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Scene in Soweto after police opened fire on demonstrators.

Informations Ouvrières

1,300 Black Activists Seized in South African Witch-hunt

The East Berlin CP Summit Conference

By Gerry Foley

Before agreeing to participate in the conference of European Communist parties in East Berlin at the end of June, Tito reportedly insisted that this meeting "must have no past and no future." That is, it could not revive any international Communist organization or lay the groundwork for a new one.

With such a condition, the East Berlin conference obviously had rather unambitious goals. It seems to have been used essentially as a sounding board for proclaiming the "independence" of the West European CPs from Moscow.

Thus, the meeting served a function more like that of the declaration ending the Communist International in 1943 than of reconsolidating a world movement. There was no discussion. The statement agreed on was notably emptier than even those of the last two international conferences, which the Kremlin was able to bring together only by promising that nothing controversial would be taken up. It was more or less limited to reaffirming the policy of "peaceful coexistence" and *détente*.

The net effect of this conference was to reassure the Western capitalist powers that so far as Moscow and its satellite parties are concerned there is actually no world Communist movement and no international Communist strategy other than agreement on "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism in each country and internationally.

The needs of *détente* made the conference especially anodyne. The Communist International was abolished in a similar period of open alliance with imperialism. Regardless of the freezes and thaws in the cold war, the breakup of international Stalinism has, for a number of reasons, proved to be irreversible. In pursuing their own narrow and immediate interests, the various bureaucracies are pulled more and more apart.

"Socialism in one country" in the plural means competing nationalisms, and even the danger of war among "national Communist states." The second most powerful Stalinist regime, Peking, even insists that in "the inevitable war" between U.S. imperialism and Soviet "social imperialism," Washington would be the more "progressive" side.

In 1948, the Yugoslav CP was excommunicated from world Stalinism simply because its leaders refused to follow Stalin's orders. Now, the heirs of the "father of the peoples" cannot even get the

CPs tied to them to issue a condemnation in principle of a party that says it will support U.S. imperialism in a war against the "fatherland of socialism."

Moscow had to promise not to raise the problem of Peking to get even the European CP leaders in the same room. After the purge trials that Stalin ordered in Eastern Europe in 1949-50, and other such inquisitions designed to root out any thoughts of independence among the subordinate bureaucracies, the other CP leaderships will not hear of any condemnations, even of parties that openly side with the class enemy against "the party of Lenin."

In fact, one of the participating Stalinist regimes, Romania, maintains an entente with China, and not long before the conference there were even reports that the Soviet maneuvers in the vicinity of the Balkan country were intended as a threat. Romania is the only Stalinized workers state other than China that has so far accused Moscow of wrongfully annexing part of its national territory.

Despite these tensions, however, Moscow has given Bucharest considerable leeway in international policy, and scarcely protested at its opportunist dealings with the Zionist regime in Israel and the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile.

As long as the Ceaucescu leadership in Romania permits no freedom of speech or organization for the workers, the Soviet bureaucracy obviously is prepared to bide its time. On the other hand, the breakdown of bureaucratic dictatorship, as in Czechoslovakia, prompted the Kremlin to send in troops regardless of the consequences. Democracy for the workers threatens Stalinism itself. Conflicts of interest among the various Stalinist bureaucracies, no matter how sharp—apparently even if they threaten war—do not.

The Kremlin is also prepared to wink at the persecution of its own supporters by other Stalinist bureaucracies. The trial of some pro-Soviet figures in Yugoslavia was, however, postponed until after the end of the conference, apparently out of an apprehension that these jailed "friends of the Soviet Union" would be a kind of corpse on display at the love feast between Tito and the heirs of Stalin.

Brezhnev's speech to the conference was twice as long as those of the other CP leaders. The protocol-conscious Soviet bureaucracy thereby reminded the CP leaders that the Kremlin is still the sun around which the "independent" satellites revolve.

However, the West European CP leaders, in another sense, were the stars of this affair. It was really a stage for them. Brezhnev acted as a master of ceremonies, pointing out:

"The work of the Communists in the Western European countries, their stubbornness in fighting for the masses, for the unity of the working class and all forces capable of fighting against the power of the monopolies, for the establishment of genuinely democratic regimes, and for achieving the preconditions for transition to socialism, are bearing their fruit.

"It is precisely thanks to their consistent and tireless struggle for the basic interests of the broad toiling masses that the CPs in Italy, France, Finland, Portugal, as well as Denmark, the German Federal Republic, and other capitalist countries, have become real political forces. One of the strongest testimonies to this is the outstanding success of the Italian CP in the recent parliamentary elections, a success that gladdens us all and for which we congratulate our Italian comrades."

Brezhnev apparently was not particularly disturbed when the Italian CP head, Enrico Berlinguer, told reporters of the country's most important capitalist newspaper, *Corriere della Sera*, that the NATO alliance would enable his party to build "socialism with a human face" without any fear of Soviet intervention.

In fact, at the same time, Berlinguer pointed out that the Soviet Union had no interest in intervening beyond the boundaries agreed upon at Yalta.

Of course, the attempts of the Western CPs to make themselves more acceptable to voters in their countries can cause problems. The Kremlin dislikes Western CPs speaking out in defense of victimized dissidents in the Soviet Union. This is attested by the Soviet bureaucracy's counterpropaganda efforts. The fact that the French CP protested the imprisonment of Leonid Plyushch forced the Kremlin to release a left-wing dissident, dealing a significant defeat to bureaucratic repression and the propaganda designed to justify it.

At the conference, French CP head Georges Marchais focused on the idea that socialism in his country would be "in the national colors" and therefore "democratic." He did not say whether the "national peculiarities" of other countries required bureaucratic dictatorship.

In fact, Marchais made it clear that his only concern about democracy was that if the French CP were identified with the kind of totalitarian repression practiced in the Soviet Union its appeal to the voters would be seriously diminished.

Nonetheless, the fact that Marchais and Berlinguer are obliged to criticize certain aspects of Stalinist repression in the USSR undermines the political justifications offered for this system. In the same way, the conflicts among CP-ruled states and CPs in capitalist countries make it difficult

for the Kremlin to maintain any cohesion in the international Stalinist movement.

Fundamentally, the Stalinist parties in capitalist countries are intertwined with the Soviet bureaucracy. Their perspectives are tied to the Kremlin's power. Their appeal to their own working class, as opposed to that of the Social Democrats, is that because of their international connections they seem more independent of the local capitalists and U.S. imperialism.

The smaller Stalinized workers states have a certain material base for independence. There is more of a chance for a breakaway, although it inevitably raises the threat of war, if it is carried all the way. In general, their survival depends politically and even economically on the power of the Kremlin. Nonetheless, the inevitable and increasing conflicts of interest among the bureaucracies are eating away the foundations of Stalinism.

The various bureaucratic leaderships could agree among themselves to cover up their most acute differences for the sake of reaffirming their common policy of accommodation with capitalism. What they could not cover up was the spreading shock waves sent out by the victory of the Polish workers against the bureaucracy's plans to cut their standard of living for the sake of improving its trade with the West. This semi-insurreccional strike raised a specter that cast a pall over the conference, because it symbolized the dilemma of Stalinism at the same time as giving a glimpse of the forces that will sweep it away.

The Polish bureaucracy has not only proved that it cannot organize the economy efficiently, it cannot even keep its finger on the pulse of the masses and is repeatedly surprised by powerful explosions from below that threaten its survival.

It was the combination of Soviet economic pressure—the increase in the price of Soviet oil, among other things—and the pressure of the capitalist world market that obliged the Polish bureaucracy to try to raise food prices, even though it had reason to fear the result. There is no solution to this dilemma within the framework of Stalinism.

This conference "without a past or a future," as Tito insisted, appropriately marked a new stage in the decline of Stalinism. These bureaucracies have no past because they have turned against the revolution that created the Soviet state, on which they are fundamentally based. They have no future because by their very nature they are forced to destroy the foundations of their rule.

These parties have shown their distance from revolutionary traditions and perspectives also by the fact that when world capitalism has been hit by its worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, they have taken the opportunity to try to achieve a more comfortable accommodation with it. □

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Editor: Joseph Hansen.

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

Editorial Staff: Michael Baumann, Gerry Foley, David Frankel, Ernest Harsch, Judy White.

Business Manager: Pat Galligan.

Copy Editor: Mary Roche.

Technical Staff: Paul Deveze, Larry Ingram, James M. Morgan, Bill Razukas, Will Reissner, Earl Williams.

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1,300 Seized in South African Witch-hunt

By Ernest Harsch

The racist white minority regime in South Africa announced June 25 that about 1,300 Blacks had been arrested in the wake of the massive uprisings that shook the country. According to a dispatch in the July 2 *New York Times* by correspondent John F. Burns, the arrests are continuing, reportedly under laws that permit indefinite detention without trial.

In an obvious attempt to prepare a witch-hunt atmosphere against the leaders of the uprisings, government officials have been claiming that the actions were fomented by "agitators" and "Communist enemies." Judging by the past practices of the apartheid regime, a new series of political trials may soon be launched.

The crushing of the uprisings—during which an unknown number of Blacks were gunned down—was the most massive use of repression by the white regime so far. But it was unique only in its magnitude. Pretoria uses terror tactics against the more than 20 million Blacks in the country every day.

A report released in South Africa May 4 by the Christian Institute of Southern Africa provides a detailed view of some of the instances of repression that occurred before the June uprisings. Entitled "Detention and Detente in Southern Africa," it examines the cases of 217 persons known to have been arrested for political reasons from the beginning of 1974 to April 1976.

The overwhelming majority of those arrested were Black. Many of them were young. They belonged to such Black groups as the South African Students Organisation (SASO), the Black People's Convention (BPC), the South African Students Movement (SASM), and the National Association of Youth Organisations (NAYO). A few white student leaders from the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) were also arrested.

About fifty of the political prisoners being held in Natal Province have been linked by the authorities to an alleged guerrilla training network organized by the banned African National Congress.

At the time the report was written, only forty-six of the prisoners had been charged under the Terrorism or Suppression of Communism Acts and thirty-five under the Riotous Assemblies Act. Another eighty-one were still languishing in prison, some of them for many months, without even being charged.

One prisoner, Joseph Mdluli, died in custody less than twenty-four hours after he was picked up. After seeing his body,



VORSTER: Filling political prisons.

his wife said, "A severe swelling stretched across his forehead, his lower lip was bruised and cut and his stomach was dilated to twice its normal size."

There are a number of major political trials already under way. Seven members of NAYO have been charged under the Terrorism Act with allegedly conspiring to plan acts of sabotage. According to the report, they are also charged with conspiring to "study the S.A. [South African] economy and obtain information on the role that could be played by the Black labour force as a weapon to cripple the economy."

Nine leaders of SASO and the BPC are also being tried under the Terrorism Act. The charges against them stem from demonstrations of several thousand Blacks in Durban and Turfloop in September 1974, organized by the two groups to express solidarity with the Mozambican independence struggle. The specific charge against them is that they conspired to bring about change in South Africa "by violent or unconstitutional means."

One of the defendants, Zithulele Cindi, replied to the prosecution, "We are charged with plotting violent revolution but it is we who have been the victims of institutionalised violence. . . ."

After the massive Black rebellions, Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons James T. Kruger singled out SASO and the BPC for attack, indicating that the regime may attempt to frame up more members of the two Black groups. One of those arrested in the current crackdown was Thomas Manthatha, a leader of the BPC.

The Christian Institute report also mentions the trial of six members and sympathizers of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). On May 12, after the report was written, two of the defendants in that case, Aaron Mushimba and Hendrik Shikongo, were sentenced to death. On June 25, however, the Supreme Court in Namibia ordered the reopening of their case.

In addition to the cases against the Black political prisoners, five whites, three of whom were leaders of NUSAS, are being tried under the Suppression of Communism Act. They are being charged, among other things, with launching a campaign for the release of political prisoners and with advocating and defending "Black consciousness."

The cases cited in the report are only from the past two and a half years. Hundreds of other political prisoners have been rotting in Vorster's jails since the early 1960s, many of them on the notorious Robben Island. Among the most well-known of them are Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, and Walter Sisulu.

A report in the May issue of the London monthly *Africa* magazine described some of the torture methods used by the white police and prison officials. In addition to the application of electric shock, "Assaults on the prisoners included beating on the sole of their feet for hours with a baton, and submerging them in water, then jumping on their full stomachs." Twenty-three prisoners are known to have died so far while undergoing "interrogation."

Pretoria's use of widespread repression has met some organized opposition. According to the Christian Institute report, 900 persons protested outside the courtroom on March 16 while the NAYO trial was in progress. On March 18, another crowd of 700 gathered outside, later swelling to 2,000 near a railway station as they were joined by Black workers on their way home from their jobs.

The defendants themselves have displayed the new militancy that is growing among Black youth in general. They have defended their beliefs during the course of their trials and have defied the authorities by singing freedom songs and giving clenched-fist salutes to their supporters in the courtroom.

With the arrest of hundreds more Black activists since the recent uprisings, an international campaign is even more urgently needed to defend these victims of Pretoria's racist "justice."

Lebanese Rightists Step up Attack on Palestinians

By David Frankel

Since January, Syrian President Hafez al-Assad has moved step by step to increase the pressure against the Palestinian and Muslim forces fighting Lebanon's right-wing Christian establishment. Each intervention by Assad has further emboldened the rightist forces and reinforced their resistance to even the most modest reforms.

The logic of this attempt to dictate a settlement in Lebanon at the expense of the Palestinian and Muslim masses can lead in only one direction: a massacre of those who attempt to defend their rights, especially the Palestinians.

This is a program that the American imperialists wholeheartedly support. As Syrian tanks rumbled toward Beirut and Saida June 8, William Scranton, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, commended Assad's "responsibility." Michael J. Berlin reported in the June 9 *New York Post*:

Scranton confirmed that the U.S. has, for several weeks, been working with Syria—as well as with Israel, Egypt, Jordan and France—to "bring a stability in Lebanon primarily under the aegis of President Assad." The effort, he said, is continuing.

The real content of this ongoing effort to "bring a stability in Lebanon" was demonstrated June 22, when the assault against two isolated Palestinian enclaves was opened. After twelve days of bitter fighting, rightist forces claimed July 3 that they had captured the besieged Palestinian refugee camp of Tell Zaatar. The adjacent settlement of Jisr el-Pasha, fell to the rightists June 30.

Although Assad left most of the fighting to the Lebanese rightists so as to avoid being directly associated with the massacre of the Palestinian defenders, his troops gave the rightists considerable aid. When Palestinian and leftist forces attempted to mount an offensive east of Beirut to take some of the pressure off of the refugee camps, they were attacked by Syrian troops.

Syrian forces also attacked Saida, preventing reinforcements from being sent to Beirut from that port city. "Residents of Sidon [Saida] told reporters that artillery pounded the Biblical city all morning, killing civilians and setting fires," the *Washington Post* reported July 1.

Also in the July 1 *Washington Post*, Joseph Fitchett reported from Beirut:

A high-ranking Phalangist confirmed that . . .

fresh Syrian troops had entered north Lebanon and moved deeper into the Bekaa Valley west of Baalbek in order to cooperate with the Phalangists in opening a Christian land link to Syria. Palestinians and leftists . . . were being caught in a pincer, he said, that would eventually allow the Christians to link up with Zahleh and then with Damascus.

Such a land link could be used by Assad to supply his right-wing allies with military equipment for use in further attacks on the Palestinian population in Lebanon.

Assad failed to even issue a statement on the attack against the refugee camps. As for the State Department, it waited nine days, until after Jisr el-Pasha had fallen and the military leader of the Phalange had declared Tell Zaatar "is as good as captured." It then urged the rightists to ease up on their offensive.

On June 30 alone an estimated 5,000 artillery shells blasted the Tell Zaatar refugee camp. Earlier, rightist radio reports said the two refugee camps were "under a thick pall of black smoke from raging fires."

Estimates of the number of persons in the two camps varied widely. A June 25 Associated Press dispatch gave a combined figure of 55,000—25,000 Palestinian refugees and 30,000 Lebanese Muslims who fled from Israeli raids in southern Lebanon. In a June 30 dispatch from Beirut, *New York Times* correspondent Ihsan A. Hijazi said, "Jisr el-Pasha is reported to have a population of 1,000, half its original size. . . ."

"The original population of Tell Zaatar numbered about 6,000. . . ."

Most reports agree that large numbers of people had moved out of the camps before the siege began. However Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), the second in command of the Al Fatah Palestinian guerrilla organization, challenged the rightists to allow a Red Cross mission examine the camps, which he said were filled with women and children.

Wafa, the Palestinian news agency, estimated that 500 persons were still in Jisr el-Pasha when that camp fell to the rightists. One reporter who visited the Jisr el-Pasha refugee camp shortly after it was taken found the bodies of four elderly women, according to a report by Thomas W. Lippman in the July 2 *Washington Post*. The attackers made clear in advance that they intended to kill any men that they captured.

With the fall of the two refugee camps, the rightists may now turn their attack

against Nabaa, a Muslim area also isolated within the Christian section of Beirut. A rightist military communiqué issued July 3 claimed that many Palestinians from Tell Zaatar had managed to escape through underground tunnels to the nearby Nabaa quarter.

While the Assad regime actively aided the Lebanese rightists in their murderous work, the other Arab regimes that claim to be defenders of the Palestinian people made hollow threats but did nothing to help the beleaguered Palestinians.

Libyan Prime Minister Maj. Abdel Salam Jalloud left Beirut June 29 with the promise that he was going back to Libya to "escalate" support for the Palestinian cause. Jalloud pledged that the Libyan regime would launch "a suicide war" if necessary to prevent the suppression of the Palestinian liberation movement.

Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy gave a less florid but equally empty pledge. "Egypt will not watch with folded arms if these aggressions continue. . . ." he said June 25.

Both Jalloud and Fahmy refrained from pointing out that the rightist attacks were taking place with Assad's blessing and under the protection of his troops.

The reaction of Yassir Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, was reported by Henry Tanner in the July 4 *New York Times*. According to officials who attended the closed-door session of the Arab League Council on the night of June 30-July 1, Arafat told the assembled foreign ministers:

"You, the 20 members of the League, are sitting here either in silence or paying lip-service to the Palestinian cause while the Palestinians are being slaughtered. Palestinian blood is cheap to you."

So far, the imperialists have been willing to stand back and let Assad carry out the attack on the Palestinians. At the same time, the Israeli regime has repeatedly insisted that it will undertake its own intervention if Assad does not do a thorough enough job in crushing the Palestinians.

Joseph Fitchett reported in the June 27 *London Observer* that Israeli leaders "have now spoken about possible intervention [in Lebanon] if, for instance, the Maronite minority there were threatened or if the Palestinians emerged in a position to resume border raids—both real possibilities, particularly if the definition is left to Israel." □

New York Meeting Demands Release of Dzhemilev

By Marilyn Vogt

A meeting was held in New York June 24 to publicize the case of imprisoned Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev. Dzhemilev was sentenced in April in Omsk, Siberia, to his fourth term of imprisonment on a charge of "anti-Soviet activity."

His alleged crime is to have been active in the struggle of the Tatars to return to their homeland in the Crimea. In 1944, they were deported en masse by Stalin, who accused the entire Tatar population of treason.

The more than 100 persons who attended the meeting heard an impressive array of speakers, including exiled Soviet dissident Pavel Litvinov, former American political prisoner Martin Sostre, and Iranian poet and dissident Reza Baraheni.

Litvinov provided a firsthand account of the development of the Crimean Tatar struggle and urged all who oppose the persecution of oppressed nationalities to come to the defense of Dzhemilev.

Sostre, a Black Puerto Rican who was sentenced in 1968 to a term of forty-one years on phony drug charges, described his own case. He told how international protests, including an appeal from Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov, helped secure his freedom.

"As a former political prisoner," he said, "I consider Mustafa as well as other political prisoners throughout the world my brothers, because I can really identify with political frame-up and repression of persons of conscience who fought for human rights and dignity."

"But the very fact that I am here now," Sostre continued, "is proof positive that even the most repressive state can be forced to disgorge its political prisoners. . . . My case is a classic case of what can be done to free a political prisoner."

Baraheni, who was imprisoned and tortured for 102 days by the shah of Iran, was also freed by an international defense campaign. He spoke of the special identity he, as a Turk, felt with Dzhemilev, who is also a Turk.

Although the ten million Turks in Iran have not been deported, Baraheni said, they are deprived of their language, culture, and history by the shah just as the Crimean Tatars are by the Stalinist regime. He said there was little difference between the struggle of the Tatars in the Soviet Union and that of the Palestinians in the Middle East, or the Blacks in South Africa, or the Kurds in Iraq.

