che Guevara's model, or that of the MIR and ELN⁷ in Peru. They have also seen attempts at urban guerrilla warfare, such as those of the Tupamaros, the Montoneros, the ERP,⁸ and other

7. Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army, a guerrilla group active in Peru in the mid-1960s).

groups. I think that all these experiences have helped to bring about a new political maturity on the part of the Latin American left.

This process has been occurring in Peru but also in Europe among the Latin American exiles. The revolutionary left is gaining political maturity and in general the revolutionary left forces agree that it is mass mobilization that will lead to revolution. There are still some hesitations. The

8. Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (Revolutionary People's Army, guerrilla group in Argentina).

illusions about the possibility of unity with sections of the bourgeoisie have not been entirely abandoned. And in this respect I think that we have to continue to highlight the past experiences, to point up their lessons, showing that working class independence is the path to victory.

The FOCEP vote in Peru proves what the current that supports class independence can achieve, and I think that such tendencies are going to grow in other countries. Moreover, growing sectors are coming to see the international dimension of the struggle, and I think that discussion about the need to build a world party is assuming a more profound character. □

Tens of Thousands Condemn Murder of Basque Trotskyist

By Gerry Foley

On July 8, Germán Rodríguez Sainz, a member of the Revolutionary Communist League, Spanish section of the Fourth International, was gunned down by police in Pamplona. He was twenty-seven years old. He had been a member of the Trotskyist movement since 1971 and was imprisoned for two-and-a-half years for his role in the 1973 general strike in Pamplona.

In a statement published in the July 11 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, a comrade of Rodríguez described how he died. The shooting happened after police attacked a group that raised banners in a bull-fight arena demanding freedom for all political prisoners:

"After the police charged in the arena, we marched, along with several thousand persons, to the offices of the civil governor. We shouted 'Presoak kalera' [Let the prisoners out into the streets], 'Police murderers,' 'Abolish the repressive forces.' Germán was very nervous, very angry. In the arena, he saw a child badly wounded in the head by a rubber bullet.

"We arrived in the square where the governor's offices are located. They started to shoot rubber bullets and teargas grenades at us. We took cover behind the corrugated iron sheets surrounding some building work. They began to open fire with their pistols; the people didn't realize what was happening. They managed to drive us back bit by bit. People began to fall wounded. When we reached the Navarra provincial parliament building, we started to drive the cops back. . . .

"We continued advancing. When we got to the corner of Avenue Ronceveaux, the 'grays' [police] got in their jeeps; the demonstrators followed them, jumping with joy. But suddenly they stopped . . . and they got out again. They fired, this time using only machine guns. . . . They kept firing for several minutes on the demonstrators, who hid behind cars. Germán was

more than a hundred yards from the 'grays' when a bullet hit him in the forehead. He lost consciousness immediately. We stopped a car to take him to the hospital. He was no longer breathing."

The murder of Rodríguez touched off angry protests throughout much of the Basque country. Barricades went up in Pamplona two nights running, as thousands of demonstrators clashed with the police.

Even after the barricades were removed, *Rouge* reported, "the main streets of the downtown area were still littered with stones and bolts. Material damage is extensive. Several public buildings have been wrecked."

On Sunday, July 9, thousands gathered at the spot where Rodríguez was hit. *Rouge* wrote: "They assembled near where 'Garin' [the pseudonym Rodríguez used under the dictatorship] died. The spot was marked by a long trail of blood . . . posters from the civil war, bouquets of flowers, and small Basque flags were placed there."

The streets had been decorated with Spanish and Basque flags for the festival of San Fermín, the annual running of the bulls. *Le Monde* reported July 11 that the Spanish flags had been torn down and burned.

On July 10, there were strikes throughout the provinces of Navarra and Vizcaya. In the province of Guipúzcoa, the Gohierri area was paralyzed by strikes.

Tens of thousands of persons attended Rodríguez's funeral on July 10. His coffin was carried by representatives of all the Navarra union organizations and the local branches of all the workers parties, including the Communist and Socialist parties. *Rouge* reported:

"The funeral was marshaled by the Penas, the Navarran youth organizations. Their members wore the traditional Basque costume, all white with a red sash.

They also wore black armbands."

Following the burial, thousands of mourners marched to the spot where Rodríguez was shot, where they sang the "Internationale" and "Eusko Gudariak" [Basque Warriors], the anthem of the Basque national struggle.

On July 11, police killed a nineteen-year-old Basque youth in the city of San Sebastián, touching off protests in the city as well as in Bilbao and nearby towns. Violent clashes developed between police and demonstrators, lasting for two days.

All the workers parties, unions, and nationalist groups, including the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and the Basque Nationalist Party, called for a general strike in the province of Guipúzcoa on July 12.

On the day of the strike, police carried out a pogrom in the town of Rentería, near San Sebastián. Two demonstrators were hit when a paramilitary Civil Guard opened fire on a barricade. After the police charged the barricades, they went on a rampage.

A July 13 Reuters dispatch reported:

"Antonio Gutierro, the mayor of Rentería, said 200 policemen fired rubber bullets and smoke bombs here today to disperse demonstrators from barricades and then used their rifle butts to smash shop windows and doorways and rip out intercoms from apartment buildings. Goods disappeared from shops, he said."

Rentería was also the scene of a pogrom during the week of actions for amnesty held in the Basque country in mid-May 1977. Police drove through the town shooting indiscriminately. They killed an old-age pensioner.

The attacks by the police on the amnesty demonstrations in May 1977 created an atmosphere of civil war. The intimidation was so massive in scale and so obviously directed against the entire population that

Basque leaders called on the government, which has just granted legal status to the CP, to "legalize the Basque people."

A July 13 Reuters dispatch commented that the clashes following the death of Rodríguez had "impelled Basque leaders to demand immediate independence for their region."

The renewed clashes in the Basque country reveal that the Suárez government has failed to defuse what has traditionally been the most explosive problem for the rulers of the Spanish state. Franco was never able to pacify the Basque country. It was the focus of the sharpest resistance to the dictatorship.

This numerically small oppressed nationality, representing about 10 percent of the population of the Spanish state, provided up to 80 percent of the political prisoners in Franco's last years. Again and again the Basques have mobilized overwhelmingly in general strikes and militant mass demonstrations. They have given inspiration and example to the radicalizing youth in particular throughout Spain.

The reformist Communist and Socialist parties and the moderate nationalists have been unable to hold back the struggles of the Basque people but have either been drawn into them themselves or pushed aside. For example, the CP, which opposed the May 1977 mobilizations, got a miniscule vote in the Basque provinces in the 1977 parliamentary elections.

Resistance to the state repressive forces has become a tradition of the Basque people, as it has of the nationalist masses in the British imperialist enclave of Northern Ireland. In the Spanish press, the Basques are compared increasingly to the Irish. In particular, the province of Navarra is likened to Northern Ireland.

This province bears a relation to the Basque country as a whole similar to that of Northern Ireland to the entire island. It is the area where national oppression has become most deeply rooted and which the oppressors want to make into a bulwark against the emergence of any viable Basque entity. As in Northern Ireland, there are sections of the population that identify strongly with the oppressor nation and have reactionary traditions.

The Castilian oppressors in the Basque country built up a fanatical garrison apparatus. While this provides strong support for their rule, it is also unwieldy and at times acts in a way that goads the Basque people into struggle.

The repressive forces created by Franco are in general not much inclined to accept the restrictions imposed by even the sort of limited bourgeois democracy that now exists in Spain. But police pogroms are more constant and provocative in the Basque country, and especially in Navarra.

In May, at the funeral of an assassinated police official in Pamplona, a mil-

itary chaplain whipped up the crowd against Basque nationalists in general, proclaiming that it was a betrayal of Spain to permit anyone to publicly advocate self-government for the Basque people. This set the stage for an attack on the headquarters of all groups that support Basque autonomy or independence.

The Revolutionary Communist League headquarters was first attacked by an armed fascist gang, and then by the police, who were cheered by the fascists as they arrived. But the civil authorities did not stand behind the actions of the police and the Trotskyists arrested in the assault were soon released.

In the case of the latest police rampage in Rentería, leaders of the local citizens' association say that the civil governor of the province told them he had not authorized the police to go into the town and that the commanding officers should be punished.

Almost all the Spanish political forces that want to maintain any respectability condemned the police actions in Pamplona that led to the murder of Germán Rodríguez. Statements to this effect were made by the ruling party of Premier Suárez, the civil governor of Navarra, and the municipal council of Pamplona.

However, as long as the Spanish state seeks to repress the national aspirations of a people with the traditions and national consciousness of the Basques, outrages like the recent police pogroms are inevitable.

The leadership of the Revolutionary Communist League responded to the latest police outrages in the Basque country by renewing its call for a broad campaign to force abolition of the special repressive forces. It also called for mobilizations throughout Spain in support of the Basque people.

The new confrontations in the Basque country have almost certainly wiped out any progress Suárez might have made in working out a political deal with the moderate nationalists and reformists to get some reins on the struggle of the Basque people. These forces are going to have to take their distance from the government, unless it gives some real concessions. And that would be difficult, since it would mean weakening the repressive apparatus in the most combative area in the Spanish state.

Like Franco, Suárez may see his attempts to establish a stable bourgeois regime blocked by the resistance of a small, indomitable people. □

Japan Trotskyist Dies of Injuries From Airport Demonstration

Niiyama Yukio, 1954-1978

Niiyama Yukio, a member of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League, Japanese section of the Fourth International, died June 13 of injuries received during the struggle against the opening of the Narita international airport at Sanrizuka. He was twenty-four years old.

Niiyama was one of a group of demonstrators who drove a truck into the airport grounds during the massive protest March 26. The truck caught fire, engulfing Niiyama and the others on it in flames.

Eyewitnesses report that these demonstrators, their clothes still in flames, were set upon by the riot police and were kicked, clubbed, and beaten with the cop's heavy metal riot shields until they were unconscious.

They were then handcuffed and held for four hours without medical attention. Niiyama, who had to be taken to two hospitals before he was treated, received no medical care for more than six hours.

Niiyama's death came as a surprise—he had seemed to be making a full recovery—and it is believed that he would not have died if he had received prompt treatment.

Niiyama entered Yamagata University, in Yamagata Prefecture, in 1973. It was there that he became politically active,

joining the Trotskyist student organization Gakusei Inta. In 1975, he became president of a student dormitory union, one of the several self-governing bodies concerned with day-to-day student matters on campus.

He joined Kyoseido, the youth group of the JRCL, when it was formed in February 1975, and joined the JRCL in December of that year. In 1976, he was elected president of his university's Student Societies' Association, and in 1977, president of the Yamagata Prefectural Committee of Kyoseido. Throughout 1977 his main political activity was participation in the struggle against the airport at Sanrizuka.

In a statement issued to commemorate Niiyama's death, the JRCL said that the struggle against the airport would continue:

"We are determined that all this suffering, and especially the death of this heroic young militant, will not have been in vain.

