

Intercontinental Press

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March in Tehran
Millions

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**The Spanish Constitution:
Is It A Hollow Victory for the Regime?**



**Ayatollah Khomeini:
What He Stands For, Why He's Followed**



**The Plight of
the Refugees from Somoza's Bloodbath**



**Why the
War Threats Between Argentina and Chile**



**Valentin Campa
Admits Stalin's Role in Trotsky's Murder**

Statement of the Fourth International

For Solidarity With the Struggle of the People of Nicaragua!

[The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

The events of the last few months in Nicaragua represent a new stage in the decay of the Somoza dictatorship. They indicate a sharpening of the crisis of the dictatorships imposed on Latin America by imperialism and the native ruling classes.

The tyranny of the Somoza family, installed more than forty years ago and maintained by the most barbaric violence, was deeply shaken at the beginning of 1978 by powerful mass mobilizations. These mobilizations came in response to the murder of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, a spokesman for the moderate bourgeois opposition.

Since then, street demonstrations, strikes by students and workers, and semispontaneous urban uprisings have multiplied in all Nicaraguan cities, as well as in large rural areas.

This is the context in which the military offensive of the FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front) took place in September. The FSLN is now the main military and political force fighting the regime. This offensive was aimed at taking several cities, and at liberating a politically and militarily important area of the country, near the Costa Rican border, in order to install a provisional government that would be recognized and supported by many Latin American governments.

None of these objectives were attained. At the cost of a real massacre, Somoza's army was able to stifle, one by one, the uprisings marking the high points of this offensive. The systematic shelling and machine-gunning of civilian populations left 5,000 to 10,000 dead and more than 50,000 wounded.

After Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, and Argentina, this savage brutality from a dying dictatorship shows what degree of barbarity capitalist rule can reach in its declining phase. It also shows that the campaign around human rights and democracy being carried out by the imperialist powers is hypocritical and a hoax. The U.S. government did nothing to stop the massacres. To the contrary, lacking an immediate alternative that would be in keeping with its interests, it did not hesitate to openly maintain support to those carrying out the massacre.

At that cost, all that the Somoza tyranny has won is a short breathing spell. It is more isolated and hated than ever,

and the heavy silence that hangs over the Nicaraguan people is an omen of new explosions to come. There are already growing indications of this.

The struggle against the Nicaraguan dictatorship, and solidarity with the Nicaraguan people, are already mobilizing broad sectors of the masses in Costa Rica, Central America, Mexico, and Venezuela. At this crucial and dramatic moment for the people of Nicaragua, the Fourth International calls for the mobilization of a powerful international movement in solidarity with the Nicaraguan people, its organizations, and the FSLN, which is the main target of repression. The crimes of Somoza and his mercenaries must be exposed and condemned. All the accomplices of the dictatorship—first and foremost the government of the United States—must be exposed and condemned.

We must do everything in our power to halt the massacre and tear the arrested militants away from their executors, by demanding their immediate release.

The collapse of the Somoza regime threatens to shake Nicaraguan society and the capitalist state to its roots, by opening the way for the immense, uncontrollable force that the masses' social aspirations represent. Demands for democratic rights, land, jobs, education, decent housing, minimal public services, and genuine national independence are at the root of the events in Nicaragua. Capitalist rule and subordination to imperialism are incompatible with satisfying these demands.

The masses cannot expect any sector of the ruling classes, the "liberal" or "national" bourgeoisie, to restore their democratic rights and fulfill their economic demands, despite whatever efforts may be undertaken by some sectors of imperialism, the Latin American bourgeoisie, and the Nicaraguan ruling classes to find an alternative to the Somoza dictatorship.

It is the worker and peasant masses, all the exploited layers of the population, who, mobilized and organized within the mass movement's own structures, and acting in a unified and concerted

manner—a necessity dramatically confirmed by the defeat of the September uprisings—will overturn the dictatorship in a full-scale battle against the entire ruling class and its system.

Therefore, the fact that the FSLN, in carrying out its struggle against Somoza—a struggle that we unconditionally support—has established alliances with major sectors of the bourgeoisie, even asking them to join in a provisional government, represents a grave danger to the Nicaraguan revolution and to the FSLN itself.

It is up to revolutionary Marxists to make every effort to destroy the obstacles that mask the class character of the popular struggle against the tyranny of the Somoza family. To struggle to overturn the Somoza dictatorship is to struggle for the dissolution of the National Guard and of all the repressive bodies of the regime. It is to struggle for the emergence of people's militias capable of standing up to imperialist military maneuvers. It is to struggle for the release of all political prisoners, for the full exercise of democratic, political, and trade-union rights and freedoms. It is to struggle:

1. For the nationalization of all the Somoza family's holdings and the big imperialist and nationally owned enterprises.

2. For a full, genuine agrarian reform.

3. For breaking all the political, economic, and military pacts with imperialism.

4. For free elections and for a sovereign, popularly elected constituent assembly, in opposition to all formulas for a provisional government that are supposed to replace Somoza, without the masses having been consulted.

5. For a workers and peasants government representing the interests of the oppressed.

Down with the Somoza dictatorship!

Imperialism out of Nicaragua and all of Latin America!

Freedom for the Nicaraguan people!

For a workers and peasants government!

'Intercontinental Press' Banned in South Africa

By R.D. Willis

Earlier this year, the South African Publications Control Board examined two copies of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, dated May 1 and May 8, 1978. The censorship officials did not like what they read. They promptly declared the two issues—as

well as all future issues—"undesirable."

Intercontinental Press/Inprecor has thus joined the long list of banned publications in South Africa.

The banning order was announced in the June 16, 1978, issue of the *Government*

Gazette—by coincidence on the anniversary of the massive Black student demonstrations that began in Soweto two years earlier.

In South Africa, there are two basic types of banning orders directed against publications. The most common makes it illegal to sell or distribute "objectionable literature." The other goes further and makes even simple possession a crime. *IP/I* has been prohibited "on possession." Someone found with a banned issue can now face a fine of 500 rands (US\$575) or a possible jail term if the fine cannot be paid.

What is the apartheid regime afraid of? The two issues that prompted the banning order included articles on "Freedom Fighters Sentenced in South Africa" and on the South African role in the Angolan war. A previous issue (October 24, 1977), which had been outlawed last December, contained articles headlined "Kruger Begins Frame-up of Biko's Followers," and "Counterinsurgency and Terror Against the African Masses."

IP/I has consistently sought to draw attention to political and social developments in southern Africa, particularly in South Africa, the main bastion of white racism and colonial rule on the continent.

During the Soweto rebellions, it followed the antigovernment upheavals on a weekly basis, seeking to explain what was happening and to focus on the key political questions. It sought to analyze the significance of this new rise of the Black freedom struggle and to draw some initial lessons from them, offering a revolutionary-socialist perspective.

To provide a framework for its coverage, *IP/I* ran a number of background articles on South Africa, examining the nature of the apartheid regime's Bantustan policies and the role of foreign—particularly American—economic, political, and military aid in propping up the racist system.

IP/I has also attempted to provide a platform for South African freedom fighters, publishing interviews with Tsietshi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo, both former presidents of the Soweto Students Representative Council, which led many of the demonstrations in Soweto. Recently it ran an interview with Drake Koka, a founder of the now-banned Black People's Convention and the secretary general of the Black Allied Workers Union.

Throughout, *IP/I* has openly proclaimed

its solidarity with the struggle to overthrow the white supremacist state and to achieve national and class emancipation. In Pretoria's eyes that is a crime.

The banning of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* (and other publications) is not a show of strength by the apartheid authorities, but a sign of weakness. They realize

that despite their possession of the most sophisticated weaponry on the African continent, they are vulnerable to the spread of revolutionary ideas.

But they cannot ban socialist ideas. Whatever legal or administrative obstacles they may seek to erect, those ideas will find their way through. They have already begun to do so. □

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Schedule

This is a reminder that our last issue of the year will be dated December 25. It will contain our index for 1978. There will be no issues for January 1 and January 8. We will resume our regular weekly schedule with the January 15 issue.

Millions March to Demand End to Shah's Rule

By Parvin Najafi

Millions of marchers poured out into the streets of Iran's major cities December 10 in the biggest demonstration yet in a year of mobilizations against the shah's dictatorial rule.

In Tehran alone, as many as two million persons voiced their demand for the overthrow of the monarchy. Massive demonstrations also occurred in other major cities, with initial wire-service reports giving the following figures: 800,000 in Mashad, 700,000 in Tabriz, 300,000 in Isfahan, and thousands more elsewhere.

Chants and banners captured the mood of the crowd in Tehran—"Help us get rid of the butcher!" "The Shah must be executed!" "Tell Jimmy Carter we want democracy and not a royal tyrant!"

Many of the slogans were printed in English and directed against Washington's support for the shah. "Criminal Americans get lost!" said one. "U.S. imperialism pull out of Iran!" said numerous others. Perhaps most expressive of all was the one that said "The American president must understand from this demonstration that he is the most hated of all!"

Even though the military government announced December 8 that it had given permission for the marches, it did not rule out the possibility of another attempt to drown them in blood. Evidently the size of the protests forced the generals to change their minds.

For several weeks the government had staked its "military honor" on the claim that it would not tolerate any more anti-shah demonstrations.

In the week before Moharram, the Shi'ia holy month that started December 2, the military government severely increased martial-law restrictions. The curfew was extended by four hours, all religious ceremonies and gatherings in mosques were prohibited for the duration of the month, and statements were issued that martial-law regulations banning the gathering of more than two persons would be strictly enforced. The government warned that soldiers had been given orders to "shoot to kill" any violators.

But on December 1, at about 9 p.m., tens of thousands of demonstrators braved the streets of Tehran and other major cities in open defiance of the military government. The army opened fire, shooting into the demonstrations for more than three hours and killing thousands.

But this latest massacre provoked yet another and even more powerful wave of mass mobilizations. In the next few days

hundreds of thousands of persons poured out, day after day, in cities across Iran.

At 9 p.m. each evening, when the curfew hours began, the light and power workers shut off electricity, making it impossible for the army to enforce the curfew. Then almost the whole population of the cities went to their rooftops and began shouting "Death to the shah!" At the same time, smaller demonstrations continued in the streets at night.

The Iranian proletariat responded to the new attacks by the military government with another wave of strikes. The oil workers took the lead, announcing December 4 that they had formed a nationwide union, to be called the National Union of the Workers of the Oil Industry of Iran.

According to the BBC Persian-language news broadcast, the new union immediately called for a general strike in the oil industry to back up the demand for the overthrow of the Pahlavi monarchy. The BBC reported that the strike has been 100 percent effective.

Striking light and power workers, in a statement to the Iranian people, explained that the power outages would not affect vital services such as hospitals, since these places have their own emergency generators. They added, "Better to have darker days now for brighter tomorrows."

The strike by workers of the central bank of Iran has created a severe shortage of cash and banknotes.

Reports about strikes in other sectors of the Iranian economy have been scanty in the western press. And with no newspapers being published in Iran because of the strike of journalists and printers against censorship, accurate and detailed news has become difficult to obtain. Nevertheless, it is clear that the strike movement was never ended by the military government that came to power November 6, and that the walkouts have paralyzed the economy from top to bottom.

As the mood of the masses grew more determined in the streets and factories in the first week of December, and it became evident that the shah's military could not stop the mass mobilization, thousands of imperialist military and civilian advisers, along with thousands of rich Iranians, began to flee the country.

On December 7 Carter authorized the departure of American nationals at government expense. On December 9 five American military transport planes were flown to Iran for the evacuation of Ameri-

cans who could not find seats on overbooked commercial planes. Reuters reported that the American military planes also delivered riot-control equipment to the shah's regime.

Meanwhile, serious reservations began to appear among U.S. policymakers as to whether the shah could survive much longer. Carter, in a meeting with reporters December 7, himself publicly expressed doubts for the first time as to the shah's ability to remain in power. Taking a little distance from the crowned butcher, Carter admitted that "there have been some instances of human rights violations" in Iran.

However, the next day, stating that he wanted to correct a "wrong interpretation" of his remarks, Carter once again affirmed U.S. support to the hated dictator.

In the State Department, according to reports in the American press, U.S. strategists are trying to come up with "foreign policy options" in case the shah falls.

The *Christian Science Monitor* of December 7 reported that plans have been made for the resignation of the military government and its replacement by "moderate opposition leaders."

The *Monitor* expressed doubts, however, that such a "political compromise will ever come about." Quoting "Iranian observers," it explained: "But the danger is in thinking that a government such as that apparently being planned would end all the debilitating strikes. . . . So far there has been not a shred of a guarantee to this effect—and that is where the real danger lies."

Indeed, that is where the danger lies for the imperialists, for no reformist leaders or organization has a hold on this powerful movement.

Despite the threat of another bloodbath, millions took to the streets on December 10, and they have not had their final say. Breaking the back of this movement by military means has proved impossible for the shah's regime. Trying to defuse it by bringing a few National Front leaders into the government will be no more successful.

One thing is clear. In the last few weeks hatred of the regime and determination to fight it to the bitter end has deepened enormously. The mass mobilization has deepened as well. The shah's regime and its masters in Washington are not going to be able to reverse this process easily.

December 11, 1978

What Does Khomeyni Stand For?

By Parvin Najafi

Fifteen years after being forced into exile, a seventy-three-year-old religious leader in a small French town has become the focus of attention in Iran and around the world.

What caused the sudden prominence of Ayatollah Khomeyni? What does he stand for?

Khomeyni's popularity stems from his uncompromising opposition to the monarchy in Iran, in which he stands alone among religious and bourgeois opposition leaders.

When the Iranian working class decisively entered the struggle against the Pahlavi monarchy in early October, with a powerful strike wave that swept the entire country and linked up with massive daily street demonstrations, bourgeois opposition leaders and the religious hierarchy became terrified that the struggle would not only topple the dynasty, but the capitalist system itself.

As a result, religious leaders and political figures in the country began to voice their apprehension about the direction the mass movement was taking and openly committed themselves to maintaining the dynasty within a framework of reforms.

In this century there have been two previous revolutionary upheavals in Iran. In the constitutional revolution of 1906 and the upheaval after World War II the Iranian bourgeoisie and religious establishment learned that a mass movement for democratic and civil rights, for an end to imperialist control of the country, and for a republic in place of the dictatorial monarchy rapidly acquires an anticapitalist direction. They learned that maintenance of the monarchy is indispensable for the maintenance of capitalism.