John Breheny, a member of Irish North-

ern Aid, which raises funds to alleviate the suffering of victims of British oppression in Northern Ireland, pointed to the similarities between the struggle of the Catholics in Northern Ireland and the fight of the Crimean Tatars.

Pat Wright, an activist in the struggle for Black equal rights and a Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress, called attention to victories that have been won in defense cases in the United States and the Soviet Union. "The Soviet rulers were forced to free Leonid Plyushch," she said. "And we will force them to free Mustafa Dzhemilev."

Ralph Schoenman, who helped organize the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal, scored the repression of the Crimean Tatars. Their fate, he said, has been "one of deportation in cattle trucks, of half a nation being liquidated, of reservations, convoys, prison, and genocide. . . . In effect, the regime has sought to take from the Tatars and Mustafa Dzhemilev a language, a culture, a historical tradition, a very identity. . . ."

"Who is doing this? How can the leadership of the Soviet Union call itself socialist when it performs these acts? For every revolutionary, for every socialist, for every Marxist, the question is posed: What is the relationship between socialism and liberty?"

Melanie Czajkowskyi, a Ukrainian activist, spoke on behalf of the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners. She linked the struggle of Dzhemilev and the Crimean Tatars to the cause of the more than 100 different nationalities in the Soviet Union, including the Ukrainians, who suffer under the Great Russian chauvinism of the Stalinist regime.

The variety of the different nationalities of the speakers at the meeting, she said, showed the awakening and growing international solidarity of oppressed nationalities around the world. Only by continuing to extend this solidarity, she said, can the goals Mustafa Dzhemilev is fighting for be realized.

Rose Styron, a poet and member of the American Board of Amnesty International, read a statement in solidarity with Dzhemilev from exiled Uruguayan Senator Wilson Ferreira Aldunate. Ferreira Aldunate, who narrowly escaped death at the hands of the Argentine and Uruguayan regimes, secured asylum in the United States following an international defense campaign in his behalf.

Styron also read excerpts from a state-

ment by Crimean Tatar women describing the persecution they have been subjected to since their forced deportation.

Eqbal Ahmad, a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington and a prominent civil libertarian from Pakistan, said: "I did have some trepidations" about appearing at this meeting. "But I have a great deal of relief and sense of delight to be here . . . and surprise, because I had not seen yet a meeting concerned with repression in Russia" that was organized "for reasons that concerned humanity rather than mere anticommunism; that concerned liberty rather than sheer anti-Sovietism."

Mibeyyan Altan, a Crimean Tatar active in Amnesty International, scored the fact that Mustafa Dzhemilev "has spent the most productive years of his young life in Soviet prisons for defending human rights and the rights of his own people."

He pointed to the hypocrisy of the Soviet government "posing as a friend of the Muslim people" internationally, while "oppressing the Muslim people within its own boundaries." He continued:

"We, the Crimean Tatars of the United States, demand the Soviet government free Mustafa Dzhemilev and all the political prisoners in the Soviet Union immediately . . . reestablish the Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic [established by the Bolsheviks in 1921 but abolished by Stalin in 1946]. . . and have an organized return of all the Crimean Tatar people to their ancestral homeland."

A victory for the Crimean Tatar people, he said, "will help all the oppressed people against their oppressors."

As part of the effort to help secure the victory of this struggle, participants at the meeting sent a telegram of protest to the Kremlin, demanding freedom for Mustafa Dzhemilev and recognition of the right of the Tatars to return to the Crimea.

The Mustafa Dzhemilev Defense Committee, which organized the meeting, welcomes the participation of all who support human rights, the rights of oppressed nationalities, and freedom for political prisoners around the world. Further information can be obtained by writing to the committee at 853 Broadway, Room 414, New York, New York 10003. □

45 Million Voters Missing

Blaming the Watergate scandals and "a souring on politics by many people," the New York State Board of Elections reported at the end of April that voter registration in the state has dropped by more than 2 million since the 1972 presidential election.

Some 7.2 million voters, down from 9.2 million, are currently registered in the state. They represent about 57 percent of the state's total voting-age population of 12.6 million. Nationally, it is estimated that about 45 million persons of voting age are not registered.

Portuguese Left Caught in Trap Set by Carvalho

By Gerry Foley

Only two months ago, in the April 25 legislative elections, the Portuguese workers parties won a victory that severely set back the bourgeoisie's plans for liquidating the revolutionary upsurge. This vote showed that despite two years of disappointing experiences and a deep split in the working class, the great majority of the masses still wanted a government of the parties they thought represented them and would realize their aspirations for socialism.

In the June 27 presidential elections, however, there was no clear or credible working-class alternative. The mass workers parties, as well as most of the groups that claim to stand to the left of them, capitulated to one or another of the three military candidates. Confused and divided, the workers suffered their gravest political defeat since the start of the revolutionary crisis in Portugal two years ago.

The bourgeoisie's number one candidate for military strongman, General Ramalho Eanes, won 61.54% of the vote. The triumphant general immediately announced an offensive against the gains of the workers. In his first news conference he said that his election marked the beginning of the era of "democratic legitimacy." Henceforward, he said, "the laws will never again be dead letters and will be applied in full throughout the national territory."

One of the laws the government has notably failed to enforce up till now is the no-strike decree of the Communist Party-backed Gonçalves government. The Council of the Revolution, the leading body of the MFA (Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement) began threatening to enforce it as a means of intimidation against a strike wave that started to develop in the period before the April elections.

In decrees issued July 1, the provisional government announced a series of austerity measures, including an increase in the prices of oil and gasoline, which are already the highest in Europe. This inevitably means a new round of price rises in basic necessities.

At the same time, the government moved toward stepped-up political repression. The cabinet threatened to deport foreigners who participated in political activity. The Ministry of Justice decreed that anyone who "libels" a civilian or military official is subject to one year in prison. "Libel" against a member of the cabinet, the Council of the Revolution, or the Assembly

of the Republic is now punishable by from two to eight years in prison.

The defeat of the workers in the June 27 elections was all the more tragic because it was clearly the result of the betrayals of the reformists. The workers showed in every way possible that they wanted to vote for a working-class alternative, and both the Communist and Socialist parties lost heavily because of their subordination to the generals.

The rate of abstention rose to approximately 25%, three times that in the first free elections in 1975 and significantly higher than in the legislative elections this year. The CP, which tried to give backhanded support to Eanes while running its own candidate, lost almost half its previous hard-core vote to the military demagogue Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. The SP leaders managed to deliver only about half their party's vote to Eanes.

Even with the support of the bourgeois parties and the SP, Eanes failed to carry the district of Setúbal, which includes the largest concentration of industrial workers in the country. He got less than a third of the vote, as against about 42% for Carvalho, 18% for the CP candidate Octávio Pato, and about 10% for Premier Pinheiro de Azevedo, who got a bit over 14% nationally.

Apparently no more than half the SP vote went for Eanes, about a third to the premier, and the rest—a smaller but still substantial proportion—to the "left" demagogue. The bulk of Carvalho's vote clearly came from those who previously voted for the CP.

A pattern similar to that in Setúbal emerged in the two districts of Alentejo, which include the biggest concentrations of agricultural workers. However, here the CP held a somewhat higher percentage of its vote, and a somewhat higher percentage of SP voters followed their leaders' directives. This enabled Eanes to get a slight plurality over Carvalho.

In Lisbon itself, Eanes managed to get only about 53% of the vote. He won heavily in the conservative northern part of the country and the offshore islands. It is clear that he got no mandate from the working class, and that the most militant workers were hostile to his candidacy.

Carvalho's campaign had exactly the effect the CP feared. It cut deeply into the CP base of support, which was reduced to less than 8% from the 14.5% that party scored in the April legislative elections. Nationwide Carvalho got 16.52%, more

than a third of which must have come from the CP. The rest must have come from the SP and the left-centrist parties (the latter got about 3% in the April elections).

CP Points to Silver Lining

The CP tried to use Carvalho and his demagogic schemes last spring and summer to counter the Social Democrats, who, utilizing their victory in the Constituent Assembly elections, sought to press the MFA to grant them more positions in the state apparatus, the unions, and the mass media at the expense of the Stalinists. This maneuver required sowing illusions in the CP ranks themselves about the "People's Power" scheme and the left MFA demagogues. Now this has had the result, finally, that the supposedly "naive but pure soldier," Carvalho, has walked off with half the CP's marbles.

Even after this rude awakening, the Stalinist party has not learned its lesson. In his first news conference after his defeat, Pato attributed Carvalho's score to "the voters' conviction that the president should be a military man." In fact, the CP had only run its own candidate to avoid offending any of the military ones, correspondent G. Ratiani explained in the June 25 issue of *Pravda*:

"It was impossible for the CP to choose one of the military candidates against the other. Both were members of the Council of the Revolution [this clearly refers to Pinheiro and Eanes; the CP did not consider Carvalho a bona fide military candidate]. The Communists have always supported armed forces unity and national unity."

Now, as a result of its capitulation to the military, the electoral weight of the CP has been reduced virtually to that of a minor party. Eanes has much less reason to make any concessions to the CP. He is certainly going to force them to make still more humiliating and costly capitulations.

Pato tried to find comfort in the failure of the SP leaders to deliver their party's vote to Eanes: "It is said that there were changes in the CP's electoral support. But if we look closely, the big change was in the behavior of the SP's supporters, who showed their rejection of the right."

There is a certain truth in Pato's claim, but he distorted it in a sectarian way. The SP leaders fared no better than the CP, but they could hardly do worse.

The elections showed that the SP lead-

ers, who backed Eanes to get his support for an SP government based on 35% of the vote in April, actually were able to get the support of only 17% or 18% of the electorate for their policy of making a de facto alliance with the right in order to exclude the CP from the government. They probably provided fewer votes for Eanes than the PPD, and not much more than the CDS.¹ Since the bourgeois parties gave Eanes the bulk of his votes, there is little pressure on him to make any concessions to the needs of the SP leaders to avoid alienating their working-class supporters.

The political position of the SP leadership is actually far weaker now, as a result of backing Eanes, than it was before. It is the captive of "its general." In fact, the political weight of both reformist workers parties has been greatly reduced, to the advantage of the bourgeois bonapartes.

During the campaign, the SP leaders faced open rebellion from many of their local party organizations. "Secretary General Mário Soares is fulminating against the derelictions of the ranks," Charles Michaloux wrote from Portugal in the June 24 issue of the Paris Trotskyist daily *Rouge*: "In Aveiro, Viana do Castelo, and Guimarães, to cite some examples, they are refusing to join the committees of support for 'Portugal's candidate,' which are run by the PPD and CDS local bosses. The SP has had in practice to give up organizing its own rallies for Eanes, after the failure of the first attempts in Oporto and Lisbon."

Since at least half and perhaps a majority of the SP voters rejected the directives of their leadership, some sort of crisis in the party seems inevitable.

Carvalho—Left Demagogue

The perennial "left" demagogue of the MFA, former General Carvalho, won his greatest political victory so far. Undoubtedly, his vote came primarily from the most radicalized sectors of the industrial workers and agricultural laborers, who identified him with the hopes prevalent in the earlier phases of the MFA regime that socialism was on the horizon. These masses took the "socialist" rhetoric of the Gonçalves governments seriously and refuse to give up the aspirations to which the MFA demagogues made verbal concessions.

The votes for Carvalho certainly reflected a rejection of the bourgeoisie's "stabilization" plans. Eanes in particular helped to present his more demagogic fellow officer as the symbol of the "unstable" earlier days. Moreover, Carvalho was arrested in the aftermath of the failure of the November 25 ultraleft coup attempt, the suppression of which opened a period

1. Partido Popular Democrático—Democratic People's Party, the liberal bourgeois party; Centro Democrático Social—Social Democratic Center, the right-wing bourgeois party.

of attacks on the working class and the Communist party.

The CP leadership built up the climate for the November 25 adventure by a furious campaign of left-sounding demagoguery, in particular after the fall of Gonçalves. It initiated a wave of militant actions to stage a show of strength. When its bluff was called, it made a rapid retreat. This course could only be viewed as cowardice by the CP's most militant supporters.

The fact that "Otelo" also backed out of the November 25 adventure at the last minute has been obscured by the way the bourgeois press and Eanes painted him up as a "revolutionary" danger. So, the "people's general" apparently became a romantic hero for much of the CP following.

Despite the subjective beliefs of the workers who supported Carvalho, and despite the left verbiage he used to appeal to them, the vote for this demagogue weakened the working class politically. It did not represent a rejection of MFA tutelage but redirected the masses most hostile to Eanes back to the MFA by another route. It gave Carvalho the opportunity once again to divert important sections of the workers from raising and pressing their own political demands.

The "left" demagogue got support he can offer to sell to the MFA to improve his position among the various candidates for bonaparte, just as he did last August when he tried to get his ultraleft and centrist supporters to join a common bloc with the counterrevolutionary Group of the Nine led by Melo Antunes.

Fundamentally, Carvalho still represents a possible governmental option for the bourgeoisie, if in the next period it proves unable to get a majority of the masses to accept its ruling on an openly capitalist basis. That is, he stands for a left demagogic regime, governing on behalf of the bourgeoisie by decrees.

For example, in an interview in the June 9 issue of the Lisbon daily *A Capital*, Carvalho said: "The Chinese have been able to work seventy hours a week. I don't know if I will ask for the same thing. That depends on the conditions we experience. I don't know if forty hours are sufficient, or if we can ask for seventy or more. During the revolutionary process, I worked up to ninety hours a week."

These are not just words. In the spring of 1975, Carvalho's military security forces intervened in a metal workers meeting in Lisbon to beat up supporters of the forty-hour week.

'Insipid' Stuff

As for "Otelo's" election material, Charles Michaloux wrote in the June 24 *Rouge*, it "is insipid. On the background of the national colors, there are photos of Otelo in his general's uniform. The slogans are the following: 'Otelo, a friend for

president,' or 'April 25, 1974, for president.'"

In Alentejo, the Lisbon daily *Jornal Novo* reported, the former general's admirers painted on the walls: "Vote Otelo, vote MFA."

In the June 22 issue of the London *Financial Times*, one of the most authoritative publications of British big business, correspondent Paul Ellman described Carvalho's program as follows:

"The only presidential candidate who has come close to spelling out how harsh a future lies ahead has been Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. But he believes in some sort of a seige economy to resolve the problem. . . ."

As the campaign drew to a close, Carvalho escalated his rhetoric. He reached top form in the culminating rally in Lisbon's biggest square, the Praça do Comercio.

As in the heyday of the MFA "left," Carvalho used revolutionary-sounding slogans, such as workers unity, to enhance his own "revolutionary bonapartist" image. He turned these slogans into glittering generalities, depriving them of all concrete content. Since the centrist and ultraleft currents that support him are used to thinking in terms of categories such as the "revolutionary dynamic of self-organization," and so forth, it is not likely they noticed his calculations. Concreteness is not their strong point.

Carvalho was also probably inspired by his large crowd. In the June 28 *Rouge*, Charles Michaloux and Michel Rovère estimated the attendance at almost three times the 15,000 Octávio Pato drew in his windup rally:

"The Praça do Comercio was filled at the time of the giant demonstration last November 16. On Friday [June 25], a densely packed crowd occupied two-thirds of the space, and the scaffolding around the big public buildings was black with people up as high as the third floor. How many were there? It is hard to estimate. Certainly no less than 40,000 persons."

The demagogue was well attuned to his audience: "Otelo dwelt for some time on the illusions that existed that all the officers who took part in April 25 could continue together to the establishment of socialism. In a very Fidelista style, Otelo included himself among those who were deceived or who hesitated."

The MFA is the first demagogic leadership in Portugal that has made a fine study of the sensibilities of the centrist and ultraleft currents among the youth and that has learned how to play on them. Carvalho proved especially skillful, co-opting these currents among the young soldiers into his military security command and using them as a means of negotiating with the masses. He knew that these currents, brought up on a romanticized form of Stalinism, on the incantations of the Cultural Revolution in China,

would be dazzled by "self-criticism." For them, confession has become a talisman that can conjure away the record of a demagogue and silence critical thoughts about a misleader's motives.

Carvalho also knew that invoking "workers unity" would be popular. However, the proposals he offered for uniting the workers were precisely what has most effectively divided them up till now—a new version of the "People's Power" scheme.

"The working people have not only shown once again their capacity for struggle, their creative imagination, and their will to victory, they have also shown that they are capable of finding the road that will lead us to victory—the road of workers unity, the road of unity built without manipulation in the grass-roots people's organs and the other organizations of the workers, the road of unity built in struggle and in the framework of workers democracy."

What romantic New Lifter could resist all these invocations of the favorite vagaries of the new, left-centrist currents? What is common to all these tendencies is an anarchist attempt to avoid political questions, relying on the "dynamic of workers self-organization" to solve the political problems facing the working class on the road to power.

Because of their political softness, the left centrists in Portugal were easy meat for the MFA demagogues who supported the "People's Power" scheme in an attempt to extend their influence directly into the factories and neighborhoods. This attempt by the "leftist" wing of the MFA was not successful last summer in the sense of building an organic transmission belt for the MFA. It was successful to the extent that it halted the political advance of the workers toward a determination to take the government out of the hands of the generals. It divided the workers, and maintained the political influence of the MFA in its various forms over them.

It is unlikely that the revival of the "People's Power" scheme by "Otelo" can accomplish more than the same maneuver did the first time around. The potential scope of this operation has narrowed, at least for the time being. However, if there is a massive backlash against the "stabilizers" among the workers, this confusionist card could assume a larger importance in the bourgeoisie's game.

As of now, the main danger presented by Carvalho's "People's Power" scheme is that it will divert the most combative workers from organizing an effective resistance to Eanes's austerity program and from breaking politically from the MFA.

Along with his "revolutionary" rhetoric, Carvalho has continually insisted that he regards Eanes as a "comrade" and has opposed him only because he was being used by rightist forces. At most, he has



CARVALHO

expressed "disappointment" in Eanes. In fact, the strongest attack on Eanes came from Pinheiro, perhaps because of personal resentments. However, "Otelo," who received permission from the army to run, is a firm believer in "discipline" and the cohesion of the military caste.

The most important immediate task before the workers is to develop an effective trade-union organization. After more than a year of heady rhetoric about "workers power in the factories," the working class still lacks an effective elementary means of economic self-defense on the national level. What national union apparatus existed was undermined by Stalinist sectarianism and MFA intervention. The Stalinist leadership of Intersindical, which was confirmed in its position by the MFA's "trade-union unity" law, is discredited, and the formation of a united mass union movement has been gravely set back.

Carvalho and his centrist and ultraleft backers propose to turn his campaign committees, the Grupos Dinamizadores da Unidade Popular (GDUP—Groups to Promote People's Unity) into a system of "People's Power" arising from the "grass roots." This scheme is now totally disconnected from any actual united workers organizations. It means introducing a sectarian form of organization into the factories, one not only divisive but hitched to the chariot of a military demagogue representing a bourgeoisie that has nothing to give to the workers. In fact, the economic crisis and the exhaustion of its reserves means that the bourgeoisie must force the workers as quickly as possible to accept an austerity program and a drastic increase in unemployment.

In the June 26 *Rouge*, Michel Rovère warned the centrists and ultraleftists who thought that the electoral successes of their "red general" meant that they could sweep over the cadres of the reformist parties in the factories:

"Even at the electoral level, the ranks of

the CP—at least its members and organized sympathizers—are holding relatively firm. . . .

"Moreover, it should be noted that an electoral success is a long way from winning leadership of the working class and the poor peasantry. At the risk of disillusioning some people, I have to say that in the Lisnave and Setnave shipyards and in the Siderurgia Nacional steel plant, the CP is not being wiped out. It is the activists of the two main reformist parties [i.e., the SP and CP] who are leading the social struggles that have continued to develop throughout this electoral campaign. . . .

"It should be noted, also, that the 'nonpartisanship' promoted through this campaign, which for the MES and the UDP² is only the reverse side of the coin of their analysis of Social Democracy and 'revisionism,' is a major obstacle to these groups taking advantage of the crisis provoked in the CP and SP by the capitulations of the party leadership. If Otelo . . . had stressed that he would call on Mário Soares to form the future government and that the vote cast by the workers on April 25 made it urgent to form a CP-SP government, one of the CP's main arguments throughout the campaign would have been disarmed."

Of course, Carvalho has no intention of calling for a CP-SP government; his whole history shows that this is the last thing he wants. He tried calling for a blank vote in the April 1975 elections to prevent this, and when the blank vote did not materialize, he turned to "direct democracy" as a way of heading off the demand for a government responsible to the workers through the parties they support. He will use the backing he has gained as a chip in the wheeling and dealing in the MFA, just as he tried to do in August.