"We are determined to carry on the fight against Narita airport, to struggle until it is closed down, dismantled, and removed without trace from the fertile land of Sanrizuka. This is the only way to carry on his last wish, and the only way to respond to the tragedy of his death." □

Rudolf Bahro Sentenced to Eight Years in Prison

By Susan Wald

East German dissident Rudolf Bahro was sentenced June 30 to eight years in prison by an East Berlin court on charges of "espionage."

Bahro, an economist, has been held in prison since his arrest in August 1977, shortly after his book, *Die Alternative: Zur Kritik des realexistierenden Sozialismus* (The Alternative: A Critique of Existing Socialism), was brought out by a West German publishing house. The book criticizes the bureaucracy from a Marxist standpoint. Bahro, who joined the East German Communist Party in 1954 at the age of eighteen, is firmly committed to the goal of a socialist society.

According to the official East German news agency, Bahro was found guilty of having "systematically gathered information to be passed on to hostile elements operating in the German Democratic Republic," and of having "spread false news reports" through contacts with West German correspondents stationed in East Berlin. The charges against him included the allegation that he had received 200,000 German marks in return for his "intelligence activities."

The absurd nature of these charges elicited protests around the world, including from some Eurocommunist "sister parties" of the East German CP. Speaking on West German television, Santiago Carrillo, secretary-general of the Spanish CP, called the charges against Bahro "a figment of the imagination," and said that Bahro should have the right to freely express his opinions in East Germany, *Rouge* reported July 3. The July 4 issue of the French Trotskyist daily reported that *l'Humanité*, the CP daily, had condemned the sentencing of Bahro in its July 1 and 3 editions.

"The trial of Rudolf Bahro was a trial of ideas. Under such conditions, French Communists cannot approve of the stiff sentence that was handed down," *l'Humanité* wrote.

Jean Elleinstein, one of the best-known critics inside the French CP, called Bahro's sentencing "a highly dangerous act." He noted that the conditions in which the trial was held "were particularly scandalous because it took place in closed session, without the presence of international observers, and with no opportunity for the accused to defend himself publicly. Therefore, to demand that Bahro be released is not only an act of justice, but a necessity" (*Le Monde*, July 6).

The regime's crackdown on Bahro comes after the exiling of several well-known dissidents to the West, including poet-songwriter Wolf Biermann. Others have been placed under house arrest.

At the same time, a campaign to demand Bahro's release and defend his right to freedom of thought is being conducted in

France, Britain, and West Germany, *Rouge* reported. In West Germany, scores of rallies have been organized, with thousands of left Social Democrats, trade-unionists, and members of other political groups participating. In West Berlin, a rally was held July 4 to protest the sentencing (see below). □

Ernest Mandel Wins Right to Enter West Berlin

Ernest Mandel, a Belgian Marxist economist and a leader of the Fourth International, arrived in West Berlin July 4 to speak at a rally organized by the Committee to Free Rudolf Bahro.

Bahro's sentencing is a "political scandal and anachronism," Mandel said. He called Bahro a "sincere Marxist and communist," and pledged that Western supporters of Bahro's right to freedom of opinion would struggle for his release.

Mandel was given special permission to enter West Berlin to participate in the rally. Since February 1972, Mandel has been barred from entering West Germany, his country of birth.

The decision by the head of the West Berlin Senate to suspend the ban for twenty-four hours so Mandel could speak at the rally was hedged with restrictions. Mandel had to agree not to participate in any other political activity during his stay,

and to keep the police informed of his whereabouts at all times. In addition, he had to be out of the city by the evening of July 5.

The West Berlin authorities apparently saw nothing incongruous about allowing Mandel in to denounce repression in East Germany while he himself was still being subjected to thought-control measures in the West. However, the irony of the situation was not lost on the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, which said July 5:

"Whether he likes it or not, Mandel will now have to appear grateful because he has been allowed to return briefly to his former fatherland, albeit under discriminatory circumstances, and has even been given permission to speak. And he will have to have brought off a revolution in West Berlin by this Wednesday evening—otherwise the security-minded West Germans will have made themselves look ridiculous." □



Mandel addressing rally for Bahro in West Berlin.

Der Spiegel

100,000 March on Washington for Women's Rights

By Fred Murphy

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The largest march for women's rights ever held in the United States—or perhaps anywhere—took place here on July 9. One hundred thousand persons marched down Constitution Avenue to a rally on the steps of the Capitol Building, demanding that the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution be ratified without further delay.

The ERA states that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." Its incorporation into the constitution would wipe out with one stroke any legal basis for discrimination against women in the United States, and thus bring the fight for the liberation of women onto a new level.

The amendment was first introduced more than fifty years ago. Only in 1972—under the impact of a growing women's liberation movement—was it finally adopted by the Congress. Ratification by the legislatures of three-quarters of the fifty states is required before the amendment can go into effect. With a March 1979 deadline set by Congress fast approaching, three more state legislatures must still pass the ERA if it is to become law. Thus the July 9 march and rally had a dual focus—to urge passage by three more states, and to press Congress to extend the arbitrary deadline put on ERA ratification.

The July 9 action was called only two months ago by the National Organization for Women, the largest and most authoritative feminist organization in the United States. The leadership of NOW has generally relied on supporting and electing ostensibly pro-ERA state legislators—usually from the Democratic Party—as well as on lobbying efforts by a small cadre of "political experts" aimed at convincing individual capitalist politicians that they should support the ERA. But the size and character of the July 9 march clearly shows the potential that exists for mobilizing women and supporters of women's rights in independent mass actions for ERA ratification and other struggles for the rights of women.

The July 9 date was chosen to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of Alice Paul, who drafted the ERA. Paul was a leader of the "first wave" of U.S. feminism during the suffragist movement that won the right to vote for women in 1920. Further attention was drawn to this tradition of struggle by a busload of suffragist veterans that led off the march.

Dozens of trade unions brought organized contingents to Washington for the march. These included several locals of the United Auto Workers; districts of the United Steelworkers, including a busload of unionists from USWA District 31 in the Chicago-Gary area; the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association, the two main U.S. teachers unions; two electrical workers unions, the UE and IUE; and government employees unions such as AFSCME, SEIU, and AFGE.

A contingent of "Shipbuilders for the ERA" came from the Brooklyn Naval Shipyard to represent their union, the United Industrial Workers of North America. Performers belonging to Actors Equity and AFTRA marched on July 9, joining contingents of coal miners from West Virginia; machinists; hospital workers from New York, Philadelphia, and other cities; nurses associations; and flight attendants and airline clerks.

State contingents organized by NOW came from as far away as Hawaii, California, Arizona, Utah, and Idaho. There were contingents of high-school and college students from many campuses; church groups; and marchers representing political organizations such as the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Youth Against War and Fascism, the New American Movement, and the Socialist Labor Party. The Communist Party's participation was limited to passing out free copies of their newspaper, the *Daily World*; the CP played no role in building the march and rally.

Environmentalists from Friends of the Earth participated in the march under their own banner.

There was a "Hispanos Unidos" contingent of Latino organizations, including the National Conference of Puerto Rican Women, the National Association of Cuban Women, Mujeres Puertorriqueñas, and Comisión Femenil.

The rally that followed the march reflected the NOW leaders' strategy of relying on the Democratic and Republican parties. Four women members of Congress were among the first to speak, followed by three women who are officials in the Carter administration—Housing Secretary Patricia Roberts Harris, White House aide Margaret Costanza, and Eleanor Holmes Norton, who heads the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Costanza and Harris stressed Carter's "support" for

women's rights and for the extension of the ratification deadline. However, Harris was greeted with boos from some parts of the crowd when she said, "The Carter administration is committed to equality."

Several of the best-known figures in the U.S. women's movement spoke at the rally, including *Ms.* magazine editor Gloria Steinem, NOW founder and author Betty Friedan, current NOW President Eleanor Smeal, and ex-Congresswoman Bella Abzug. All welcomed the huge turnout in support of the ERA and women's rights, and said that the women's movement will never give up until full equality has been achieved.

Carmen Delgado Votaw of the National Conference of Puerto Rican Women was one of the few speakers to call attention to the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision on the *Bakke* case, which has called into question hiring and school admissions policies that seek to remedy past discrimination against Blacks, other oppressed minorities, and women through the use of quota systems. "The *Bakke* case is as germane to women's rights as it is to minority rights," Votaw said.

All major opinion polls show that a majority of the American people continue to support the Equal Rights Amendment. However, a highly organized and well-financed campaign by right-wing forces has sown much confusion about the amendment, giving legislators an excuse to stall it in a number of key states. Moreover, reluctance on the part of the leaders of NOW and other women's organizations to put the blame for this situation on the Democratic Party—which controls most of these legislatures—has by and large let these politicians off the hook.

The July 9 action points the way toward a new stage in the U.S. women's movement. More marches will be needed if the ERA is to be ratified and if the extension—which may well prove necessary—is to be won. As Betty Friedan said in her rally speech, "This march today breaks through all the lies and slanders and says . . . we the women's movement are no longer the few, we are the many—we are the majority!" □

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BOOKS

'La Vérité'—Trotskyist Newspaper Published Under Nazi Occupation

Reviewed by F.L. Derry



The editors of the facsimile edition of *La Vérité*, the clandestine journal of the French Trotskyists during the Second World War, have rendered the entire world Trotskyist movement a service. Now, for the first time it is possible to follow the development of the Trotskyist movement during one of its most trying periods—the Nazi occupation of France.

La Vérité was the first clandestine journal published in France, following the collapse of the French armies before the advancing Nazi legions and the establishment of the Vichy regime on July 1, 1940. On August 31, ten days after the murder of Leon Trotsky at the hands of Stalin's assassin, the first issue of the clandestine *La Vérité* appeared. During the first year, eighteen issues appeared in mimeograph format. On September 15, 1941, the first issue appeared in printed form, produced by the underground presses that were to assure the continued appearance of the paper for the duration of the war.

Seventy-seven issues of the paper appeared until the end of 1944, an average of one every three weeks. In addition, the French Trotskyists published several special issues, a theoretical magazine called *Quatrième Internationale*, and a German-language newspaper directed toward German soldiers. The latter, called *Arbeiter und Soldat*, was accompanied by yet another newspaper, produced by German soldiers recruited to Trotskyism while stationed in France during the war. Only one issue of this journal, called *Zeitung für Soldat und Arbeiter im Westen*, has been found.

The facsimile edition reprints all the known issues of *La Vérité*. Because of the severe repression, however, several issues appear to have been lost. In addition, all six known issues of *Arbeiter und Soldat* are reprinted and translated into French. The same is true for the sole surviving issue of *Zeitung für Soldat und Arbeiter im Westen*. Two issues of *Quatrième Internationale*, containing all the resolutions adopted by the first European-wide conference of the Fourth International held during the occupation, are also reprinted.