The workers and toilers of Iran have learned the same lesson through two crushing defeats. As long as the monarchy remains, any victory against the propertied classes and any democratic rights won will be taken back as soon as the monarchy has regained its strength.

This is why the Iranian masses are fighting so tenaciously to overthrow the Pahlavi dynasty. But as the mood in the streets and factories grew more determined, the bourgeois opposition circles became convinced they needed the shah on the throne.

On October 19 the National Front, the main bourgeois opposition force, said it was ready to form a cabinet under the shah in view of the grave dangers facing Iran if the "violence and chaos" continue.

On October 24 the National Front even dropped its demand that the present hand-picked parliament be dissolved and new elections held.

But Khomeyni remained out of step with what *Le Monde* called "the new sense of realism." He continued to call for the overthrow of the monarchy.

The National Front sent two representatives to meet with Khomeyni in France, stating that he had been in exile so long he did not understand the new developments in Iran, which they would explain to him.

To their surprise, Khomeyni remained opposed to any compromise with the monarchy and chided them for their fear of the mass movement.

On October 28 a second delegation, made up of National Front leader Karim Sanjabi and merchant Haji Manian, met with the ayatollah and heard the same refusal to compromise.

Several delegations of religious leaders also went to France that week to convince Khomeyni to return to Iran, a move the shah said would only be possible if he stopped calling for the overthrow of the monarchy.

While Sanjabi was meeting with Khomeyni the Iranian press reported that the shah had agreed to discuss forming a coalition government with Sanjabi, with negotiations to start upon his return from France.

Khomeyni responded with a statement that he would publicly condemn those who negotiated with the shah and would urge their expulsion from the opposition movement in Iran.

According to the November 6 *Christian Science Monitor* "Sanjabi decided he couldn't risk turning against the force of Khomeyni. In private, everyone admits they don't want what Khomeyni wants. But in public they are all too afraid of his power to say so." Shortly after his return Sanjabi was arrested, and there are reports that he has held secret talks with the shah during his confinement.

The November 16 *Monitor* reported that representatives of moderate opposition groups met in Tehran on November 14 and drew up a statement guaranteeing "the Shah as a constitutional monarch."

The readiness of the bourgeoisie and the bulk of the religious leaders to strike a deal with the monarchy and stab the masses in the back is the classic behavior of the "national bourgeoisie" of semicolonial countries in face of a powerful revolutionary upsurge.

But the uncompromising stance of Ayatollah Khomeyni is unprecedented in Iran's history. In the beginning of the 1906 revolution, for example, the religious hierarchy was also pushed to the forefront of the struggle. But as the mass movement unfolded and threatened the whole social order, the religious hierarchy, led by Ayatollah Nouri, rescinded its call for a constitution and parliament and actively aided suppression of the movement.

Similarly, when the shah was hanging by a thread in 1953, Ayatollah Kashani and Ayatollah Boroujerdi, Khomeyni's predecessor, issued a proclamation that Iran faced a communist takeover and needed the shah and the Pahlavi dynasty if it were to survive.

In contrast to his predecessors and to other opposition figures today, Khomeyni has not taken fright at the breadth of the mass mobilizations. His call to overthrow the monarchy has enhanced his popularity.

Khomeyni calls for an Islamic republic that would terminate all military and economic treaties with imperialist countries and confiscate the property of imperialists in Iran. He calls for continuing the strikes and demonstrations until the regime is toppled. And he ordered the religious hierarchy to donate fifty percent of the tithes they collect to striking workers. In addition he called upon the ranks of the army to join the revolt with the people.

Because the brutal dictatorship of the past quarter century suppressed all political organizations, most of the early opposition activities have taken place through the mosques, which became assemblies for organizing against the tyranny. In the absence of political leadership, the masses improvised their own instruments for struggle. Demonstrations followed the traditional Muslim mourning periods of the third, seventh and fortieth day after a death. With each new bloodbath, the next mourning period would see larger demonstrations, finally involving millions of people and spreading to nationwide strikes by every sector of the working class.

Khomeyni, the only religious leader to stand firm against the shah, has emerged as a symbol of the struggle. His popularity is an expression of the hatred the masses of youth, students, workers, and peasants feel toward the society that imperialism and the shah created in Iran.

Revolutionary socialists recognize that it is not his religious beliefs but rather his uncompromising opposition to the shah, his repeated appeals for mass demonstrations, and his call for independent political action that have won him a massive following throughout Iran.

Khomeyni's popularity indicates the opportunities that exist for creating a revolutionary workers party that can lead the present upsurge to success, to the establishment of a workers and peasants republic. □

'There Is No Alternative But to Fight the Shah'

[We are printing for the information of our readers an interview with Ayatollah Khomeyni that was broadcast over the American public television network December 1 and reprinted in the December 8 issue of *Payam Daneshjoo*, a Persian-language opposition magazine published in New York.

[As there were several discrepancies between Khomeyni's actual remarks and the simultaneous translation provided during the television broadcast, we have prepared our own translation from the Persian-language transcript of the interview.]

* * *

Question. Ayatollah Khomeyni, you have told the people that they should use, starting tomorrow, any possible means to overthrow the regime of the shah. What does "any possible means" mean?

Answer. It means strikes; it means demonstrations, speeches, and declarations from the pulpit. The month of Moharram is the month during which people are willing to listen to rightful subjects. And now the just words before us are freedom and independence. I have ordered that these matters be spoken of in the month of Moharram and that assemblies be held. In the event that the assemblies are banned, the people should pour out and demonstrate in the streets. Come what may.

Q. How are your orders communicated to the millions of your followers in Iran?

A. People are on my side and those matters are people's matters, relevant to them. And all are duty-bound to pass our words to all places.

Q. But how do they find out about it? Is there a chain of command—people in Iran who hear what you have to say and execute your orders?

A. There are trusted people, who have connections with us. We have trust in them; through them the word is spread.

Q. If these strikes and peaceful demonstrations do not succeed, will you then order your followers to fight, physically to fight?

A. As far as it is possible we desire that this should end peacefully—the same way that the peoples of Iran are now doing things. The most important of these things are the strikes and demonstrations, which will increase in the month of Moharram. In the event that we do not reach a

conclusion, it is possible that we will revise our opinion.

Q. Even if it would mean sending your followers against the guns of the shah's army?

A. Of course our supporters do not want to go in front of bullets. They want the fulfillment of their rights, and they are peaceful. It is the shah who orders their massacre. Achievement of their rights is something that is imperative.

Q. In recent weeks and days, the shah has made many concessions toward the demands that you and your followers have been making. Have you considered it might be time to compromise, to accept the concessions he has made to avoid the deaths of perhaps thousands of your followers?

A. If he is telling the truth, and wants to compromise, he should act according to the will of the people. And that is that he should leave and find some other thing to do. However, he is not telling the truth. He does not want to compromise. He wants to deceive the people, and after that, act even worse than before.

Q. So there is no alternative but to fight?

A. There is no alternative.

Q. The shah's government reported yesterday that it has found caches of arms in two Iranian cities. You then have arms. Is that true?

A. In face of tyranny, our supporters are busy preparing themselves. However, whether the government of Iran is telling the truth, this I do not know.

Q. Ayatollah, do you know yourself that your followers are armed?

A. They told us that they want to prepare. Therefore I gave them permission to prepare.

Q. Which means getting arms?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did you get the arms from?

A. I do not know.

Q. I understand that some of them come from the Palestine Liberation Organization.

A. I have no information.

Q. Would it surprise you?

A. I do not know.

Q. Is it true you are in sympathy with the aims of the Palestine Liberation Organization? Is it not?

A. We are supporters of the oppressed. Anyone, anywhere who is oppressed, we are their supporters. And the Palestinians are oppressed. Israel has oppressed them. For this reason we are their supporters.

Q. If the shah were overthrown and the kind of government you want came to power in Iran, how would Iran's relations with Israel change?

A. We will banish Israel; we will have relations with it whatsoever. It is a usurper state and an enemy to us.

Q. Does that mean that Israel will no longer receive oil from Iran?

A. It will not.

Q. No more oil from Iran to Israel! How would relations with the U.S. change, if the government you want came to power in Iran?

A. We do not wish to oppress America; and we do not want to remain under the yoke of American oppression. All that they have done has been oppressing us. That we will not tolerate. But we shall have friendly relations with all nations; and governments that treat us with respect will in turn have our respect.

Q. What have the Americans done to you?

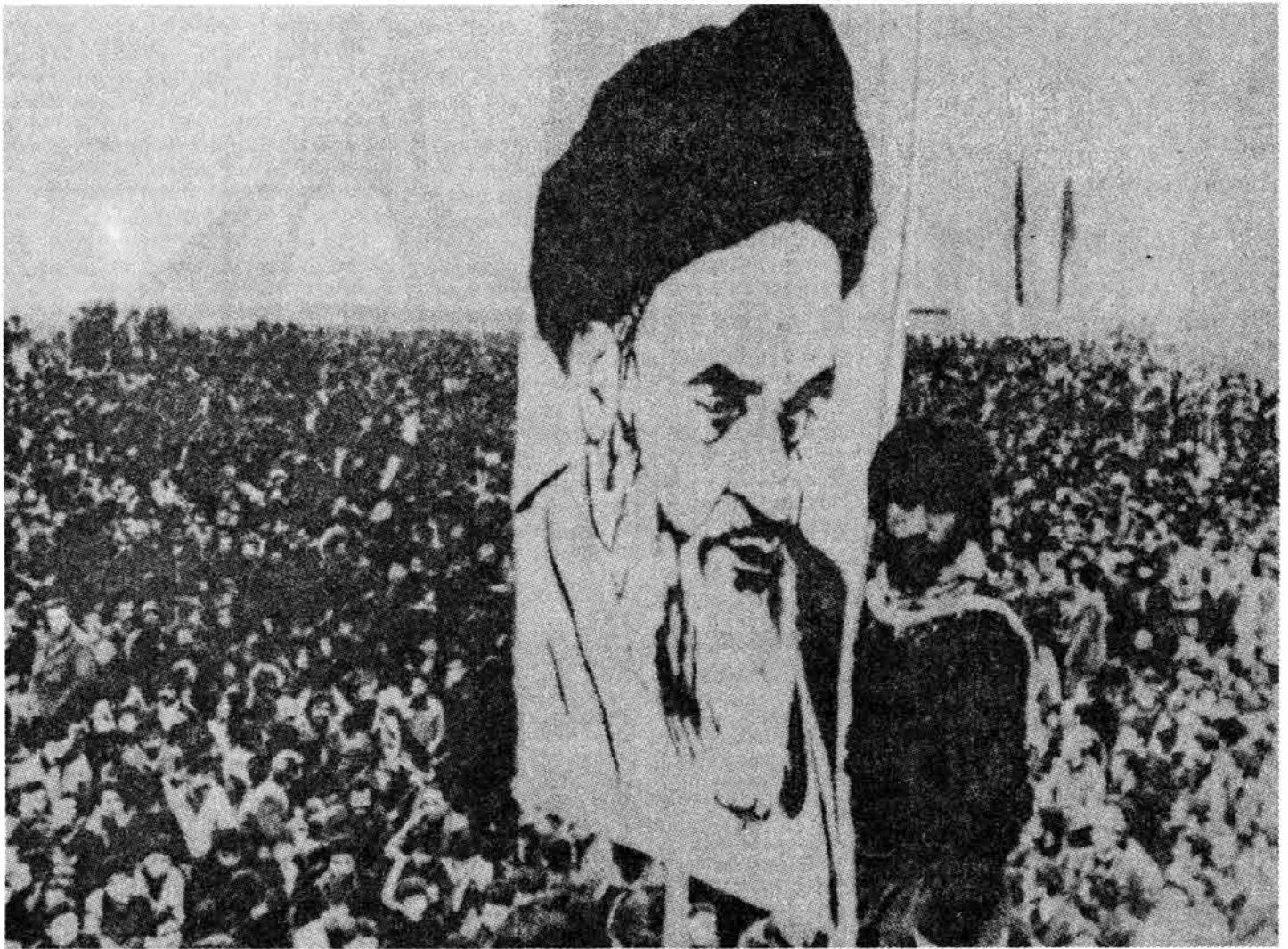
A. The biggest crimes that the American governments have committed against us are that they have imposed the Pahlavi dynasty on us and through its hands have taken away our resources. In return they have given nothing that is useful to the nation. They have placed our army under

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Poster of Khomeyni held aloft during demonstration of two million in Tehran December 10.

their control, to rebel against our nation, and have created [military] bases in Iran which is contrary to our independence. With the existence of the government of this shah we cannot have a proper life, and it is America that supports him.

Right now it is the president of America who declares his support continuously. And a nation that has rebelled for the achievement of its right to freedom has rebelled for independence. The president of the United States interprets [this to mean] that these are low and wicked people. This is the logic of Mr. Carter.

We ask the American nation to tell Mr. Carter that a nation that is oppressed, a nation that is under pressure, a nation that has no independence, a nation whose people are being killed, a nation that has been dominated by tyrants, now wishes the achievement of its rights. We are crying out that we want freedom, we want independence.

Is this low and wicked, as Carter interprets it to be? We are hopeful that the American nation will question their officials. We do not wish a situation in which

the American nation loses its stature among the Muslim nations, a situation in which it would be viewed as an oppressor nation. In the event that the American people are with us, we shall be thankful to them too.

Q. There are \$20 billion in American military contracts in Iran. If your government comes to power will you cancel those contracts?

A. These contracts have been contrary to the welfare of our country. One of the crimes that the shah has committed against us has been to conclude agreements that are contrary to the welfare of our nation and country. We place no value on any agreements that are against the welfare of our nation.

However, if there should be contracts that are fair and beneficial to us, we will uphold such contracts.

Q. Which contracts are useful and which ones are not?

A. The point is not whether I could say

now which contracts are beneficial. All I know is that agreements have been made under which they have taken our oil and in return have given us armaments that are not of any use to us. These contracts are harmful to us. Good contracts are those that reach agreements for things that are beneficial to Iran. For example, those that give things that are useful to Iranian agriculture, to Iranian industry. But things that have no benefit to Iran at all, these are contracts that are not beneficial.

Q. You mentioned bases. Would you ask American bases to leave?

A. These bases are against our interests. Of course later, specialists have to give their views on this.

Q. Has anyone in the American government or representing the American government been in touch with you recently?

A. No.

Q. Is the American government ignoring you?

A. I do not know.

Q. It has been reported, we have been told, that you personally have chosen the person who should be nominated as the leader of the next government. Is that so?