In August, Carvalho's centrist and ultraleft supporters refused to go along with his maneuver. Will they back out again if he offers them a place in an MFA regime, as he in effect did last summer? They have moved another step since then toward subordinating themselves completely to him.

The Portuguese revolutionary process has been the first decisive test for the ultraleft and centrist currents that claim to represent a revolutionary alternative to the Social Democratic and Stalinist betrayers. So far, they have failed to offer any such alternative, and in fact bear a significant share of the responsibility for serious defeats suffered by the working class. Will they now go further along this road? This is the question raised by the support Carvalho succeeded in gaining in the electoral arena. □

2. Movimento de Esquerda Socialista—Movement of the Socialist Left, União Democrática do Povo—People's Democratic Union, an eclectic Maoist group with some anarchist notions of "workers self-organization."

Polish Upsurge Highlights Crisis of Stalinism

By David Frankel

The Polish working class has no say in the basic economic decisions that affect it. This simple fact was graphically illustrated by the angry protests that swept Poland June 25 over increases in food prices. Even the tireless defenders of Stalinist "socialism" in the American Communist party were reduced to silence.

"Total silence" was how one correspondent described the way the strikes and demonstrations were handled in the East European media. In Poland itself, where the regime could not afford the luxury of silence, the mayor of Radom claimed that "drunken hooligans and hysterical women were the most active" in the protests. He did not explain why the government backed down if this was really the case.

But neither silence nor slander can hide the fact that the upsurge in Poland is a reflection of the overall crisis confronting the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and the USSR. Viewed from this broader angle, it is particularly significant that the June 25 explosion took place in Poland.

If the disaffection of the population is so close to the surface in Poland, which has one of the more liberal regimes in Eastern Europe, what is the mood in countries like Czechoslovakia and East Germany? The fact that Soviet troops continue to occupy those countries is an indication of the Kremlin's opinion.

Since the massive upsurge in 1970 that ended Wladislaw Gomulka's career as chief of the Polish Communist party—and threatened to go even further—the Polish regime has followed a policy of placating the workers. Edward Gierek, Gomulka's successor, instituted a system of "consultation" with worker representatives, and cultivated an image of being open to suggestions from below.

A Failure to Communicate?

"To some analysts here," *New York Times* correspondent Raymond H. Anderson said in a June 11, 1973, dispatch from Warsaw, "the most promising aspect of the Gierek reforms is the opening of channels of complaint, permitting corrections before grievances reach the exploding point."

A similarly optimistic assessment was presented to *Times* reporter Henry Kamm. In a December 8, 1973, dispatch, Kamm reported that "an influential member of the [Polish] party's Central Committee" told him, "Gierek has established a partnership between the party and the people. The people no longer say 'we' for them-

selves and 'they' for the party as in the past."

Apparently the people who burned the Communist party headquarters in Radom had not yet gotten the message.

Gierek's attempt to give the Polish regime a face-lift never touched on the issue of bureaucratic privilege, and it was this issue that gave the workers' protest its explosive character. The resentment generated by the decision to raise food prices can be easily understood. The workers know that party officials and factory managers buy imported delicacies, wine, and liquors in special shops that ordinary people are excluded from. They see the bureaucrats living in fancy vacation houses and driving new cars. And then they are told that they have to sacrifice, that the needs of the economy demand higher food prices—a measure that hits the lowest paid workers the hardest.

The dissident movement in the Soviet Union has generally raised the issue of democratic rights in terms of artistic and intellectual freedom. The upsurge in Poland poses it in terms of abolishing the special privileges of the bureaucracy.

The issue of democratic rights for the masses is posed objectively in every Stalinized workers state because the political regime of bureaucratic rule is in contradiction to the optimum requirements of scientific planning.

As long as the workers are denied their right to determine economic policies through representatives of their own choice, there is no way of winning their full cooperation in carrying out the policies decided on. The alienation of workers in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is reflected in low productivity of labor, high rates of absenteeism, and industrial sabotage.

The response of the bureaucrats was indicated in a November 18, 1975, Reuters dispatch from Warsaw that said: "In its war on absenteeism and job switching, Poland has introduced new penalties for state workers who go on unjustified sick leave or walk out of their jobs."

Thus, the bureaucrats face a situation in which they cannot run the country without democracy, and in which they cannot stay in power with it. This dilemma explains the tendency of Stalinist regimes to swing back and forth between policies of repression and limited reforms.

Because of the contradiction between the parasitic role of the bureaucracy and the

needs of the planned economy, bureaucratic rule is inherently unstable. A mass upsurge threatens to unseat it within days. Only Soviet tanks saved the Stalinist regimes in East Germany in 1953, in Hungary in 1956, and in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Under capitalism the organization of production is in the hands of individual capitalists and corporations. This is an essential function under capitalism, but there is no economic necessity for an uncontrolled bureaucracy in a planned economy. Decisions now made by the bureaucracy could be better made in workers councils, the proletarian form of democracy, and carried out by technicians paid by the state.

World Crisis Hits Workers States

In economic terms, the only function of the bureaucracy is to act as a brake on economic development and progress in general. This negative role has become especially burdensome because of the world economic crisis.

More than half of Poland's trade is with capitalist countries. Inflation has pushed Poland's bill for imports up by \$1.4 billion over the last two years, while the 1974-75 depression caused a loss of about \$1 billion in Poland's exports to the capitalist market.

Similar problems are faced by all the workers states. The Soviet Union has imported huge amounts of grain at inflated prices, and the USSR and East European regimes are also big importers of machinery and other complex technological products from the imperialist countries.

As a result, Poland is not the only workers state where the workers are being told to tighten their belts. Clyde H. Farnsworth reported in the June 29 *New York Times*:

In Czechoslovakia, what is called a "restructuring" of wholesale prices was supposed to have been introduced last Jan. 1, and is now expected to be applied at the beginning of 1977.

In Hungary, the Government has decided "in principle" on a 35 percent increase in meat prices to take effect on Sunday.

Last week, Viennese newspapers carried reports of food rationing in the Soviet Union.

The economic difficulties faced by the Stalinist regimes show that internal democracy has become more imperative than ever. Still more, the impossibility of "building socialism in one country" has received fresh confirmation.

In December 1924 Stalin first put forward his theory of building socialism in one country. This perspective of isolated national development corresponded to the economic needs of the crystallizing privileged caste that Stalin represented politically. The bureaucrats wanted no more shocks and upsets, no more conflicts with imperialism; they just wanted to enjoy the fruits of their new posts.

As Trotsky predicted, the pursuit of "socialism in one country" led the Stalinist bureaucracy into a consciously counterrevolutionary foreign policy. Since the bureaucrats were concerned only with safeguarding their own national entrenchment, they attempted to stave off imperialist intervention by proving their reliability as allies of capitalism. The Stalinists actively opposed the extension of the socialist revolution under slogans such as "collective security," "peaceful coexistence," and "détente."

Reactionary utopianism

Another theme in Trotsky's criticism of "socialism in one country" was that this was a reactionary utopian perspective. Even if the bureaucrats were successful in evading the threat of imperialist invasion—a threat that was realized during World War II—a socialist society can be built only on an international basis.

One of the basic contradictions of capitalism pointed out by Marx is the constriction national boundaries place upon the productive forces, which must expand because of the imperious drive for surplus value. The contradiction is ultimately resolved by the introduction of socialist planning on an international scale, and national frontiers give way to a worldwide cooperative society.

But the Stalinist bureaucrats are so tied to narrow national interests, that they are incapable of organizing a unified economic plan even for the adjoining countries of Eastern Europe and the USSR.

Each workers state has its own monetary system, its own monopoly of foreign trade, its own development program. There is no serious attempt to establish an international division of labor superseding the one still practiced by capitalism on a worldwide scale, or to begin the process of overcoming the irrationalities imposed by national boundaries. The dog-eat-dog economic relations between the workers states were epitomized by the boost in the price of oil to their Eastern European "partners," which the Soviet bureaucrats put into effect to keep pace with prices on the world market.

Moreover, the deformed workers states remain dependent on the world capitalist economy. Thus, Stalinism has proved unable to overcome the biggest economic tasks facing the postcapitalist societies.

The Stalinist regimes claim to represent socialism, while the masses of people must put up with inadequate pay, housing shortages, food shortages, censorship, secret police surveillance, and national oppression.

However, the resistance of the Polish workers shows that gains can be won if the masses mobilize to fight for their rights. The example set by the Polish workers June 25 will be taken up by the working class elsewhere in Eastern Europe—and in the Soviet Union as well.

Political Prisoners Denounce Whitewash

OAS Chief Helps Pinochet Cover Up Torture



Wright/Miami News

Evidence of torture of political prisoners in Chile was covered up by Alejandro Orfila, secretary general of the Organization of American States, when he reported on a trip to the Tres Alamos detention center held during the OAS meeting in Santiago.

In a June 19 television broadcast, Orfila said that none of the prisoners he spoke with had said they were undergoing coercion "at that moment."

The cynicism of this statement was revealed by the prisoners themselves.

"I told him I had been raped and given electric torture," Alicia Alvarado, a former university professor who has been imprisoned more than a year, told *Washington Post* reporter Joanne Omang.

Orfila also met with jailed civil liberties lawyers Hernán Montealegre and Fernando Ostornol. According to a report in the June 22 *New York Times*:

... the meeting lasted an hour and both attorneys provided specific accounts of torture undergone by prisoners in the hands of security agents before reaching Tres Alamos.

They included accounts of prisoners identified by persons now in the camp who were last seen in interrogation centers such as Villa Grimaldi, a former discothèque now used to conduct questioning of prisoners.

In answer to a charge by women prisoners that Cuatro Alamos, the maximum security area adjoining Tres Alamos, was a place where prisoners were taken never to reappear again, Orfila said he had walked through Cuatro Alamos and found no prisoners at all. Legal aid lawyers stated that there had been many prisoners

there before the OAS meeting opened June 4.

In addition, Orfila reported finding health conditions and food "adequate." Several women prisoners said these conditions had improved markedly in the two weeks prior to the OAS conference.

Other prisoners interviewed by Omang in Tres Alamos also gave the lie to Orfila's attempted cover-up.

"I am the only one left alive of all the people with whom I was arrested. The rest were tortured to death in Villa Grimaldi," said Gladys Pérez, former president of the Chilean Broadcast Journalist Federation.

"I was raped four times while I was blindfolded, after they had given me electricity," said Luz de Nieves Arria, a journalist detained since the end of 1973.

This effort to whitewash the Pinochet junta was helped along by the final text of the resolution on human rights in Chile passed by the OAS June 14. By a vote of 15 to 8, the question of Chile was buried in a general resolution calling for respect for human rights throughout the continent. Moreover, the proposal for a report on Chile to be prepared by the Human Rights Commission for next year's gathering of the OAS was shelved. □

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Shah Squanders Billions as Oil Revenues Drop

By Javad Sadeeg

The shah and his apologists in the imperialist countries have tried to justify the brutal repression in Iran as the price the Iranian people must pay for the economic progress and rapid industrialization that the country is supposedly going through. But the real situation is very different.

Despite the big show that the shah put on last year to curb inflation, prices have remained high. The average monthly rent in Tehran is \$254, according to figures from the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development. Scarcity of basic foods is common. There is a virtual celebration when a shipment of onions reaches Tehran. In the southern city of Ahwaz an enterprising jeweler placed an onion in his diamond display to attract attention to the jewels, and an Ahwaza television program gave out onions as prizes.

During an interview early this year the shah was asked by Jacqueline Grapin, an economic and financial correspondent of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, "How is your country going to be able to become industrialized, so that after oil, Persian carpets no longer form the main item of export?" (*Kayhan*, weekly air edition, March 3.)

The question did not faze his imperial majesty. He simply asserted: "Already we export cars, trucks, a variety of automobiles, textiles, and shoes. This shows that we are already industrialized. We export commodities to the surrounding countries and some of the countries in the Eastern bloc. But we intend to export to the countries in Western Europe as well."

In an earlier interview, he claimed that within fifteen years Iranian steel production will reach 25 million tons, more than the present steel production of France.

It is true that after oil, Persian carpets no longer form the main item of export. Now cotton has become the second most important export. During the last Iranian year (March 1975-March 1976) the country exported less than \$600 million in commodities, excluding oil. Industrial commodities comprised less than one-fifth of this amount. Exports of handwoven Persian carpets almost equaled industrial exports.

Furthermore, the trucks and automobiles that the shah mentioned are basically imported from abroad and assembled in Iran. The Iran National Manufacturing Company, the largest car producer in the country, makes the popular Peykan, but the major parts are produced by Chrysler

The Case of Azizollah Rahimi

When the shah changed the Iranian calendar in March, backdating it 1,180 years in honor of the founding of the Persian monarchy, considerable opposition was aroused. The majority of people in Iran consider themselves Muslims and did not react favorably to the shah's elimination of the traditional Islamic calendar.

One opponent of the change, Azizollah Rahimi, a retired army colonel, brought charges against the government, arguing that the debasement of the calendar violated the Iranian constitution.

Rahimi, who had previously drawn the shah's ire and a two-year prison term for acting as a defense attorney for political opponents of the dictatorship, has now become the victim of a new attempt to silence him.

The April issue of *Khabar Nameh*, an opposition newspaper published outside of Iran, reported that the government tried to kill Rahimi by arranging an auto "accident." *Khabar Nameh* said that Rahimi was injured in the crash, but had no further information on his condition.

in Britain and exported to Iran. Recently, the Iranian company saved Chrysler UK from bankruptcy by placing a large order for Peykan parts.

The shah's claim that Iran's exports show that it is industrialized is obviously false. Last year's exports, excluding oil, increased by 3%. On the other hand imports rose by 90%.

The contrast between the value of imports and exports testifies to the economic backwardness of the country and the inferior position it occupies in the world economy. The meagerness of internal production coupled with the huge rise of oil revenues—from \$4.5 billion in 1973 to \$20 billion in 1974—intensified inflationary pressures in the economy. To increase the supply of goods in face of the rising demand, the government encouraged imports.

The imperialist producers, who face a crisis of overproduction, found a profitable outlet for their products—as did the United States war industry. The total value of nonmilitary imports during the last Iranian year was reported at \$12 billion, with military imports estimated at \$4 billion to \$5 billion.

The extreme unevenness produced in Iran's backward economy by the sudden upsurge of oil revenues is vividly illustrated in the harbors. While the country's six main ports can handle a yearly maximum of 10 million tons of cargo, last year a total of 37 million tons were shipped. The ports are backed up with vessels, and sometimes ships have to wait for as long as five months before unloading.

Tehran papers reported last March that of two ships carrying tin to Iran, one sank and the other, after waiting seventy days, left Iranian waters. It went to Hong Kong and auctioned its cargo overnight. The price of tin was expected to rise in Iran.

In the April 28 air edition of *Kayhan*, a photograph illustrated the current traffic jam in Iran's major ports. Thousands of oranges in half-empty crates littered a section of the dock at Abadan. The 11 million pound shipment, imported from Spain, reached the port some time before. But because of the backlog, unloading was delayed. A substantial number of the oranges rotted. At first the authorities began to dump the cargo into the sea, but fearing that people might try to fish it out, the dumping was halted. As of early May they had not figured out how to dispose of it—meanwhile the port is filled with the smell of rotten oranges.

The Tehran daily *Ettelaat* reported in its April 2 air edition that a ship arriving in Shahpur on August 21, 1975, with 11,000 tons of rice from the United States had not yet been unloaded. Three months previously, when the ship was ready to be unloaded, it was discovered that the rice had become infested with lice, and before the unloading could commence, the rice had to be disinfected. During that entire period, the Iranian government paid a \$5,000-a-day surcharge on this one vessel alone. Last year the government had to pay \$1 billion to the shipping companies in penalties for the long delays in unloading—an amount ten times greater

than the value of the country's industrial exports.

The trucking routes are no less clogged. In Bazargan, on the border between Iran and Turkey, 150 trucks on the average stop every day for customs inspection. Hundreds of trucks are backed up at the border waiting to leave (*Kayhan*, May 12).

"Iran's highway and railroad links with Turkey and Russia are breaking down under the weight of the incoming cargo," *U.S. News & World Report* said March 22. The same magazine reported that "storage yards are choked with rusting machinery and trucks that cannot be used because of poor planning or shortage of manpower. An estimated 800,000 trained workers are needed." Thousands of skilled workers, especially truck drivers, were recruited from South Korea. But according to recent reports in the press, they are leaving because of poor living conditions.

Lewis M. Simons, reporting in the March 1 *Washington Post* from the southern port of Bandar Abbas, pointed to Mack trucks, road graders, copper-mining equipment, sacks of fertilizer, steel girders, bales of barbed wire, sewage pipes, telephone poles, and crushed wooden crates that lay in the port's junk heap. Iranian papers reported that during March more than one million tons of goods piled up along the docks. Experts declared that if this backlog continues, loading and unloading of the ships will soon become impossible.

The chaotic economic conditions were intensified by the unexpected decrease in oil revenues caused by the worldwide economic depression. The consortium of fourteen Western oil companies, despite a twenty-year agreement signed with the shah in 1973, refused to pump their quota of oil. The shah is trying hard to get the consortium to increase its output and export more oil, claiming that Iran is the main non-Arab source of oil. "... such pleading carries little weight with hard-headed oil men at times of slack demand—and particularly when other oil producers are reported to be slashing their prices," according to a report in the most recent issue of *International Currency Review*, vol. 8, no. 2.

Last February, the shah cut the price of Iranian heavy crude oil by 9.5 cents a barrel. The oil companies welcomed this as only a first step. To increase the production and export of oil, the Iranian government announced June 21 its intention of buying \$125 million worth of stock in Occidental Petroleum Corporation, a company that is not part of the consortium. Two reasons were advanced for the deal. One was the shah's desire to find outlets for the crude oil, and the other was that he is trying to maneuver with the consortium to get them to pump more oil. Whether the deal will materialize remains to be seen.

This year's income from oil is expected to be about \$20 billion, which is the major part of \$27.6 billion in revenues the



SHAH: "Allowed his good fortune to go to his head."

government is counting on for this Iranian year. This year's budget shows a deficit of \$2.4 billion, the biggest in Iranian history. Iran had a trade surplus of almost \$6 billion in the last two Iranian years. But recently, according to the *International Currency Review*, "Iran's enormous overall surplus has been virtually eliminated."

The government, which only two years ago was supposed to topple imperialist banking with its "flood of petrodollars," is once again in the line of debtors, hoping to borrow from imperialist countries. Iran's outstanding foreign debt is estimated at close to \$3 billion, of which more than \$600 million has been borrowed in recent months. Major cutbacks in economic projects are underway.

Cutbacks have affected the plans for the expansion of the steel industry. Government officials declared that in seven years the steel output would amount to 14 million tons a year. Now it is believed that the output will not reach half that amount. The present yearly steel production is 700,000 tons. Plans for construction of more than \$5 billion in petrochemical facilities have been shelved. A project to add two million phone lines to Tehran's overburdened telephone system will not be completed next year as promised. The target date is now 1980. A \$1 billion new airport for Tehran has been postponed. Construction of a \$660 million joint truck plant with General Motors will not begin because the government cannot put up its share of capital—\$600 million.

The government has fallen behind in its goals in housing, according to Abdol Majid Majidi, the minister of state for planning and budget. Apparently government em-

ployees did not receive the expected raise in their salaries this year. The government has been slow in paying contractors, and according to some unofficial estimates still owes them some \$1 billion.

However, the cutbacks have not affected military spending, which is \$8 billion this year, an increase of 8%. In addition, the expenditures for the police and SAVAK (secret police) have risen by 37% to \$900 million. Recently the shah has been negotiating with arms manufacturing companies in the United States in order to barter oil for planes and other war material.

According to Iranian government statistics, industrial growth during the last Iranian year amounted to 12% as compared to 19% the year before. The figures are unreliable because of the desire of the government bureaucracy to please the shah, but even these figures show that the rate of industrial growth decreased by at least 7% last year. All the indications are that this decline is going to continue.

It is interesting to note the judgment of *International Currency Review*, a journal reflecting the views of the world financial community. According to a report in the issue cited earlier, Iran's oil revenues "have been substantially squandered in a rapid and short-lived boom which recently culminated in a sharp slowdown of economic activity. Stagnation is in prospect; and without proper financial control and a rapidly developing non-oil exporting industry, any future increase in the price of Iranian oil is extremely likely to produce similar results. A simpler way of explaining what has been happening in Iran is to say that the Shah allowed his good fortune to go to his head. If there is no further sharp oil price increase, and if the recently improving oil export figures are not maintained for a considerable period, he will probably pay for this mistake by losing his throne."