Numerous explanatory notes, a chronology, biographical notes on all names cited, and an index help make the volume an accessible and useful tool for understand-

ing the development of French Trotskyism during this period. In all regards, the technical quality of the volume testifies to the exacting standards set by the publisher, EDI, and the editors, Jean-Michel Brabant, Michel Dreyfus, and Jacqueline Pluet.

Fac-simile de la Vérité 1940-1944: Journal Trotskyiste Clandestin Sous l'Occupation Nazie (Facsimile of *La Vérité* 1940-1944: Trotskyist Clandestine Newspaper Under the Nazi Occupation). Edited and annotated by Jean-Michel Brabant, Michel Dreyfus, and Jacqueline Pluet. (Paris: Etudes et Documentation Internationales, 1978). 270 pages. 65 francs (about US\$15).

While the reprint ends in 1944, the story of the clandestine *La Vérité* does not end there. Allied armies, the French bourgeoisie, and the powerful French Communist Party all collaborated to ensure that *La Vérité* remained illegal until March 30, 1946, nearly a full year after the end of the war in Europe. It took an international campaign to win the legalization of *La Vérité*.

Certainly one of the most interesting aspects of the work of the Trotskyists in France during the occupation was their work among German soldiers. The work was begun by a German Trotskyist known as "Victor." Only recently has "Victor" been identified. His real name was Martin Monat, and he edited the journal *Arbeiter und Soldat*.

The journal was distributed among German soldiers by the Trotskyists of the Parti Ouvrier Internationaliste (POI-Internationalist Workers Party) in Brest, a city in Brittany. This work eventually led to the formation of a clandestine group of German soldiers who, with the aid of the local Trotskyists, began to publish their own mimeographed journal. It is not known how many issues of this latter journal appeared.

On October 6, 1943, numerous arrests took place both in Brittany and in Paris. Miraculously, "Victor" escaped arrest.

Eleven Trotskyists in Brest were deported to concentration camps, four of whom never returned. One more Trotskyist in Brest committed suicide to prevent the Gestapo from getting information that could lead to additional arrests. One German soldier won to Trotskyism was arrested in Paris and executed. It is believed that fifteen German soldiers were executed in Brest. Marcel Hic, at that point the central leader of the POI, was arrested and executed, and numerous other leaders arrested and deported.

"Victor," however, survived. In May 1944, *Arbeiter und Soldat* began to appear once more. Three more issues appeared before "Victor" himself was captured. Tortured and left for dead by the Gestapo, he was found and brought to a hospital. Rearrested by the Gestapo, he was finally executed one month before the liberation of Paris.

Not everyone approved of the work done by the Trotskyists among the German soldiers. To the Communist Party, this work was a form of "collaboration" with the enemy and further proof that the Trotskyists were Hitlerite agents.

A second important aspect upon which the reprinting of *La Vérité* has shed much light is the relations between the different groups of French Trotskyists.

At the start of the war, French Trotskyism was divided into a number of groups. Three of these were involved in a fusion that took place in early 1944. These were the POI, the official section of the Fourth International; the Comité Communiste Internationaliste, the descendant of the tendency led by Raymond Molinier and Pierre Frank until the outbreak of the war; and October, a smaller group. One even smaller grouping, the Union Communiste Internationaliste, refused to take part in the reunification. The modern-day continuation of this latter grouping is the French Trotskyist organization Lutte Ouvrière.

La Vérité was the organ of the POI until the fusion, when it became the central organ of the new fused organization, which adopted the name Parti Communiste Internationaliste.

The fusion ended a bitter eight-year-long split, the origins of which can be found in

Trotsky's book *The Crisis of the French Section [1935-36]* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1977).

Research into the history of the period of clandestinity has only just begun. The reprinting of *La Vérité* in facsimile will go

a long way to shedding light on a hitherto little-known chapter in the history of Trotskyism. □

Big Step Toward Trotsky's Collected Works in French

By Rodolphe Prager

EDI has published the first volume in the first series of *Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1933-1940*. This is a very ambitious undertaking, since the first series will include nearly twenty-five volumes. The editors decided to publish small books of about 300 pages each, to encourage their purchase by activists and the general public. They are scheduled for publication at a rate of four per year. This will still not represent Trotsky's complete works, since a large portion of his writings are still unavailable. But it is a step in that direction, and therefore an important event in the study of Trotsky's thought and action.

This time what is involved is not a collection of writings on a given subject, but rather articles, pamphlets, and letters published in chronological order. This gives a more faithful picture of Trotsky's activity, which was aimed first and foremost at rebuilding the revolutionary movement, and later at establishing the Fourth International.

Our comrades of Pathfinder Press were the first to adopt this method for the remarkable twelve-volume series *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1929-1940)*. The *Writings* could never have appeared in French without their work. We aim to go even further by including books heretofore unpublished in French, as well as some titles already in print that the publishers have permitted us to use. Continuing research, of course, also leads to the discovery of new writings, and our American comrades, on their own initiative, sent us items they found after completion of their series.

One of the advantages of the series will be the great variety of the selections, reflecting all of Trotsky's concerns at the time, the development of his ideas, his method of analysis, as well as the various types of problems he had to face.

The Turn Toward Fourth International

For example, the first volume deals primarily with the readjustments the international left opposition had to make after the defeat of the German workers movement, and particularly of the German Communist Party, without a fight. The book begins with a letter dated March 12 to the International Secretariat: "KPD or New Party?" This marked the end of the strategy of reform from within that the opposition had followed up until then. Trotsky approached this crucial turning-

point cautiously, by stages, and this was entirely correct. "We are now calling for the building of a new party in Germany that can take the leadership of the international out of the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is not a question of building the Fourth International but of saving the Third," the letter concluded. Four months later, Trotsky urged the opposition to stop considering itself an opposition and proceed to the building of new parties and a new international (see article dated July 15, 1933).

Around the same time, Trotsky saw the success of efforts that had been undertaken to obtain a visa for France. This enabled him to collaborate more closely with the European Trotskyist organizations. His stay in France did not go entirely smoothly. The government tried to confine Trotsky in Corsica. The right wing and the Stalinists lost all restraint. There were fears that the white Russians might stage an attack. Trotsky left Turkey July 17, not without certain regrets, which he expressed in his "Farewell to Prinkipo," describing his ocean-fishing trips in fascinating and glowing terms.

But a host of other topics are taken up in this book. They range from the politics of centrist formations and Andrés Nin's group in Spain, to the internal problems of the Left Opposition, to art and philosophy. Correspondence represented a huge portion of Trotsky's political activity. His letters to the International Secretariat and the leaders of the sections reveal with great accuracy the strategies and tactical approaches he felt were necessary.

Historical introductions and copious notes are essential to the understanding of texts of this type. This will also be one of the features of the series. In this way, the volumes will contribute to a more thorough knowledge of the history of the movement we call Trotskyism, a history that has yet to be written.

The Leon Trotsky Institute

A project of such scope could only be attempted by a team effort, which can gather certain resources and establish a collaborative network at the national and international levels. This fact led several activists to found the Leon Trotsky Institute¹ a few months ago. Some of them are

1. 29, rue Descartes, Paris 75005, France.

members of the OCI or of the LCR²; others do not belong to any organization, since responsibility does not rest with the organizations as such.

The purpose of the institute is to conduct research with the aim of publishing Trotsky's writings in French on the basis of sound scholarship. It has the advantage of the moral and material support of Seva Volkov, Trotsky's grandson and heir, as well as the personal participation of Marguerite Bonnet, executrix of Trotsky's literary estate.

The scholarly considerations that govern this work are obviously incompatible with any factional uses related to current differences.

The institute's bureau will discuss each volume, and if differences should arise that cannot be resolved, different interpretations will be published in a nonpolemical way. We will, of course, try to avoid having recourse to this solution, which is there as a safeguard of democracy. In this respect, the experience of working on the first volumes is quite conclusive. Discussions were held in a comradely spirit. In addition to its bureau, made up of five persons,³ the institute also has a committee of international sponsors, including some former close collaborators of Trotsky, individuals who have devoted themselves to studying his work, and historians of the workers movement. One of our essential concerns, in fact, is the effort to create the kind of international scholarly collaboration without which no genuine study of Trotsky's work and of the international Trotskyist movement could be envisioned. This kind of collaboration can only be egalitarian, of course. The institution cannot play a special role in this; it should be specified that it has no international ambitions. Our hope is only that similar research teams will be formed in other countries where this has not already occurred. Such teams will have the option of making use of the

2. OCI—Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (Internationalist Communist Organization); LCR—Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist League), French section of the Fourth International.

3. Marguerite Bonnet, president; Rodolphe Prager, vice-president; Pierre Broué, vice-president and research director; Jean Risacher, treasurer and general secretary; Michel Dreyfus, editor of *Cahiers Léon Trotsky*.

work the institute has done—just as we have made use of Pathfinder's material—adapting it to their specific needs under their own auspices.

Cahiers Léon Trotsky

We should further mention the *Cahiers Léon Trotsky*, which the institute plans to publish three or four times a year, and which will make it possible to establish a link with all who are interested in the institute's work. These journals will publish documents collected through research, including letters from Trotsky's close colla-

borators and secretaries such as Leon Sedov, Erwin Wolf, Walter Held, Jan Franke, and others. Various memoirs, narratives, and reviews of academic studies will also be featured, as well as a letters column. The goal is to generate a stimulating exchange of ideas.

We are certain that members and sympathizers of the Fourth International will follow the institute's achievements with the greatest interest, and will contribute to the best of their abilities and in many different ways to the success of this endeavor. □

Introduction to First Volume

By Marguerite Bonnet

[The following appeared as the introduction to the initial volume in the French-language Trotsky writings series, which covers the period March 1933 to July 1933. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

The publication of Leon Trotsky's collected works, including this volume, is part of a general effort to make Trotsky's ideas and activity more widely and accurately known. His full-length books have gone through several French editions, often in paperback to make them more available to the public.

But, with only a few exceptions, the articles and voluminous correspondence that made up the backbone of Trotsky's day-to-day political activity are not easily accessible. During Trotsky's exile, a large proportion of his time was devoted to writing letters, many of which are published here for the first time. This was one of his main ways of taking part in political struggles.

Furthermore, for articles and letters—even more than books—to be fully understandable to readers, accurate notes are required that can place them in the context of the events, discussions, and polemics of the day, and shed light on the groups and individuals who were in or around the Trotskyist movement. Today, new documents obtained from public and private archives have made it possible to gain a deeper understanding of that context.

Therefore, it was necessary to undertake a publishing project whose first task would be to put together collections with substantial historical introductions, accompanied by detailed and accurate notes.

These considerations led some activists and researchers who saw the need for such a project to establish the Leon Trotsky Institute. In this way they could avoid a

scattering of energies and be assured of extensive international collaboration. The job was too vast to be undertaken by individuals.