A. We have selections in mind.

Q. It is several people, not one?

A. There are several.

Q. Finally. Do you expect that the only way the government you want can come to power will be through considerable bloodshed in Iran, starting in this holy month which begins tomorrow?

A. No. We have no wish for any bloodshed at all. We want the matter to end peacefully. □

Shockwaves of Anti-Shah Upsurge Felt in Turkey

By Gerry Foley

The mass upsurge in Iran against the shah has aroused sharp interest in the other countries of the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean region. This is particularly true in Turkey, which has a historical experience similar in many ways to that of Iran, and, at the moment, a relatively free press.

Under the Ecevit government, Turkish television and radio have been giving fairly full reporting of the scope of the opposition to the shah and the mass murder the regime has resorted to in its attempts to repress the protests.

Writing in the November 17 issue of the conservative *Hurriyet*, columnist Burhan Felek stressed the importance for Turkey of the developments in Iran.

The situation in Iran is very fluid. It is not clear who will win in the confrontation between the opposition united against the shah and the army defending him.

All these events affect Turkey in a very direct and grave way. It is not just that Iran is a neighboring country and our ally in CENTO and that it has followed the same policy in the region as our country. . . . It rules over a Turkish-speaking population of at least fifteen million persons.

Writing in the liberal daily *Cumhuriyet*, columnist Ergun Balci stressed the lessons of the Iranian events for the Turkish political world.

The example of Iran has a number of lessons for domestic and foreign politics. First, it is a big blow to those who claim that an authoritarian military regime can maintain stability. [The far right in Turkey has been calling openly for the restoration of military rule, which was ended in 1973]. . . .

An authoritarian regime is no weapon against anarchy [the right claims that the parliamentary regime opened the gates of anarchy]. . . . If a regime does not have the support of the people, even if it has an army equipped with the world's most modern weapons, it cannot avoid the sort of explosion that has shaken Iran to its very foundations.

The example of Iran also has a series of lessons for foreign policy. President Carter says that one of the bases of his foreign policy is the campaign for human rights. But in face of the bloody events in Iran, he says that he is going to continue to support the shah's attempts to "liberalize."

But this sort of 'liberalization' has brought an entire nation—women, men, old, and young—onto the streets cursing the shah, and defying martial law and tanks. And marchers and demonstrators against the shah are being killed. In this situation, Carter blurts out, "Iran is one of the main pillars of our foreign policy."

Another *Cumhuriyet* columnist, Ali Sirmen, stressed the danger of U.S. military intervention.

Since the CIA has not been enough, Washington may resort to direct military intervention in the country and plunge the region once again into blood and fire.

But the Americans and their Western friends cannot overlook the fact that the CIA and American military forces are not invincible. The big electronic apparatuses, computers, and all the U.S. services can make mistakes and can be defeated. The Vietnamese people showed the entire world this by giving Uncle Sam a kick in the pants.

In another column, Sirmen wrote that since it was so difficult for the U.S. to intervene openly, the only real hope the shah had left was that a division would open up in the opposition.

Leonid Brezhnev has explained that U.S.

military operations close to the Soviet frontiers are unacceptable. In face of this declaration, Washington had to back off. . . . [U.S. Secretary of State] Vance's statement that the U.S. is not intervening, and will not, cannot be believed. . . .

But Vance's statement shows that the U.S.'s possibilities for intervention are limited. Any operations carried out under the very nose of the Soviets will inevitably have to be limited.

In this situation, the shah is deprived of one of his strongest cards. . . . It will be difficult for him to ask for the sort of help [Lebanese leader] Camille Chamoun got in 1958 from the American Marines.

The Athens liberal daily *Eleftherotypia* has seen the situation in Iran in much the same terms as the liberal and left press in Turkey.

Greece is not a colonial or semicolonial country. But because of its strategic position, it has a long and bitter experience of dictatorships, crowned and otherwise, imposed and maintained with the help of the big imperialist powers. And so liberal nationalists in Greece and not just the workers movement tend to identify with struggles against the major imperialist forces.

In its November 26 issue, *Eleftherotypia* wrote:

The Iranian revolution has gone into a new phase with the turn by the Soviet Union, represented by Brezhnev's warning against open U.S. military intervention.

Carter's naked and provocative support for the bloodstained monarch . . . has given a new dimension to the struggle of the Iranian people. They now see their enemy not just as Reza Pahlavi and his military government but as American imperialism.

The author of the article, Asteris Stankos, concluded that the shah's regime had clearly already lost its political viability, like the dictatorship of the colonels in Greece after the November 1973 student uprisings. □

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What the Vote on Spanish Constitution Revealed

By Gerry Foley

The December 6 referendum on the new Spanish constitution turned into a hollow victory for Franco's heirs. Adoption of the document had been assured by the support of the Socialist and Communist parties.

Nonetheless, the vote showed that the attempt to convince the Spanish people to accept a continuation of capitalist rule by means of parliamentary "democratic" methods is running into increasing difficulties.

The first setback in the operation to replace the open dictatorship of Franco with more flexible forms of bourgeois control came in the June 1977 parliamentary elections, the first relatively free elections held in Spain since the fascist victory in the civil war.

Despite elaborate electoral rigging, Franco's successor, Suárez, and his bourgeois coalition failed to get a clear majority. In particular, the Socialist Party, which took the toughest stance toward the Suárez government, showed unexpected strength.

The position of the bourgeois parties has continued to decline since then. In fact, the 1977 elections marked the failure of the attempt to build a bourgeois political force that could assure that electoral politics would remain within safe channels for the capitalists.

Now the vote on the constitutional referendum seems to demonstrate that the Communist and Socialist party leaderships are beginning to lose their ability to back up the bourgeoisie in its attempt to achieve its objectives by parliamentary means—that is, to impose austerity, "law and order," and "national unity." So, the post-Franco regime's second line of defense is starting to crack.

An erosion of the credibility of the SP and CP has apparently set in in Spain, similar to the creeping crisis of the Communist Party in Italy.

The formal victory of the referendum was overwhelming, 87.7% "yes" to 7.9% "no." But it failed to achieve the decisive political mandate Suárez and his allies needed.

Throughout the Spanish state, the government and the SP-CP clearly failed to generate enthusiasm for the new constitution. Abstentions, including spoiled ballots amounted to a third of the electorate. About 67.7% of potential voters cast ballots in this poll, as opposed to 78% in the June 1977 elections.

The weakness of the mandate given by the referendum was all the more striking because of the context in which the vote

was held. On the eve, a right plot was uncovered in the military, and fascists staged mass demonstrations in Madrid. These events enabled Suárez and the SP-CP to present the constitutional referendum as a chance to vote for democracy and to repudiate Francoism.

Suárez was notably less successful with his implied threat "the constitution or the tanks" than his Greek counterparts who used a similar threat after the fall of the dictatorship in 1974 to get a mandate for a bourgeois parliamentary government.

Furthermore, the SP and CP proved that they could not deliver enough support in the Basque country to enable Suárez to overcome the most acute problem he faces, the determination of the Basque people to win their national rights.

In the Basque heartland of Guipúzcoa, Alava, and Vizcaya, the "no" votes and abstentions topped 60% of those eligible to vote. Abstentions ran at about 50%; the no vote at about 20% of the ballots cast.

The moderate parliamentary Basque Nationalist Party had called for abstention. The radicalized nationalist groups and the Trotskyists had called for voting "no." In the province of Navarre, the most hispanicized of the Basque provinces, the "no" vote was also about 20%.

Thus, the Suárez government, even with the support of the CP and SP, failed to get any kind of a mandate in the Basque country for the type of government it wants.

To achieve any sort of stable bourgeois parliamentary government, the 1977 elections showed, Franco's heirs had to seduce a big section of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois politicians supported by the oppressed nationalities.

They have made progress toward this goal. In Catalonia, a large wing of the Catalan movement is under the leadership or influence of capitalist politicians who are ready to sell out the national aspirations of the Catalan people in return for a share of the governmental spoils in their own bailiwick.

In the Basque country, the failure of the radicalized nationalists to develop a political alternative for the masses and their continued support for a suicidal guerrillaist course enabled the Basque Nationalist Party to reestablish itself as the main representative of the national aspirations of the Basque people.

But the Basque Nationalist Party still faces the pressure of a population that has mobilized again and again in the struggle

against Spanish rule, and in general strike after general strike. Moreover, despite the recent rise of the moderate Basque party, the radicalized nationalist groups and revolutionists still have a powerful voice.

So even the most moderate Basque nationalists could not endorse a constitution that rules out any concessions to the oppressed nationalities going beyond the most limited and undemocratic forms of local autonomy.

In its Article 2, the new constitution says "this constitution is based on the indissoluble unity of the Spanish nation, the common and indivisible fatherland of all Spaniards."

Even any attempt at federation among autonomous local bodies is ruled out by article 145.

Moreover, any draft law on local autonomy has to be drawn up by a commission of senators and provincial councillors, who are appointed by the central government and in most cases are persons who were closely linked to the Franco regime. It then has to be approved by the parliament of the Spanish state.

Furthermore, according to Article 155, if any local body "fails to comply with its obligations under the constitution or other laws, or acts in a way seriously prejudicial to the general interests of Spain, the government can, after issuing a formal warning, if this warning is not heeded and if it secures the approval of the Senate, force compliance with these obligations and forcibly defend the aforementioned general interest."

The Senate of the Spanish state is a notoriously unrepresentative body, carefully designed to be an impregnable fortress of the right in the post-Franco parliamentary setup.

The rights of workers and all citizens of the Spanish state are subject to severe restrictions. The right to strike can be overridden if it "threatens the maintenance of basic community services." Rallies and demonstrations can be banned in the event of a threat of "disturbances of public order."

Abortion is made illegal. The right of divorce is not recognized. Public employees are denied the right to organize. There are no civic and political rights for soldiers.

Moreover, the new Spanish constitution is one of the very few that specifically guarantees the "rights" of capitalists. It recognizes the "rights of private enterprise" and "the freedom of business within the market economy." Thus, socialist measures can be interpreted as unconstitutional.

While it makes bows to the principle of popular sovereignty, the constitution establishes a monarchy and denies the people the right to remove it by referendum. The unelected monarch is granted executive powers that in effect enable him to dominate the government.

The far right, which opposes "de-

Francoization," did call for a "no" vote. But the pattern of negative votes and abstentions shows clearly that the resistance to the new constitution came mainly from the left. In fact, this pattern is another indication that the far right remains a very small minority, even if, in absolute terms, there are large numbers of persons who were closely linked to the old Franco regime and are furious and frightened by its dismantling.

The Spanish Trotskyists of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR) campaigned for a "no" vote.

In the midst of the sensation created by the exposure of the rightist coup plot, the LCR paper *Combate* wrote in its November 22 issue:

We have to reject the blackmail of those who argue that "defending democracy" requires a "massive 'yes' vote to the constitution." We have to reject any voting "yes" out of fear. To the contrary, compañeros González [SP secretary] and Carrillo [CP secretary], this constitution

presents the army and the police as the "protectors of civil liberties," it leaves intact the vestiges of Francoism in the state apparatus, and it denies the rights of soldiers. So, "Operation Galaxia" [the rightist plot] should serve as a still stronger argument for a "no" vote.

In its November 16 issue *Combate* explained what a "no" vote could accomplish:

A "no" vote will not be wasted. It is a way to express our rejection of an undemocratic, centralist, male chauvinist, and capitalist constitution. It will show that we do not agree with the policy of consensus that the SP and CP leaderships have accepted, writing a constitution that serves the interests of big capital. It will show the determination of a large section of the people to fight for changing this constitution right from the start. . . .

The failure of the government and the SP-CP to get a convincing mandate for their new constitution points to widening mass struggles in the future for real democratic rights.

Even before the referendum, it was clear that the government and the reformist parties were having increasing difficulty in concluding a new social pact to justify limiting wage demands. Now it seems certain that their problems will increase.

Above all, it is clear that the Basque national question remains a major stumbling block for the Spanish bourgeoisie, as well as the reformists. In particular, the Basque vote is a kick in the teeth for the SP, which got about the same number of votes in the 1977 elections as the Basque nationalists.

The SP leaders have been throwing overboard their left rhetoric and expelling their left wing in order to make themselves acceptable to the bourgeoisie as a government party. But the vote in the Basque provinces shows that if they continue their openly rightward course, they will suffer the same fate as their Portuguese sister party, before they even get a chance to get their snouts wet in the public trough. □

Growing Protests Against the 'Security Statute'

Colombian Military Caught Torturing Students

By Eduardo Medrano

BOGOTÁ—The Colombian government has been caught "red-handed" in recent cases of torture and is paying a high price for it.

Although high military officials quickly issued statements denying having tortured students arrested on October 27, broad sectors of the population in this country are becoming thoroughly convinced that the Turbay Ayala regime does indeed torture political prisoners.

In fact, the commission appointed by the government itself to investigate charges of torturing the students has uncovered evidence that completely confirms those charges.

The controversy began October 31 when defense attorneys for the arrested students and their families held a news conference to denounce the abusive treatment and torture meted out by the army against the students following violent raids on October 27. The attorneys also made public a document signed by more than twenty of those arrested, describing in detail the torture they suffered at the hands of their captors.

Ramsés Hakim, president of the National University (which several of the arrested students attended), immediately demanded that the government start an investigation. President Turbay agreed to do so, confident that things would end up

as usual with an "exhaustive investigation" that reveals nothing.

But what a mistake he made! The investigative commission, composed of attorneys from the general prosecutor's office, the director of the Institute of Legal Medicine (a section of the Justice Ministry) and physicians from that institute, confirmed that the charges of torture were true.

The commission interviewed some fifty arrested students, thirty-four of whom provided evidence of physical and psychological torture. According to their testimony, they were tortured while being held in barracks of the Military Institutes Brigade at Usaquén and Puente Aranda, in Bogotá.

Those tortured were beaten with fists, kicked, stripped of their clothes, and subjected to electric shocks and burns on the skin. Some had needles stuck under their nails, or tourniquets applied to cut off circulation in their arms or hands. Some prisoners were taken out to stand before mock firing squads or deprived of sleep for days at a time. One young woman prisoner suffered a miscarriage as a result of the brutal treatment.