On February 15, *Forbes* magazine reported on the trip its European bureau chief, James Flanigan, had recently made to the Middle East. He wrote: "But the fact is that Saudi Arabia and Iran are not countries on the verge of industrial breakthrough as are, say, Spain, Mexico, Greece and Turkey. The Middle East has not reached this threshold. In Western terms, the Middle East is not generations but centuries behind."

Of course, Mr. Flanigan, reflecting the interests of his class, neglects to mention that the only alternative to centuries of backwardness is a socialist economy inaugurated by a workers revolution. □

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The Crisis of West European Capitalism

[The following interview with Ernest Mandel was published in the June 11-17 issue of *Time Out*, a British weekly magazine. The introduction is by *Time Out*.]

* * *

Born in Belgium in 1923, educated at the University of Brussels and in Paris, Ernest Mandel joined the left-wing of the Belgian resistance in 1940, about the same time as he became a supporter of Leon Trotsky (assassinated by Stalin's agent in Mexico the same year) and the Fourth Communist International. Captured three times by the Gestapo, he escaped twice, only to be caught again and kept in various German concentration-camps until the end of the war. After the war he worked as a journalist for the Belgian weekly *La Gauche* and became its editor in 1956. He also served for seven years on the economic research commission of the Belgian [General Federation of Workers].

In 1968, Mandel took a prominent part in the May events in France, and since that time he has been banned in France, the USA, Switzerland and West Germany "not for carrying guns, or throwing bombs, but for defending my ideas." Over 60 European MPs have protested at Mandel's exclusion from the two Common Market countries.

He is now a lecturer in economics at Brussels University, though still a leading figure in the Trotskyist Fourth International. After the publication of his magnum opus on the forces shaping the current economic crisis, *Late Capitalism*, the economics faculty at Cambridge University appointed him the next Alfred Marshall Fellow. In 1977 he will take up the most prestigious economics post in Britain—if he isn't banned from this country by then. . .

* * *

What would you say is the nature of the present world crisis?

It is a crisis which occurs at several levels. It is an economic crisis obviously. We have 17 million unemployed in the Western industrialized countries, which means that the long period of rapid growth and rising expectations, which we have known since World War II, is finished. It is a social crisis—a crisis of all social relations. And it is a political crisis, because under these new circumstances, the whole period when things were organized politically through parliament—

governments of the so-called left of centre or right of centre—has come to an end.

We can also say that the big expansion of new industries—especially cars, plastics, chemicals, electronics—has also come to a halt. There have been many advances in technology, many new inventions and discoveries, which meant big profits. Now there are still many inventions and discoveries, but they are more and more costly, more and more risky. Look at Concorde—supersonic aeroplanes. No private firm is ready to take that kind of risk, and they become therefore less and less applied. So we can now say in a more general sense that all the forces which pushed towards expansion for a long period have now spent themselves.

Also for many years the strength of the working-class prevented the employers from putting the burden of inflation on the workers. Prices went up; wages went up. Workers did not allow wages to rise less than prices. In that sense there has been a crisis of profit; as a result, less investment, as a result more unemployment. And without speaking of conspiracy, I would say that the present economic crisis is an attempt, by the employers on an international scale, to weaken the working class, through massive unemployment, and thereby enable them to put the burden of inflation essentially on the backs of the workers—to push down their wages.

In Britain, Germany and the USA, they have had an initial success in that policy—less so in Japan and absolutely none in the southern European countries—Spain, Italy, France—where the workers have fought back very strongly and violently, and also in some small European countries, like Belgium and Sweden. That means that we are in for hard times: hard times for capitalism and hard times for the workers. The easy times, the days of "we never had it so good," the times of great expectations, these days are over. So if I might use the Marxist jargon, it means that we get intensified class-struggle and class-conflict.

This can have different results. It can have good results, it can have bad results—it depends on the relationship of forces, and it depends on the leadership. I think that there is a strong chance that in some of the southern European countries, it will have very good results. The workers will defend themselves, move over onto the offensive, will shake present society, will try to solve the problems of this crisis through a change in the organisation of society, a break towards socialism. The danger exists that if this does not happen,

then the working-class movement after many years of effort might lose its impetus and the offensive might come from the right, or even the extreme right.

Many conditions which the employers could tolerate as long as there was prosperity, they cannot tolerate in crisis. In many traditionally parliamentary countries in western Europe, there are now definite threats of repressive measures against the freedom of the press, the freedom of thought and the free operation of trade unions and of working-class organisations. These ugly threats might expand gravely—even in Britain you are not definitely protected against that by the so-called parliamentary tradition. Some of the ugly things that have often happened in the past in the colonies, currently happening in Ireland, might be re-introduced into Britain itself against the British workers and the British labour movement, if the present employers' offensive is successful.

Do you think the relatively small size and fragmentation of the left is dangerous or could it be potentially positive?

Firstly I would say that the revolutionary left is still small but it is much bigger than it was in the past—probably ten times bigger than it was ten years ago—in the key countries in Western Europe. But I would strongly deny that the breakthrough towards socialism—a revolutionary development in Western Europe—depends essentially on initiatives of small, extreme left-wing groups. I do not believe you can have a socialist revolution made by a minority in industrialised countries like those of Western Europe. What I am most interested in is not the strength, or weakness, of the revolutionary groups, but what type of objectively revolutionary, or let us say, anti-capitalist initiatives, the mass of workers are ready to take, and there the change is tremendous. Everybody speaks in France about the long occupation of the LIP factory at Besancon, where the workers went against the employers decision to close it. They took over the factory and started to sell the watches that were produced there. The fact is that you've had 200 Lip situations in Europe in the last 15 or 16 months.

What is done by hundreds of thousands, if not millions of workers in Europe—that is what gives the indication of things to come. After all, the general strike in France in May 1968 involved 10 million people. I think that we will witness, in the coming months, a couple of years, in Spain, Portugal, France or Italy, bigger general strikes than May '68—more radical demands, but especially more advanced forms of self-organization—factory-committees, strike committees, workers' councils and so on. That's how I see the possibility of revolutionary situations developing in Western Europe.

What conclusions do you draw, particularly in Britain, about the attraction of young people to anti-rationalist ideas—the occult, astrology, mysticism etc?

I think it has a rather ominous significance. In the second half of the '60s, culminating around 1968, you had a tremendous wave of optimism, of feeling that youth—young students, young workers—could change the world, could change it quickly. That was very positive, but it had a big element of illusion. Positive, because it showed that the establishment view for a long period, that prosperity had killed the political interest of youth, was wrong. We saw tens of thousands of people demonstrating in support of the Vietnamese revolution in Berlin, Paris, London, Rome, Milan and many other European cities. We could see a real rebirth of political awareness, of political enthusiasm, in Western European youth.

However, students, young people alone, have a much too small political and social economic weight to be able to change the world by themselves. Lack of understanding of this question led to a big disappointment. And since the early '70s, there has been a certain retreat from political activity in the youth, and with this retreat there has been a growing sense of frustration. Young people make big efforts to change things, and when they change, as the French say, the more they stay the same. The political scene in a country like Britain and a few other European countries, strengthens this frustration. There is not very much difference between what the present Labour government is doing and what, for example, the Heath government would have done in similar circumstances. People feel there is no alternative in political life—they do not see or cannot see small extreme left-wing groups as an immediate credible alternative. So they lose hope, feeling that you *can't* change society.

And this is the breeding ground for irrationalism, mysticism, individual or collective escapism. Because, of course, society's not so nice, life is not so nice. Not only is the air and water polluted, but society is polluted too. If you cannot make a collective and revolutionary change, then you want at least to find an individual escape, and that is what this irrationalism and mysticism is all about.

Now when we look at the history of political trends in the twentieth century, we can see in what I would call "late capitalism" there runs an ugly, dual streak. On the one hand, you have the naive belief in technology, science, the capacity of experts to solve everything. On the other hand, you have this basic breeding-ground of irrationalism, rejection of humanism, rejection of the belief in the future of man, rejection of the belief in constructive social change. This is, as I

say, an *ugly* streak, because obviously under certain circumstances, this could help the re-appearance of fascist, or extremely right-wing tendencies, who breed on such beliefs.

There are additional elements which favour such a turn. We are living at the moment in which great expectations created by the capitalists themselves—expectations of full employment, rising standard of living, continuous economic growth, continuous technological progress, have been very rudely and radically contradicted by events. People don't believe, as they did in the early 60s, that things will just continue to get bigger and better. There is even a big scientific offensive. The Meadows report, the Club of Rome Report, say that if things continue as they are, we will reach a catastrophe; there will be a great scarcity of raw materials, pollution of the whole human environment—you have to stop growth.

I don't agree with that. I find that a very backward and reactionary idea that you have to stop growth. You have to stop anarchic growth, unorganised growth, wasteful growth. You have to replace it by planned growth, growth which is not a goal in itself, but subordinated to human happiness. To stop growth means condemning two-thirds of mankind to a life of unbelievable misery, as they are still experiencing it today. It is very easy to say you have to stop growth, if you have two motor cars and two television sets in your apartment. If you live on the dole, it is not so nice.

We have to understand the dangers of all this for the future, and we have to oppose to it our absolutely unshakeable belief that man is capable of changing his own nature, and his own environment, that he is capable of creating a better society.

The one key question is to change the structure of society. As long as you have this mad society, where everything is subordinated to the race for individual enrichment, or individual competition—not growth of happiness, growth of real human wealth, growth of human relations, of love—but growth only of private fortunes, private profit, then you have terribly destructive forces: economically, psychologically, militarily destructive, which threaten us with total annihilation. It is not easy for intelligence to accept that type of thing. It is easier to close the **eyes** or believe in a higher spirit which will free us.

It is not easy to say, yes, mankind could be destroyed. Because that is the truth. It could be, and not in the so distant future. Our freedom could be destroyed, or we could have everywhere in the world governments which introduce torture as a normal form of rule—that is absolutely possible. The trend is already there. So escapism is also the refusal to accept reality. That is also a childish approach, of course—if these dangers are there, you have to fight against them, not just

capitulate before them, by escaping into some private dream or into some private retreat.

As one who has been around the left for a long time, what do you think of a new grouping which in certain senses identifies itself with the revolutionary left—the women's liberation movement?

Women are more than half the human race and they are a half which has been socially and economically oppressed and exploited for thousands and thousands of years. It is much older than capitalism and goes back to the origins of class-society. Under these circumstances, of course, there is in the women's liberation movement, a tremendous potential for human liberation, of emancipation and revolutionary reorganisation of society, which goes far beyond the reorganization of sexual relations.

It is hard for us today to predict how, in a socialist society, women will live free—but one thing we can predict with great confidence, is that it will be completely different from the way they live in this society. It will be much more radical than changes in ownership or the reorganisation of assembly-plants. All attempts at starting to organise that liberation now should be encouraged but without creating the illusion that essentially this is a problem of individuals. It is a *social* problem, which means that the bridges between the women's movement and the labour movement, the emancipation of women of the working-class, must be multiplied.

If we succeed in integrating in the movement for socialism, the tremendous explosive potential of the women's liberation movement, then I think we will have taken a tremendous step towards achieving our goal.

What about May '68 in France? That must have been a tremendous vindication of revolutionary Marxists, after 25 years of isolation and 'class peace'?

I was very happy—they were certainly some of the happiest days of my life, but I am rather confident that I will see happier ones in Spain very soon, because the Spanish revolutionary movement will enter similar conditions as May '68 with a much bigger organised strength, ten times as big. That makes people like myself even more happy, when you don't only see spontaneous uprisings but also the possibility of intervening efficiently and preventing the thing from being lost and betrayed by reformist fakers of all types. □

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Britain—Asian Immigrants Face Hate Campaign

By Brian Lyons

LONDON—A wave of racist abuse and violence against Britain's two million nonwhite immigrants is taking place. The racist offensive is spearheaded by the fanatical bigots of the National Front (NF) and National party (NP—a group that broke away from the NF in January). The primary target is the Asian community based in London, the Midlands, and Lancashire.

The NP has gained the strongest foothold in Blackburn, Lancashire, where two of its members were elected to the local council in May. The NP polled a total of 8,315 votes.

Thirteen thousand Asians, representing about 12 percent of the population, live in Blackburn. In just ten days during May at least thirty attacks against Blackburn Asians and their households were reported. Many local commentators have compared the situation to that in Boston, U.S.A.

The racist offensive has not been confined to Lancashire and the Midlands but is part of a nationwide campaign that has spread to all areas, including London. Two mosques in South and East London were desecrated by whites in May, and evening congregations at mosques are subjected to frequent harassment. A Bengali group in East London listed fifty incidents of racist abuse during May, and toward the end of the month an Asian family in the area suffered a fire-bomb attack.

The campaign of racist violence has resulted in at least three deaths. In North London two foreign students, Kimiar Chaudry of India and Ribhi al-Hadidi of Jordan, were stabbed to death by white youths May 21.

This was followed by a second assault June 4 in the West London area of Southall. Two Asian youths were the victims. One survived to tell the story of the assault; the other, Gurdip Chaggar, was stabbed to death.

The day after Chaggar was murdered a group of Asian youths were surrounded by 150 whites in Barking, Essex. Nine people were arrested, seven of them Asians who had picked up sticks to defend themselves.

These assaults and killings are not isolated incidents. They stem directly from the race-hate campaign carried out by the extreme right and backed by the gutter press. The central issue in this campaign has been the question of immigration into Britain.

Between May 5 and May 30 about 150 Asians with British passports were expelled from Malawi and arrived in Britain

seeking a new home. The race-baiters seized on this as an opportunity to mount a hysterical campaign against the "Asian invaders." Families expelled from Malawi were greeted at the airport by racist demonstrators shouting slogans such as "Don't unpack, you have got to go back."

The bourgeois press was at the forefront of the assault. It published headlines such as: "One Slips in On Every Boat"; "Asian Flood Warning"; and, "New Asian Invaders."

But it was not only the Tories and the extreme right wing who contributed to the racist torrent. Robert Mellish, the former Labour party chief whip, declared, "Enough is enough."

The Asian community has naturally looked toward the Labour government for a firm stand against the anti-Asian campaign. Asian leaders appealed to Prime Minister James Callaghan to condemn the murder of Chaggar and to meet with a delegation from the Asian community. "To our utter shock and horror we have not even received a reply," one Pakistani leader told London *Times* reporter Diana Geddes.

"It is the minimum we would expect," he added. "What can we say to the youths when we cannot even produce a statement from the Prime Minister whose job it is to protect the citizens of this country?"

In the past the British imperialists have tried to present an image of Britain as a nondiscriminatory country open to all. Part of this cosmetics job designed to cover up a deeply ingrained racism was the Race Relations Act first introduced in 1965 and modified in 1968.

In its final form this act provided legal sanctions against race discrimination in important areas such as housing and job opportunities. It established the Race Relations Board as an investigating body that could receive complaints of race discrimination and take action on them.

In practice, however, the act has not alleviated discrimination. Most cases of discrimination are never reported. Since the act came into force eight years ago, the Race Relations Board has brought only thirty-three cases before the courts. Of these, only twenty-three have been successful—an average of less than three cases per year.

Moreover, the procedures are slow and it often takes two years for a case to be settled, by which time the result is purely academic. Finally, the act makes "incitement to racial violence" an offence. This clause could be used against Asian mili-

tants who urge the victims of racist attacks to defend themselves.

The Race Relations Act is little more than a thin veneer to cover up the racist bedrock built up through Britain's history as an imperial power. In fact, the Race Relations Act was introduced at the same time that immigration restrictions were being tightened.

During the post-World War II boom free immigration was encouraged by Westminster. It provided a cheap source of labour and at the same time it helped compensate for the emigration of skilled labour from Britain to Australia and Canada. For instance, there are thousands of Asians trained in their own countries who are now employed in the British medical profession.

But from 1962 onwards, as the boom tapered off, a series of acts were adopted restricting the flow of Asian immigrants into Britain. This was done first by discrimination in favor of certain skills, and then through wholesale limitations on the number of nonwhite persons permitted to enter Britain.

Racist campaigns similar to the one being carried out by the NF and NP today were waged by the extreme right of the Tory party in the early 1960s. What has happened now is that these ultraright fanatics have been emboldened by the racist policies of successive governments.

The immigration laws passed by these governments concede all major points to the racist lobby and establish principles around which racist sentiment can be mobilised. As Robert Moore explains in his book, *Racism and Black Resistance in Britain*:

Since you have admitted that black people are a problem in themselves, it is impossible to resist the argument for less of them. Even if new migrants are reduced to nil, the argument can be shifted to the number of dependents; when they are reduced it can be shifted to the question of illegal immigrants; when these are shown to be few in number it can be argued that the government is cooking the books. In the last analysis if you play the numbers game then black people already here and every black child born here is a problem and the discussion shifts to deportation. (p. 27.)

This is in fact exactly what has happened. In demanding "immediate repatriation" of Asians, the ultrarightists simply take the institutionalised racism of the Labour government further along its logical course.

The introduction of the current immigration act in 1971 saw the first real national mobilization of Asian immigrants in response to the attacks on their rights. Six thousand demonstrated in London. Since the passage of the 1971 immigration act, however, most immigrant organisations have tended to work within the framework of the act to get the best deal possible.

Nonwhite immigrants frequently face police harassment; the continual tightening of immigration restrictions leaves

many in fear of being cut off from their families abroad; and some face deportation. Since the 1971 act was introduced, 230 immigrant families have been forcibly repatriated—the highest number being in the last year.

Long-standing grievances such as these, combined with the recent racist attacks, have led to a new mood among the oppressed Asian population. Southall, scene of the murder of Gurdip Chaggar, has also been the area where Asians have gone the furthest in mobilizing against the racist attacks.

Southall's population includes about 25,000 Asians, primarily Sikhs from the northern Punjab. Almost immediately after the murder of Chaggar became known several hundred Asian youths marched to the local police station. They were met by three lines of policemen barricading the entrance to the station.

Four youths were arrested, but they were released two hours later, after the protesters staged a sit-down along the entire length of the road outside the station.

Protests against the murder continued. On June 7, extra police were brought in to monitor two antiracist marches, and a third demonstration that evening drew 3,000 persons.

The most explosive new factor in this situation is the radicalisation of the Asian youth. Many were born in Britain and they correctly insist that they have a *right* to be here just as much as the whites. "We've had enough of our leaders kowtowing to the British," one young activist declared.

The anger and radicalisation of the Asian youth has marked all the protest actions in the Asian community to such an extent that the more conservative elements are openly appealing to the government. *Times* reporter Diana Geddes reported the response of the conservative leaders to the murder of Chaggar in a June 8 article.

"Unless the Government gave them some immediate evidence of support, responsible Asian organisations could no longer keep the situation under control, they said."

Even the official diplomatic agencies of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh took the unprecedented step of issuing a joint statement to the Labour government, calling for measures to halt the racist offensive.

A "March of Unity" in Southall June 12 drew about 6,000 participants, mostly Asians. Many Asians joined in as the march passed through the local community. This march was sponsored by trade union groups, churches, the Labour party, the Liberal party, the Communist party (CP), the International Socialists (IS), the International Marxist Group (IMG—the British section of the Fourth International), and forty Asian organizations.

Three other antiracist marches took place in London that same weekend. The most significant of these was in the East



Antiracist march in London June 12.

London area of Whitechapel, where 2,000 persons, mostly Asians, demonstrated.

In searching for a correct course to take the movement forward, the Asian youth are under a variety of pressures. The CP appears to be heavily involved in Asian immigrant groups, and it has put forward the demand that the government ban marches of the NF and NP and prosecute those who make racist speeches.

"Provocations like the National Front rally at Winson Green prison should be stopped," the CP newspaper *Morning Star* declared in a May 19 editorial. "The Race Relations Act should be strengthened to make it a real fight against this reactionary poison," the editors added.

While the Stalinists urge reliance on the government, centrists like the IS have advanced an ultraleft strategy exemplified by an appeal in the June 12 issue of *Socialist Worker*, the IS paper. It said: "Have you had a good fight with the racists? Let us know about it. Send your reports to *Fightback*, *Socialist Worker*,

Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2."

Both the Stalinists and the centrists ignore the need for a *mass movement* to defeat the racists, and both let the government off the hook on the issue of its racist immigration policies.

The IMG was the only group on the Southall demonstration to march under the slogan of "Repeal the Immigration Laws!" The leaflet distributed by the IMG stated that "the support for the immigration laws by the trade union and labour leaders fosters the racist sentiment inside sections of the working class. An indispensable step in rooting out this racist menace is the building of a powerful movement inside the labour movement to force the repeal of the immigration laws."

As the crisis of British capitalism continues to deepen, racist attacks on the Asian community will intensify. Only a mass response by the Asian community and its allies can defeat the ultrarightists.