The institute, founded in Paris at the end of 1977, has a double aim:

1. To publish Leon Trotsky's writings,

Deutscher Comments on Van Heijenoort Interview

Dear Editor,

I have now read in the *Intercontinental Press*, 1 May, the interview with Jean van Heijenoort. I would like to take issue with some of the remarks made in this interview concerning Isaac Deutscher.

On Trotsky's relations with Diego Rivera, van Heijenoort is now "the only person who really knows what happened," while Deutscher, according to him, "entirely distorted" the episode. The first question which arises is, of course, why Professor van Heijenoort has waited so long—38 years after Trotsky's death—with publishing his reminiscences? Did he wait until all other witnesses had conveniently left this earth?

He goes on to tell us that "Deutscher's book . . . very useful in some ways . . . includes so many errors." Why did he never point out these "errors" while Deutscher was alive? Why did he never write a critique or a review of the work? If he had had historical truth at heart, he should have done so, and the "errors" could have been corrected in subsequent editions.

The following incident may throw some light on van Heijenoort's assiduity in finding "errors" in Deutscher's work and on his standards of historical scholarship: Deutscher met van Heijenoort only once,

according to the above guidelines, to the fullest extent possible at present, while leaving open the possibility of a more complete collection later on.

2. To publish the *Cahiers Léon Trotsky* (Leon Trotsky Notebooks), which will include existing studies, documents, and memoirs, and, we hope, elicit others.

We decided that it was better to organize the collected works chronologically rather than thematically. The latter method is always somewhat arbitrary, since various questions are often taken up in the same text. The chronological method was chosen by the American editors at Pathfinder Press, who published the twelve-volume *Writings* series, covering the years 1929-1940.

We owe a great deal to the editors of Pathfinder Press, and hope we can be helpful to them in turn, by making available for possible future editions the additional material and corrections of earlier errors that are sure to be turned up by further research. Wherever possible, the writings have been translated from Russian originals.

We hope, too, that readers will find in these volumes not only a good deal of information, but the makings of new ideas as well. □

in a room of the Gramercy Park Hotel in New York in the first days of January 1950. Asked about material on Trotsky, van Heijenoort replied that he was not prepared to show Deutscher any material because Deutscher was a Stalinist. To the question what made him come to such a conclusion, he answered: Because in your biography of Stalin you do not mention forced labour.

Deutscher took the Stalin book and in the index pointed to the entry: "Labour . . . forced labour." Oh, yes, said van Heijenoort, I looked under *F*—forced.

Naturally he became somewhat subdued. After a moment's silence, he got up and said: In that case I am prepared to share with you my material, but under one condition.

Asked what the condition was, he answered:

That we write the book on Trotsky together.

The two men never met again. If van Heijenoort considered Deutscher to be a Stalinist, why did he pay him a visit?

I have mentioned the incident, perhaps too discreetly, in *Isaac Deutscher, the Man and His Work* (1971), p. 69. Now the time has come to be more explicit.

Tamara Deutscher
London, 26 June 1978

The Maori Land Struggle in New Zealand

By George Fyson

WELLINGTON—The struggle for the return of the land at Bastion Point, near the centre of Auckland, to the Ngati Whaata tribe has developed into the most significant Maori land struggle in this century. The land in question consists of a little less than 200 acres of open space on a headland jutting into the Waitemata harbour. It is an extremely valuable piece of "real estate."

On May 25 the New Zealand government employed an intimidating army of more than 700 police, backed by military units, to round up hundreds of protesters occupying the site. More than 200 were evicted in the peaceful protest, and 222 more were arrested, making it the largest mass arrest in New Zealand's history. The majority of those arrested were Maoris.

The protesters' buildings which had been erected during the seventeen-month occupation of the land were smashed to the ground by an army bulldozer.*

Repressive Government

The crushing of the Bastion Point occupation is only the latest in a series of repressive acts carried out by the reactionary government of Robert Muldoon. Since coming to power in 1975, Muldoon has mounted an offensive against the rights of working people, women, Maoris, and other Polynesian peoples.

His government has launched racist attacks on Pacific Islanders—rounding up and deporting the so-called "overstayers," as well as violently attacking other Maori land-rights struggles.

The story of how the Maoris originally lost the land at Bastion Point is one of relentless encroachment by *pakeha* (European) society, which sought to push the Maori community right out of this area, the "gateway" to the wealthy eastern suburbs of Auckland. The means used by the authorities to gain the land were similar to those used in other parts of the country. They used every dirty trick in the book, from seizure of land for "defence" purposes, take-overs under the Public Works Act, and picking out and pressuring individual Maoris who were, perhaps because of indebtedness, more vulnerable to pressures for sale.

On a nationwide scale, this same steady process has whittled away the amount of

Maori-owned land from the entire sixty-six million acres of New Zealand when the pakeha arrived, to less than three million acres today, while Maoris constitute more than 10 percent of the population.

The Ngati Whaata tribe once dominated the entire area covered by Auckland. Big sections of this land were sold to the British settlers for a few hundred pounds in the 1840s and 1850s. Immediately after it had been sold by the Maoris, the buyers resold much of it for tens of thousands of pounds. Other large areas were given up by the Maoris on the understanding that 10 percent of the revenues generated would be put towards Maori education. The education never eventuated. The churches gained a lot of land in this fashion.

The 200 acres at Bastion Point were part of the final portion of land retained by the Ngati Whaata of Tamaki towards the end of the last century. In 1869, after an application to the court by the Ngati Whaata paramount chief, Apihai Te Kawau, an area of 700 acres had been declared by the Native Land Court to be "absolutely inalienable to any person in any manner whatsoever," and it was vested as a whole in twelve Maori trustees representing the local Maori people.

But the government and local settler interests did not let matters lie there. In 1877 the land known as Bastion Point was taken for "defence purposes." Following this, court rulings made the Maori trustees individual owners of specific portions of the "inalienable" land, and the government began pressuring some of them to part with bits and pieces of the area. The government granted itself monopoly of purchase, and by 1907 had bought or held on long-term lease 472 of the 700 acres.

In 1928 a competition was held for a model "garden suburb" in the area, known as Orakei. The winning design was published, showing no provision for Maori housing in the area, or anywhere else. In this plan, playing fields and tennis courts were placed where the Maori village stood.

Sales continued through the 1930s and 40s, some of them forced by the legal expenses of Maoris seeking to hold off the purchases. By 1950, the government built a few state houses on the open headland next to the village, as an inducement for the Maoris to leave their homes. While younger ones did so, the older people refused to leave.

So the government invoked the Public Works Act to clear the area. In December

1951 the remaining dwellings and the meeting house were burnt to the ground in a "mysterious" fire. The impending visit of the queen of England was presented as one reason for completing the eviction. The authorities considered that the place had to be "cleaned up," because the queen was scheduled to drive past it.

Struggle Rekindled

Although all the land had now passed from Maori ownership, apart from a one-quarter acre graveyard, the struggle was by no means over.

In 1976 the Muldoon government pushed ahead with a plan for developing part of the Bastion Point headland, the 200 acres of open space remaining. The plan was for a high-cost housing subdivision, and it made only passing reference to the possibility of more housing for the Ngati Whaata, many of whom had been forced to move out of the area because of their expanding numbers.

The local Maoris, led by the Orakei Maori Committee Action Group, reoccupied the open space at the top of the headland in January 1977. Some of the central leaders of the occupation had been children in 1951 when they watched their old community being burned to the ground.

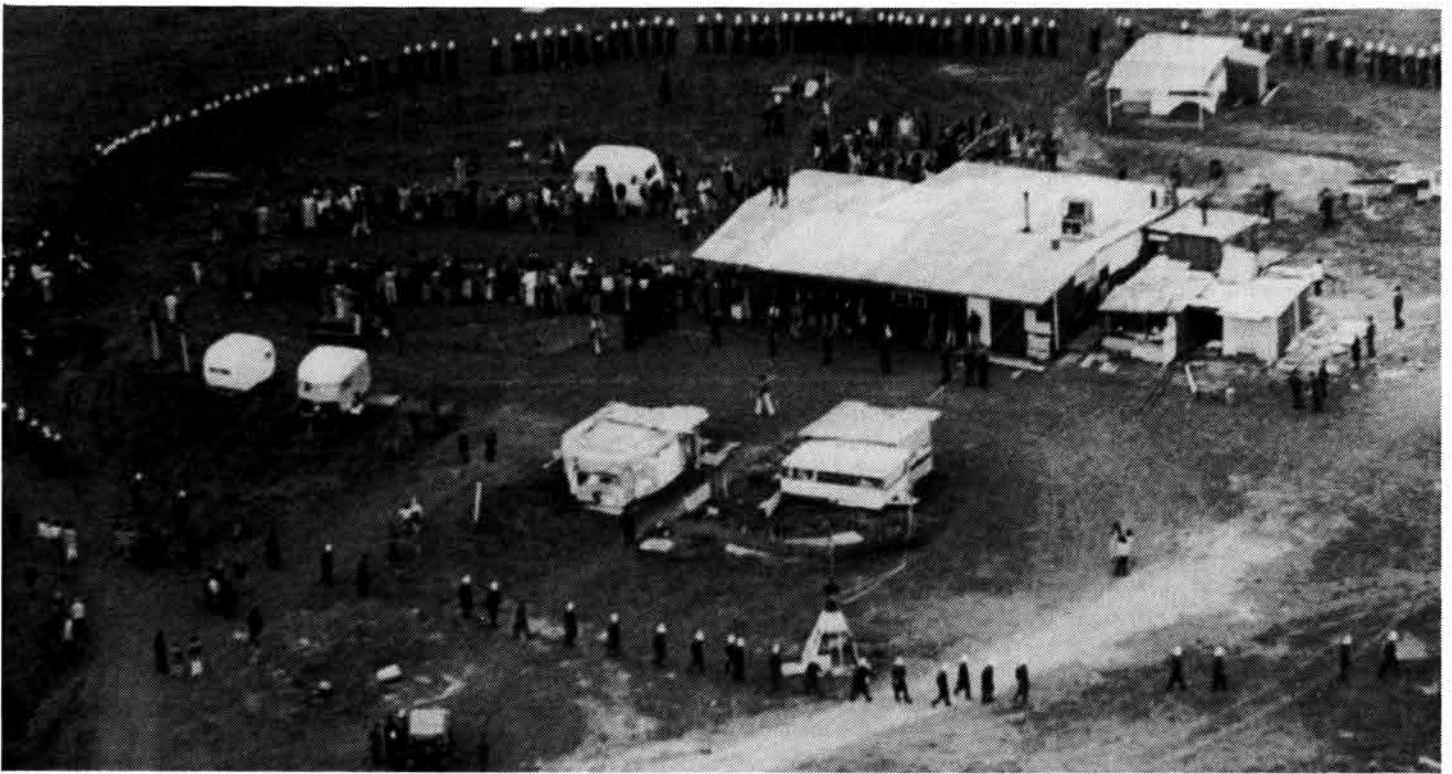
This action, coupled with a "green ban" imposed by the Auckland Trades Council against work taking place on the site, prevented any surveying and building beginning on the subdivision. The tent town set up on Bastion Point was visited by thousands of Aucklanders within the first few weeks of being established.