According to a report in the November 21 issue of the major liberal daily *El Espectador*, the general prosecutor refused to make public the full findings of the investigation, citing provisions of the

Criminal Code that give him discretion over possible indictments. He was nevertheless compelled to order the deputy prosecutor for the armed forces, Brig. Gen. Francisco Afanador Cabrera, to undertake an administrative investigation to establish the responsibility of "each of the functionaries who took part in operations against the young people imprisoned on charges of seditious activity."

The anger of citizens against the actions of the army had begun to be expressed a few days before. In a November 13 editorial, *El Espectador* blasted the government for the proven incidents of torture: ". . . we most firmly oppose torture by the state, and as citizens and journalists we call on President Turbay and Prosecutor González Charry to make sure that these nauseating incidents are not passed off as if nothing had happened."

On November 10 a debate took place in the Bogotá City Council in which tape-recorded statements by the tortured prisoners were presented. A number of liberal journalists, including ex-Foreign Minister Alfredo Vázquez Carrizosa, have condemned the torture. These are in addition to the denunciations of the torture and the Security Statute¹ that have been published

1. Law decreed in early September that contains

in leftist newspapers such as the Communist Party's *Voz Proletaria*, the Trotskyist PSR's² *Combate Socialista*, and the independent weekly *Alternativa*.

These protests have had a considerable impact. Even Defense Minister Luis Carlos Camacho Leyva was compelled to make a statement on November 14 assuring everyone that Colombia "has never violated human rights," and that the "rumors" about torture "are smokescreens put up by subversives trying to confuse us."

But if one wants to speak of subversives, there is no doubt that this time it is the armed forces who have been caught breaking the law and the constitution. For nowhere in the laws or the constitution of Colombia is torture permitted under any circumstances.

A few days after the unbelievable statement by the head of the armed forces, the church hierarchy denounced the torture through a statement by Msgr. Pedro Rubiano Saéz, the president of the Episcopal Commission on Social Ministry. The administrators of Los Antos University also said they "emphatically rejected" the torture inflicted upon those arrested, and in particular on one of their own students, Carlos Valderrama Becerra.

The Colombian Senate and House of Representatives have also called for a serious investigation of the affair.

The widespread concern to find out all the facts about this particular incident of torture is a reflection of the interest of the majority of Colombians in making sure that previous incidents which were never investigated now be cleared up. People also want to do away once and for all with the insidious notion that the state has a right to use torture "as a last resort" against political criminals, since they are supposedly "extremely dangerous."

The fact is that torture has been used quite commonly by the Colombian regime (even though it boasts of being a model of democracy in Latin America). The regime has often secretly tortured—and in some cases even murdered—prisoners on the pretext that they are "guerrillas."

It was charged last month, for example, that militants of the Ejército de Liberación Nacional [National Liberation Army] who were convicted by a military tribunal had been tortured during interrogation.

But the workers and students of Colombia are sick of these kinds of acts by the state, and they are showing that they will not tolerate it any longer.

This has the regime worried. Justice Minister Hugo Escobar Sierra has gone out of his way to defend the Security

a series of attacks on democratic rights, including press restrictions and prison sentences for "subversive propaganda." See *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, October 2, p. 1084.

2. Partido Socialista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Socialist Party), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Colombia.

Statute itself and all the government crimes committed under it. Likewise Turbay. The President's general secretary, Alvaro Pérez Vivez, was all but admitted that the government was violating the constitution. Referring to the "security measures" taken in recent weeks, he cynically declared, "if these be violations of the constitution, then let the constitution be violated. I have no regrets."

Additionally, in an attempt to counteract the wave of condemnation of the incident of torture, the government has launched a tremendous propaganda barrage against those arrested, accusing them of belonging to a guerrilla group. The press and television have shown photographs of the students' "arsenal": hundreds of sheets of paper, books by Mao, a flag with the initials "EPL," some boots, three revolvers, and hundreds of bullets. It is widely believed, however, that these last items were planted by the army to discredit the students.

Another thing the government is trying to accomplish through all these contortions is to hide the fact that the torture of the students occurred amid a wave of government murders that has shaken the country. Less than a month ago, ELN leader José Manuel Martínez Quiróz was murdered on the outskirts of Bogotá. CP member Pedro Pablo Bello was riddled with bullets inside a bus in Bogotá. Fabio Alberto Vásquez was murdered in Montería, and Eduardo Barrios Grecco suffered the same fate in Riohacha. In each of these cases responsibility for the crime has been attributed to secret squads of the armed forces or the police.

Mass indignation against the wave of repression continues to grow, creating a

situation in which even figures as close to the bourgeoisie as ex-President Carlos Lleras Restrepo have had to speak out against Turbay's repressive measures, and in particular against the Security Statute, which is used to all but justify the recent crimes of the government.

The workers and popular movement has already begun to mobilize against the Security Statute. The Trotskyists, led by the PSR, have succeeded in getting trade unions and other popular organizations to speak out against the statute. On November 13, the CP, the Maoist group MOIR, the "Firmes" movement,³ the PSR, the clerical group Comuneros, ANAPO,⁴ and parts of the left wing of the Liberal Party formed a committee for democratic rights and against the Security Statute. They are now building a massive rally against the Security Statute scheduled for December 5 in Bogotá.

International solidarity against the infamous methods of Turbay Ayala should be organized to back up the efforts of revolutionists and other defenders of democratic rights within Colombia who are fighting to stay the hand of the torturers and murderers in the secret services of the Colombian state, and to win the repeal of the Security Statute.

November 20, 1978

3. "Firmes" (Signatures) is an organization that grew out of a campaign to collect 500,000 signatures on a petition urging a single "left" candidate in the June presidential elections.

4. Alianza Nacional Popular (People's National Alliance), a bourgeois-populist formation.

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Kremlin Steps Up Attacks on Crimean Tatars

By Marilyn Vogt

Faced with the continuing determination of Crimean Tatars to win their right to live in Crimea, the Stalinist rulers of the USSR have escalated police-state measures against them. According to the November 16 *London Times*, the Soviet authorities have launched a slander campaign against the Crimean Tatars, at least one government decree has been handed down recently aimed at preventing Crimean Tatars from settling in Crimea, and officials have threatened large-scale deportations of Crimean Tatars who have returned to Crimea without residence permits.

The entire Tatar population was deported from Crimea to Central Asia the night of May 18, 1944, on Stalin's orders. After the deportation, Stalin claimed the entire Crimean Tatar population was guilty of treason.

Although Stalin's successors in the Kremlin have admitted that the deportation was one of Stalin's crimes and officially cleared the Tatars of Stalin's treason charge in 1967, the Tatars are still denied the right to return to live in their Crimean homeland.

Over the past decade the Tatars have waged a continuous struggle, demanding the government provide for their organized return to Crimea and reestablish the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which was formed under Lenin's leadership in October 1921 but abolished by Stalin in 1946. Their struggle has included thousands of appeals to the government, hundreds of delegations sent to Moscow to appeal personally to the Kremlin tops, and street demonstrations.

The rulers' answer has been repression, with numerous Tatar activists arrested and imprisoned. The rulers know that meeting the Tatars' demands would undermine their Russification program. As one official in Crimea exclaimed in frustration after meeting with an angry Crimean Tatar community: "If you meet these families halfway . . . what a frightful number will come here. And they'll say: 'give us schools in our native language, nursery schools in our native language, and so on. . . .'"¹

Over the past three or four years, the

An Unofficial Census

The Crimean Tatars in the USSR have compiled and made available some statistics about the Crimean Tatar population from 1944 through 1974. The following data were reported in *A Chronicle of Current Events* No. 38:

The Crimean Tatar people numbered about 560,000 in 1944. Of this number, about 57,000—more than 10 percent—died fighting the Nazis in World War II. At the time of the 1944 deportation, there were about 80,000 Crimean Tatars serving in the Soviet army.

The number of Crimean Tatars actually deported by Stalin on May 18, 1944—mostly women, children, and old people—was about 420,000. Forty-six percent of the deported population perished during the first year of exile—

some 193,000 people.

In 1974, the Crimean Tatar population in the USSR numbered about 833,000.

These figures have been gathered by the Crimean Tatars in the USSR independently of the government. The regime itself keeps no official figures on the Crimean Tatar population, since it has defined Crimean Tatars out of existence and does not include them in the census. According to the September 1967 decree of the Supreme Soviet, the Crimean Tatars are officially "citizens of Tatar nationality formerly resident in the Crimea."

Only 8,000 to 10,000 Crimean Tatars in the USSR today live in Crimea, and at least one third of these are denied residence permits.

Crimea itself has become the scene of much Tatar activity.

Tatars Defy Ban on Return

Since the rulers refuse to meet Tatar demands, numerous Tatar families have purchased homes in Crimea, left their places of exile (for most, the Uzbek republic), and returned on their own to live in Crimea. According to data compiled independently by the Tatars, by late 1977 there were approximately 2,000 Tatar families living in Crimea; that is, 8,000 to 10,000 persons.² Approximately 600 of these families, or close to one-third, were living there illegally; that is, officials refused to grant them residence permits.

The unregistered Tatars are made to suffer in numerous ways. Many of them have been arrested for "passport violations." Not having a residence permit means for many no pension, no access to public services, no job. Those unable to get a job are often arrested and charged with "parasitism." Some find that the authorities have cut off their electricity and water supply and have even—as in the case of five families in the village of Vostoch— forbidden the stores to sell them kerosene for lanterns.³

In a growing number of cases, the authorities resort to more extreme measures. They forcibly evict the Tatar families from their newly purchased homes and deport them from Crimea, deem their purchase of the home invalid, and either move someone else into the home or else demolish it with bulldozers.

In early 1977, the authorities attempted to disorient the Tatar movement by telling representatives that all families that wanted to return to Crimea would be allowed to do so. The representatives were led to believe this was a concession to mark the sixtieth anniversary of the October revolution. According to information compiled unofficially by Tatars themselves, around 700 Crimean Tatar families moved from the Uzbek SSR to Crimea throughout 1977 and in early 1978.⁴ But the authorities granted residence permits only to about 200 families between February and September 1977, and some of these were granted to families who had been living in Crimea illegally for several years.⁵

According to *A Chronicle of Current Events* No. 47, forcible evictions resumed

1. *A Chronicle of Current Events* [CCE] No. 44, dated March 16, 1977. Available from Khronika Press, 505 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018.

2. CCE No. 47, dated November 30, 1977.

3. CCE No. 40, dated May 20, 1976.

4. CCE No. 49, dated May 14, 1978.

5. CCE No. 47.

in September 1977, so the number of residence permits granted after that time is probably small. Thus most of these 700 families are living in Crimea without permits.

The London *Times* article reports that several families were expelled from Crimea in October 1978. According to the *Times*, this "has not been done for the past four years." The *Chronicle of Current Events* reports, however, that deportations have occurred continuously in recent years.

The deportations increased starting May 1976. While there may have been fewer during the first months of 1977, at least twenty-two evictions were reported to have occurred in the last months of 1977 and in early 1978. In the first days of March, two or three lorries of deported Crimean Tatars arrived under guard in Taman in the Russian Republic. There they were simply dumped off, as the *Chronicle* put it "under the open sky."

To implement deportations, the bureaucrats act like storm troopers. Dozens of militia, sometimes armed with machine guns, invade the home; on several occasions resisting family members have been beaten up.

Demonstrations Continue

These "Black Hundred" tactics, as the Tatars call them, have not discouraged the Crimean Tatars. They have continued their appeals and demonstrations.

One appeal, issued in March 1977, demanded that the government abolish all laws concerning Crimean Tatars that have been put into effect since 1944 because all these laws abridge Crimean Tatars' rights. They want only their full constitutional rights as Soviet citizens and an end to national discrimination.⁶

More than 4,000 Crimean Tatars had signed this petition by August 1977. In September 1977, the interprovince meeting of representatives of the Initiative Groups of the Movement of Crimean Tatars for Restoration of National Equality voted to make this document the basis of their movement. Among those supporting the motion were three Crimean Tatars who are still Communist Party members, as well as several who have been expelled from the CPSU for defending Crimean Tatar rights.

On February 7, 1978, 200 Crimean Tatars gathered outside the office of the Province Executive Committee to demand a meeting with officials. Police beat many demonstrators and arrested fifteen, ranging in age from seventeen to twenty-four years old.

A similar demonstration took place on February 14; despite police interference, 100 Crimean Tatars, mostly women and children, were able to assemble outside the building housing the Executive Committee. They were heckled by paid goons, and

6. CCE No. 47.

the police attacked and injured many demonstrators. Thirty-nine were arrested, among them four children.⁷

The protests have increased since Tatar Musa Mamut immolated himself in June when the police came to evict him and his family from their home.

According to the London *Times* report, "his funeral became the occasion for a great gathering of Tatars."

A Page from Stalin's Book

As protests have escalated, so has the repression.

A campaign has begun in Crimean schools to depict the Tatars as traitors. According to the *Times*, pupils are being asked to write essays "depicting the treachery of the Tatars during the war," thus reviving Stalin's phony charge of treason.

In late August and early September

7. CCE No. 48.

Mustafa Dzhemilev Faces Harassment

Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev is again being threatened with criminal charges, and his relatives are being persecuted.

According to the *Chronicle of Current Events* No. 48, Dzhemilev was assigned to live with his brother Asan in Tashkent in the Uzbek Republic upon his release from imprisonment on December 22, 1977. However, Dzhemilev had requested in October 1977 to be allowed to reside in Crimea, so that he could spend time with his aged and ill father whom he had not seen for several years.

Dzhemilev's family was among the hundreds of Crimean Tatar families who moved to Crimea in 1977 when authorities claimed that all who wanted to return to Crimea to live would be issued residence permits. In July 1977 Dzhemilev's mother and father moved into a home they had purchased in the Belogorsk district in Crimea, not far from where his sisters had moved with their families earlier. All have been denied residence permits, and their purchase of homes has been declared invalid.

Dzhemilev was denied permission to live with his parents, the Crimean authorities stated, because "they are living in the Belogorsk region of the Crimean province in gravest violation of the passport system, and as special settlers their registration in the Crimea is restricted. Under these conditions, it is pointless to send Mr. Dzhemilev to Crimea because he will be refused registration."

Dzhemilev protested that he should be free to choose his own place of residence

1978, local authorities began visiting the homes of unregistered Tatars in Crimea, collecting vital statistics on family members and their histories. Tatars were told this was in preparation for the census, but they fear it is a preparation for a generalized offensive against them.

