



Steel gates erected by Israelis in Nablus to enforce curfew.

David Rubinger/Time

*By Israel Shahak*

## **Israel—A Racist State Founded by a Racist Movement**

## Four Months of Terror Under Argentine Junta

By Judy White

After four months of the military rule of Gen. Jorge Videla, Argentina looks more and more like the Chile created by the Pinochet dictatorship. In both countries the bourgeoisie has resorted to drastic repressive measures in an attempt to maintain capitalist rule in face of overwhelming opposition from the masses.

The Argentine junta began with a carefully calculated plan of political repression directed primarily against trade-union militants and the organizations of the working class. Through the use of extralegal rightist gangs, repressive legislation, and a campaign against "corruption," Videla has decapitated the best-organized workers movement in Latin America. Hundreds of critics of the regime were killed outright and thousands more were jailed following the coup.

Videla then moved against the organizations of the left, banning nearly all political tendencies, and placed the press and education system under the rigid control of the junta's repressive apparatus.

A target of particular repression has been the sizable community of political exiles in Argentina.

In July their situation was dramatized by a twelve-day hunger strike carried out by several hundred Chileans, Uruguayans, Paraguayans, Bolivians, and Peruvians. They called for the governments of Canada and a number of European countries to open their doors, pointing out that Argentina has become a death trap. Increasing numbers of refugees have been killed, kidnapped, tortured, and threatened by ultraright gangs in Buenos Aires in recent weeks.

Terrorism by the ultraright has extended to the Catholic church. On July 4 three priests and two seminarians were slain in an alleged reprisal against the bombing of a police station.

This campaign of political murder has been carried out under the call for the "annihilation of subversion" in all walks of life. Argentine newspapers regularly headline the number of "extremists" who have been "wiped out" by the official and

semiofficial terror campaign. Mario Roberto Santucho is one of the most recent victims. (See article on page 1156.)

Although military communiqués usually describe these killings as the result of "armed confrontations," underground reports from inside Argentina tell of cases in which unarmed political prisoners were murdered en route to the courts to stand trial.

For the rightist gangs, targets of the "extermination" campaign include the families of "subversives," who can be murdered with impunity.

The death penalty has been reinstated and sentences of up to ten years in jail have been authorized for anyone outside the repressive forces found with arms.

The butchers of the Argentine junta have carried out this campaign with considerable caution, testing the ground each step of the way. The most brutal atrocities are blamed on the ultraright terrorist gangs, which the junta claims it is unable to control.

This approach has made easier one aspect of Videla's strategy for economic recovery—the promotion of foreign investment and aid to bail Argentine capitalism out of its \$10 billion foreign debt.

Although concrete results of Finance Minister José Martínez de Hoz's recent fund-raising in the United States and Europe are yet to show, there is new interest on Wall Street in investment in Argentina.

## Israeli Aid to Lebanese Rightists

By David Frankel

In an editorial exceeding even their customary level of hypocrisy, the editors of the *New York Times* commented on the civil war in Lebanon July 21. "Torn by its pent-up intercommunal hatreds and converted into a battlefield between its twin occupiers—Syria and the Palestinians—independent Lebanon would seem to be writing its own obituary," they said.

In fact, as the *Times* editorial board well knows, American imperialism has hardly been a disinterested observer in the murderous civil war in Lebanon. The course of that war has been determined in Washington as much as in "independent Lebanon."

For example, the Syrian occupation began only after the Ford administration assented to it and ensured Israeli accep-

The junta has also trumpeted its speedy reduction in Argentina's skyrocketing inflation rate. The cost-of-living, which according to official figures rose 38 percent in March, increased only 2.8 percent in June.

Unlike Chile, which has recently also boasted of the beginnings of a turn in its inflation rate, the Argentine junta has not received \$1.8 billion in foreign aid to prop up its economy.

The Videla junta achieved these results by applying an austerity program that has drastically lowered real wages. Among the steps taken were a wage freeze, elimination of basic social services, increased unemployment, forced unpaid vacations, and temporary plant shutdowns. Under consideration is a surtax on all wages over \$219 a month.

To be sure, these steps were possible only with the outlawing of all trade-union activity. Workers have been cut off from any form of redress on questions of wages and working conditions.

However, the junta's optimism about its economic prospects may be short-lived. Some key sectors of the Argentine economy are in deep trouble, precisely as the result of the austerity measures.

Automobile sale have dropped 50 percent in the last few months, which has led Ford, Renault, Fiat, General Motors, and Peugeot either to shut down production totally for certain periods or to reduce the workweek to four days.

The cattle industry has been hard hit by a 15 to 20 percent reduction in the population's buying power for meat.

More importantly, the junta's economic "success" can only be maintained at the expense of further lowering the workers' standard of living and ruthlessly crushing the slightest sign of opposition. Bloody battles lie ahead, as Videla can only offer the Argentine working class more austerity, repression, and terror. □

### Summer Schedule

The last issue of *Intercontinental Press* before our summer break will be the issue dated August 9. We will resume our regular schedule with the issue dated August 30.

ments by Western diplomats in Arab capitals" to back up the claim of Israeli arms aid.