The Maori occupiers demanded that the remaining open space on Bastion Point be handed over to a Ngati Whaata trust, to be developed as the Maoris saw fit. They drew up initial plans for Maori housing, meeting houses, old people's accommodations, and educational institutions on the land.

The government was forced to drop its plan for a subdivision, but it drew up an amended version of the scheme, and began secret negotiations with handpicked individuals from the Ngati Whaata, offering a few concessions but insisting that part of the deal be that the occupiers be cleared off the land. It was a classic example of "divide and rule."

Nevertheless the occupiers held firm, erecting living quarters and a meeting house capable of holding hundreds of people, in which they weathered a long,

*For a report on this eviction, see *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, June 16, 1978, p. 768.—IP/I



Auckland Star

Police surround protesters at Bastion Point, May 25, 1978.

wet winter. On a number of occasions, the government threatened to move in in force, but each time supporters from throughout New Zealand rallied to Bastion Point and it became obvious that the stand of the Ngati Whaatua had very strong backing. Bastion Point had become a symbol of Maori resistance to the gobbling up of traditional Maori land by the government and pakeha.

The government intensified its efforts against the protesters. Joe Hawke, the protest leader, was convicted on a frame-up charge of assault. A campaign of slander and red-baiting was mounted by politicians and in the press. This was directed against the involvement of the pro-Moscow Socialist Unity Party, the Maoist Communist Party, and the Trotskyist Socialist Action League, in supporting the Maoris' stand.

At the same time, the government took out an injunction in the Supreme Court to clear the protesters away. The protesters, although denied legal aid, put up an impressive defence, but they were not supported by the judge, who happens to live in an expensive house nearby on part of the "inalienable" 700-acre block of 1869.

The Maori protesters had gained the support of a wide range of political forces prior to the police invasion of Bastion Point. Church figures, prominent Maoris, and others had spoken out on their behalf, in addition to the Auckland Trades Council.

When the invasion came, the scenes of

weeping Maori elders being led away by police, and the strains of Maori *hakas* (war dances) and songs ringing out from the camp as the arrests went on, had a big impact on all who saw them that night on television. Since this action, support for the stand of the Ngati Whaatua at Bastion Point has built up, particularly within the Maori community.

One week after the eviction, a meeting was held at the Orakei marae (meeting area) to discuss the next steps in the struggle. It was attended by several hundred people, including Maoris from many parts of the country. Dick Wetere, from the Waikato Maniapoto people, told the meeting:

"When Sir George Grey [governor of New Zealand in the mid-nineteenth century—G.F.] said to Kingi Tawhiao that he had the forces to exterminate the Maori race, Kingi Tawhiao answered: 'I have many friends in the four corners of the earth, who will come to my aid in my time of need.' When the police and soldiers marched onto Bastion Point, I saw the embodiment of Kingi Tawhiao's wisdom—Maori, pakeha, Samoans, Niueans, Rarotongans, Indians, Chinese, and I'm sure other nationalities, standing shoulder to shoulder waiting to be arrested. This is the spirit we must carry into the unknown future from this historic meeting onwards. Historic, because this could be the turning point in the fight for our lands. Because Bastion Point stands for the guts of our convictions, we, as a people, can do nothing other than support Joe Hawke and

his freedom fighters of Bastion Point. You have led and showed us the way."

Six hundred people in Wellington marched on Parliament the day after the invasion. Similar marches and meetings, involving hundreds of people, have occurred throughout the country. In Dunedin and Wellington, normal studies were suspended and mass meetings were held at the universities for a full day to discuss the Bastion Point and Maori land issues.

A team of Bastion Point leaders plans to tour through all the Maori communities in New Zealand, to build renewed and strengthened support for their cause. They are also raising funds to send a delegation to the United Nations later this year.

A general election is due in November, and Matiu Rata, the Labour Party spokesperson on Maori affairs, has promised that Labour would return Bastion Point to the Ngati Whaatua. Whether this promise bears fruit remains to be seen; in fact it was under the 1972-75 Labour government that the high-cost subdivision plan for Bastion Point was first drawn up. Nevertheless, Rata's stand is a reflection of significant public sentiment.

One thing is certain. The government thought it could get rid of the Bastion Point issue by its massive police operation. But it is having the opposite effect. As Bastion Point representative Colin Clark told a protest march in Wellington on June 9:

"I'm sure Muldoon thinks he has us beat. Hell, the battle is only starting." □

2. The Revolution in Ethiopia

By David Frankel

[Second of two parts]

How do events in the Horn of Africa fit into this picture?

When the Portuguese empire entered its final crisis in April 1974, the peoples of Ethiopia were already deep in rebellion against the ancient monarchy ruling their country. *Washington Post* correspondent David Ottaway commented at the end of March 1974:

"Shaken to its foundations by military mutinies, a general strike, the fall of a government, a devastating drought, a major economic crisis and protests by everyone from priests to prostitutes, the millenia-old Ethiopian monarchy appears to be crumbling."

For more than forty years Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie's regime had served as a reliable bulwark of backwardness, reaction, and collaboration with imperialism on the African continent. Suddenly, the imperialists were faced with a situation that threatened to become a source of rebellion and destabilization of the status quo. With a population of 30 million people—nearly 10 percent of the total population of sub-Saharan Africa—Ethiopia was a force that had to be reckoned with.

The enormous power unleashed by the Ethiopian revolution is best understood by recalling the character of the old regime. Ninety percent of the population of Ethiopia lives on the land. Yet two-thirds of these millions of peasant families subsisted on less than six-tenths of an acre. Ninety percent of peasant households cultivated less than two acres.

In contrast, an aristocratic landlord class of about 30,000 people owned more than 70 percent of the arable land, and most of the rest was owned by the Coptic church—the state church under Selassie.

Nor was the semifeudal character of Selassie's regime limited to land tenure. In addition to being forced to hand over some 50 percent of their produce directly to the landlords, peasants had to pay tithes to the church and numerous special fees and taxes. Moreover, the peasantry was forced to render physical services to the landlords, such as transporting their grain, building their houses and barns, and performing domestic duties for their families.

This system of feudal obligations was defended by an absolute monarchy whose character was summed up in the 1955 constitution as follows: "The person of the

Emperor is sacred, his dignity is inviolable and his power is indisputable."

Famine and War Spark Rebellion

An article by Tony Thomas in the May 1974 *International Socialist Review* noted that the Ethiopian monarchy "is a truly reactionary government, not merely in the vernacular sense of being repressive, but in the formal sense that it defends to the hilt a social order that properly belongs to an earlier era of human history. It resists industrialization and modernization; it struggles against being dragged into even the modern capitalist world, although capitalism itself is so overripe as to have been in decline for more than half a century."

Two things—the disastrous famine of 1973, and the ongoing colonial war against the Eritrean people—finally led to the crumbling of the monarchy.

At least 100,000 people died in the famine. Instead of speeding relief efforts, the regime tried to cover up the fact that thousands were starving. At the same time, food exports continued and the landlords took advantage of the situation to buy land and cattle at a fraction of their worth.

Resentment among the masses was reflected in one leaflet distributed in Addis Ababa, which showed a photograph of a starving child next to one of Selassie feeding his dogs on the grounds of his Jubilee Palace.

At the same time, the cost of living in the cities was skyrocketing, and there was deep disaffection in the ranks of the army, which was losing the Eritrean war.

The Ethiopian revolution began early in February 1974 when taxi drivers, teachers, and students staged strikes and demonstrations, resulting in clashes with the police. Within a few days, about 10,000 troops, supported by most of the lower ranks and junior officers, seized Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, to press their demands for higher pay.

Concessions failed to stop the spreading rebellion. In March, most of the larger cities and towns were paralyzed by workers' strikes. About 100,000 Muslims marched in Addis Ababa to demand an end to religious discrimination. On March 17, thousands of women demonstrated to demand equal pay and equal rights with men. Even prostitutes demonstrated for the right to form a union and the right to free medical examinations. In the country-

side, peasants began to seize crops and burn the homes of landlords.

The Dergue Comes to Power

Unable to halt the upsurge, the discredited Selassie was finally deposed in September 1974 by a junta of junior army officers known as the Dergue. The Dergue tried to establish control over the situation through a combination of repression and concessions.

Among its first actions was to ban strikes and demonstrations and to arrest some of the country's top trade unionists. Moreover, the Dergue refused to change the policies of the Selassie regime toward the oppressed nationalities within the Ethiopian state. In December 1974 it began a new offensive against the Eritrean liberation fighters.

On the other hand, the Dergue was forced by the pressure of the masses to adopt socialist rhetoric and to carry out wide-ranging reforms.

"In early 1975," Ernest Harsch wrote in the December 1977 *International Socialist Review*, "the Dergue nationalized all banks, credit institutions, and insurance companies, as well as many imperialist and some local concerns. . . ."

"In March [1975], it decreed a broad agrarian reform program that nationalized all rural land, canceled all debts and obligations by tenant farmers and sharecroppers, and placed a twenty-five-acre ceiling on the size of farms cultivated by individual peasants. The heaviest blows of the land reform fell on the large absentee landowners in the southern provinces.

"The Dergue's agrarian reform measures were adopted in response to the peasant revolts. It tried to institutionalize a process that was already underway, so as to bring it under government control."

Regardless of the Dergue's intentions, the legal recognition of the peasant demands was an immense progressive gain. The old landowning aristocracy, which had leached off the labor of the peasantry for centuries, was broken. Its members were either exterminated or driven into exile.

Destruction of the landlord class and its institutions—the absolute monarchy and the feudal fees and obligations extorted from the peasantry—and the separation of church and state, represented a profound revolution in the economic and social relations in Ethiopia.

Under these circumstances, Washington

was faced with a big problem. The urban masses, as indicated by the Dergue's radical rhetoric, wanted socialism. They showed no inclination of stopping their mobilization just when they were beginning to win some gains. Could the Dergue be depended on to keep things under control?

Imperialists Look for Alternatives

At first, Washington hoped to achieve its aims by working through the Dergue. For two and a half years after the ouster of Selassie, it continued military aid and military sales to the Ethiopian regime, backing the Dergue's war against the Eritreans. However, under the pressure of the masses, the Dergue continued in turmoil, with numerous splits and purges. And it continued to lose ground in Eritrea.

In February 1977, Washington cut back its aid program to the Dergue, which responded by shutting down American offices and military installations in Ethiopia and turning to Moscow for aid.

Meanwhile, the U.S. imperialists were looking for some other way to slow down the upsurge in Ethiopia. None of their options were very good.

As in Angola, sending U.S. troops was ruled out by the antiwar temper of the American people. At the same time, Selassie had been the main imperialist front man in the area, and there was no ready replacement.