In October, the police evicted two families from their homes, bulldozed one house, arrested one seventy-four-year-old head of a family, and detained nine other family members for up to fifteen days. Several families were expelled from Crimea that month.

These events prompted a protest demonstration of 200 Tatars in the town of Belogorsk. While this demonstration was being dispersed, the police chief told the demonstrators that all unregistered Crimean Tatars would be expelled from Crimea beginning October 15.

If this threat is implemented, it would involve repression on a scale that revives memories of Stalin's May 1944 "solution" to the Tatar "problem." □

since his prison term was over. In response, the authorities put him under constant surveillance in Tashkent, with as many as fifteen people assigned to tail him at one time. He was ordered to report to the police three times a month.

When Dzhemilev tried to go to Bekabad to visit his daughter, he was arrested on his arrival, held overnight, and sent back to Tashkent.

Dzhemilev's health is very poor. He had to be hospitalized for two weeks in January 1978 because of bronchitis and serious intestinal infections.

Throughout January and February he demanded that the authorities explain why his parents, as Crimean Tatars, are termed "special settlers" in Crimea, and therefore "restricted." He demanded that all unpublished laws restricting the rights of Crimean Tatars be revoked and that a commission be convened, including Crimean Tatar representatives, to determine why Crimean Tatars are subjected to massive injustices in Crimea.

On February 1, 1978, Dzhemilev issued a statement addressed to the attorney general of the USSR saying:

"A representative of the administrative authorities in the Crimean province officially confirmed the existence of legal restrictions against Crimean Tatars on the basis of their nationality. When such a fact is pointed out by me or by other participants in our national movement, it is called anti-Soviet slander."

He spoke of the conditions imposed on him since his release—surveillance, forced

residence in Tashkent, and so on. He reported that Tashkent police officials had admitted they are dealing with him in an extraordinary way, not according to any laws but on orders from the KGB.

Dzhemilev has refused to accept a residence permit in Tashkent, considering that for the authorities to force him to live there is tantamount to a term of exile. He is, therefore, technically violating the ruling bureaucrats' passport regulations.

In April 1978, the militia threatened to raise charges against Dzhemilev for pass-

port violations and for insulting the police. It is clear that the rulers are seeking to provoke Dzhemilev into violating the law so as to have a pretext for arresting him a fifth time.

Dzhemilev was sentenced in April 1976 to three-and-one-half years imprisonment—his fourth term—on a charge of anti-Soviet agitation because of his activities and statements in defense of the rights of Crimean Tatars to live in Crimea. Dzhemilev's April 1976 trial came after he had been on a ten-month hunger

strike to protest his June 1975 arrest. His protests brought him international support.

Besides harassing Dzhemilev himself, the authorities are also attacking his family. The police have broken into his brother Asan's home and have paid night visits to Asan and his wife and repeatedly questioned them.

On April 19, 1978, Dzhemilev's brother-in-law Riza was sentenced by a Crimean regional court to three years exile from Crimea for passport violations. □

One of Most Restrictive in World

The Abortion Law in New Zealand

By Brigid Mulrennan

Last December the New Zealand Parliament passed one of the most restrictive abortion laws in the world—the Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion Act. This is a marked change from 1893 when New Zealand was the first country in the world to grant women the right to vote.

The abortion legislation followed a three-year campaign by the antiabortion forces to drive back gains made by women for a de facto liberalization of restrictions on abortion. In 1975, due to a clause in the law that said an abortion could be performed if the woman's physical or mental health was in danger, an abortion clinic was established in Auckland. The new law removed this clause and forced the clinic to close.

The nature of the new law is revealed in its title—"An Act . . . to provide for the circumstances and procedures under which abortions may be authorised *after having full regard to the rights of the unborn child*" (emphasis added). Abortions are now performed legally only under a small number of narrow provisions. These are: incest; if the woman is severely "subnormal"; or if the continuation of pregnancy would result in *serious danger* to the life, or the physical or mental health of the woman.

Two other circumstances can be "taken into consideration" but are not grounds in themselves: if there are reasonable grounds for believing that the pregnancy has occurred as a result of rape or if the woman concerned is near the beginning or end of the usual childbearing years.

If the woman who wants an abortion feels that she qualifies on one or more of these grounds, her ordeal has just started. She then faces an obstacle course of gaining permission from a series of four doctors—first the woman's own doctor, then two "consultants" appointed by a

government body, and then the operating doctor. If she cannot do this she faces three other alternatives: to bear the child, seek the services of a backstreet abortionist, or make an expensive trip (a 2,400-mile return journey) to Australia, where a more liberal situation exists. Thousands of New Zealand women have been forced to take this last course over the past eleven months.

Immediately after the bill was passed, an organization called Sisters Overseas Services (SOS) was set up to help women obtain abortions in Australia. In Auckland alone more than 1,300 women have used this service and hundreds more have made the trips privately.

The abortion legislation has opened many people's eyes to the undemocratic manner in which laws are made, and to just how determined the ruling class is to strike a blow against the growing radicalization among women. The New Zealand population has shown through opinion polls, petitions, and public actions that the vast majority are in total opposition to the New Zealand law.

Within days of its passing, a march and rally of 1,000 was held in Auckland, organized by the Women's National Abortion Action Campaign (WONAAC). This was followed on March 8 with a demonstration of a similar size in Wellington.

About that time, a petition campaign demanding the repeal of the law was launched, under the sponsorship of a number of prominent New Zealanders. Within a matter of months, it gained 330,000 signatures—more than 10 percent of the country's population. But Parliament decided to shelve the petition and take no action on it. The general disgust evoked by this complete disregard for public opinion showed itself in a demon-

stration of more than 1,500 in Auckland shortly afterwards, on September 15.

The mass feeling against the restrictive law was also reflected at the Labour Party conference earlier in the year. Like the governing National Party, the Labour Party leadership in Parliament is basically antiabortion and allows its members a "conscience" vote on the issue. But the Labour Party conference took its leaders to task and voted overwhelmingly for a woman's right to choose abortion without state interference. The leadership proposed, basically as an alternative to this, that Labour hold a referendum on abortion if elected.

The referendum proposal was also carried. Labour included the referendum call, but *not* the "woman's right to choose" position, in its manifesto for the general election, scheduled for November 25.

It is clear that along with the questions of the economy and unemployment, abortion is a very important issue in the minds of the voters. But Prime Minister Robert Muldoon, who is a leading antiabortionist, has asserted that the public is "sick of the issue". And to scare off those National Party supporters who want a liberalized abortion law, Muldoon recently declared that the abortion issue has "fallen into the hands of the extreme left, particularly those of the Socialist Action League."

While the League (New Zealand section of the Fourth International) has been deeply involved in the abortion-rights movement since the early 1970s, this campaign is a much broader movement than that, involving trade unions, church groups, other political parties, and prominent Labour Party and National Party officials.

There will be a big response if the new Parliament elected does not look as though it intends to liberalize the abortion law. □

Costa Rica—Refugees From Nicaragua Demand Their Rights

By Sara Santiago and Alejandra Calderón Fournier

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica—Thousands of Nicaraguans were left without homes or jobs by the massive destruction wrought by Somoza's National Guard in putting down the popular insurrection in September.

Many outstanding fighters in the effort to bring down the tyrant were forced to flee to avoid being murdered in cold blood or jailed during the repression that followed the uprising. The economic crisis and the two bosses' lockouts have greatly reduced employment possibilities for Nicaraguan workers. Thus there has been a massive flight of Nicaraguans to neighboring countries.

The number of refugees in Costa Rica is estimated at 30,000. There are 20,000 in Honduras and thousands more in El Salvador. The overwhelming majority of these are workers without means of subsistence.

Owing to the tremendous sympathy existing among Costa Ricans for the Nicaraguan people and their struggle against Somoza, President Rodrigo Carazo's government could not refuse to allow the refugees to enter the country. But Carazo has tried to take advantage of the situation to help boost the profits of the Costa Rican employers.

The most extreme case is that of the hundreds of refugees interned in camps in Guanacaste Province. These are truly concentration camps, under military guard. The refugees may leave only if they have a labor contract; the work permit they are given allows them to work only for the particular employer who hires them. Nutrition and hygienic conditions are poor, and food is denied to those who fail to do agricultural labor for some big landlord. So the Nicaraguan workers in these camps face almost slave-labor conditions.

The Costa Rican immigration police have been very active in controlling the refugee workers. Detailed dossiers are prepared on every Nicaraguan. Only temporary residency permits have been granted, and these must be renewed regularly—every two months in the best of cases. The immigration cops carry out frequent dragnets, detentions, and interrogations in the poor neighborhoods where the Nicaraguans live.

Owing to the "illegal" situation of the refugees, who have no choice but to accept low wages without union rights or job guarantees, Costa Rican workers find themselves at a disadvantage when seeking work. Thus the fight for full labor

Trotskyists Gain Hearing Among Refugees

SAN JOSE—At the "Refugees House" here, hundreds of young Nicaraguans gather to debate their positions on the struggle against Somoza. Sympathizers of all three factions of the Sandinista National Liberation Front participate.

The Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Organization (OST) have been able to win a broad hearing for their views. Many fighters who have joined the ranks of the Sandinista Front express support when the OST explains the need to break all alliances with the bourgeoisie.

The average attendance at the Sunday afternoon gatherings in Central

Park has been 10,000. At these events, thousands of copies of OST leader Fausto Amador's pamphlet *La agonía del somocismo y el curso actual de la revolución nicaragüense* (The Agony of Somozaism and the Present Course of the Nicaraguan Revolution) have been distributed.

[Most of the material in Amador's pamphlet appeared in the October 16 issue of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* under the title "The Deepening Crisis of the Somoza Regime." The Spanish-language pamphlet is available for US\$1 postpaid from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.]

rights for the refugees is of vital importance to workers in Costa Rica if they do not want to see their living standards threatened by an overall fall in wages.

The Organización Socialista de los Trabajadores (OST—Socialist Workers Organization)* has taken the lead in defending the Nicaraguan refugees. Even before the majority of the Nicaraguans arrived, the OST had launched a campaign around the slogan "Work permits for the Nicaraguans."

Groups of refugees facing grave difficulties in finding work, housing, medical attention, and so on were soon attracted to the OST's activities. The idea arose of forming a Nicaraguan Refugees Committee to organize the resistance to the government's abuses.

This committee began by holding big sales of Nicaraguan national cuisine in San José's Central Park on Sunday afternoons. This helped to finance the committee's activities, but the most important result was to attract numerous groups of refugees from throughout the country.

To further the organization of the refugees, the committee founded a "Refugees House." It has also held other activities to popularize the struggle for equal rights—lectures at the university, informational

*A sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Costa Rica.

picket lines in downtown areas of various cities and towns, and so on.

Costa Rican supporters have formed a Committee for Solidarity With the Refugees, headed by former University of Costa Rica rector Carlos Monge Alfaro. Other leaders of the solidarity committee include OST leaders Fausto Amador and Alejandra Calderón Fournier and ex-Deputy José Corrales Bolaños of the National Liberation Party (Costa Rica's principal bourgeois party).

The Carazo regime has reacted to the accusations of the two committees. Various government figures have made statements trying to defend their stance. This has been combined with stepped-up repression.

On November 9 a picketline of refugees that the OST participated in was violently attacked by the police. Former OST presidential candidate Carlos Coronado was beaten by the cops and held for several hours. (A color photograph of Coronado being hauled off by the police appeared on the front page of the following day's edition of *La República*, the country's second-largest daily.) A number of Nicaraguans were deported to Panama after this incident.

Carazo has tried to intimidate the Nicaraguans in other ways as well. Many have been arbitrarily detained by the immigration police and released after hours of interrogation and threats of deportation. In this way Carazo hopes to prevent the

Nicaraguan community from organizing in defense of its rights.

A border clash with Nicaraguan troops on November 21 in which two Costa Rican Civil Guards were killed served to divert attention from the problem of the refugees. Carazo demanded and got the support of all the major political forces of the country, thus camouflaging behind demagogic cries of "national unity" the continuation and aggravation of the fear campaign against Nicaraguans in Costa Rica.

Efforts are being made to involve the trade unions and other workers parties in the campaign for the rights of the refugees. This has so far been unsuccessful in reaching the leaderships, although some worker militants are beginning to participate. There is also an indication of a change in attitude on the part of the Partido Vanguardia Popular (People's Vanguard Party, the Costa Rican CP). The struggle will no doubt involve important sectors of the organized workers movement in the future.

At present the campaign is focused around denouncing Carazo's violation of the United Nations Convention and Protocol on the Status of Refugees. This international agreement outlines a series of norms for the protection of refugees: freedom of movement (Article 26), labor guarantees equivalent to those enjoyed by nationals of the country in which the refugees find themselves (Art. 17, 24), obligation of the authorities to provide identity documents to refugees (Art. 27, 28), freedom of association (Art. 15), legal protection and defense against expulsion (Art. 16, 32), and the right to public assistance, education, and other services (Art. 22, 23, and others).

Alone among the countries to which Nicaraguans have fled, Costa Rica is a signatory to this UN accord. It was ratified by the Costa Rican government's Decree No. 6079 of August 16, 1977, and entered into force June 26, 1978. Nevertheless, its provisions are not respected. Carazo's "democratic" regime is openly violating almost all the norms in the UN document.

Hundreds of refugees are held by force in the Guanacaste camps. The refugees are submitted to all kinds of arbitrary restrictions, and have no adequate documents enabling them to move freely. They are even forced to pay a sum of money—which many do not have—to get their documents from the immigration authorities.

The Nicaraguans who were deported were denied a trial and legal defense, and faced all kinds of threats if they did not accept being sent to Panama.

The central problem is that of work permits. Carazo is violating the UN convention above all because the Costa Rican capitalists are interested in taking advantage of the refugees as a cheap labor reserve without trade-union rights.

The Costa Rican bourgeoisie has always sought to foster an image of "civility," of "mutual respect based on law," of honoring international agreements. In fact, it is a wolf in sheep's clothing, and its "democratic" image is vanishing with the first

serious test of events.

It is important that all defenders of democratic rights put pressure on the governments of countries where the Nicaraguans have sought refuge to see that their rights are respected. □

Case of Héctor Marroquín Front-Page News

Secret Files Reveal FBI Spying in Mexico

By Susan Wald

"The United States maintains intense covert police surveillance inside Mexican universities, the Mexican Communist Party, and student political groups, using agents with diplomatic immunity and informants," the Mexico City daily *Excelsior* reported on its front page November 22.