AROUND THE WORLD



Protest Against Price Increases Violently Repressed in Peru

At least 300 persons have been arrested and five killed following protests against a new austerity plan in Peru.

A strike that began July 1 paralyzed Lima's 10,000 buses, and spread to important provincial cities. The strikers were demanding immediate cancellation of increases in high-grade gasoline prices of up to 117 percent.

The austerity plan announced by the Morales Bermúdez regime June 30 increased taxes, public transportation fares, telephone and electric rates, and gasoline prices. It also eliminated or reduced subsidies for many imported products, including some food staples.

The government announcement was met the following day by street demonstrations in Lima, as well as by a prison revolt and the bus drivers' strike. Hundreds of protesters chanted, "Down with the military government! Up with salaries!" and stoned government buildings, shops, and buses.

Although the austerity measures were accompanied by a general wage increase of 10 to 15 percent, protesters insisted this was inadequate in view of the more than 24 percent rise in prices in the last year.

The junta immediately moved against the demonstrators. Four prisoners and one demonstrator were killed. Thirty-one prisoners and "several" others were reported injured.

Stating that Peru's economic crisis was "being used by certain political groups who are trying to foment disruptions of public order," the regime declared a thirty-day state of emergency throughout the country.

It imposed a curfew in Lima and suspended constitutional rights, such as the freedom from arrest without a court order, the right of assembly, the freedom to enter and leave the country, and the guarantee against arbitrary expulsion from the country.

Supreme Court Renews Death Penalty

On July 2, two days before the United States celebrated its bicentennial, the Supreme Court reinstated official murder. In a 7 to 2 ruling, it overturned a 1972 decision that capital punishment violated the Constitution's Eighth Amendment, which bans cruel and unusual punishment.

About 600 prisoners who have been

sentenced to death were on Death Row around the country when the ruling was made. According to lawyers, the Supreme Court provisions could lead to the execution of about half of them.

The racist nature of the ruling is apparent from the fact an absolute majority of the prisoners on Death Row are Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, or Indian. The Legal Defense and Educational Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is one of the main forces in the continuing battle to abolish the death penalty.

Iranian Police Kill Ten 'Terrorists'

Iranian officials said June 29 that police had shot down ten persons in Tehran that day, including two women. No policemen or bystanders were reported wounded in the alleged shootout with "Communist terrorists," according to the regime's report.

According to its own figures, the shah's regime has killed well over sixty persons this year, although the actual death count is thought to be substantially higher. All opponents of the shah's dictatorial rule are labeled terrorists by the regime.

Gierek Promises to Try Again

Polish Communist party leader Edward Gierek, who was forced into rapid retreat June 25 when massive protests over increases in food prices broke out, said July 3 that higher food prices were unavoidable. However, he promised "to consult with the nation" before trying to move again. Gierek, who has reason to know, said, "Nothing can be done in Poland without support of the whole community."

Cabinet Minister Denounces Trudeau

Jean Marchand, who held the post of environmental minister in Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau's cabinet, resigned June 30 with a statement protesting Trudeau's handling of a reactionary strike by English-speaking pilots and air traffic controllers. Other French-speaking ministers were also said to be considering resigning over an agreement that calls into question the status of the French language in the airline industry.

The English-speaking pilots and controllers struck against the use of French in control-tower broadcasts at the big international airports serving Montréal. They claimed that directions in two languages

would be confusing and a threat to safety, as if directions weren't given in numerous languages in international airports all over the world.

The real issue in the reactionary airline strike was whether or not French will be accorded the same status as English in practice as well as in law. The bigots said no, and Trudeau buckled to the pressure.

Italian CP Gains Parliamentary Post

A meeting of six Italian parties July 3 agreed to give the post of speaker in the Chamber of Deputies—the lower house in the Italian parliament—to a member of the Communist party. The post had previously been held by the Socialist party.

The meeting was attended by representatives of the Christian Democrats, the CP, the Socialists, Republicans, Social Democrats, and Liberals. Republican leader Ugo La Malfa described the atmosphere as "very, very good."

Juan Carlos Names New Premier

King Juan Carlos I named a new head of the Spanish government July 3. Adolfo Suárez González replaced Carlos Arias Navarro, whose resignation was accepted by the king July 1. Suárez, who began his political career in the fascist Falange, had been serving as head of the state-run National Movement—the only legal political organization in Spain under Franco. His policies are not expected to be any different than those of Arias.

Israelis Gun Down West Bank Youth

Nadeli Shantur, a sixteen-year-old Palestinian youth from Nablus, was shot dead by Israeli occupation troops July 2. The Israeli forces also wounded at least fifteen other persons and arrested more than 100 protesters in the West Bank town.

The shooting was the Israeli regime's response to the second day of demonstrations against a new tax that will raise most consumer prices by 8 percent. West Bank merchants shut down their shops July 1 to protest the tax, and police used tear gas to break up Palestinian demonstrations in Nablus and Jenin.

Protests continued the following day, when a tax office and a branch of the Israel National Bank were burned in Nablus. In addition to opposing the tax, which is designed to help the Israeli

regime buy more arms, the demonstrators shouted slogans of support for the Palestinian and Muslim leftists in Lebanon's civil war.

On July 3, hundreds of mourners carrying Palestine Liberation Organization flags attended Shantur's funeral. Israeli occupation troops attacked the protesters after the funeral, and three Arabs were injured in the Balata refugee camp.

New York Picket in Defense of Dominican Longshore Union

A picket line was held at the New York consulate of the Dominican Republic June 25, demanding an end to police occupation of the offices of POASI (Longshoremen's Union). The union's headquarters has been under police control since October 1973, and is currently used as a police barracks.

The protesters also demanded that free elections be held in the union, which at present is run by a leadership handpicked by the Balaguer regime. The action was initiated by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners and the POASI Defense Committee.

Four Japanese Executives Arrested in Lockheed Bribery Scandal

Japanese police arrested four men on charges related to the Lockheed payoff scandal June 22. Three officials of All Nippon Airways who picked Lockheed planes over others were accused of taking \$170,000 in return for their choice. Facing charges of violating foreign exchange and foreign trade control laws are managing director Yuji Sawa, accounting chief Hisayori Aoki, and Tadao Ueki, head of the business and international departments of All Nippon Airways.

Toshiharu Okubo, former managing director and adviser to Marubeni Corp., is charged with suspicion of perjury in connection with testimony before a parliamentary committee. Okubo, who signed receipts for ninety "units" and thirty "units," denied knowing what the receipts were for.

Brazilian Tribes Driven Off Land

The Txucaameis and Xacriabá tribes are among the latest victims of the Brazilian ruling class's policy of genocide against the native peoples of the country.

About 200 members of the Txucaameis tribe, living in Xingu National Park in the state of Mato Grosso, are being threatened by a private firm—Agropecuária Jarina. This cattle company is demanding that the National Indian Foundation of Brazil authorize construction of a road across Txucaameis land.

If the request was not met, the company said, it would send 150 armed men to invade the park and "kill and destroy everything in front of them." (Quoted in the May 25 *Jornal do Brasil*.)

In an Indian reservation in the state of



"Are you aware that you are an obstacle to progress?"

Naranjo/Excelsior

Minas Gerais, the 2,600 members of the Xacriabá tribe face a similar fate. There, land-grabbers armed with machine guns have been driving the native people off the 250,000 hectares granted them in perpetuity during the last century.

One land-grabber in the area, Iris Costa, who holds 1,050 hectares of reservation land, views his actions as "revolutionary." It is "an absurdity," he said, "for fertile lands to remain in the hands of the Indians, who are not capable of producing for the country."

The Txucaameis are not taking the robbery lying down. Their chief, Raunai, told the São Paulo daily *Jornal do Brasil* that his people were "going to fight and defend what is theirs."

Amnesty International Denounces Wide Use of Torture in Philippines

Amnesty International said in a report released June 26 that torture in the Philippines was widespread and part of a "general approach" by the Marcos regime to terrorize political prisoners.

The report said that prisoners were beaten "freely and with extreme cruelty, often over long periods." Other forms of torture included electric shock on the genitals, threats of sexual assault against women prisoners, making detainees place pistols to their own heads and pull the triggers in a "Russian roulette," and alternately scalding and chilling the prisoners.

Philippine authorities have admitted that 4,000 persons are being held without charges.

A few days later, the regime issued a decree forbidding newspapers and magazines in the Philippines to criticize President Ferdinand Marcos or his wife Imelda.

Protest for Independence Grets Ford in Puerto Rico

Tens of thousands of persons demonstrated for independence in Dorado, Puerto Rico, June 27. The action was held in front of the hotel where U.S. President Gerald Ford was hosting an international economic summit meeting.

There were two separate demonstrations, one in the morning organized by the Puerto Rican Independence party and one in the afternoon organized by the Puerto Rican Socialist party.

A report in the June 28 issue of *Claridad*, daily newspaper of the PSP, estimated total attendance at 30,000.

Argentine Junta Eases Law on Profits

The Videla junta in Argentina is examining the draft of a new law designed to further enrich foreign investors. According to Associated Press, the draft is expected to be approved before the end of July. It eliminates any limit on the amount of profit foreign companies can send out of the country and reduces from five years to three years the waiting period before repatriation of profits can begin.

Selections From the Left

lutte ouvrière

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

The June 26 issue comments on the Proletarian Democracy slate in Italy, a bloc of parties claiming to stand to the left of the CP. The editors explain that this bloc has been offered as an example for a similar common slate of the "far left" in the next elections in France, and "therefore it is all the more interesting to see what policy the revolutionists united around.

"The entire campaign of Proletarian Democracy was conducted around the slogan of 'a government of the left,' that is, a CP-SP coalition. This was not a tactical slogan used by the bloc to expose the Italian left. It could not, however, make sense unless illusions were avoided about what such a government would represent. The workers had to be warned clearly that the left organizations asking for their votes sought only to become loyal administrators of capitalism, with or without the Christian Democracy. The workers had to be warned clearly that even with a government of the workers organizations, workers would have no say in political decisions and no control over the slate.

"The workers had to be called on to organize to create the means for imposing their will. Even if the workers parties had the intention of conducting a policy different from that of the bourgeoisie—which has to be shown—the state would remain bourgeois, along with the army, the police, and the entire bourgeois state apparatus.

"But, no, the goal officially proclaimed by the Proletarian Democracy was to 'throw out the Christian Democrats.' Everything else would be taken care of by the 'dynamic of unity' and the 'dynamic of the struggles.' According to Proletarian Democracy, a CP-SP government would automatically advance the 'revolutionary process' in Italy, regardless of the reformist intentions of its participants.

"In short, the entire policy of Proletarian Democracy was to press the CP, at least verbally, to its left. There was no analysis of the policy the CP might conduct in government, nor of the reasons why the Italian bourgeoisie was ready to accept it in the government. Instead Proletarian Democracy proclaimed its confidence in the automatic development of the class struggle leading the CP further and

further, and, if need be, sweeping it away.

"In the present situation in Italy, Proletarian Democracy hoped to play the same kind of role toward Berlinguer that the MIR in Chile played toward Allende. And this was in a context where the CP could follow only a rightist line. Far from combatting the illusions of the Italian workers about what the CP would do in the government, Proletarian Democracy only encouraged them"

Lutte Ouvrière criticized a statement by Proletarian Democracy leader Massimo Gorla, who said: "The government of the left we want represents the opening of a revolutionary phase of a new type."

The Paris weekly said: "By not including a criticism of the political intentions of a 'left government,' . . . this amounts to endorsing such a regime, saying that all that is needed in addition is a mass movement to enable it to realize its 'progressive aims.'"

世界革命

"Sekai Kakumei" (World Revolution), weekly central organ of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League, Japanese section of the Fourth International.

In the June 3 issue, a series of articles began examining the proposals for changes in the program of the Japanese Communist party made by CP General Secretary Fuwa in the party organ, *Akaha-ta*.

"The Japan Communist party will revise its present program at a Special Congress due to open in July or August. They say they will eliminate the terms 'dictatorship of the proletariat' and 'Marxism-Leninism.'"

The editors wrote that it was important to take advantage of the discussions over these changes to explain to the ranks and followers of the CP why now even the terminology of Marxism is being abandoned:

"Very, very many workers and students have illusions that the CP is the 'party of communism,' the 'party of revolution.' The fact is that in abandoning the revolutionary content of Marxism, the CP leadership has had to come out with a long article with lots of quotations from Marx and Engels. It's also a fact that despite the consideration of this question at the April 1 Executive meeting, the CP leadership had to put forward this position in an article signed by an individual. This indicates that they could not make this shift without incurring a lot of resistance and unrest within the party and among

broad layers of supporters.

"The CP finds itself in the dilemma that while publicly abandoning the substance of Marxism, it cannot completely drop Marxism itself. It's clear that the crisis of the CP is deepening. This discussion, moreover, is not confined just to the CP and its periphery. It will probably have an impact on all the centrist groups that raise the banner of 'Marxism,' such as the Socialist Association [a left-centrist faction of the Socialist party]. Moreover, broad masses are likely to be touched by the eddies churned up by this debate. . . . We must take this opportunity and go on the offensive. . . ."

RÉVOLUTION!

Revolutionary Communist weekly, reflecting the views of a group of Maoist spontanéists. Published in Paris.

The June 18 issue attacks the French and Portuguese Trotskyists for not backing the candidacy of Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho in the June 27 elections.

"For the Trotskyists of the International Communist League and the Revolutionary Workers party, what gives value to a candidacy primarily is its program, provided this comes from a political organization, which is supposed to be the only thing that can offer an overall alternative to the workers movement. This notion totally leaves out the real state of the people's movement, its needs in the present phase. . . . Thus, it leads to posing the question of a political and governmental alternative in completely general terms and without the slightest connection with reality. However, this notion in itself is nothing compared to its consequences. After their attempt to run their own candidate failed, they were left with Otelo and Octávio Pato. These two organizations had to make a painful choice. Neither candidate advocated a Trotskyist program. The only criterion left was 'class character,' in the sociological sense that the Trotskyists give to this term. For them, all CPs are workers parties, and revolutionary military officers are not included in their bible. This led the Trotskyists to denounce Otelo and call for a vote for the CP, for the only 'workers candidate,' even if he was a 'degenerated workers' candidate, the candidate of a party that since November 25 in particular has betrayed the workers' interests. It is hard to imagine the confusion the Trotskyists would have fallen into if the SP had run its own civilian candidate. How could they choose? Which would

be more working class?"

It was "very fortunate," *Révolution!* said, that the "principal revolutionary forces" in Portugal (that is, the radicalized petty-bourgeois centrist groups similar to it) took a different view. In the first place, "the revolutionists, who were unable to unite in the Assembly elections . . . have been able to rally around Otelo." Moreover, "Otelo is reconstructing the unity of the people's movement."

labor Challenge

Twice-monthly newspaper published in Toronto, Canada.

A report on the convention of the Ontario New Democratic party (Canada's labor party) appears in the June 21 issue. Phil Cournoyer notes that "more than 1,100 delegates registered, 300 more than at the 1974 convention," a reflection of the growing support for the party in Ontario.

Despite the urging of party leader Stephen Lewis "that the NDP must avoid confrontation politics (his term for involvement in mass struggles and support for strikes)," Cournoyer said that several debates indicated "unease with the policy direction taken by the Lewis leadership."

One resolution in particular—a statement on health care that accepted the government argument on the necessity of cutbacks—drew strong opposition. "Lofty MacMillan, representing the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) national executive, moved to refer the resolution back to committee with specific instructions that it be re-written to 'completely oppose any cutbacks' and that the NDP 'be prepared to bring down the government on this issue.'"

This motion carried overwhelmingly.

In addition, "The delegates unanimously pledged the Ontario NDP to join with the federal NDP and the labor movement 'in strongly opposing the programme of wage and price controls.'"

was fun

"What Is To Be Done," weekly paper of the International Marxist Group. Published in Frankfurt, West Germany.

The June 24 issue comments on the visit to West Germany of the South African premier, John Balthasar Vorster.

It is not surprising that Vorster thought it was all right to visit Germany right after the Soweto massacre, the editors state. "From his point of view, not much has happened. The racist police have done their usual job, putting in, maybe, a couple of hours overtime."

What seems a little strange is that the Social Democratic government is welcoming the representative of such a regime. In fact, they seem a little embarrassed about

it. They say they cannot stop Vorster from visiting their country, since presumably he is free to travel where he likes.

"What a lie this is. These Social Democrats in the government pay no attention to the Common Market rules guaranteeing freedom of movement. They stop leaders of the international workers movement such as Ernest Mandel at the border. Then they claim they have 'no power' to keep out a hangman like Vorster.

"The reason for such standards of morality can be explained in cold figures. From 1966 to 1972, West German exports to South Africa doubled from 981 million Deutsche marks to 1,756 billion, and by now they must have reached 2 billion. Total West German investment in South Africa is 261 million Deutsche marks. And the rate of profit, as the March 1973 issue of the Commerzbank's foreign trade newsletter put it, is "at 14%, one of the highest in the world."

"West German capitalists thus draw considerable profits from the system that Vorster is defending with 'whatever means necessary.' And the Social Democrats in the government are the administrators of the capitalists' interests. (Sometimes they do this job cheerfully, at other times with a certain unhappiness.) The Vorster visit demonstrates this reality."

Tribune Ouvrière

"Workers Forum," monthly newspaper reflecting the views of the Socialist Workers Group of Québec. Published in Montréal.

In the June issue, the editors comment on the most recent Gallup poll in Québec, which showed growing disillusionment with all the the bourgeois parties. The ruling Liberal party was the most discredited. About half of those who voted for this party in the last election now reject it. Three-fourths of the voters are dissatisfied with the Liberal provincial government of Premier Bourassa. Only one voter in seven thinks Bourassa is fit to run Québec.

The bourgeois nationalist Québec party has held its support, but has lost its momentum. It has gained nothing from the decline of the Liberals.

In *La Presse*, a major bourgeois daily in Montréal, Vincent Prince described the percentage of those who either abstained from making a political choice or refused to answer the pollsters as "incredibly large." He asked: "Does this mean people are turning up their noses at democratic institutions such as our parties?"

Tribune Ouvrière thinks that the poll did show pretty clearly that the people were turning up their noses at both bourgeois parties. They were looking for a real alternative that would "unconditionally support the demands of the workers, farmers, unemployed, and students." And it is the responsibility of the labor move-

ment to provide such an alternative.

In fact, in his report to the congress of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, released in advance, the president of this organization, Marcel Pépin, said that nothing could prevent unionists from thinking and talking about the need for a political party of labor.

Tribune Ouvrière comments: "In this framework, the proposals of the Political Action Committee of the Confederation of National Trade Unions are an important step. They call for discussions in the unions in all regions in Québec, starting in the fall, and a national political action congress in the spring at the latest."

lippu

"Banner," organ of the Social Democratic Youth League. Published monthly in Helsinki, Finland.

In the May issue, Jukka Paastela writes on the question of Zionism and what attitude socialists should take toward it.

"Zionism is an aggressive ideology. Its objective, based on the authority of the Bible, is to conquer the area extending 'from the Nile to the Euphrates' . . .

"Zionism is a bourgeois ideology. To be sure, there is also a 'left' and 'socialist' Zionism. However, on the crucial question of the nature of the Jewish state, it does not differ from the 'bourgeois' variety."

Paastela admitted: "In the conflict between Zionism and the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people, the position of the international Social Democratic movement has been to support the Zionists. The Israeli Labour party (which is Zionist) belongs to the Socialist International, along with a couple of international Zionist organizations. On the other hand, for example, the French and especially the Southern European SPs are anti-Zionist."

Actually one Southern European SP is no longer so "anti-Zionist." The Portuguese SP avoided contacts with Zionists while it was trying to appear left. But recently it sent a leading member there, who came back supporting Israel as an example of "democratic government."

Paastela is hopeful: "In the Social Democratic party of Finland, defenders of Zionism are in a very strong position. This is mainly out of ignorance. The real nature of Zionism is not known and anti-Zionism is confused with anti-Semitism. Much educational work is to be done."

The main aim of the Palestine liberation movement, Paastela explained, "is to establish a democratic secular state. Thus, it is backed by the Palestinian people, the majority of whom live in exile. It is not a religious sectarian movement. In addition to its Muslim backing, it is supported by the Eastern Orthodox church. It also has the support of a part, although a very small part, of the Israeli Jewish working class."