U.S. military aid to the pro-imperialist regime in Kenya was stepped up. Threats against the Ethiopian revolution were voiced by the Sudanese, Egyptian, and Iranian governments.

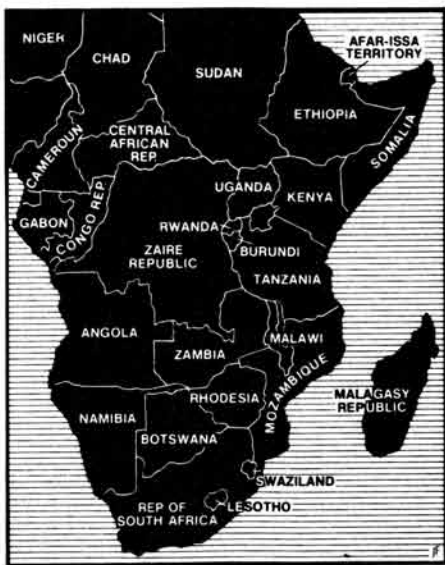
But in retrospect, it is clear that the most substantial imperialist-inspired probe against the Ethiopian revolution was the Somali invasion of the Ogaden in July 1977.

The Somali population in the Ogaden, like the Eritreans, is an oppressed nationality within the Ethiopian state. The *Militant* correctly called attention to this, and to the need for unconditional support to the right of the Somali people to self-determination. Insofar as the Somali people rebel against national oppression—whether carried out by Selassie or by the Dergue—their struggle must be supported by revolutionists.

But the invasion of the Ogaden by the regular army of Somalia—under the orders of the Somalian regime—was not the same as the national liberation struggle of the Somali masses. The invasion introduced a new element into the situation, one which the *Militant* did not assess correctly at the time.

An Imperialist-Inspired Probe

The intervention of the Somali regime, despite its propaganda, had little or nothing to do with the liberation of the



Christian Science Monitor

Somali population in the Ogaden. The decisive factor was the encouragement of the Carter administration, which hoped to use the territorial ambitions of the Somali regime to strike a blow against the upsurge of the Ethiopian masses. In light of this, it was necessary to support Ethiopia against the Somali invasion.

Referring to the U.S. role in the Ogaden war in a June 14 article, syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft said, "In that case, the United States—and, indeed, Carter personally—played the jackal, and the Russians reacted defensively."

Kraft reported that "on April 18, 1977, he [Carter] allowed Time magazine to overhear him telling Vice President Mondale that he wanted Vance and Brzezinski to do 'everything possible to get Somalia to be our friend.'"

In keeping with this directive, the State Department, according to a report by Arnaud de Borchgrave in the September 26, 1977, issue of *Newsweek*, sent a message to Somali President Siad Barre assuring him that Washington was "not averse to further guerrilla pressure in the Ogaden."

This message was followed up with a U.S. offer to sell arms to the Somali regime. As *New York Times* correspondent David Shieler reported June 18:

"It was last July 23, just eight days after the United States informed Somalia it would discuss supplying American arms, that the Somalis invaded the Ogaden desert in Ethiopia. This seemed to confirm the Soviet view that Washington had, at least indirectly, encouraged Somalia's sense of military confidence. . . ."

Surely something must have encouraged the "sense of military confidence" of the Somali regime. A country of 3 million doesn't attack a neighbor with ten times its population unless its government has reason to expect substantial assistance.

Within three months, the Somali forces had taken almost the entire Ogaden, ex-

cept for two key cities, from the surprised and disorganized Ethiopian forces. However, the arms promised by Washington, which were needed to hold what had been taken, never materialized, although the U.S. offer remained open until September.

The Carter administration had to weigh the diplomatic difficulties of openly siding with the aggressor in the Ethiopian-Somali war; the cost of trying to turn the military balance when Ethiopia was beginning to get massive Soviet aid; and the likely response of the American people to such an adventure.

Certainly, after having left its close South African ally in the lurch in Angola, it is unlikely that the U.S. imperialists had any qualms about doing the same to Siad Barre.

Of course, the Somali regime tried to wrap its aggression in the flag of the struggle for national liberation. But its real attitude toward this struggle was indicated in a report in the June 3, 1978, issue of the British weekly, *The Economist*. According to *The Economist*:

"The Somali government seems determined to convince the Kenyans—and the west—that it no longer entertains any claim to Kenya's north-eastern province, where a quarter of a million Somalis live. As one official now puts it:

"Why should we want the north-eastern province? We know that the Somalis there have a good life—even that they receive priority from the Kenyan government in development projects. Their situation is quite different from that of the Somalis in the Ogaden."

But the real difference is not in the treatment of the Somali people. The difference is that in Ethiopia—in spite of the military regime trying to gain control and hold back the masses—a deep-going revolutionary process was unfolding, while no such revolution was going on in Somalia or Kenya. In the face of this revolution, previously hostile regimes tried to find some common ground.

The Cubans Step In

Several months prior to the Somali invasion, Fidel Castro traveled to the Middle East and Africa. In an interview published in the May 22, 1977, issue of *Granma*, shortly after his return, Castro gave his assessment of the situation in Ethiopia:

"There's a profound revolution in Ethiopia, a powerful mass movement and a thoroughgoing agrarian reform in a feudal country in which the peasants were practically slaves.

"There has been an urban reform, and the main industries in the country have been nationalized. . . . This reminds us of the French and Bolshevik Revolutions because of the intense class struggle waged between the workers and peasants on the one side and the large landowners and bourgeoisie on the other and because

this country is now being criminally attacked from abroad by the Arab reaction, acting in complicity with imperialism."

As was the case in Angola, Castro gave political support to the petty bourgeois leadership that is attempting to channel and straitjacket the mass radicalization and consolidate a new capitalist regime. Castro stressed his view that Mengistu Haile Mariam, the leader of the Dergue, "is a true revolutionary."

Also as in Angola, Castro stressed the possibilities for dealing blows to imperialism. According to the interviewer, when Castro met with the heads of state of Somalia, Ethiopia, and South Yemen in March 1977:

"The idea of creating a kind of federation or confederation that could include Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Ogaden and possibly Djibouti was discussed, analyzed and meditated on at length. . . ."

Castro confirmed this account in a speech given March 15: "Today we realize that when we met with Somalia's leader in March of last year in Aden," Castro said, "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."

Castro continued, "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."

The first Cuban units arrived in December 1977 and January 1978, according to Castro. Washington responded by stepping up its campaign against Cuba, and in early February it even sent two U.S. warships to the Red Sea in what was called by the *Christian Science Monitor*, "a possible show of American force in the region."

But events moved too fast for Carter to do much more than bluster. In seven weeks—from January 22 to March 14, according to Castro—Ethiopian forces, aided by the Cubans, recaptured the Ogaden.

Commenting on Washington's role in the affair, Castro pointed out:

"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 Ethi-

opians 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."

Self-determination for Eritrea

There were, in effect, two wars going on at the same time in the Ogaden. There was a national liberation movement on the part of the Somali people living in the region, and there was an aggressive, expansionist invasion by the regular Somali army—aimed ultimately at the advances of the Ethiopian revolution. But it was the intervention of the Somali regime—and through it, of imperialism—that became the decisive element in the Ogaden war.

This is not the situation in Eritrea. No capitalist regime or imperialist maneuvering has been able to control, or turn on and off, the sixteen-year-long struggle of the Eritrean people for their independence.

In fact, the tenacious war waged by the Eritreans was, as mentioned above, one of the main factors that sparked the Ethiopian revolution.

A policy of recognizing the right of the Eritrean people to self-determination—in this case, supporting their fight for political independence—is the only course that is in the interests of the Ethiopian people and the Ethiopian revolution. Such a policy could help lay the basis for friendly relations between Eritrea and Ethiopia.

At the same time, recognition of the right of the Eritreans to determine their own future would help restrict the maneuvers of the imperialists and of the reactionary Arab regimes. The Eritreans would be in a better position to resist pressures from these quarters if they were not in a position of having to fight for their lives against the Dergue.

Castro, to his credit, insists that he supports the right of self-determination for the Eritreans. However, because of his political support for the Mengistu regime, he has been forced into contortions on this question.

The truth is that the bourgeois Mengistu regime, like many similar governments in the semicolonial world, comes into conflict with imperialism, and tries to base itself on the anti-imperialist sentiment of the masses. But ultimately it fears even more the revolutionary anticapitalist dynamic of its own working class. Either forces must come forward to lead the anti-imperialist struggle to completion through the establishment of a workers state, or imperialism will maintain its hold and eventually roll back many of the gains.

So far, the Cubans have resisted pressures from the Dergue for an all-out offensive against the Eritreans. "The Cubans still want the Ethiopians and the Eritreans to negotiate," according to the June 3 issue of *The Economist*.

A representative of the Eritreans, speaking for the two main groups involved in the struggle, said in Paris June 21 that Cuban forces had not taken part in any military operations in Eritrea since February.

Were the Cubans to get involved in trying to crush the Eritrean struggle, it would be a blow not only to the Ethiopian revolution, but to the Cuban revolution as well. Castro is doubtless well aware that such a move against the Eritreans, whose cause is supported by working-class parties and national liberation fighters around the world, would heavily damage the prestige of the Cuban leadership. (For more on this, see Joseph Hansen's article, "Castro differs with Mengistu on Eritrea," in last week's *Militant*.)

Stakes for Imperialism

However, the imperialist campaign against Cuba's role in Africa has absolutely nothing to do with any sympathy for the Eritreans. The imperialists were the ones who sold the Eritreans down the river in the first place, and they originally armed the Ethiopian military in its war against Eritrea.

The Cuban presence in Africa has become a major preoccupation of U.S. foreign policy because Carter and his advisers know that the Cubans are playing an important role in helping to advance the African liberation struggle as a whole.

For the imperialists, the stakes are immense: an entire continent, larger than all of South America and Europe combined, whose vast wealth has barely begun to be discovered, let alone tapped.

As Ernest Harsch pointed out in an article in the June 5 issue of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*: "Zaire and Zambia are among the world's top copper exporters, and Zaire supplies 75 percent of the cobalt used in the United States. Nigeria, Libya, and Angola have valuable oil deposits. Guinea has about two-thirds of the world's known bauxite reserves. . . ."

"Zimbabwe has some of the biggest chrome reserves in the world and Namibia, a South African colony, is the world's second-largest producer of gem diamonds and has important deposits of copper, uranium, lead, zinc, and other minerals.

"South Africa itself has the most varied mineral resources of any country except the United States and the Soviet Union. It produces around three-fourths of the capitalist world's gold output, and has three-fourths of the world's chrome ore reserves, one-third of the known uranium reserves, and the largest known reserves of platinum, vanadium, and coal. It also has

important deposits of diamonds, nickel, asbestos, titanium, and numerous other minerals."