The article went on to explain that the information was contained in FBI documents recently released by the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee.

Excelsior quoted Margaret Winter, Marroquín's attorney, as saying that the FBI documents, consisting of heavily censored memorandums and reports addressed to the head of the FBI by the legal attaché of the U.S. embassy in Mexico, show that Marroquín "has been closely watched by the U.S. government ever since he was fifteen years old, that is, from the time he began to take part in political activities in junior high school and high school."

Marroquín, a former student leader at the University of Nuevo León, was forced to flee Mexico in 1974 to escape a police attempt to frame him up on murder charges. Since arriving in the United States Marroquín became active in the trade-union and antideportation movements, and eventually joined the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. He is demanding political asylum in the United States.

Marroquín's attorneys and his defense committee have collected dozens of sworn statements from Mexican political prisoners and from relatives of young people who were killed or "disappeared," that is, kidnapped by cops or government-backed terror squads and never heard from again. This evidence proves that political repression is widespread in Mexico, and shows what would have happened to Marroquín if he had fallen into the hands of the Mexican police.

Marroquín has become one of Mexico's best-known political exiles. His case is an embarrassment to the López Portillo government, which has maintained that there is no political repression in Mexico.

In September, however, the Mexican government announced plans for an amnesty, admitting for the first time the existence of political prisoners. The regime hoped that the amnesty would take the steam out of the growing human-rights movement. A high point of this movement was the October 2 demonstration in Mexico City, where 100,000 persons rallied to commemorate the October 2, 1968, massacre of students in Tlatelolco Plaza and demand that the government free all political prisoners and reveal the whereabouts of those who have "disappeared."

Marroquín's name is on the government's most recent list of political exiles to be granted "amnesty," according to the November 7 issue of *Excelsior*.

But according to Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, leader of the National Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared," and Exiled, it would be extremely dangerous for Marroquín to return to Mexico now.

Piedra and other relatives of "disappeared" people and political prisoners began a hunger strike November 17 to protest what they call the "total failure" of the amnesty law.

Only a handful of the political prisoners have been released—fewer than 50 of an estimated total of 600, according to a London *Times* report dated November 21. And the whereabouts of even one of the 367 persons who have "disappeared" have not been revealed.

At the same time, the government has not disbanded any of the right-wing paramilitary groups that operate with impunity, and two additional "disappearances" have been reported since the amnesty law was promulgated. None of the officials responsible for the savage torture of political prisoners have been dismissed, charged with crimes, or brought to trial.

In addition, the so-called amnesty applies only to indictments for political crimes in federal courts. In the case of Héctor Marroquín, as in many others, no federal charges have ever been brought. Marroquín has been accused only under state law, and only for "criminal" offenses.

The Dispute Between Videla and Pinochet On Beagle Channel

By Marcelo Zugadi

In recent weeks, there has been a new flurry of bellicose statements by top representatives of the armed forces of Chile and Argentina. This coincides with the time set for conclusion of negotiations between the two countries to settle their dispute over the border line at the extreme southern tip of the continent.

After November 2, which was the deadline for the negotiating committee to complete its work, the only recourse left, according to the established agreement, is direct bilateral talks between the two countries.

There is no reason to dwell on the character of the two regimes involved. The whole world knows that they are blood-thirsty dictatorships that conduct mass murder in their own countries, while they hand over their countries' national resources and the product of the exploitation of their peoples to an insatiably greedy international finance capital and its imperialist concerns.

In the mouths of such governments, the very words "sovereignty," "people," and even "nation," have a false and hypocritical ring. Nonetheless, they are using such language to justify their military preparations and their accelerated course toward an armed confrontation.

Border disputes between Chile and Argentina are a long-standing problem. They have existed ever since both countries emerged from the Spanish empire as independent nations. And there has been no lack of skirmishes and strident declarations related to such problems. In fact, there has been a resurgence of these at rather frequent intervals—usually coinciding with internal difficulties in one of the two countries. Such incidents have been a reminder of the fact that the Balkanization of Latin America has left unresolved, along with other questions, the problem of drawing accepted frontiers.

In the present case, as in the others, the military dictatorships on both sides of the Andes are trying to exploit this problem in order to blackmail the opposition. They are using it as a pretext for arguing that the entire nation has to unite against the "foreign enemy." As will be seen, this maneuver is not something that should be underestimated, and it is already paying fat political dividends for the regimes in question. This operation is all the more useful at a time when both dictatorships are finding that their brutal methods are failing to prevent the reorganization of the



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working class. In both countries, to differing degrees, the regimes face a mounting challenge from the workers.

However, it would be dangerously shortsighted to see the present saber rattling as merely a diversionist maneuver designed to strengthen the regimes' position at home. To the contrary, there are strategic, political, and economic factors that give this conflict different dimensions from the traditional disputes. As a result of these factors, it cannot be assumed that the war talk is just a ruse intended to cover up the uselessness of both general staffs.

The three islands at issue—Picton, Lennox, and Nueva—lie at the western mouth of the Beagle channel, which connects the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Possession of them would give Chile a footing in both oceans. A 200-mile extension of its territorial waters would give it control over a zone with four features so important that no Argentine government is ever going to passively accept her Britannic majesty's ruling in favor of Chile.*

In the first place, this zone has decisive strategic importance for military control of the south Atlantic. Secondly, extending as it does toward the South Pole, its possession by another state would put in question Argentina's present claims in the Antarctic. Thirdly, according to data provided by U.S. satellites, there are petroleum deposits in the region greater than the present reserves in the Middle East. Fourthly, the krill, a high-protein shellfish that abounds in the area, is going to take on a very great economic and political

importance in the coming decades.

So, it is necessary to look behind the military bluster and see the deeper causes prompting the present moves by the armed forces of both countries. It is necessary to separate out the attempt by the dictators to blackmail the exploited classes and the political and trade-union organizations from the real conflict in which the governments of both countries have become enmeshed.

The Chilean government has sent troops to the islands in the area and mined the channels. Its entire fleet has been moved to the south. At the same time, the Argentine dictatorship has ordered the enlisting of 500,000 reservists (twice the number now in the armed forces) and stepped up its bellicose maneuvers and preparations for war.

In Argentina, this war atmosphere, which the controlled press is spreading among the people, has given an unhelpful boost to a more and more crisis-racked regime. Painfully holding together a cabinet that began to crumble three months ago, Videla waited for the conflict to reach a high point before he appointed new ministers, trying to reconsolidate his cabinet again around the economic czar, Martinez de Hoz; and the boss of the kidnapper gangs, Minister of the Interior Albano Harguindeguy.

The almost unanimous support that the parties and trade-union leaders have given to the dictatorship in the face of the "foreign enemy" has granted a new lease on life to the Videla regime, which had been in a desperate situation.

Defending "national sovereignty" has been taken by the bourgeois and reformist politicians and the trade-union bureaucrats as a new pretext for their capitulation and passivity in the face of the syste-

*In 1971 Argentina and Chile agreed to submit the dispute to arbitration by the British queen. Her May 2, 1977, ruling, based on the findings of five judges of the International Court, gave all three islands to Chile.—IP/1

matic use of crime as an instrument of government policy, the superexploitation of the workers, and the sellout of the national economy to imperialist finance capital.

The most reactionary forces in the country have been strengthened by this rallying around the flag. Their position is still, to say the least, precarious. But at least the rapid deterioration, which was leading to the unconcealable failure of their plans for "national reorganization," has been slowed.

The new cabinet was formed to back Videla and deal with the conflict with Chile. It has not overcome the internal differences that are undermining the dictatorship. However, it is using the following sort of logic to buttress its position: How can we buy arms and prepare to meet the needs that may arise in the event of war and at the same time challenge the economic policy set by the present minister? How can we apply Martinez de Hoz's policy, and at the same time oppose the kidnappings, torture, and all-out repression carried out by Harguindeguy in order to support his fellow minister? How can there be any talk about a "political liberalization" in such circumstances as these?

The "national" bourgeoisie, the "patriotic" military officers, and the "democratic" politicians are lining up tamely behind the dictatorship, showing once again just how much the masses can expect from them.

On this occasion, an organization claiming to be revolutionary, the Montoneros, also showed how much it was worth. In a statement dated October 14, after the usual long denunciation of the imperialists and their agents in Latin America, the Montoneros concluded by including the following among the directives to their adherents:

"Increase relations with officers of the armed forces with a view toward ending the foreign war and guaranteeing domestic peace. . . . Resist militarily any foreign force that invades Argentine territory at any point. Suspend armed attacks on military installations and armed forces personnel, with the exception of course of defensive actions."

These three points in the "directives to the Montonero movement, party, and army" overshadow all the rest. The Montonero leadership is calling for fraternization with the officers (except, of course, in cases of legitimate self-defense!). And it is calling on its supporters to take up arms against the Chilean troops if armed confrontations should start.

It is impossible for the bourgeois and reformist political forces in Argentina or Chile to oppose the ruling military dictatorships and at the same time "defend national sovereignty." The problem of assuring national sovereignty, like most of the social, economic, and political problems that face both countries, cannot be solved within the context of the present

capitalist states of Chile and Argentina, and still less in a climate of peace and democracy.

Our dependent bourgeoisies can no more draw the dividing line between our two countries than they can between a society in which there is democratic tolerance and the irrational barbarism of their decaying regimes. So, a policy supporting the armed forces of either country against any attempt by the other to occupy the islands will amount to giving political support to these dictatorships in continuing their superexploitation and mass murder. And not only this. It will also result objectively in giving impetus to the course toward war on which both countries have embarked.

The threat to Argentina's "national sovereignty" does not come from Chile, or vice versa. It is world imperialism that threatens the national sovereignty of both countries. And this conflict does not involve three small islands but the entire continent. Latin America, with the exception of Cuba, has indeed been deprived of its sovereignty, even though the local bourgeoisies may have enough room to stage some farcical shows of "democracy."

It is impossible to effectively oppose the threat of wars without waging an intransigent struggle against the military dictatorships in Chile and Argentina. And in this struggle, the demand for democratic rights and a Constituent Assembly has to be combined with a resolute call for a workers and peasants government. Only such a government can definitely solve border disputes such as the present one by proposing a socialist federation of Chile and Argentina as a step toward the formation of a Socialist United States of Latin America.

It should be fairly clear that this is the only valid perspective for the masses. Videla is the inevitable end result of populism and bourgeois nationalism, just as Pinochet represents the inevitable outcome when the masses are led by reformists. Is any more evidence needed? The perspective the Montoneros propose, as well as the reformists' call for a "popular front" with the bourgeoisie, are attempts to lead the masses once again down the road of defeats.

It is in no way sufficient to say that we are against war. This is what all the bourgeois parties say, and more than anyone precisely those who are pushing the conflict toward an armed confrontation. We have to offer a clear alternative for resolving the conflict that has arisen and take an unequivocal stand on what must be done if an armed conflict should start. In calling for fraternizing with the Argentine officers and fighting against the Chilean troops, the Montoneros are supporting the dictatorship against the workers and helping to push the course toward war, even though they talk about "peace."

A war would have disastrous results for

the workers of Chile and Argentina and of all Latin America. This development toward war has to be blocked. And the only way to do this is to call on the workers to mobilize against the Videla and Pinochet dictatorships and against the armed forces on which both governments are based. The slightest attempt to set events in motion leading to an armed conflict between our two countries must be met with a call for a general strike and for mass mobilizations in Chile and Argentina.

If a war begins, we have to call on the soldiers to adopt an attitude of revolutionary defeatism. There must be unity on both sides of the Andes to raise a massive call for democratic freedoms, the release of the political prisoners, and for the release of those who have been kidnapped.

Their every real interest demands that the workers in Chile and Argentina unite. Above all, they need to unite to prevent their progress toward reorganizing their forces from being aborted by a war provoked by the bourgeoisies and the imperialists, a war completely opposed to the interests of the workers.

All those who call on us to go down the road of war must be branded as deceivers. They represent the direct influence of the bourgeoisie in our ranks. At the same time international solidarity has to be redoubled with the oppressed people of Chile and Argentina. Unions and workers parties throughout the world must be called on to warn the dictatorships that any attempt at an armed confrontation will be met with refusals by workers internationally to handle Chilean and Argentine goods. □

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Campa's 'Revelations'

Reviewed by Joseph Hansen



Since the Moscow dispatch reporting that Ramón Mercader had died in Havana October 18, no more news about Trotsky's assassin has been made available by Kremlin sources.

An enterprising correspondent of the Mexico City daily *Uno Más Uno* said the body had been cremated and that the ashes were scheduled to be sent to the Soviet Union on October 21. Whether the ashes were actually sent remains unknown. Likewise unknown—if they were sent—is what kind of reception was given them. Did Brezhnev, for example, appear at the airport to give the remains of Trotsky's killer an official salute? Were commemorative services held for this disciple of Stalin who had reportedly been decorated by the dictator himself with the "Order of the Hero of the Soviet Union"? No answers have been proffered. So far as the Kremlin is concerned, Mercader has been converted into a "nonperson."

However, some sources able to provide details on the murder of Trotsky still remain. One of them is Valentín Campa, a top leader of the Mexican Communist Party in those days. In his memoirs, which appeared last summer, he included a chapter on the assassination.¹

Campa's book covers his career as a figure in the Mexican labor movement. To him "The Trotsky Case" involved only an incident, although admittedly an important one since it led to his expulsion and that of his close comrade, General Secretary Hernán Laborde, from the party.

Campa's revelations about Stalin's plot to murder Trotsky caused a sensation among Stalinist circles, particularly in Europe. On July 26 and July 27, for instance, *l'Humanité*, the daily newspaper of the French Communist Party, published extensive quotations from Campa's confession. An accompanying editorial by Georges Fournial stressed the importance of Campa's revelations. The main facts, however, were already known, particularly Stalin's guilt.

The gist of Campa's story is that an envoy of the Third International asked the general secretary of the Mexican Communist Party, Hernán Laborde, for his per-

sonal participation in carrying out a decision to liquidate Trotsky. Laborde consulted with Campa and another of his cronies, Rafael Carrillo. The three decided

Mi Testimonio—Memorias de un comunista mexicano [My Testimony—Memories of a Mexican Communist]. By Valentín Campa. Ediciones de Cultura Popular, Colonia Copilco—Universidad. México 21, D.F. 1978, 80 pesos, 404 pp. With photographs, no index.

that it would be a grave error to kill Trotsky. However, Stalin's representative refused to bend to their arguments. They decided to appeal to a higher authority. The three took an automobile to New York and appealed personally to Earl Browder, the head of the American Communist Party, who has since died (1973). Browder said that he agreed with them, that they should have nothing further to do with the "representative," and that he would go to Moscow to take up the matter.