My Country and the World

Reviewed by Ken Coates



In his most recent book, Academician Sakharov devotes a whole chapter to "the Liberal Intelligentsia of the West," the main gist of which is a criticism of what he terms "leftist-liberal faddishness." Sakharov is moved to write about this by various silly attitudes which have been reported to him, such as those of the French Communist sympathiser who asked his mother-in-law whether "there was a particle of truth" in Solzhenitsyn's account of Gulag. Sakharov's reaction is understandable. But as so often happens, the credulity of some Westerners about Soviet affairs is matched by a similar naiveté among some Russians about the West.

This trusting and innocent response is by no means surprising: If one has come to disbelieve one's own establishment, it is easy enough to embrace an alternative, warts and all. Yet Sakharov himself proclaims a belief in universal human rights, and in an attempt to rise above cold-war imperatives, he specifically condemns the ill-treatment of political prisoners in Indonesia, for instance. It is all the more damaging and inconsistent of him to move from such a (well-justified) insistence to the view that the United States government is, or ought to behave as, the leader of the "free world." Because Academician Sakharov is not alone among honest men in holding that view, it is instructive to ask, what is the connection between political prisoners in Indonesia and the "leaders of the free world"?

A recent study¹ throws a great deal of light on this question. It may not be generally known that the most careful estimates put the number of Indonesian political detainees at around 100,000, or ten times Amnesty International's most recent guess at the number of politically dissident prisoners in the USSR. Indonesian prisoners are graded into three categories. Category A prisoners (some 1,500) are alleged to be awaiting trial on charges of complicity in the events of October 1965. Categories B and C, the remainder, are either detained without any prospect of trial as "security risks" or described by the authorities as "awaiting release." They have been awaiting it a

long time. All the evidence agrees that all these detainees are held in conditions which are far below any civilized minimum standards.² So, if the population of Indonesia is about half that of the USSR, then Indonesia is approximately twenty times worse than the USSR on the straightforward index of wrongful imprisonment of critics of the regime.

But that is only the beginning of the question. The government which maintains these huge penal colonies for politi-

My Country and the World, by Andrei D. Sakharov. New York: Vintage Books, 1975. xvi+109 pp. \$1.65. British publisher: Collins/Hamill. £2.25.

cal dissidents did not arrive in office easily, and would have needed to have built additional prisons from four to ten times larger than those which already exist, if it had not avoided this necessity by the simple expedient of massacre. No one will ever know exactly how many people were butchered in Suharto's coup: The smallest estimate is 400,000, and it is commonly and credibly claimed that the real figure was nearer one million. In the meagre newspaper coverage this blood-storm received in the West, it was reported that the rivers of Java were blocked by the bodies of the victims.

It is at this point that the new evidence should interest Academician Sakharov. In a painstaking study,³ Peter Dale Scott has now shown us, blow by blow, exactly how the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency plotted the downfall of the Sukarno regime, prepared the Indonesian military for insurrection, and arranged, through the Ford Foundation's good offices, for the training of the necessary civilian cadres to take over the subsequent administration. Indonesia's terror, in short, was made in Washington.

Nor is this the only black spot on Amnesty's books. Iran, for instance, is a personal dictatorship of the most unsavou-

ry species. The shah rules through a private security force, the SAVAK, which uses means which have long since been denied to the KGB to enforce political order. Political murders are common, and administrative executions quite frequent. Sakharov refers to the conditions of the Kurds in Iraq. However, not only the Kurds, but all nationalities in Iran, are violently suppressed.

In what circumstances did the shah's repressive regime originate? The recent disclosures in Washington make this perfectly plain: it all began in the United States, with some useful assistance from British Intelligence and the late Herbert Morrison. In the same way, the torturers of Brazil and Chile owe not only their power, but, all too often, their actual techniques and training, to the appropriate subdepartments of the CIA.

That a variant form of liberal democracy, more or less unscathed, rules in the USA itself, remains true. But if one ignores the connections of Empire, one sees this in an altogether artificial light. Urbane men like Richard Welch, CIA operative recently assassinated in Athens, may well seem, in a Ford Foundation seminar, to be tolerant and witty. In Athens where people have reason blame their savage experiences under the colonels on just such conspirators, they have a different aspect. It is not altogether fanciful to liken them to Adolf Eichmann, an unimaginative bureaucrat, who, when charged with Auschwitz, told his judges in Israel that he "only provided the transport."

It is this fact, a key one, which makes Sakharov's judgement about Vietnam so outrageously wide of the mark. Was there a simple alternative between communist autocracy and liberal democracy? Clearly there was not: the succession of puppet governments established in Vietnam (or South Korea) by the Americans were neither liberal nor democratic. They were corrupt and self-seeking conspiracies against their own peoples. One doesn't need to read the publications of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to understand this: it is sufficiently apparent from such sources as Graham Greene's novel *The Quiet American*, which is all the more telling for its sympathetic understanding of the background and *mores* of the American personnel who were involved.

1. *Ten Years' Military Terror in Indonesia*. London: Spokesman Books, 1975.

2. See Carmel Budiardjo's study in the Spokesman volume.

3. "Exporting Military-Economic Development," in the Spokesman volume.

If Western intellectuals don't wish to see the growth of freedom of expression and personal civil rights in Asia, as Sakharov charges, then they err gravely. But Sakharov himself errs equally gravely if he remains indifferent to the question of imperialism, which means recurrent starvation throughout the third world, enforced underdevelopment coupled with distorted development, and a dependent condition based on widespread servitude and equally generalised oppression. The hungry are not free.

This is not at all to say that the hungry have no need for freedom. I remember a discussion on this matter with a Western scholar, the author of a definitive history of the Sino-Indian border war. On the basis of wide travel in China he was profoundly (and I think properly) impressed by the differences between the India he knew so well, and the China he had learned about. We were talking about the Soviet dissidents and he expressed considerable sympathy with their predicament on the personal level. But, he said, having seen the ravages of hunger, he couldn't but feel that it was all, to some degree, self-indulgent to put the creative freedom of some individuals before the economic well-being of a whole populace. I had just met Zhores Medvedev, the distinguished geneticist, exiled from Russia after a chain of events arising from the publication of his distinguished account of the *Rise and Fall of T.D. Lysenko*. So I asked the question, "What of scientific freedom?" Surely it could be persuasively argued that Lysenko's dogmatic grip on Soviet science cost the USSR almost as much as a whole succession of droughts? And how can one assure freedom of enquiry in the pure and applied sciences without it spilling over into social studies and the arts? I am not sure if this argument convinces "left-liberal faddishness," but it certainly seems plausible to me.

Sakharov, in seeking international support for such creative freedom, is looking in the wrong place. Empires sustain only those freedoms they find compatible with dominion. In the modern age, only the socialist culture has the requisite breadth and vitality to defend and advance the cause of liberty as a good in itself, without deference to partial national or imperial interests, and without equivocation. It is not an accident that a liberal "moderate" like Lord Chalfont makes television programmes about the enlightenment of the shah of Persia, or that Henry Kissinger remains unmoved by the evidence of his handiwork in Chile or Brazil. England has an oil deficit, and the United States a "sphere of influence."

Of course, it is always possible to opt for the traditional view of the cold war, as has Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. In this case, one either doesn't worry about electric-shock treatment in South American prisons, or

one says that Plyushch should rot in jail for rocking the boat. But anyone who looks at the repression which exists, around the world, with anything like an impartial eye, is bound to observe that the imprisonment of a few thousand more Chileans or Indonesians does nothing whatever to relax the regime endured by Vladimir Bukovsky in Russia. On the contrary,

New Decrees by Argentine Junta

Stiff Penalties for Political Action

The Videla junta's plan to stamp out virtually all political activity in Argentina was made more explicit with the passage of three new laws June 2. They ban by name forty-eight organizations and provide penalties of up to eight years for participation in the activities of such groups.

Earlier decrees had banned political activity in general and named five Trotskyist and Maoist groups specifically prohibited.

Target of the stiffest penalties in the June 2 laws are those involved with twenty-two organizations associated with the Peronist left, among them the Juventud Peronista (Peronist Youth), Juventud Trabajadora Peronista (Peronist Worker Youth), Movimiento Peronista Auténtico (Authentic Peronist Movement, a split-off from the official Peronist movement), and Frente Antiimperialista por el Socialismo (Anti-imperialist Front for Socialism).

The headquarters of the listed organizations were ordered closed and all their bank accounts frozen. Anyone involved in activities of one of the groups—activities of an organizational character, spreading their ideas, collecting funds to be used directly or indirectly for their benefit, or displaying emblems of any of the organizations—is liable to a sentence of three to eight years in jail.

For possessing, showing, distributing, publishing, reproducing, printing, or supplying material referring in any way to the banned groups, one is liable to a sentence of two to six years. The same penalties apply to anyone responsible in the mass media who publicizes anything about the organizations.

A second decree lists another twenty-six organizations, including the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers party) and other Trotskyist groups, Maoist organizations, and even some political prisoner defense committees like the prestigious Foro de Buenos Aires por la Vigencia de los Derechos Humanos (Buenos Aires Forum for the Protection of Human Rights).

The same "offenses" apply to these groups but the penalties are less severe

freedom is indivisible in modern world, and must be defended against all who abuse it, whomever they serve. Whatever was the case in the 1930s, today a clear majority of the political prisoners around the world owe their sufferings directly to the triumph of American policy over their governments. The free world is still in the socialist imagination, or nowhere. □

(e.g., for participating in activities of an organization in this group one is liable to two to four years in prison, instead of three to eight).

The only significant left organization absent from the lists is the Argentine Communist party.

The third decree concerns political parties in general. Among other provisions, it stipulates a sentence of one month to three years for carrying out any organizational or ideological work, or organizing a political meeting, collecting funds, or displaying party emblems for any party. □

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Capitalism Fouls Things Up



Works Fine When It Doesn't Rain

"Almost all of Chicago's sewers are combined—that is, they carry storm water waste as well as industrial and domestic sewage. The pipes used to empty out straight into the Calumet. But a severe cholera epidemic in the 1900s prompted the city to install interceptor pipes at hundreds of outlet points. These pipes siphon off the sewage before it hits the river and carry it off to a pumping station.

"In dry weather, the system works well. But whenever there is even a moderately heavy rainfall, the interceptors themselves overflow. Result: Water pours back into the original sewer pipes and flows right into the Calumet River."—*Business Week*, July 12.

The Slow Death of the Seine

The sight of dead fish floating under the bridges of Paris is now a common occurrence, according to a report in the May 30-31 issue of *Le Monde*.

The fish have been asphyxiated because recent hot weather has raised the temperature of the heavily polluted Seine to 22

degrees Centigrade (about 72 degrees Fahrenheit), with the following result:

"The bacteria that destroy the pollutants are stimulated by the bath-water temperature, but at the same time they consume a proportionally greater amount of oxygen, condemning the surrounding fauna to suffocation."

This year, the pollution and heat have been compounded by an exceptional dry spell. At present the Seine flows at a rate of 80 cubic meters a second, compared with its normal rate of 220 cubic meters. Since the discharge of wastes has not decreased, the concentration of pollution is much higher than usual.

Pollution Makes It Even Hotter

The heat wave in Western Europe that is melting roads, withering crops, and killing fish in shrinking rivers is partly ascribable to pollution, according to a report in the June 27 issue of the London weekly *The Observer*.

A definite cause of the extra warmth, climate experts said, is the 10 percent increase in carbon dioxide in the atmosphere over the past half century.

Even hotter weather may be in store for the future, the *Observer* report said. "Model climates," produced on computers . . . show that the full effect of this man-made pollution from industry and motor-car wastes will not be felt until the next century."

11,000 Protest Plans to Dock Japanese Nuclear-Powered Ship

More than 11,000 persons took part in a demonstration in Sasebo, on Japan's western island of Kyushu, June 1 to protest plans to dock the nuclear-powered merchant ship *Mutsu* there.

Two years ago the *Mutsu* sailed out of Akita in northern Japan, but after a malfunction of its nuclear reactor was reported, protests prevented it from returning to that port for repairs.

The Japanese government's plans to transfer the ship to Sasebo have evoked widespread opposition among local residents, especially those who earn their living by fishing in Sasebo Bay and the surrounding waters.

The June 1 demonstration was called by

the Kyushu Regional Conference of youth sections of trade unions affiliated with Sohyo (General Council of Japanese Trade Unions). Supporters included two left-centrist factions of Shaseido (the SP youth group) and the Japan Communist Youth, the Trotskyist youth group.

Anyone For a Swim?

French underwater explorer Jacques-Yves Cousteau has started an international campaign to call attention to a chemical time bomb threatening the beaches of Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Albania.

A freighter carrying 900 barrels of lead-based gasoline additives sank off Otranto in southern Italy two years ago. The barrels could start leaking soon, and the American National Academy of Sciences puts the chemicals in them in the first rank of lethal poisons.

Even eating fish that have been in contact with the chemicals can result in insomnia, emotional instability, and hallucinations. Close contact can result in coma and death.

However, a representative of the Club Méditerranée, which has a holiday village near Otranto, recently said that he had been assured by Italian authorities that there was no danger from the poison.

Asbestos Workers Protest

Workers at the Carson, California, Johns-Manville plant, where asbestos-lined pipes for industry are manufactured, walked off the job June 29 for a one-hour memorial meeting. Twelve employees at the plant have died of asbestos-related diseases in the last fourteen months.

The Johns-Manville plant manager accused the union of "attempting to involve public emotion in an issue already resolved in order to gain further concessions at the bargaining table."

The corporation has refused union demands to negotiate a clause in the union's new contract that would provide medical coverage for workers who develop cancer as a result of the asbestos dust in the plant. Johns-Manville also insists that company doctors, rather than a physician chosen by the workers, administer and evaluate medical tests to detect whether workers are in danger.



Herblock/Washington Post

France—National Minorities Protest Double Exploitation

[The following statement appeared in the May issue of *La Falç*, publication of the Esquerra Catalana dels Treballadors (Catalan Workers Left). The translation from the French is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Basques, Bretons, Catalans, Corsicans, and Occitanians are engaged in struggle alongside French and immigrant workers. We are not fighting solely for the use and teaching of our languages, but also against the capitalist exploitation of all workers, which means (particularly for us) unemployment, exodus, the slow death of our homelands, and in the end the destruction of our peoples.

We suffer a double exploitation. First as workers:

With the increase in unemployment, we are forced in even greater numbers to leave our regions, which are being ground into poverty.

In our own regions, our workers are superexploited. Unemployment is higher,¹ wages are lower, speedup is often worse than in Paris. Moreover, the concentration of small and medium-sized companies exacerbates the problem of insufficient jobs, which is severe even in the big cities, and makes it easier for the bosses to put increased pressure on workers, who are compelled to be submissive.

In this context, the following measures have been taken:

- The creation of fly-by-night factories, which benefit from decentralization subsidies (at the expense of the taxpayers), pay low wages, and provide few jobs.

- Administrative measures of no real effectiveness to resolve the problems of small agricultural holdings, which are increasingly dependent on the multinational trusts. The small farmers purchase (by going into debt with the *Crédit Agricole*) their material (machinery, fertilizer, feed) from the trusts and sell them (at a bargain price!) their products, which in the framework of the capitalist Common Market are placed in unfair competition with goods produced in countries with fewer restrictions, lower wages, and deval-

ued currency (for example, the wine question).

- An education that prepares us more to leave the region than anything else, owing to the lack of openings at home, and that furthermore ignores our languages and cultures, which are taken up only as optional items and are treated in a derogatory manner.

We are therefore also exploited as peoples.

Our languages and cultures are rejected by the schools, radio, and television. In reality they are under daily attack. For the sake of "progress" and "social advancement," we are encouraged to scorn them. All that is tolerated is commercialized folklore for the tourist trade. The aim is to inculcate in us the mentality of "welfare clients."

That is why we find ourselves among you in the Paris region, where we hold the poorest paying jobs, those passed up by others who had a choice in the matter. Government employment, usually at the lowest levels, has frequently been the only opening for us (the post office, railways, office work, if not the CRS!²). The deportation of Basque, Breton, Catalan, Corsican, and Occitanian workers is used, although to a lesser degree than the deportation of foreign immigrants, by certain branches of industry, making them a reserve army of labor that exerts pressure on the wages of workers in the Paris region.

Impoverished, weakened, emptied of their men and women (even if others who have the means to establish themselves come in their place), our homelands have been put up for auction. The big banks and the army squabble among themselves over our soil, which they lay waste or use for their profit, exploiting it in the following ways:

- By building or expanding military bases (Larzac, Canjuers, Capcir, Corbières, L'Île Longue; the Foreign Legion and paratroopers in Corsica), not to mention the missile silos or the dangerous nuclear sites.

- By taking advantage of the wealth of tourist attractions in our homelands—the so-called development of the coastal area and the mountains. In reality this means the displacement of the local population (*us*) and the exploitation of tourists (*you* who come on vacation). Like the Côte d'Azur (the "Florida" of Occitania), the coasts of Aquitaine, Brittany, and Corsica

2. *Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité*, the state security police.—*IP*

are being covered with concrete and taken over by private interests (vacation clubs, marinas). Although these projects are carried out under the cover of state bodies or of associations created under state authority, they are in fact controlled by the banks and the big monopolies.

But our homelands are not for sale. The struggle for the right to live and work in our own territory and to develop the means of expression that are ours has already begun. The response has been stepped-up repression:

- Arbitrary expulsions of Basque militants.

- Arrests and searches of the homes of Basque, Breton, Catalan, Corsican, and Occitanian militants.

- The outlawing of anti-Francoist organizations such as the FRAP [Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriota—Revolutionary Antifascist and Patriotic Front] and ETA [Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna—Basque Nation and Freedom].

- The indictment of Bretons and Corsicans before the State Security Court.

- The crushing in blood (two deaths) of demonstrations by winegrowers in Occitania.

All these repressive steps are in addition to those carried out throughout the French state against students, trade-union militants, soldiers, and immigrant workers.

We demand the following immediately:

- A halt to the repression.
- Freedom for the political prisoners.
- Elimination of the State Security Court.

We call for support to:

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1. The average in France as a whole, at the end of 1975, was 5.9 unemployed for every 100 workers. This compares with a figure of 9.4 in Languedoc-Rousillon; 8.7 in Provence, Côte d'Azur, and Corsica; 7.7 in Midi-Pyrénées; and 7.2 in Aquitaine.

• Protest actions around the themes "région morte" [dead region] and "île morte" [dead island].

• Actions demanding official recognition of the national languages and cultures (an official policy of bilingualism).

Fight together against international capitalism! Workers of all countries, all oppressed peoples, unite! A region that is dying is a region that is being killed! Stop the deportation of workers! We want to live in our own territory!

Coordination of the organizations of oppressed peoples is carried out through a standing committee composed of the signers of the Charter of Brest.³ This charter serves as the basis for a common struggle against colonialism in Europe.

3. Adopted February 3, 1974, by nationalist groups in four West European countries. See *Intercontinental Press*, May 20, 1974, p. 639, for the text of the charter.—IP

Esquerra Catalana dels Treballadors, Euskal Herriko Alderdi Sozialista [Basque Socialist party], Union Démocratique Bretonne [Breton Democratic Union].

This statement is also signed by Lutte Occitane/Ostal Occitan [Occitanian Struggle] and the Union des Travailleurs Corses en Exil [Union of Corsican Workers in Exile]. □

Statement by Former Hungarian Prime Minister

[June 1976 marked the twentieth anniversary of the publication of Khrushchev's secret speech to the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The London-based Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation held a meeting to commemorate this anniversary, as well as to launch the publication of two Spokesman Books, a paperback version of Roy Medvedev's *Let History Judge* and a full edition of Khrushchev's speech with an introduction by Roy and Zhores Medvedev.

[Among the messages read to the meeting was one from Andras Hegedus, Hungarian prime minister until 1956. The full text was released by the Russell Foundation.]

* * *

You have asked me to explain my point of view concerning the twentieth anniversary of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the publication of Khrushchev's secret report. I will try to do it in the form of a short letter. But I cannot give a purely theoretical, objective answer to the question about the importance of those events, only a subjective one, because my attitudes to them have changed in essential matters during the last twenty years.

At the time of the Twentieth Congress I had—as you probably know—an important role (as prime minister) in the old Stalinist power structure. This position and my previous path of life had to a large extent determined my attitudes towards the documents of the Congress. The main motive of my thinking and acts at this time was anxiety not so much—as I see now in retrospect—because of the matter of socialism, but rather because of the existing power structure. I considered the two aspects as being equivalent and I didn't perceive that at that time in Hungary it had become necessary in the interest of a socialist development to fundamentally transform the power structure, not only in personal, but also in institutional respects.