Moreover, this mineral wealth is extracted by a superexploited Black labor force that makes possible fabulous profits for the international cartels. According to Harsch, "Although the rate of return for direct American investments worldwide during the 1960s averaged about 11 percent, they earned 18.6 percent in South Africa itself."

Fear of a Collapse

But can the imperialists maintain the political stability necessary for the extraction of these superprofits?

Since 1974, the imperialists have suffered the Ethiopian revolution, the collapse of the Portuguese empire, and the upsurge of the struggle in southern Africa. At the same time, the world economic crisis has undermined pro-imperialist regimes throughout Africa. Zaïre is one obvious example of this, and the imperialists are also worried about the survival of the Kaunda regime in Zambia.

The June 26 issue of *Business Week*, reporting on what it called a "vital international salvage operation to prop up the regime of President Kenneth D. Kaunda," pointed out that "by last fall basic commodities such as tea, coffee, sugar, cooking oil, and cornmeal were short. In November, Kaunda warned of a collapse."

Imperialist banking institutions came to Kaunda's aid with a package of new loans that *Business Week* estimates will eventually total \$800 million to \$1 billion. But in light of the gloomy prospects for the world capitalist economy, such measures can only serve as stopgaps.

Fear of the African masses has prompted greater attention to Africa in Washington. That fear is also behind Carter's complaints that his "hands are tied" by restrictions on his ability to intervene with U.S. forces. And it is fear of the African revolution, and of Cuban aid to the anti-imperialist struggles of the Black masses, that is behind Carter's campaign against the Cubans in Africa.

Washington Post correspondents Robert Kaiser and Don Oberdorfer summed up the recurring nightmare of U.S. policymakers in a June 4 article. According to them:

"A senior State Department official said that after the experience in Ethiopia, the United States had to assume that—in the absence of countermeasures—the communist forces will be prepared to move on to the explosive black-white conflicts of southern Africa. That could mean Soviet-backed Cubans in Rhodesia in the near future, a prospect so ominous to the administration that its top priority now is to avoid it."

Castro, speaking on December 24, 1977, before the National Assembly of People's Power, replied appropriately to the hypoc-

ris of the imperialist campaign against Cuba. He asked:

"What moral basis can the United States have to speak about Cuban troops in Africa? What moral basis can a country



CASTRO: "The imperialists have already lost the battle in southern Africa."

have whose troops are on every continent, that has, for instance, over 20 military bases in the Philippines, dozens of bases in Okinawa, in Japan, in Asia . . . in Europe, in Spain, in Italy and everywhere else? What moral basis can the United States have to use the argument of our troops being in Africa when their own troops are stationed by force on Panamanian territory, occupying a portion of that country? What moral basis can the United States have to speak about our troops in Africa when their own troops are stationed right here on our own national territory, at the Guantánamo naval base?"

Castro continued: "We don't deny it: we support and we have sent military advisers to many countries in Africa. . . . We're now helping and we'll go on helping Angola! We're now helping and we'll go on helping Mozambique! We're now helping and we'll go on helping the Ethiopian Revolution! If that's why the United States is blockading us, let them go on blockading us."

"Why doesn't the United States blockade South Africa, a racist, fascist country whose troops are committing crimes in Africa and whose minority is oppressing 20 million Blacks? Why doesn't it blockade Rhodesia, where 300,000 white fascists are oppressing six million Africans. . . ? They blockade Cuba instead. . . . What is un-

derstood by the African peoples is that while the Yankee imperialists have sided with South Africa, Rhodesia, the repressive and reactionary African governments, we've sided with the revolutionary and progressive peoples of Africa. We're fighting against fascism in Africa, we're fighting against racism in Africa."

Rhetoric vs. Reality

Of course, U.S. officials from Carter on down also claim to be opposed to the apartheid regime in South Africa. "We have made it clear to the South African government that a failure to begin to make genuine progress toward an end to racial discrimination and full political participation for all South African citizens can only have an increasingly adverse impact on our relations," Secretary of State Cyrus Vance declared June 20.

No U.S. government, in light of the massive support for majority rule in southern Africa in this country—particularly among Blacks—is in a position to come out openly for the status quo there.

At the same time, U.S. imperialism needs the South African state. Semicolonial regimes such as Kaunda's in Zambia and Mobutu's in Zaïre are too weak and unstable for Washington to rely on. The iron rod of the apartheid regime is the ultimate guarantee of imperialist domination in Africa.

A similar situation prevails in the Middle East, where no matter how servile Arab rulers such as Sadat and the Saudi royal family may be, they can never replace the Israeli colonial-settler state as the main bulwark for imperialist interests in the region. U.S. policymakers will issue statements deploring the Israeli occupation of Arab land, just as they deplore apartheid in South Africa, but their actions are a different matter.

In the case of South Africa, Washington is concerned not only with maintaining a military power that can act against the threat of socialist revolution in the region, but also with the protection of its \$1.7 billion in direct investment in South Africa itself.

However, as Karl Marx pointed out more than 100 years ago, capitalism produces its own gravediggers. In order to build up the industrial base that is the foundation of its military power, and to produce the superprofits that fuel its economy, South African capitalism has created a working class.

Deprived of property, deprived of all democratic rights, 8 million Black workers run the South African economy. How long can they be held in bondage by even the most repressive system?

Castro was not merely boasting when he declared in his December 24 speech that "no matter what they do, the imperialists have already lost the battle in southern Africa." □

Appeal for the Rehabilitation of Nikolai Bukharin

[The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation is circulating a petition¹ in support of the appeal sent by Yuri Larin (Bukharin), son of Nikolai Bukharin,² to Enrico Berlinguer, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party. The appeal, which we are publishing below in a translation provided by the Russell Foundation, asks for Berlinguer's aid in the campaign to rehabilitate Bukharin's father.

[*L'Unità*, the Italian CP daily, published a lengthy report on the appeal in its June 16 issue. It also printed a list of Italian intellectuals who have already taken up the task of collecting signatures of support in their country, indicating that "comrades Spriano, Procacci, and Boffa have signed in the name of the party."

[*L'Unità* also published an important article by Paolo Spriano, the historian of the Italian CP, which said in part: "rendering justice to this eminent figure [Bukharin], as well as to other victims of the trials of the 1930s, means not only taking up a question of history but also fulfilling satisfactorily a moral and political obligation."

[Spriano calls for the rehabilitation of all victims of the Moscow trials, specifically naming Zinoviev, Kamenev, Pyatakov, Radek, and Rykov. These statements amount to official support from the Italian CP to the appeal for the rehabilitation of Bukharin.

[In the June 22 issue of the Italian daily *Repubblica*, Spriano went even further, calling for the rehabilitation of Stalin's victims, "including Trotsky."]

[We are also printing below a report on a June 9, 1977, telephone conversation in which a representative of the Central Committee of the Soviet CP rejected Yuri Larin's appeal for the rehabilitation of his father.]

1. Copies of the petition may be obtained by writing to the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Gamble Street, Nottingham NG7 4ET, England.—IP/I

2. An Old Bolshevik, Bukharin was the author (with Preobrazhensky) of *The ABC of Communism* and of a study of historical materialism. He joined with Stalin against the Left Opposition in 1923, split with Stalin in 1928 to form the Right Opposition, and was expelled from the Politburo in 1929. He publicly recanted his dissident views shortly afterward. Broken politically, he was executed after the third series of Moscow trials in March 1938.—IP/I

Respected Comrade Berlinguer,

I am writing this letter to you on the eve of the 40th Anniversary of the tragic death of my father, Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin. At that time I was only two years old and naturally was unable to remember my father. But my mother, who had spent many years in Stalin's prisons and camps, miraculously survived and told me the truth about my father. Later G.M. Krzhizhanovsky, one of V.I. Lenin's closest friends, and Old Bolsheviks, who had lived through the terror and who had known Nikolai Ivanovich in one circumstance or another, told me about him. In addition I read many Bolshevik books (which are banned in our country even today and have been preserved only by chance by certain Old Bolsheviks) including books by Nikolai Ivanovich himself and the works of foreign researchers. The information which I obtained in this way helped me to fully appreciate the character and the social and political activity of my father. I understood the enormity of Stalin's crimes, the extent to which he had falsified the history of the Party, the absurdity and stupidity of the accusations levelled against my father at the Plenum of the Central Committee of February/March 1937 and the trial of the so-called "Right-Trotskyist Bloc". However, on the basis of these absurd charges (espionage, treason, sabotage and murder), my father was expelled from the Central Committee and from the Party and condemned to death.

Beginning in 1961 my mother A.M. Larina and then I myself persistently raised with the highest Party-State organs of the country the question of the withdrawal of the monstrous allegations against N.I. Bukharin and his restoration to Party membership. This question was also raised with the Party leadership by the most senior of the Old Bolsheviks led by the former secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, E.D. Staseva. They died some time ago without receiving an answer and it was only last summer (1977) that we at last received some response in the form of a telephone call. An official of the Commission of Party Control of the Central Committee of the CPSU informed us by telephone that the accusations made at the trial of Bukharin had not been withdrawn as the process of examining the documents relating to the trial had not been completed; the question of the restoration of his Party membership could not, therefore, yet be resolved. This means that 40 years after the execution of my father we have received an answer,

which, in effect, confirms the monstrous charges of Stalin. My approach to the Courts (the Supreme Court of the USSR) has been fruitless: the simple truth is they don't answer me.

In a country where the greater part of the population has been brought up on the mendacious *Short Course* there are many who still consider my father as a traitor and a hireling-of-Hitler although in reality the truth is that he was an outstanding fighter against fascism and in his later years he devoted all his energies to the exposure of fascism and to warnings against the growing fascist threat.

Leaving home for the last time for the Plenum of February/March 1937 (from which he never returned) my father said to my mother "don't become embittered: there are sad errors in history. I want my son to grow up as a Bolshevik." He looked on the events which had occurred as tragic but transient; he believed in the ultimate victory of the forces of socialism.

I am not a member of the Party but for my father the word "Bolshevik" undoubtedly meant a fighter for social justice. And we are unable to obtain such justice in our country for a man whom Lenin before his death called "the favourite of the whole Party." For my mother, who lived through the horrors of Stalin's camps, who knew many of Lenin's comrades-in-arms, representatives of the old Bolshevik Party—people about whom she preserves in her memory the happiest recollections and of whom she always speaks with tenderness and love—life in such a situation is becoming more and more intolerable. It is inconceivable that people who still carry on their shoulders the burden of Stalin's crimes and have not cast it into the dustbin of history can fight for high ideals.

I am approaching you, Comrade Berlinguer, not only because you are the leader of the largest Communist Party of Western Europe and have thrown off this burden but also because N.I. Bukharin was a Communist-Internationalist, an active member of the International Workers' Movement. He was known to Communists of many countries: they always recalled him with warmth. Some of them are still living and are working in the ranks of the Italian Communist Party. I particularly have in mind Comrade Umberto Terracini.