This is the sole new substantial fact to be found in Campa's account. It is important, even though we are left in the dark as to what happened to Browder in his trip, since it indicates that the headquarters of Stalin's secret police in the Western Hemisphere was located in New York City and that Browder worked with the murder machine in some top capacity.

When the American Communist Party gets around to noticing Campa's book, it would be well for them to take up the question. Is the report about Browder a lie? If the account is accurate, what about Browder's role in the assassination of Trotsky? Does the same arrangement concerning the Mexican Communist Party and its relation to the secret headquarters of the Soviet political police in New York still exist under Brezhnev? When was it altered?

While we are waiting for answers from the authorities of the American Communist Party, Campa might show his independence by revealing more details about these arrangements, with which he is obviously highly familiar.

It might be thought that Campa, who

was readmitted to membership in the Mexican Communist Party after a factional battle for this objective that lasted about nineteen years, is now moving toward Trotskyism. Nothing could be more mistaken than to believe this. Campa, today a prominent figure in the Mexican Communist Party, remains what he has been since the beginning of his political career—an adherent of Stalinism.

In corroborating Stalin's guilt in the assassination, Campa fails to identify the "envoy of the Third International." He does not name this mysterious figure empowered to mobilize the Mexican Communist Party to liquidate Trotsky, nor furnish any details about him. How did Laborde and Campa know that he was an agent of the Kremlin? What led them to think that Earl Browder stood higher than him and could get Stalin to change his mind?

Campa's silence shows that he is still covering up for one of the Kremlin's hatchetmen. In short, he still counts himself as part of the Stalinist apparatus.

Some items of special interest:

- Campa, according to his story, contended at the time that to grant asylum to Trotsky would damage Mexico, the Mexican Communist Party, the world Communist movement, and the Soviet Union. He still holds to this position, demonstrating that he is still opposed to the right of political asylum.

- Campa points to what he considers to have been the correct line, the one practiced by the Mexican Communist Party. "Thus things went on, with us exposing the betrayals of Trotsky," which consisted of "playing the game of Hitler and Mussolini against the Soviet Union."

Here Campa repeats the charges of the infamous Moscow frame-up trials. He does not breathe a word about the hearings of the Commission of Inquiry headed by Prof. John Dewey, the eminent educator. These were held in Coyoacán April 10-17, 1937. Campa can hardly complain that he was not aware of them. They were an international sensation, for they proved that the charges in the Moscow Trials were a tissue of lies and that the victims, including Trotsky, his son Leon Sedov, and the other defendants, were innocent. Why does Campa remain silent about this episode? Obviously because he does not want the

1. See page 1397 for a translation of the chapter containing Campa's revelations.

new generation of members of the Mexican Communist Party to know the whole truth.

• Campa boasts of the political successes of the Mexican Communist Party must before the assassination of Trotsky. These consisted of exposing the "betrayals" of Trotsky in relation to Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese emperor.

He devotes only two paragraphs to the great success registered by the Kremlin when the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed August 23, 1939, mumbling a few phrases about the disorientation this caused in the party's ranks.

How does Campa now justify his stand on Trotsky, who predicted the pact and warned the world of the increased danger of an attack by Hitler on the Soviet Union leading to an international conflagration? He does not justify his stand. He simply tries to brush the question aside.

Campa shares Stalin's guilt for helping Hitler prepare his invasion of the Soviet Union—all the more so because he refused to make even a "discreet" telephone call warning Trotsky of the plot against his life.

• Campa mentions that he attended the Twentieth Congress and that the main report elated him. He overlooks mentioning the name of the reporter, Khrushchev, and he fails to describe the crimes of Stalin denounced by Khrushchev. Does Campa assume that he can skip this? Is it so well known in the world today, especially among the youth of the Mexican Communist Party, that he can ignore it? Or is he simply being "discreet"?

In the opinion of Campa, Cárdenas made a mistake in granting asylum to Trotsky: "... Cárdenas let himself be impressed by this tendentious imperialist campaign [picturing Cárdenas as a tool of Stalin] and at a certain point he became convinced that it was advisable to carry out what he considered a tactical maneuver that involved granting Leon Trotsky exile in Mexico." As an opponent of the right of political asylum, this cynical Stalinist lackey rules out the possibility that Cárdenas may have been acting in accordance with the principles of bourgeois democracy.

Three facts destroy Campa's argument:

1. Trotsky arrived in Mexico on January 9, 1937. The selection of this date is not ascribable to the machinations of either Trotsky or Cárdenas. It resulted from Stalin's hounding of Trotsky, which succeeded in inducing the Norwegian government to end the political asylum it had granted to Lenin's collaborator in leading the Bolsheviks to power.

2. The oil expropriations, which led to the big imperialist campaign against the Cárdenas government, came in March 1938. That was well more than a year after Trotsky's arrival. Wasn't Cárdenas rather clairvoyant to plan this "maneuver" so far in advance?

3. To prove his "maneuver" thesis, Campa must take up Trotsky's stand and show that it was a "betrayal."

His first difficulty in this is the attitude of the imperialists toward Trotsky. When the oil expropriations were announced, part of the imperialist media at once pictured Trotsky as the "brains" behind the act. As this current viewed it, Trotsky had been integrated into the circles surrounding Cárdenas, putting himself in position to impose the program of Bolshevism on the policies of the Mexican government. Thus the exiled revolutionary leader became one of the targets of such reactionary publications as the *New York Daily News* and other voices of the Lindberghs and their stripe. How does Campa explain this?

A second difficulty facing Campa is the fact that Trotsky supported the expropriations while denying any responsibility for them. The record on this is undeniable.² Yet Campa keeps his lips zippered on this point.

* * *

One of Campa's main slanders is that "Trotsky collaborated with the Dies Committee. . . ." The committee was a legislative institution set up by the House of Representatives. Its purpose was to engage in witch-hunting and the preparation of reactionary legislation. This notorious body, which was thoroughly hated in the labor movement, invited Trotsky to testify before it.

2. See especially "Answers to the Lies of the New York Daily News," in *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1938-39)*, p. 159.

Trotsky accepted in accordance with the Bolshevik principle of participating in parliamentary activity, the better to expose the fraudulent nature of the bourgeois parliaments. This was Lenin's position and Trotsky was only doing his duty in carrying on the Bolshevik tradition in this field.

The one who stands condemned is Campa, who still rejects the Leninist position. According to Campa's reasoning, parliaments are two-sided; they have a reactionary side and a progressive side. According to his way of thinking it is correct for a Leninist to enter parliament, and do work to strengthen a "progressive" committee, and thus fight reaction in an attractive way.

What about parliament as a whole? Lenin's method was to fight the institution as a whole. A revolutionary socialist is duty bound to utilize any opening that can help further this objective.

Campa's position is reformist. Its objective is to patch up defects in parliament and thus help palliate the ills of capitalism. The consequence is that those who follow this line become backers of the bourgeois government.

This, of course, is the position of the Mexican Communist Party today.

In trying to convert Trotsky into a collaborator of the Dies Committee, Campa turns things upside down. He exposes himself as a would-be collaborator of the bourgeoisie in the parliamentary arena.

Campa demonstrates that little has changed in the Mexican Communist Party since the assassination of Trotsky. It remains a prime source of Stalinist contamination to which the radicalizing youth of Mexico should be alerted. □

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Campa Tells About Plot to Kill Trotsky

[The following chapter, entitled "El Caso Trotsky" (The Trotsky Case), contains Valentín Campa's admissions on Stalin's guilt in the murder of Leon Trotsky. The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

World imperialism mounted a campaign that was full of falsehoods and slanders against Cárdenas [because of the nationalizing of oil]. One of the lies that the imperialist spokesmen, particularly the Yankees and the English, persisted in spreading internationally consisted of asserting that Cárdenas was manipulated by Stalin and that the Soviet government ran Mexico. On a world scale, Gen. Cárdenas recognized that the solidarity of the Communist parties with Mexico was outstanding, and, as I mentioned, went so far as to express his gratitude to the Communist parties of the United States and of Great Britain. Other progressive forces demonstrated their solidarity with the Mexican government. Nonetheless Cárdenas let himself be impressed by this tendentious imperialist campaign and at a certain point he became convinced that it was advisable to carry out what he considered a maneuver that involved granting Leon Trotsky exile in Mexico. Trotsky had been banished to Turkey, then to Sweden,¹ and was soliciting asylum in Mexico. Diego Rivera was the leader of the Trotskyist Fourth International and intervened in these moves.² Gen. Francisco Mújica was one of those who insisted on this maneuver as a measure against the campaign smearing Cárdenas as an agent of Stalin. Trotsky landed in Mexico on January 9, 1937.

Cárdenas ordered a special train to bring Trotsky and his retinue from the port of Veracruz to Mexico City; and, in addition, he gave him a residence at Viena Street, No.5, in Coyoacan.³ Mr. Narciso Bassols attacked the measure vehemently, emphasizing that it was a maneuver prompted by



CAMPA

an inferiority complex and that it amounted to a retreat in face of imperialism, which would prove very damaging to Mexico.

The Campaign Against Trotsky

We redoubled our struggle against Trotsky, one of the first results being a conflict between President Cárdenas and the Communist Party. The [trade-union federation] CTM, led by Lombardo, fought hard against Trotsky, although without reaching the breaking point with President Cárdenas. Thus things went on, with us exposing the betrayals of Trotsky. Later we learned what a mania governed him, leading him out of desperation to revolting extremes. At the end of 1936, the House of Representatives set up a committee presided over by a congressman named Dies, who developed into the McCarthy of those days. He was a rabid anticommunist who slandered the communists and the Soviet Union. Along with Charles Lindbergh, the well-known aviator, and a number of other reactionary Americans, he carried on intense propaganda for the entry of the United States in World War II on the side of Hitler, of Mussolini, and the Japanese emperor against the Soviet Union. Dies organized a series of public hearings and

invited Trotsky and Diego Rivera to appear before the House of Representatives in Washington.

Diego Rivera, leader of Trotsky's Fourth International, participated in this ultra-reactionary anticommunist campaign of the Dies Committee, clearly playing the game of the fascists and obviously serving the interests of imperialism. Trotsky likewise was personally invited to appear before the Dies Committee; but, more intelligent, refused to appear before it.⁵ What he did instead was cooperate with declarations, articles, and in other ways. The Neo-Trotskyists deny that Trotsky collaborated with the Dies Committee, but there is testimony by Trotsky himself confirming this. Trotsky declared that he had accepted the invitation "to help the workers understand the reactionary historical role of Stalinism and to break from it." (*Cárdenas y la izquierda Mexicana*, México, Juan Pablos, Publisher, 1976, in the footnote on page 180.) Trotsky's explanation is forced since the fascist character of the Dies Committee was very well known.

Diego Rivera, in his position as leader of the Fourth International, cooperated fully with all the activity of the Dies Committee against the USSR, against the Mexican Communist Party, and, in particular, against Comrade Hernán Laborde.

A Pernicious Slogan

In the campaign against Trotsky, a meeting was held by the Communist Party in the Arena México September 26, 1938. The speakers included Carlos Rivera, the Colombian leader; Margarita Nelken, a Communist deputy in republican Spain; Jacques Giesa, Communist deputy in France; and Hernán Laborde, general secretary of the Mexican Communist Party.

In analyzing the international situation in this meeting (which was held on the eve of World War II), Trotsky was unmasked; he was defeated politically, shown by his reactionary excesses to be playing the game of Hitler and Mussolini against the Soviet Union.

At the time Comrade Laborde called in Rafael Carrillo and me, both members of the secretariat of the Central Committee, to take up a quite delicate confidential question with us. It concerned what he had

1. Campa leaves out Trotsky's stay in France.

2. Campa states that Diego Rivera was the "general secretary of the Fourth International, Trotskyist." (p. 89). The truth is that Rivera never held an international post in the Fourth International.

3. Wrong. The port was Tampico.

4. The actual address was Avenida Londres, 127; and the home was not provided by the government but by Frida Kahlo, the well-known Mexican surrealist painter.

5. Campa's errors testify to ignorance or perhaps deliberate distortion of the truth. Trotsky accepted the invitation to appear before the Dies Committee; it was the Dies Committee that canceled out. Dies had no conception of how Trotsky's testimony could reduce his committee to a shambles, aiding in the defense of the Soviet Union against American imperialism. Someone "more intelligent" than Dies vetoed letting the Texas congressman get into the same ring as Lenin's collaborator.

For Trotsky's views see the material indexed under the headings *Dies*, *Martin*; and *Dies Committee* in *Writings of Leon Trotsky [1939-40]*, Pathfinder Press, Inc., New York.

been told by a comrade who proved himself to be an accredited delegate of the Third Communist International; this person had spoken of a decision to liquidate Trotsky and demanded his personal cooperation as general secretary of the party and an adequate team to assure Trotsky's liquidation. Comrade Laborde said that it was quite a delicate matter, that the Communist Party considered Trotsky to be defeated politically, and he needed a few days to settle the question. The envoy of the Third International told him that no one else must know about this matter since it was strictly confidential.

However, Laborde decided to take up the case with us two. The three of us understood completely that it was a very grave and strictly secret problem. Quite calmly and carefully we examined the problem. After the rigorous analysis which it merited, we concluded with what we had repeatedly been pointing out: that Trotsky was politically defeated, that his influence amounted to almost nothing and that, in addition, we were exposing him throughout the world. His liquidation, on the other hand, would have the consequence of greatly damaging the Mexican Communist Party and the revolutionary movement in Mexico, as well as the Soviet Communist Party, the Soviet Union, and the international communist movement as a whole. We decided, then, that the proposal to liquidate Trotsky was clearly a grave error. On the basis of this point of view, Laborde told the envoy of the Third International what our decision was. The envoy threatened him; he said he would have to take the consequences of his attitude since the price of indiscipline in the Third International was very high. Laborde said that we were acting in accordance with our principles and we considered the idea of liquidating Trotsky to be incorrect.