All this made it impossible for me to recognize the real importance of the Congress. I understood it only during the

years after 1956, when it became possible for me to think over the causes of the crisis of socialist development, first of all in Hungary. I began to analyze social relationships in the East European countries, primarily in terms of their sociology, and step by step I began to turn against the apologetic official ideology. About the time of the tenth anniversary of the Twentieth Congress I came to recognize the fact that self-analysis and self-criticism—on the basis of Marxism—had become a historical possibility and necessity in the East European countries. During my scientific work I came to the conviction that the apologetics of the new social relations had become a real obstacle in the path of the socialist development in these countries.

In the light of this conviction I then saw the Twentieth Congress as a daring attempt to break with the apologetic ideology and its attitudes. At this time—in the middle sixties—it seemed to me that the internal critique might gain ground in the Marxist social sciences and so could contribute to the success of reforms, initiated from above, and therefore this could directly assist in developing social practice. In consequence, like the majority of my colleagues today, I was living in a special atmosphere of reformist optimism.

The following decade, however, hasn't justified these expectations; the self-analysis and self-criticism of socialism have not asserted themselves and the period of reforms has been limited to a very short time. The internal critique was struggling between the devil and the deep sea; partly anticommunism was (and is) endeavoring to draw profit for its own purposes, partly the official apologetic ideologists have regarded and still regard it as an external, hostile critique, which [they try] to restrict even by administrative measures.

All these things explain the fact that in recent years the Twentieth Congress, and especially Khrushchev's report, have been less mentioned officially.

But the reasons for the repression of internal criticism—according to my point of view—are not to be sought primarily in the internal social and economic relations of East European countries, but rather in

peculiarities of today's world politics. An elementary interest both of these societies and of socialist thought is the continuation of self-criticism and self-analysis since their lack threatens both the socialist perspective and the dynamism of these societies.

Nevertheless, it would be an illusion now to await a new period of reform in the near future. So we can observe an increase of social pessimism; of the feeling that these societies have lost all their opportunities for development towards socialist perspectives.

I naturally understand the grounds of this pessimism, but I cannot agree with it. The initiative for reform, just like the failure of reforms, have been the results of activities taking place first of all in the upper levels of the power structure. But there appear different movements among the masses, which are opening up, I think, more and more possibilities for the realization of socialist values in the everyday life, and these are very important in regard to the perspectives of socialism.

A critical Marxist social science cannot now deal with the most important macrostructural problems of these societies in the hope that it will immediately improve social practice, but such an analysis has, of course, a theoretical importance today; also it is now necessary and practically useful to analyze the changes of everyday life with the aim of encouraging the development of movements pointing towards a socialist perspective. The direct and indirect influence of the Twentieth Congress—I think—is more effective and more irrevocable among the masses in their everyday life than it is in the area of politics or of the power structure.

Andras Hegedus
June 8, 1976

Documents discussed at 1974 Tenth World Congress of Fourth International. 128 pages, 8½ x 11, \$2.50

Intercontinental Press
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Construyamos un Frente Único en México

[El siguiente artículo apareció en el número del 5 de junio de *Clave*, periódico socialista revolucionario que se publica quincenalmente en México.]

* * *

Los días 14, 15 y 16 de mayo se realizó en la Ciudad de México la I Conferencia Nacional de la Insurgencia Obrera, Campesina y Popular (CNIACP). Este fue el evento político más importante del país en muchos años, porque logró dar los primeros pasos para constituir una organización política que pueda aglutinar y unificar al movimiento independiente.

Durante tres días, cerca de 2,000 delegados efectivos y fraternales—que representaban 270 delegaciones—debatieron los aspectos más importantes del rumbo que deben seguir las luchas obreras y campesinas de nuestro país. Si bien hubo momentos en que la polémica fue tensa, la conferencia se realizó en un ambiente de unidad y lucha. Se corearon consignas vigorosamente, y el puño en alto dominó la escena repetidas veces.

El primer día, los trabajos se iniciaron en el cine Florida con la elección de la presidencia de la conferencia y las comisiones dictaminadoras.

Héctor Barba, de la Tendencia Democrática, del Sindicato Único de Trabajadores Electricistas de la República Mexicana (SUTERM) fue electo presidente. Además, se eligieron vicepresidentes y secretarios para cada uno de los sectores—sindical, campesino, de la enseñanza, y colonos—en que sesionaría la conferencia.

Ese mismo día en la tarde, los delegados escucharon los discursos de los dirigentes de las organizaciones de masas más importantes y representativas de la conferencia.

El segundo día, el trabajo se reanudó en la Ciudad Universitaria, donde las asambleas sectoriales y las comisiones de organización y de programa sesionaron por separado.

El tercer día, en el auditorio de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, se realizó una asamblea plenaria donde se pusieron a consideración de los delegados los dictámenes de las comisiones y las ponencias aprobadas en las reuniones sectoriales.

Allí se aprobó el proyecto de constituir el Frente Nacional de Acción Popular (FNAP), así como un plan de movilización para los meses de junio y julio. Quedó pendiente la elección de la Comisión Coordinadora, que será la encargada de dirigir el FNAP.

En cuanto al programa—punto nodal de

la conferencia—se presentaron distintas posiciones, cuya discusión y votación se llevará a cabo en una segunda conferencia nacional, que se realizará este mismo año. Así, únicamente se aprobó el programa del naciente FNAP en lo general.

Discusión Central: Independencia Política del Movimiento Obrero

El punto más debatido en la conferencia fue el que se refiere al programa, particularmente sobre la independencia que del Gobierno y del Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) deberá tener el naciente organismo.

Ya desde las páginas de *Clave** habíamos señalado que la discusión de este planteamiento era inevitable, ya que el ambiguo proyecto original de Puntos de Programa dejaba de lado una clara definición sobre la independencia política de los trabajadores.

Sin embargo, en una conferencia donde estaba representado lo más avanzado del movimiento de masas de nuestro país, era imposible que se dejara pasar el problema central de la lucha política nacional en estos momentos. El Gobierno de los patrones y su partido, el PRI, no sólo no representa los intereses de los explotados, sino que es el principal obstáculo para su emancipación.

Así, era una tarea de esta conferencia llamar a romper con el control y sometimiento que el PRI ejerce sobre las masas trabajadoras del país.

Este fue el eje de la discusión en la conferencia, y el que marcó las distintas actitudes de los delegados. Todo un grupo de las delegaciones, que posiblemente eran cerca de la mitad—aunque no las fundamentales—señaló la necesidad de romper con el PRI. Esas delegaciones también criticaron el colaboracionismo de clase y la confianza en el Gobierno.

Si bien estas proposiciones y críticas se hacían desde distintos puntos de vista, lograron constituir una corriente de opinión dentro de la conferencia a favor de romper con el PRI.

Este grupo de delegaciones logró posiciones importantes en las discusiones de la conferencia.

En el sector de la enseñanza—que agrupaba tanto a maestros como a estudiantes—se logró que se adoptara por mayoría una enmienda en la que se responsabiliza al gobierno del PRI por las deficiencias de la educación en México.

* Ver *Intercontinental Press* del 14 de junio de 1976, pag 958, "Los Obreros Necesitan su Partido."

Señala que el partido de los patrones y su Gobierno son el principal obstáculo para resolver la crisis de la educación y para el avance del movimiento estudiantil.

Enmiendas Surgidas en la Comisión de Programa: Independencia Política y Partido Obrero

En el sector sindical el debate fue duro. El sindicato del Instituto del Fondo Nacional para la Vivienda de los Trabajadores (INFONAVIT) y el del Fondo de Cultura Económica presentaron una ponencia por escrito con una aguda crítica del llamado "nacionalismo revolucionario." Esta ponencia arrancó grandes aplausos, aunque carecía de proposiciones concretas de alternativa, aparte de la ruptura con el PRI.

Fue en torno a estos dos sindicatos que se nucleó el grupo de delegaciones que planteaban la independencia política. La oposición a confiar en el Gobierno se concretó en una declaración que firmaron varias organizaciones, en la que se llamaba a que la organización que surja de esta conferencia se declare por el rompimiento con el PRI.

Un intento claro por ofrecer proposiciones concretas para llevar adelante la independencia política hacia el Gobierno y el PRI fue el que realizaron los trabajadores del Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación (SNTE) agrupados en el *Boletín Magisterial* y el grupo Unidad Democrática del Sindicato Mexicano de Electricistas (SME).

En la propuesta que presentaron estos trabajadores, se señalaba que la única forma de concretar el rompimiento con el PRI era que la conferencia se pronunciara por la construcción de un partido obrero, que garantizara la organización independiente de los trabajadores.

Para instrumentar la organización de ese partido, los compañeros proponían la creación de un comité que se diera la tarea de promoverlo entre los distintos sindicatos y grupos de oposición.

Igualmente, se señalaba la necesidad de pronunciarse por la instauración de un Gobierno Obrero y Campesino, como el único que consecuentemente llevaría a cabo el programa de la insurgencia obrera y campesina y liberaría a México del yugo imperialista.

De singular importancia fue que las opiniones y proposiciones de estos compañeros quedaron concretadas en enmiendas que, como proposición minoritaria, presentó la comisión de programa a la asamblea plenaria.

El grupo de delegaciones que se opuso a

que la conferencia se definiera claramente contra el PRI y su Gobierno es muy importante, ya que representa a organizaciones como la Tendencia Democrática del SUTERM, el Sindicato de Trabajadores y Empleados de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (STEUNAM), el Sindicato del Personal Académico de la UNAM (SPAUNAM), etc.

Más que oponerse a que se rompa con el PRI, estas delegaciones se limitaron a argumentar que la conferencia era apenas el comienzo de la elaboración del programa, que era un programa mínimo, y que no se podía pretender que en él quedara todo lo que quisiéramos.

Dijeron que era dañino introducir discusiones "doctrinarias," que sacrificarían la unidad de las fuerzas ahí reunidas.

Cabe preguntar, sin embargo, si es "doctrinario" y "sectario" pedir a los trabajadores que rompan con el partido de los patrones y de los charros. ¿El enfrentamiento con el PRI y su aparato de control es un problema de la "gris teoría," o es algo que cotidianamente enfrenta cualquier lucha de los trabajadores?

Esto no debiera requerir de gran discusión. Y esto no significa que un programa incluya *todo*, sino lo *elemental*: para avanzar en la lucha por la democracia hay que romper con los patrones, con su Gobierno y con su partido.

En los momentos de debate, alguien mostró el periódico donde se anunciaba que el PRI seguiría apoyando al charro Salustio Salgado, pese a haber sido rechazado por los telefonistas. Aquí los hechos hablan por sí solos una vez más.

En FNAP Debe Seguir el Camino de la Independencia Política en la Lucha

El proyecto que aprobó la conferencia consiste en lo fundamental de la ponencia que presentó la Tendencia Democrática del SUTERM, así como las enmiendas propuestas minoritariamente. Es incuestionable que los electricistas democráticos seguirán siendo el elemento fundamental en la construcción del FNAP.

Creemos que estos acuerdos representan un triunfo para la conferencia, y muestran que es posible discutir los problemas políticos más importantes entre las fuerzas del movimiento obrero en un ambiente de unidad y de democracia.

Con este mismo espíritu es que debemos llevar adelante los acuerdos de esta conferencia. La construcción del FNAP apenas se ha iniciado, y es tarea de todos pese a nuestras diferencias. Así, aquéllos que en esta conferencia nos manifestamos por la ruptura con el PRI y su Gobierno, debemos ser los más consecuentes constructores del FNAP, para demostrar en los hechos que la construcción del partido obrero es la única vía que puede llevar a un término victorioso las luchas independientes de los trabajadores de nuestro país. □

La Lista Democrazia Proletaria en Italia

Principales Grupos del Bloque Electoral

[A continuación publicamos una serie de citas de un artículo de Paolo Flores d'Arcais y Franco Moretti que apareció en el número correspondiente a marzo y abril de *New Left Review* y las conclusiones de un comentario de G. Foley que apareció en el artículo "Italian CP and SP Fear Winning Too Many Votes," en nuestro número del 14 de junio. Allí se analizan las características principales de los grupos más importantes que componen el bloque electoral Democrazia Proletaria en Italia. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

De las tres organizaciones, *Avanguardia Operaia* fue la primera en desarrollarse, hacia finales de 1968; fue fundada por núcleos de disidentes trotskistas. Los fundadores del grupo (Gorla, Vinci, Corvisieri, Barbieri) criticaron a la Sección Italiana de la IV Internacional por su incapacidad de romper radicalmente con la política de entrismo en el PCI [Partido Comunista Italiano]; estaban a favor de la construcción de una organización independiente, la opción que Krivine tomó en Francia. Aspiraban a desarrollar estructuras obreras de base (los CUB: Comités Unidos de Base), en base a fuertes criterios ideológicos. El trotskismo inicial de este grupo fue rápidamente abandonado en favor de una adhesión creciente, explícita y acrítica a las posiciones maoistas en los campos internacional y teórico. Además, a causa de la entrada de intelectuales obreristas procedentes de *Quaderni Rossi* (Rieser en Turín, Motture en Nápoles), *Avanguardia Operaia* se caracterizó cada vez más por el simple maximalismo sindicalista.

* * *

Lotta Continua no surgió como una organización de vanguardia, sino como una unificación informal de los sectores del movimiento estudiantil que, a finales de 1968, decidieron darle prioridad a la intervención en las fábricas. Fundada por un grupo obrerista en Pisa, *Lotta Continua* se desarrolló durante las luchas de 1969 por los contratos laborales en FIAT (Turín). Su grupo dirigente incluía a los principales líderes estudiantiles de todas las universidades italianas más importantes, con las únicas excepciones de Roma y Milán. En su fase inicial, *Lotta Continua* se opuso al surgimiento de los consejos de fábrica, en los que veía un instrumento mediante el cual los sindicatos "recuperarían" la autonomía respecto de la clase obrera. Las consignas de *Lotta Continua* (*Siamo tutti delegati, Vogliamo tutto, Prendiamoci la città*—Somos todos delega-

dos, Queremos todo, Tomemos la ciudad) reflejaban claramente su rechazo de todos los objetivos intermedios, que denunciaban de reformistas. De toda la izquierda revolucionaria italiana, *Lotta Continua* fue sin duda la organización con línea política y posiciones teóricas más confusas y oscilantes.

* * *

El PdUP [Partito d'Unità Proletaria] nació en el verano de 1974, como producto de una fusión del grupo *Manifesto* (Magri, Rossanda, Natoli, Pintor), que había dejado el PCI en 1969, una sección del ala izquierda del PSIUP [Partito Socialista Italiano d'Unità Proletaria] (Foa, Ferraris, Miniati) que se había negado a entrar en el PCI en 1972, y algunos grupos católicos de izquierda (Mignone, Puleo). Aunque era con diferencia la más conocida y la más sofisticada teóricamente de las tres organizaciones, y tenía una considerable presencia en los sindicatos a todos los niveles (Giovannini, secretario general de la CGIL [Confederazione Generale Italiana dei Lavoratori], Lettieri, secretario nacional del sindicato metalúrgico; Sclavi, secretario nacional del sector químico), el PdUP no dejaba de ser por ello el menos homogéneo. La división histórica entre sus dos principales componentes originales (izquierda comunista e izquierda socialista) se manifestaba en la disensión interna sobre la naturaleza y el papel del PCI, de la organización del partido, de la relación entre el partido y el sindicato y del control del periódico.

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En el PdUP esto [la subestimación de las cuestiones políticas] se ha manifestado de dos formas diferentes, que corresponden a los componentes originales del grupo. Por una parte, el ala obrerista sindical a menudo se desenvuelve con dificultad cuando aborda los problemas de una estrategia global o de un análisis de estratos sociales no proletarios. Por otra parte, la teoría de la revolución como un fenómeno *social*, en que la conquista del poder político es el acto final y no el inicial, ha caracterizado la historia del grupo *Manifesto*. Por su parte, *Lotta Continua* está marcada por un populismo extremo, según el cual "el pueblo" es intrínsecamente revolucionario y sus opciones políticas concretas sólo constituyen una superestructura efímera. Fue en base a esta concepción que *Lotta Continua* apoyó la revuelta de Reggio Calabria de 1970, a pesar del hecho de que estaba dirigida por fascistas, y que todavía hoy mantiene

tranquilamente que una vez en el gobierno, el PCI se verá fácilmente desbordado por la "fuerza de las circunstancias" y Berlinguer será liquidado como Kerensky. Finalmente, para *Avanguardia Operaia*, la política es idéntica a la ideología que se profesa. Cuando todo el mundo estaba discutiendo todavía el papel de los consejos obreros, *Avanguardia Operaia* mantenía que era más importante dedicarse a crear pequeños comités de trabajadores revolucionarios. De nuevo, para dar un ejemplo diferente, después del abortado golpe del 11 de marzo de 1975 en Portugal, *Avanguardia Operaia* planteaba alegremente que como el poder estaba en manos de los soldados revolucionarios, ya existía la dictadura del proletariado en Portugal.

Las conclusiones que saca G. Foley son las siguientes:

"Aunque todos estos grupos tienden a aceptar las teorías sobre una restauración capitalista en la URSS, tienen posiciones contradictorias sobre la forma de oposición al stalinismo en los estados obreros.

"Lotta Continua 'concentra su fuego crítico en los disidentes, a los que trata en bloc como reaccionarios. Para los militantes de Lotta Continua las medidas represivas contra Soljenitzin fueron, más que nada, ejemplos de una tolerancia excesiva, 'revisionista.'* El PdUP defiende a los intelectuales disidentes, pero presenta los 'correctos' métodos de Pekín como una alternativa a la represión del Kremlin.

"Está claro que estos tres grupos no ofrecen una alternativa marxista revolucionaria a las perspectivas reformistas de los stalinistas y los socialdemócratas. El bloque Democrazia Proletaria, que dominan, todavía no ha sido capaz de elaborar una plataforma electoral común. Todavía está por ver si se pondrán de acuerdo sobre esa plataforma antes de que tengan lugar las elecciones. □

*Las citas son del artículo de *New Left Review*.

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Nuevo Compromiso del PC con el Capitalismo

Polarización de Clase en las Elecciones Italianas

Por Gerry Foley

[El siguiente artículo fue publicado en nuestro número del 5 de julio, con el título "Elections Reflect Class Polarization in Italy." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

Aunque las elecciones italianas del 20 de junio no fueron una clara victoria para la izquierda, temida tanto por los reformistas como por los partidos burgueses, reflejaron el debilitamiento del control político del capitalismo sobre las masas trabajadoras, y una polarización creciente entre el principal partido obrero y el principal partido burgués.

Los votos por el PC subieron desde 32% en las elecciones regionales de junio de 1975 a 34.4%; los votos de la Democracia Cristiana, desde 35.5% hasta 38.7%. Sin embargo, el partido católico mantuvo su superioridad sobre el Partido Comunista prácticamente sólo a base de absorber los votos de los partidos burgueses y anticomunistas menores. Los votos del derechista Partido Socialista Democrático bajaron de 5.6% a 3.4%, y los del Partido Liberal de 2.5% a 1.3%. Los neofascistas, de los que se esperaba que aumentaran su número de votos perdieron algo, bajando de 6.8% a 6.1%.

Esta polarización entre dos grandes partidos indica que las masas italianas están buscando lo que les parece que son alternativas realistas.

El gran perdedor de la izquierda fue el Partido Socialista, que había centrado su campaña en la idea de que "el PS jugará el papel de centro en cualquier gobierno posible."

La predicción de la encuesta Pragma, publicada en la edición del 6 de junio del semanario romano *L'Espresso*, sobre los votos del PC tenía una exactitud de décimas de tanto por ciento. Pero su estimación para los socialistas estaba muy lejos de la realidad. El PS obtuvo 9.6% en los votos al parlamento, en contraste con la estimación de 15.7%. Aparentemente, muchos votantes potenciales del PS permanecieron con los demócratacristianos o no votaron.

Democrazia Proletaria

La estimación para el bloque de grupos que se reclaman a la izquierda del PC, Democrazia Proletaria (DP) también fue sustancialmente distinta de los resultados, 1.5% en vez de la predicción de un 2.7%. La estimación del apoyo que conseguiría el Partido Radical, sin embargo, se confirmó

por el voto, 1.1% en vez de un previsto 1.2%.

En una entrevista publicada en la edición del 23 de junio del diario trotskista de París, *Rouge*, Massimo Gorla, un dirigente de *Avanguardia Operaia* [AO], el segundo grupo más influyente en DP, dio la siguiente respuesta como explicación de la razón por la que el bloque sólo había conseguido la mitad de la votación prevista:

"Mucha gente quiso que esta vez sus votos contaran, votando por el PC."

DP no presentó una plataforma electoral. Los diferentes grupos que la componen realizaron campañas separadas, aunque llamaban a un voto por la lista común. Aunque los grupos integrados a DP llamaban a la formación de un "gobierno de la izquierda" en vez de un compromiso con los demócratacristianos, tenían diferencias sustanciales entre ellos mismos, tanto en el concepto de qué fuerzas deberían estar incluidas en ese gobierno, como en la actitud a tomar frente a él.