I am approaching you to ask you to participate in the campaign for the rehabilitation of my father, in whatever form

3. Stalin's falsified history of the Soviet Communist Party.—IP/I

seems to you to be most appropriate.

Not long before his death Nikolai Ivanovich wrote a letter "to the future generations of leaders of the Party" in which he appealed to them "to unravel the monstrous tangle of crimes." My mother learnt the text of this letter by heart in the dark days and after her rehabilitation she passed it on to the Central Committee of

the Party. This letter ended with the words:

"Know comrades that on the banner which you will carry in your victorious march towards communism there is a drop of my blood."

Yours sincerely,
Yu. Larin (Bukharin)
March 12, 1978

A Report on Rejection of Bukharin's Rehabilitation

[The following document, originally published in samizdat form in the Soviet Union, has been translated by Louis Menashe. We have taken the text of the translation from the November 16-22 issue of the American weekly *In These Times*.]

* * *

Early in June 1977, an official of the Central Committee, Klimov, phoned at the apartment of A.M. Larina (N.I. Bukharin's widow) and asked that she get in touch with him. On June 9, since A.M. Larina was out of Moscow, Yu. N. Larin, her son and son of N.I. Bukharin, called the number indicated by Klimov and asked him hadn't he phoned in connection with the letters sent by Bukharin's son and widow on the eve of the 25th Congress [of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union] to the Congress itself, to the Presidium of the Congress, to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and *personally* to the General Secretary of the CC, CPSU, L.I. Brezhnev, appealing for Bukharin's rehabilitation. Klimov confirmed that his call was connected with this matter and said the following:

"I have been instructed to inform you that your appeal to have Bukharin reinstated in the Party and restored to full

membership in the Academy of Sciences of the USSR cannot be granted since the guilty verdicts pertaining to the criminal offenses for which he was tried have not been set aside."

Yu. N. Larin replied that many of Bukharin's co-defendants have been rehabilitated; for example, Krestinsky, Ikramov, and Khodzhaev.

Klimov answered that obviously Larin didn't know that the majority of the ac-

Hungarian Exiles Condemn Sentencing of Orlov

[The following statement was released May 21 in Sydney, Australia, by a group of Hungarian socialists in exile. The translation is by *Direct Action*.]

* * *

We are Hungarian socialist intellectuals forced to leave our home by political and police repression but who in no way pretend to the role of a political emigré group. We declare our solidarity with Yuri Orlov and with all the Soviet workers and intellectuals who have recently been condemned because of their activity in defense of the most elementary liberties.

We wish not only to express our own protest but also to appeal to public opinion of the democratic left in the West and the East.

Aside from the fact that these events are shocking in themselves, the offensive of the Soviet officials is a sign that the systematic liquidation of opposition in the Soviet Union has begun. In view of the relationships that exist in Eastern Europe, this contains the danger that the offensive of police measures will be expanded to all the countries of Eastern Europe. The trial [of Orlov] endangers not only the militants responsibly engaged in the political opposition in Eastern Europe but also all independently thinking people.

We will also not hide our conviction that the Western world bears some of the responsibility for this turn of events, because it is not at all an accident that the events have occurred after the conclusion of the Belgrade conference.

cused at the trial had not been rehabilitated. Yu. N. Larin asked, "Do you really believe that Nikolai Ivanovich [Bukharin] murdered Gorky?" Klimov answered: "That question falls under the jurisdiction of the courts and the procurator's office." Yu. N. Larin asked: "Does that mean that you think I should turn to these bodies?" To this Klimov answered: "That's your right," but made it clear he oughtn't do that at the present time. "You should know how complicated the situation is now."

A.M. Larina and Yu. N. Larin first appealed for N.I. Bukharin's rehabilitation in 1961. Thus the rejection came 16 years after the first request and a year and a half after the last. (V.I. Lenin's friends, E.D. Staseva and V.A. Karpinsky, having made an analogous appeal in 1965, died and consequently never got an answer.)

Having received the foregoing statement, Yu. N. Larin addressed a petition for Bukharin's rehabilitation to the Chairman of the Supreme Court of the USSR on June 11, 1977. □

This fiasco of official diplomacy makes it more urgent that we turn to the public opinion of the democratic left in order to stress: It is not appropriate to measure with two different standards.

When, as we do, one condemns restrictions on liberty in the West—such as the *Berufsverbot* in West Germany—it is a political and moral obligation to raise one's voice in a series of far more serious cases, in which democratic, open activity is answered with forced labor and imprisonment.

We demand the release of Yuri Orlov and all those condemned at the same time, both the political prisoners in the Soviet Union and those in the other countries of Eastern Europe, and we call upon the entire democratic left to champion this goal.

Ivan Szelenyi, sociologist; *Maria Markus*, sociologist; *Ferenc Feher*, philosopher; *Gyorgy Konrad*, novelist; *Agnes Heller*, philosopher; *Gyorgy Markus*, philosopher; *Miklos Haraszti*, sociologist.

Reading the Fine Print

National Airlines reported that it picked up an extra \$1.5 million in after-tax profits in May, thanks to the "recent involuntary conversion of a 727 aircraft."

An airline spokesperson admitted under questioning that the "involuntary conversion" was actually a crash in Florida in which three passengers died. The airline picked up more in insurance than the plane was actually worth. (*Dollars & Sense*, July-August 1978.)

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The Peace Movement in Israel

By Michel Warshawsky

[The following article appeared in the July 5 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

JERUSALEM—One in every four cars bears a sticker on its back window that says, "Peace is better than a great Israel." No one can deny it any longer—the peace movement, launched a little more than three months ago, has succeeded in winning a real mass following.

What do they want, these tens of thousands of Israelis who for the first time are ready to mobilize openly against the war-mongering policy of their rulers? Who are they, and what makes them tick?

A cursory glance at the participants in the teach-in outside the Knesset (parliament) that came at the end of the [April 26] demonstration in Jerusalem reveals that while all age groups are represented, the great majority are young people. But they are not just any young people—only those who are known as "kibbutznikim" in Israeli terminology [residents of collective farms], along with students and sons and daughters of well-to-do families from the residential neighborhoods of Jerusalem and the suburbs north of Tel Aviv. Only a few "oriental" Jews from immigrant communities and working-class neighborhoods can be seen.

A second observation is that veterans of demonstrations against the occupation and members of left Zionist organizations are only a tiny minority. Alongside moderate members of parliament—Meir Pa'il and Shulamith Aloni—activists in Shelli [a bloc of "left" Zionists], and revolutionary feminists, are thousands of persons for whom this demonstration is the first political activity of their lives.

"I met more than half a dozen classmates here whom I never thought I would meet at a political demonstration," Assia told me. She is a student at Tel Aviv University, and an old hand at this. It's her third demonstration. Most of her high-school friends are now married to doctors, lawyers, and members of other liberal professions, and fairly accurately reflect the social origins of the demonstrators. I interviewed them.

Shula: "After Sadat's peace initiative, the choice is simple—either make concessions in return for a peace treaty with Egypt, at least, or get ready for a terrible war." Deborah adds: "My husband is not about to die for Yamit" [an Israeli settlement built on Egyptian territory occupied after the 1967 war].

The hope awakened by Sadat's initiative, and fear of an imminent war, are themes that run through all the statements by the movement's leaders. While some of them are close to the Labor Party (Mapai), there are no indications that they are being manipulated by one or another political party.

Quite the contrary—most of them display well-justified suspicion toward the official organizations. Eytan, a reserve lieutenant and student at the Technion in Haifa, explains: "After the October war, I participated in the protest movement. Like many others, I voted for the Dash [Democratic Movement for Change], which promised a radical change in the whole political process. Now Dash is in the government and backs Begin's policy in order to hold on to its cabinet posts. This time they're not going to fool me. All parties are corrupt, or wind up that way. We'll win our demands in the streets."

And what are their demands? "That Begin either prepare to make concessions or else resign." This formula has become the central slogan of demonstrations by the peace movement.

There have been many comparisons between the peace movement and the movements that appeared after the October 1973 war. What they have in common is a broad desire for change, and the fact that a fairly large group of junior reserve officers played a role in organizing them.

But one element sets these two movements apart from two different periods apart, and makes it possible to note the evolution represented by the current movement. Unlike in 1974, the demonstrators today do not talk about shortcomings in the way the war was fought, but, on the contrary, demand something tangible—peace—even if they do not exactly know how and at what price it is to be achieved.

This choice has led them for the first time to blame their own government, not the Arab states, for the coming war. The appearance of a mass movement that openly insists—even if it is a minority—that Begin and the Israeli government will bear the responsibility for the next war is a radically new phenomenon, which Sadat can boast of having initiated.

This double feeling of the exorbitant cost of the next war and of a real chance for peace—even if it is only temporary—gives the peace movement a kind of credibility that no extraparlimentary movement in Israel has ever had before. Such credibility

is a necessary prerequisite for winning over the masses who can make the government give in. But it is not enough.

"The majority of the people still fear peace at least as much as war," one of the leaders of the movement in Jerusalem cogently remarked. "The question is how to win this majority to our peace gamble."

Such a goal demands a peace plan acceptable to the leaders of the Arab countries, or at least to Sadat. However, a quick poll of the demonstrators showed that while everyone there was willing to mobilize against the hard line of the present government, very few could agree to a political formula that included Israeli withdrawal from all of the territories occupied in June 1967, much less to the idea of an independent Palestinian state.

In fact, for most of the movement's leaders, the real target is Washington more than anything else. As one of the leaders said in a closing speech at the Tel Aviv demonstration [April 1]: "We do not want war on the American front, much less a war on two fronts."

Reestablishing smooth relations with American imperialism, and hoping that Carter will be able to force further concessions out of Sadat—that is the most coherent political line emerging at the head of the peace movement.

This is a very slight basis on which to try to fulfill the immense hope for peace that Sadat was able to kindle in the hearts of the Israeli people. And it is certainly insufficient to win the majority of the Jewish masses in Israel to a political battle against the Begin government, which looms as a long and difficult one.

But, for the first time, a breach has been opened in the "sacred alliance" that has always been the mainstay of the Jewish state. And no demagogic speeches by Begin, or crude threats from Simha Ehrlich, the minister of finance, will be able to mend it. It is up to the Palestinian movement, above all, to find a way to widen it and then jump into it. □

The 'Aid' Was a Disaster, Too

Following the February 1976 earthquake in Guatemala that killed 23,000 persons and injured 75,000, Western disaster-relief agencies sent in a highly publicized shipment of emergency medical supplies. At least that is what they were supposed to be.

However, according to a report in the July 9 *Washington Post*, "the 115 tons of drugs turned out to include contraceptive pills, doctors' samples and a batch of tablets manufactured in 1934. The Guatemalan authorities put three pharmacists to work to sort out anything that might be useful, but after three months they gave up, dug a trench near the warehouse where the drugs had been stored and buried the lot."