In view of the threats made against Laborde by the envoy of the Third International, we took up the question in the secretariat and decided to go to New York to meet with Earl Browder, a member of the Executive Committee of the Third International. At the first opportunity we went to New York by automobile, and the three of us talked with Browder. We went into the whole problem in detail and, without pondering too much, he said categorically that he agreed with us. He said we were correct and warned us not to have any more dealings with the envoy. He would go to Moscow and explain the problem.

The Plotting Begins

In a few weeks some very suspicious moves occurred. The Communist Third International sent to Mexico Vittorio Codovilla, an Argentine; Martínez, a Venezuelan, and some other comrades. They said they came to work with the Mexican Communist Party in view of the critical situation in which it found itself. Then we

saw direct intervention by the envoys in all the affairs of the Mexican CP. They began to put Laborde and me on trial for having followed, according to them, a sectarian-opportunist line. The opportunist



SIQUEIROS: One of Stalin's hitmen.

ism resided in the line of "unity at all costs." In fact, it was opportunist, but they took a hypocritical attitude; they claimed not to know that the said line had been in a certain sense imposed by the Communist International, despite our resistance of June 1937.

The result was rather grotesque; since a line had been set in Mexico as a norm, under the discipline of the International and with the direct intervention of Browder, now we were accused of being opportunists for applying it. This was how a whole campaign of very dishonest activity developed, based on intrigues, particularly against Laborde and against me. Laborde was suspended from the General Secretariat, I from the Political Bureau, and a so-called commission to purge the leadership of the party was set up, headed by Andrés García Salgado. A few years later he became a government retainer in the trade unions.

In this atmosphere, I tried to keep on attending leadership meetings. I made some points and showed with figures and some substantive arguments that in 1939 Gen. Cárdenas had begun a turn to the right. I pointed to the office of Small Agricultural Property [Pequeña Propiedad Agrícola] through which the division of the land had been held back. This confirmed the statistics that demonstrated a sharp decline in the division of the land in 1939 and 1940. Cárdenas passed an unconstitutional decree prohibiting the unionization of the bank employees. His

attitude was obviously to hold back the struggle of the masses throughout the country, the particular aim being to hold down strikes of the workers.

I demonstrated with facts and figures that a bureaucratic neobourgeoisie was growing within the Cárdenas government with much greater resources than those enjoyed by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie under Calles. Included in this bureaucratic bourgeoisie were Maximino Avila Camacho; Dámaso Cárdenas, brother of the president; and the former followers of Calles who had joined Cárdenas: Abelardo Rodríguez, Aarón Sáenz, and others. This bureaucratic bourgeoisie was exercising predominant weight within the government and was tipping the balance in favor of Manuel Avila Camacho for the presidency of the republic, whereas the natural process in Mexico indicated that the democratic candidate ought to be Gen. Mújica, although he bore the very grave defect of having supported asylum for Trotsky in Mexico.

Codovilla found this exposition interesting and asked me to prepare a document on the economic, political, and social process in Mexico in the last year of the Cárdenas government. I dictated the material. Of course, in connection with this, an incident occurred. In good faith, I had always maintained that the category of Marxist-Leninist should not be extended to include Stalin. But internationally it was already the custom to speak of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. I refused to do this, while at the same time expressing the admiration I felt for Stalin, and the value of his work. I argued that if I was against elevating him to the category of Marx and of Lenin it was because, after all, he was still alive and the definitive balance sheet on the others was drawn after their death. I dictated the heading, saying Marxist-Leninist in relation to some topic; but the comrade who did the typing added "Stalinist." When I protested, she told me that the whole world said Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. "Maybe the whole world, but not me," I said. And I crossed out *Stalinism*. The original with the crossed out words was used as proof that I was a Trotskyist.

Codovilla held a private conversation with me in which he said he was impressed by my contribution on the turn by the Cárdenas regime. Commenting on the crisis in the Mexican Communist Party he hinted broadly that I would make a good replacement for Laborde. I rejected this insinuation and said that he and others knew about my differences with Laborde, which were of a secondary and tactical nature; but I was not inclined at all to go along with such maneuverism, that I was considering returning to work in rail and that that was the position I took, in accordance with the norm of revolutionary honesty which I had set for myself. Codo-

villa became angry. At this point he coined the phrase: "the sectarian-opportunists Laborde and Campa."

'Stalin Is a Bastard'

Thus we come to the special congress where we were expelled. I stood up there and rejected the charges leveled against us. Laborde did not appear because, he said, it was obviously a farce. He was already convinced that Stalin was taking a hand in the whole question of liquidating Trotsky and in using the Communist International against us because of the attitude we had taken. He had always had a high opinion of Stalin but now he rectified it, because this was a very grave thing. Outraged at Stalin's maneuvers, on one occasion he went as far as to call him a "bastard." Look at the situation in which we were put. As soon as we were expelled, we were besieged by all the international agencies, especially those in the United States. They wanted declarations from us, because Trotsky had written an article indicating that our expulsion was related to Stalin's intentions of liquidating him. Trotsky wrote:

"What happened, most likely, was that the GPU ran into a certain opposition among the leaders of the Communist Party, . . . anyone who opposes an attempt on the life of Trotsky, is, obviously, a Trotskyist." ("Los Comunistas y el régimen de Cárdenas," Lyle C. Brown, in the *Revista de la Universidad de México*, May 9, 1971, p. 33.)

Some comrades ask whether in this phase of the sharpening of the Mexican CP's crisis it would not have been preferable to get to the bottom of the problem in order to counteract the crisis. In 1940 we did not even consider this hypothesis. The general atmosphere in the international Communist movement was unconditional discipline under the Third International directed by the CPSU. To raise differences meant expulsion from the Communist movement with the accompanying anathematization.

In order to wage a campaign against arbitrary dogmatism we would have had to resort to explaining the truth about the straitjacket we were put in by the policy of "unity at all costs," and the brutal interference on the matter of liquidating Trotsky. Laborde and I refused to do that since World War II had begun (August 1939).

Laborde and I agreed not to commit the grave mistake Trotsky had committed under the pressure of Stalin's relentless pursuit. The case of Trotsky would be used internationally against the Soviet Union and against the Mexican Communist Party. Our situation was very difficult, but we had to remain discreet. We felt great outrage against Rafael Carrillo, who slandered us, acting like a perfect swine, although he was well acquainted with the truth about this question. A little later he

showed himself to be a renegade from Communism.

We had not yet been expelled from the CP when Laborde and I learned that Siqueiros was organizing a team of comrades to carry out an assault on the home of Trotsky, an action that they carried off



STALIN: Used Mexican CP to kill Trotsky.

in the most careless way. In the Dominican weekly *Ahora* an interview with Siqueiros appeared under the title "Siqueiros Recounts Attack Against Trotsky" in which David declared:⁶

Stalin was worried about the possibility that in exile in Mexico, Trotsky could become the center of another chauvinist movement that might seek to place him in power in the Soviet Union instead of Stalin. So he ordered a high functionary of the NKVD, Leonid Eitington, to organize Trotsky's physical liquidation and he granted him unlimited means.

But the leader of the Mexican Communist Party, Laborde, balked at this act of violence and in practice refused to help. . . . Finally, Laborde and his people were expelled and the Party was left under our control. [*Cárdenas y la izquierda mexicana*, op. cit., p. 59.]

Siqueiros blurted out the facts about this political tragedy for our party and for the international Communist movement.

6. Campa does not give the date of the interview in the Dominican weekly. Is it the same as the one published in the October 9, 1972, issue of *Ahora!* entitled "Siqueiros Recounts Attack Against Trotsky"? If so, the full text can be found in the November 13, 1972, issue of *Intercontinental Press* (p. 1238). The same issue of *IP* also carries some comments by Joseph Hansen under the title "Siqueiros Finally Discloses Part of the Truth" (p. 1240).

After the failure of Siqueiros and his crew in their assault on Trotsky's home, a third variant was put into play. Ramón Mercader, who operated under the pseudonym of Jacques Mornard, murdered Trotsky the afternoon of August 20, 1940.

As Laborde and I had foreseen, and as we had told Browder in New York, the liquidation of Trotsky provoked a campaign of huge proportions against the Mexican Communist Party, the international Communist movement, and the Soviet Union.

The Demand for Autonomy and Independence

Our party recognizes the valuable contributions it has received from the Communist International and the important role played by the Soviet Union on the international level in combatting the propensity of Yankee imperialism to unleash a third world war, which would be catastrophic for all of humanity. Very conscious of all this, the Mexican Communists, above all in view of the tragedy caused by the intervention of foreign comrades, above all in the process that culminated in the mistaken policy of "unity at all costs" and then in the liquidation of Trotsky, hold with great vigor, along with our internationalism, our insistence on the autonomy and independence of our party.

Comrades of other countries, ignorant of these grave facts, do not understand our consistent stand regarding the independence and the autonomy of parties within the framework of proletarian internationalism.

For decades, Laborde and I stood firm in resisting the slanders thrown at us by types like Rafael Carrillo and others. We could not defend ourselves because to have done so would have created very tense political situations in view of the framework created by World War II, which was already going on. Our defending ourselves would have involved doing grave damage to the Soviet Union, to the international Communist movement and, in particular, the Mexican Communist Party.

Laborde and I said that it was necessary to report the truth. The new generations of communists and revolutionists needed it in order to take into account these experiences and to act in a more consistent and effective way in the struggles in our country.

As soon as I was released from prison in 1970, I began stressing to the central leadership of the Communist Party the need to clarify these historic truths. There was agreement on this, with the proviso that we had to wait for the right moment to do so.

Laborde died and I carried out the duty of explaining this tragedy, confident that in doing this it would help increase the resoluteness and consistency of the communists in my country and other countries. □

Peru—Women Textile Workers Occupy Factory

By Gunilla Berglund

LIMA—The Lolas textile factory is in an outlying area of Lima, near the airport. Police cars and tanks stand in front of the slogan-covered walls. The workers have occupied the factory, and the owners and the government want them out.

The workers are now living in the factory. Most of them are women who have their children with them. Every day small groups of them go out to the markets to appeal for solidarity. So far their appeals have been answered, and they have gotten enough food to meet their needs.

Other groups of workers go out from the factory in buses to collect money. And the Lolas strikers always have a representative at political rallies to report on the progress of the struggle and to collect funds.

There are Lolas factories in several other countries, such as Puerto Rico, Panama, Ecuador, and the United States. The following is an interview with one of the leaders of the Lolas strike here in Lima:

Question. Why did you occupy the factory?

Answer. We occupied the factory on August 29, 1978, after having been laid off since November 7, 1977. At that time the management said 'we were only being given a month's leave. But when we came back we found the factory closed. When we were laid off, we were already owed ten weeks' wages. But we got no warning that the factory was going to close.

We asked the Ministry of Labor if Lolas had the right to shut down a factory like that. On November 22, we got a reply. The management did not have the right to do it, and the plant had to be reopened and the workers' wages paid. But nothing happened. Lolas appealed the ruling, claiming that the ministry had not taken the economic situation into consideration.

It was nine months before a final decision came; the initial ruling was upheld. But in the meantime, Lolas carried out a dirty maneuver. It exported goods at cut-rate prices to undermine the factory's economic position.

What Lolas wanted was to get rid of the older workers who had earned social benefits and were employed on a permanent basis. (You don't get any benefits until you have worked here for three years.) Then, the company could use "cheap" labor, workers without any benefits. But now it has solved that problem by contracting out to small producers. In that way, it saves

the cost of social insurance, and so on.

After its first appeal was turned down, Lolas appealed again and declared bankruptcy. Once again its claims were rejected, and on August 29 the ministry announced that if the factory did not open as soon as possible, the owners would be fined. The very same day the doors to the weaving shops were opened. Lolas was afraid that otherwise, the police would have broken in and destroyed the doors.

Q. So, that made it possible for you to get in?

A. Yes, there was nothing to prevent us. But when we went in, things looked quite differently than we remembered. Practically all the machines were gone. The office had also been emptied out and the walls were covered over. There was no electric power. We called a general assembly to discuss what we should do. It was decided that we would not leave the factory.

Later we found out that our machines, or at least some of them, had been removed to the cutting department. So, we decided to keep a watch on them, too.

Q. When was the attack on the factory?

A. It came on September 19, at fifteen minutes past midnight. We were attacked with tear-gas grenades, stones, and clubs. Lolas had hired 200 goons to do the job. But there were also tanks and police cars out in the street, and these government forces made no attempt to stop the attack—even though we appealed to them directly for help.

The battle lasted four and a half hours. Finally they managed to drive us out of the cutting shop and dig in there. The cutting shop is now considered the property of Textiles Populares, which is also owned by Lolas. Fifty-two of us were injured in the fighting, some seriously.

Q. How do you expect to get machines and get the factory working again?

A. We hope that the Ministry of Industry, through the Comunidad Industrial, will at least grant us the right to take the machines back, so that we can get production going again. We do not have a great deal of confidence in the Ministry of Labor. It has made a lot of rulings, but has done nothing to see that they were carried out.

Q. Do you think that the Comunidad Industrial is really going to do something for you?

A. So far, there seems to be a chance. Our lawyer thinks it will help us.

Q. What is morale like now?

A. We are optimists. We keep thinking that we are going to get a quick solution to the problem. It doesn't matter through whom, the Ministry of Labor or the Ministry of Industry, so long as one or the other helps us.

A. Are Lolas's goons still around?

A. Yes. They are afraid that we will occupy the cutting department again. At night they throw stones and harass people.

Q. Is there any chance that the workers at Textiles Populares will support you, so that with their help you can occupy the cutting department and get at the machines?

A. This is not likely. Lolas has refused to recognize the union chosen by the workers there. It recognized another one and then signed a sweetheart contract. For example, the contract provided for laying off a lot of workers and included no provisions for social benefits. So, the workers there do not dare support us, because they know that that would lead to their being laid off.

Q. Is your union strong?

A. Yes. Fortunately, we are all united in the union. We used to belong to the CGTP¹; that is, we still do officially, but we don't pay any attention to it. Every time we went to the CGTP for help in our struggle, the answer was no. But if the CGTP radicalizes and the bureaucracy is thrown out, we'll become active members of the federation again.

Q. Where are you getting help and solidarity now?

A. From the people. We get food from the markets. Other unions help us financially.

The FOCEP² is the only party that has helped us. The day after the goons stormed the factory, it helped us take our people out to hospitals, and we can always count on the FOCEP to publicize our case. □

1. Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú (General Confederation of Peruvian Workers), the main union federation, controlled by the Communist Party.

2. Frente Obrero, Campesino, Estudiantil y Popular (Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front).