El grupo dirigente en DP, PdUP (Partito d'Unità Proletaria), cuyos candidatos estaban en la mayoría de los casos en los primeros puestos de las listas comunes no expresó diferencias programáticas claras respecto del PC. De hecho, ha estado reculando hacia el partido stalinista pro-Moscú.

El PC denunció a DP, aparentemente con algún efecto, como un bloque "unido sólo en la discordia," como una combinación con el fin único de asegurar representación parlamentaria a los grupos que dominasen en su interior.

Según la representación proporcional, DP tenía 6 de los 630 puestos en el parlamento. Gorla, de AO, fue el único candidato que consiguió la suficiente votación como para ser elegido por sí mismo. Los otros cinco puestos fueron todos a miembros del PdUP.

En lo que respecta al tercer componente del bloque, Lotta Continua, Gorla indicó en su entrevista a *Rouge* que la votación por sus candidatos había sido muy baja y "probablemente conducirá a discusiones en el seno de esta organización y a un cuestionamiento de su orientación. Tanto mejor."

El mismo PdUP tiene una orientación centrista que combina una concepción gradualista del poder obrero surgiendo desde abajo, con un coalicionismo colaboracionista de clase que es prácticamente indistinguible del del PC.

Por ejemplo, en una entrevista que apareció en la edición del 13 de mayo de *Tribune Socialiste*, revista semanal del

Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU) francés, con el que el PdUP mantiene estrechas relaciones, el dirigente del PdUP Vincenzo Sparagna explicaba: "Nuestra educación política está basada en una crítica al leninismo, partiendo de concepciones democráticas de la transición al socialismo, hacia la democracia de los consejos obreros."

Como respuesta a la pregunta de cuál sería la perspectiva del PdUP respecto de un "gobierno de izquierda" en Italia, Sparagna dijo: "Tenemos que evitar una situación como la de Chile. La única posibilidad es organizar un frente que incluya a fuerzas católicas y democrático-burguesas, con un eje de izquierda, con la presencia decisiva del PC."

En cuanto a si el PdUP participaría en un gobierno así, Sparagna dijo:

"Estamos dispuestos a hacer cualquier acuerdo—incluso gubernamental—para contribuir a encontrar soluciones a la crisis actual. Se pueden discutir las formas, pero nunca nos oponemos a un gobierno de izquierda."

El Partido Radical no ofreció una alternativa programática al PC más que lo hizo DP. Solamente tiene posiciones en algunas cuestiones democráticas y es muy pequeño, incluso en comparación con los tres principales componentes de DP. Sin embargo, ha conseguido plantear algunas cuestiones importantes que han sido descuidadas por fuerzas de izquierda más amplias.

Los radicales jugaron un papel importante en la promoción de las campañas por el derecho al divorcio y al aborto, que han sido decisivas para la aceleración de la desintegración de la Democracia Cristiana.

Los radicales han estado cerca del PS, aunque no se han disuelto en ese partido. Los PS en otros países que han intentado desarrollar una imagen de "nueva izquierda" han podido incorporar corrientes similares. Posiblemente sea un índice de la relativa rigidez del PS italiano el hecho de que no haya podido realizarlo.

El PSI entre Dos Fuegos

Según bastantes encuestas, el PS aumentó su apoyo por tener posiciones más a la izquierda que las del PC en los problemas del divorcio y del aborto. Sin embargo, la dirección del PS dispuso todos sus avances por concentrarse en cebos parlamentarios dentro de la farsa electoral, más que procurar aparecer como alternativa frente al PC en los principales problemas que afectan a las masas.

Una alternativa así habría sido muy difícil de encontrar, salvo hacia la izquierda del PC, debido a la cantidad de muletilas electorales de tradición socialdemócrata que los stalinistas han adoptado. Sin embargo en una situación en que un gobierno PC-PS era una posibilidad real, al parecer no le resultaba muy fácil al PS aventurarse hacia la izquierda del PC,

aunque fuera solamente en palabras. Esto habría creado tendencias que conducirían a un enfrentamiento con la burguesía, cosa que el PS no desea más que los stalinistas.

Sin embargo, la incapacidad del PS de aparecer como alternativa condujo al desastre para el partido, atrapado fuertemente entre las presiones del PC y la DC. Se está desarrollando una lucha interna de algún tipo. La posición del ala izquierda, dirigida por Riccardo Lombardi, se fortaleció en las elecciones. Uno de los candidatos del ala izquierda que tuvo más éxito, Claudio Signorile, cuestionaba la dirección en una carta abierta que apareció en la edición del 24 de junio del diario romano pro-PS, *Repubblica*:

"El 20 de junio ha mostrado que el PS no puede continuar siendo un partido de masas según el modelo antiguo. Quiero decir que el aparato burocrático . . . es desproporcionado respecto del resultado electoral y político que obtuvo el PS. Este aparato es a menudo un obstáculo para una penetración más amplia del partido en la sociedad y para un intercambio mayor con las fuerzas vivas y espontáneas que están presentes en el movimiento. . . ."

"El PS se está volviendo cada vez más claramente un partido de cuadros y un partido de movimiento (no solamente un partido de opinión). Esto reclama un profundo cambio en las estructuras organizativas del partido para que éste pueda intervenir en cuestiones concretas, en sectores de la sociedad donde existan tensiones."

Incluso el grupo dirigente del PS que está alrededor de Francesco De Martino fue sacudido por los resultados de las elecciones, según informaba Paolo Mieli en la edición del 27 de junio de *L'Espresso*: "Enfrentemos los hechos," Fedele Galli de la corriente de De Martino explotó. "Los votantes nos han castigado por cambiar nuestra política cinco veces en un año."

Irónicamente, a pesar de su derrota, el PS permanece como el "centro" para cualquier posible coalición. Pero en la situación de polarización que existe, ésta no parece ser una posición tan cómoda como esperaban los dirigentes del PS.

Los demócratacristianos se han comprometido a formar gobierno sin el PC. Desacreditados como estaban, convirtieron su campaña en una "cruzada para defender la democracia y alejar la amenaza totalitaria."

Sin embargo, los demócratacristianos no pueden conseguir una mayoría viable sin el PS. La única otra posibilidad matemática sería una coalición con todos los demás pequeños partidos anticomunistas, incluyendo a los fascistas, pero en la actualidad esto no es políticamente realizable.

Por otra parte, la dirección del PS se ha comprometido a no entrar en ningún gobierno sin el PC. Este compromiso está basado en fuertes intereses materiales. Cuando el PS participó en gobiernos

burgueses anteriores, con el PC, por lo menos formalmente, en la oposición, los socialdemócratas tendieron a perder su base obrera a favor de los stalinistas. El destino de los socialistas democráticos el 20 de junio es una indicación de lo que le espera a un pequeño partido obrero ligado a la DC.

Sin embargo, la burguesía, a quien fundamentalmente permanece subordinado el PS, parece estarle presionando fuertemente para asegurar un "gobierno estable." El imperialismo de los Estados Unidos también insiste abiertamente, a través del secretario de Estado Kissinger, en que el PS entre en una nueva coalición con los demócratacristianos.

'Compromiso Histórico'—por Teléfono

Otra fuente de presión para que el PS vuelva al redil de centro-izquierda es el mismo PC. Paolo Guzzanti informaba en el *Repubblica* del 24 de junio:

"Ayer llegó un mensaje a la oficina del PS en Via del Corso desde la Via delle Botteghe Oscure, donde se encuentra la dirección del PC. Estaba redactado en términos cautos, y la proposición se hacía discretamente. El PC hacía saber al PS que pondría a su disposición los votos de los independientes elegidos en su candidatura. Esta fuerza expedicionaria en el parlamento proporcionaría un apoyo concreto a una repetición de la fórmula de centro-izquierda, sin grandes escándalos ni traumas irreparables."

"Al mismo tiempo, un amplio sector del PS con ambiciones ministeriales presiona insistentemente para que se llegue a un trato rápido con la DC."

La dirección del PC debe estar encantada con los resultados de las elecciones. Durante las dos semanas anteriores, el secretario general, Enrico Berlinguer, dijo públicamente que la "salida ideal" sería "un cierto avance" para el PC que dejara claro que la cooperación con este partido era esencial para dirigir la nación. Hablar de una victoria comunista tenía el único propósito de extender el "pánico," dijo.

Puesto que los dirigentes del PC no querían ganar las elecciones, no es sorprendente que los avances del partido hayan permanecido relativamente modestos. La dirección no animó a los que apoyaban al PC a luchar por la victoria. Dejaron claro que, incluso si ganasen, no cambiarían nada sino que "colaborarían" en una "coalición de unidad nacional" con los capitalistas incapaces de gobernar la nación.

Sin embargo, como el PC es con diferencia el mayor partido obrero y ha sido el principal objeto de la propaganda antisocialista de la burguesía, inevitablemente se le identificó como la alternativa anticapitalista.

Lo importante para las masas era si el PC podría ganar y abrir el camino al socialismo. La principal contradicción de

la dirección del PC era que no quería ganar las elecciones y todavía menos abrir el camino al socialismo. Así, desde el punto de vista marxista revolucionario, la línea más efectiva para atacar su estrategia colaboracionista de clase hubiera sido oponerse al programa del PC, pero dar apoyo crítico a los candidatos de este partido. Una de las críticas podría haber sido la negativa del PC a hacer una campaña por la victoria sobre los partidos burgueses. Sin embargo, la creación del bloque de DP tendió a desviar a los activistas revolucionarios de esta tarea, además de su confusión programática.

El PC se ha apresurado a asegurar a la DC que aunque actualmente representan más de un tercio del electorado italiano, intentan pedirle poco al gobierno. En el *New York Times* del 24 de junio, el corresponsal Alvin Shuster escribía desde Roma que un "alto cargo del partido" había explicado:

"La cuestión clave es intentar trabajar juntos y darle a Italia una oportunidad de solucionar sus problemas económicos y estabilizarse. Lo mínimo es trabajar con la DC en un programa para hacer todas estas cosas y más."

En el *Corriere della Sera* del 23 de junio se citaba al secretario general comunista de una de las mayores federaciones sindicales, la Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (CGIL), que decía que una de las cosas más importantes que necesita la nación en la actualidad es "una dirección política apoyada en un amplio consenso popular, sin excluir a ninguna de las fuerzas populares."

Evidentemente, el PC piensa colaborar informalmente con la DC, para permitir así que los partidos burgueses puedan mantener su anticomunismo público. Un chiste frecuente en la prensa italiana es que el "compromiso histórico" está funcionando ahora "por teléfono."

A pesar de la negativa del PC para conseguir una victoria sobre los partidos burgueses, ha minado todavía más sus posiciones. Las ganancias de la DC, a expensas de los partidos anticomunistas menores, son muy pequeñas. La burguesía ha visto estrecharse su área de maniobra política.

¿Un Alcalde Comunista Vecino del Papa?

El PC amplió su base en el anteriormente conservador sur de Italia, y en la misma Roma sobrepasó a la DC por dos puntos y medio. La posibilidad de una administración comunista en la "Ciudad Eterna" amargó la satisfacción del Vaticano por la supremacía alcanzada en la votación por la DC. Luigi Accattoli dijo en *Repubblica* del 24 de junio: "Roma no es un asunto secundario para la Santa Sede."

El hecho de que varias compañías famosas por cobrar precios desorbitados al público romano, como la compañía de gas, pertenezcan al Vaticano, es indudable que pone nerviosos a muchos cargos de la

Iglesia ante la perspectiva de tener que tratar con un alcalde comunista.

Sin embargo, en Nápoles, el nuevo alcalde comunista se las ha arreglado para tranquilizar tan completamente a los cargos de la Iglesia, escribía Marcello Padovani en el semanario de París *Le Nouvel Observateur* del 31 de mayo, que cuando fue elegido para este puesto el 25 de septiembre, la sangre de San Gennaro se hizo líquida como un signo de la aprobación del cielo.

El mismo alcalde realizó el milagro de ser popular, tanto entre los pobres y los desempleados como entre los príncipes de la Iglesia y del capital.

Pliutch Llama a la Lucha

Por la Liberación de Moroz y Djemilev

[La siguiente carta abierta está dirigida a los historiadores por Leonid Pliutch, el disidente soviético recientemente exilado. Hemos tomado el texto de *Informations Ouvrières*, semanario de París que refleja las posiciones de la Organisation Communiste Internationaliste. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Actualmente, en la Unión Soviética, dos de sus colegas—el ucraniano Valentín Moroz y el tártaro de Crimea Mustafá Djemilev—se encuentran en una situación crítica.

Valentín Moroz, poeta y publicista de talento, analista perspicaz de la historia y la cultura ucranianas, es una de las personalidades más activas en el seno del movimiento de oposición ucraniano. Pero su actividad política nunca ha estado fuera del marco de la legalidad soviética definida en la constitución de la República Socialista Soviética de Ucrania; solamente le pide al gobierno soviético la aplicación de la Constitución de la Unión Soviética.

En agosto de 1965 fue arrestado y acusado de difundir "propaganda antisoviética." En enero de 1966, fue condenado a cuatro años de trabajos forzados. En 1970, se le impone una nueva pena de prisión de catorce años debido a sus escritos de denuncia del carácter antidemocrático del poder, de la rusificación de Ucrania y del chovinismo "gran ruso"; *Informe sobre la Reserva Beria, Entre las Nieves, Crónica de la Resistencia, Moisés y Dathan*. Su proceso tiene lugar a puerta cerrada, y como protesta por la ilegalidad de este procedimiento, Moroz y los testigos se negaron a declarar. En 1971, es recluido en la más terrible prisión soviética, la de Vladimir, cerca de Moscú. Las condiciones

de su detención son particularmente espantosas. Está junto con presos comunes y enfermos mentales. En octubre de 1972, fue gravemente herido por sus compañeros de prisión. En julio de 1974, comenzó una huelga de hambre para exigir que se respetase el reglamento, es decir, las condiciones de detención previstas por la ley. En noviembre de 1974, las autoridades terminan por ceder y le instalan en una celda individual, como él reclamaba. Yo le vi después de su primer encarcelamiento; estaba físicamente muy debilitado. Pero hoy su vida y su salud están amenazadas gravemente.

Recientemente nos hemos enterado de que las autoridades soviéticas estaban difundiendo rumores sobre Moroz: aparentemente, se había vuelto muy creyente y "discutía con Dios." Hace algunos días, un despacho de la agencia Reuter informaba que V. Moroz había sido enviado al Instituto Serbsky para ser sometido a tratamiento psiquiátrico.

Una de dos: o bien sufre de problemas psíquicos como consecuencia de su huelga de hambre, o bien, por venganza, se ha enviado a un hombre mentalmente sano a sufrir un tratamiento psiquiátrico para quebrar su voluntad y su espíritu.

Personalmente, me inclino por la segunda solución. Desde 1970, ante profesores, un encargado de curso de ideología declaró enfermos mentales a Dziuba, Tchornovil, Grigorenko, Yakir, Sajarov y Moroz.

Como sea, es necesario sacar a Moroz de la prisión psiquiátrica. Les pido que formen una comisión de historiadores y psiquiatras con el fin de ir al Instituto Serbsky para verificar el estado de Moroz, pedir su liberación y el permiso para que vaya a curarse a Occidente.

Mustafá Djemilev nació en Crimea en

1943. En 1944, Stalin expulsa a toda la población tártara de Crimea y les hace ir al Asia Central. Entró en la Universidad a los diecinueve años, y fue expulsado durante el tercer curso por su acción a favor de la vuelta de su pueblo a Crimea. En 1966 fue condenado a un año y medio de campo de concentración. En 1970, fue objeto de una nueva condena de tres años, inculpado de "calumnias hacia el gobierno soviético y el sistema social." En 1974, es condenado a un año de campo de concentración, bajo régimen severo. Dos días antes de su liberación, basándose en el falso testimonio del compañero de prisión Dvorianski, que posiblemente se benefició de un aligeramiento de su pena a cambio de su colaboración, se acusa a Djemilev otra vez de "difamación del régimen soviético." En abril de 1976, en Omsk, después de un proceso amañado, se le condena a dos años y medio de campo de concentración bajo "régimen severo." Condenar a este inocente después de más de siete meses de huelga de hambre equivale a un veredicto de muerte.

En 1969, se hace miembro del Comité de los Derechos del Hombre en la URSS. Escribe en el Samizdat una *Historia del Pueblo de los Tártaros de Crimea*. Desgraciadamente, esta obra nunca llegó a las manos de la población, ya que fue confiscada por la KGB.

Es necesario conocer las condiciones de trabajo de un historiador consciente en la Unión Soviética. Muchos archivos están ocultos o destruidos. El historiador solamente puede escribir lo que responde a las últimas directivas del partido. Hasta la guerra, el atamán ucraniano Kmelnitsky había sido denigrado. Después de la guerra, se le magnifica.

Toda la historiografía oficial y la literatura histórica de la URSS es antisemita y antitártara. Hace falta mucho valor para escribir la verdad. Haciéndolo, Moroz y Djemilev corrieron el riesgo de perder sus empleos, de ser detenidos y encarcelados en las prisiones y los hospitales psiquiátricos.

Me dirijo a los historiadores soviéticos. ¿Ya no tienen conciencia? ¿Van a callarse ante lo que ocurre con Moroz y Djemilev, ante la humillación de los pueblos de la URSS?

Yo mismo, condenado injustamente y encerrado en un hospital psiquiátrico-cárcel no fui liberado más que por medio de una campaña intensa que llevaron a cabo mis colegas agrupados en un Comité de Matemáticos.

Les pido que emprendan la lucha por la liberación de V. Moroz y M. Djemilev. Me dirijo a sus conciencias de hombres libres. Unan sus fuerzas y su conocimiento para luchar a favor de la defensa de los Derechos del Hombre. Es su deber hacer respetar el derecho a la libertad de pensamiento de todo hombre. ¡No sean cómplices con su silencio!

Grupo Puertorriqueño Sufre Registros Ilegales

Trotskistas Denuncian Persecución del Gobierno

[El siguiente artículo fue publicado en nuestro número del 28 de junio. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Se han estado produciendo registros no autorizados de propiedades y se ha levantado una campaña de calumnias contra la Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (LIT) en Puerto Rico.

El apartamento y el carro de miembros dirigentes de la LIT fueron registrados. En una ocasión, un documento calificado de "secreto" fue confiscado. El documento era el informe de dos miembros de la LIT sobre un viaje reciente a los Estados Unidos, donde asistieron a una reunión del Socialist Workers party [Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores].

Individuos no identificados han estado interrogando a las personas que viven cerca de los locales de la LIT. Estos individuos acusaron a la organización de tráfico de drogas y de fabricación de explosivos.

La LIT, una organización revolucionaria que ha expresado su solidaridad con la IV Internacional, denunció esta campaña de persecución en una carta abierta, fechada el 14 de junio, al gobernador de Puerto Rico, Rafael Hernández Colón.

La LIT se dirigió a Hernández Colón para hacer públicos los hechos relacionados con el asunto, condenándolos como una "violación de nuestros más elementales derechos." Explicaron que no podían presentar una querrela formal ante las Cortes y la Comisión de Derechos Civiles "debido a no identificarse [los individuos] o a la natural intimidación de los testigos

de tales actos." Informaron al gobernador de que estaban distribuyendo copias de la carta a los vecinos de la comunidad donde están sus locales, y que la habían enviado al secretario de Estado puertorriqueño Juan Albors, al superintendente de la policía Astol Calero, a la prensa de la isla y de los Estados Unidos, y a otras organizaciones.

En una carta adjunta, la LIT nos pedía que estas violaciones de los derechos del grupo se publicaran lo más ampliamente posible. "Con lo que contribuirán," dice la carta, "a mantener vigentes los derechos que nos garantiza a todos la Constitución de nuestra isla." □

La Polución Aumenta el Calor

La ola de calor en Europa occidental, que está fundiendo el asfalto de las carreteras, malogrando las cosechas y matando peces en los ríos desecados, se puede atribuir parcialmente a la polución, según un informe del semanario londinense *The Observer* en el número del 27 de junio.

Una causa segura del aumento del calor, dijeron los expertos en climatología, es el aumento del 10% de dióxido de carbono en la atmósfera durante todo el medio siglo pasado.

El informe del *Observer* decía que todavía podemos esperar temperaturas más altas en el futuro. "Climas modelo", producidos en computadoras, . . . muestran que el efecto total de esta polución producida por el hombre con los residuos de la industria y los automóviles no se sentirá hasta el próximo siglo."

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