"The Israeli government apparently decided to go over to direct assistance to the Christians this spring," according to Fitchett. As he describes it:

"Christian fighters brandish their weapons, claiming that the NATO-style assault rifles come from Israel and pointing to the serial numbers and insignia scraped off the gun and leather sling. On conquered buildings, Christians scrawl a Star of David as readily as a cedar tree, the symbol of Lebanon."

Moreover, "Recent Western visitors to Israel report a widespread general assumption and acceptance there that Israel is supplying military aid to Lebanon's Maronite fighters."

In a July 19 dispatch Fitchett said:

"The powerful rearmament of the Lebanese [rightist] forces can be seen as one visits the Christian positions, which now overflow with new-looking hardware and ammunition. Even the smallest splinter groups have abundant stores of armored vehicles, mortars and rockets, automatic rifle ammunition, radios and other war paraphernalia."

Most of the heavy weapons and armor described by Fitchett were of Soviet manufacture, and at least some of it was probably obtained from the Syrian regime. "But," Fitchett points out in his article on Israeli aid, "the Israelis have large stocks of Soviet-made weapons captured from Egypt and Syria in two Middle East wars. These could be used, as 'sanitized' arms, for an operation of this kind."

In its July 21 editorial, the *New York Times* approvingly cited the Israeli public relations operation in which the Zionist regime has provided medical treatment for inhabitants of southern Lebanon, who in the past have served as targets for Israeli bombs and artillery. "In the past three months nearly 3,000 wounded and sick Lebanese have been treated," *Times* correspondent Moshe Brilliant reported in a July 19 dispatch.

It would be of interest if the *Times* would report on how the number of persons killed and wounded by Israeli aid to the Lebanese rightists compares to the number treated as part of the Israeli public relations program.

Of even greater interest would be more information on the American role in the civil war. During the 1950s the CIA aided the right-wing Christian militia. Did such aid ever stop? In his dispatch in the July 21 *Washington Post*, Fitchett suggests the contrary.

"The ready willingness of American and European diplomats here and elsewhere in the Middle East to confirm the Israeli connection," he said, "has aroused some suspicion that the prominent Israeli role might actually be a cover for assistance from American and European countries."

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Published in New York each Monday except last in December, first in January, and third and fourth weeks in August.

Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material stands on the program of the Fourth International.

Paris Office: Pierre Frank, 10 Impasse Guéméné, 75004, Paris, France.

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

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

Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

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

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

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## Mario Roberto Santucho Murdered by Argentine Junta

By Judy White

Mario Roberto Santucho, the central leader of the Argentine Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—Revolutionary People's Army), was killed in a confrontation with security forces July 19, according to a number of press dispatches from Buenos Aires. Several reports said that the second in command of the ERP, Enrique Gorriarán Merlo, was also killed in the clash, which took place near Buenos Aires.

After seizing documents found in the house where the shoot-out took place, troops raided a house near La Plata, and killed at least five more "extremists."

The actions were publicized as the most significant achievement of the security forces since the March 24 coup, which had as its primary declared objective the "annihilation of subversives."

Santucho, a courageous and dedicated militant, mistakenly viewed guerrilla actions by small armed groups as an effective means for combating repression and winning political power for the oppressed majority. He was a founding member of the ERP, one of the main guerrilla groups in Argentina. The ERP was set up in 1970 by the *Combatiente* faction of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party).

At that time, the PRT *Combatiente* was the section of the Fourth International in Argentina. There had been a split in the PRT in 1968, leading to the formation of two public factions. The PRT *Verdad* was accused by the faction headed by Santucho and others of being "rightist." The *Combatiente* group set out to form a "people's army" to conduct "revolutionary war" in Argentina.

In an interview printed in the August 29, 1972, issue of the Chilean biweekly *Punto Final* Santucho and Gorriarán said that they viewed the ERP as "a military force, a people's army that leads various sectors, broad sectors, all exploited sectors, the broadest sectors of the masses, to take up arms, to get organized militarily, and to take on the enemy military force, the military force of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois army. . . ."

Santucho and Gorriarán continued: "The party that leads the Revolutionary Army of the People, the Revolutionary Workers party, defines itself ideologically as Marxist-Leninist and welcomes the contributions of various revolutionists from other nations, including those of our main comandante, Che Guevara. It also welcomes the contributions that Trotsky,



Rouge

SANTUCHO

Kim Il Sung, Mao Tsetung, Ho Chi Minh, and General Giap have made to the revolution. We believe that it is inadequate and inappropriate to ideologically define a given organization as Trotskyist. We certainly feel that Trotsky was a revolutionist and most of our members have read his contributions to revolution, especially his contributions toward a critique of the bureaucracy and on permanent revolution."

One of the ERP's most spectacular actions was the March 21, 1972, kidnapping of Oberdán Sallustro, the general director of the Argentine branch of Fiat Concord. When the guerrillas' terms were not met, Sallustro was executed.

Five months later, on August 15, 1972, Santucho helped lead an escape from the Rawson penitentiary in southern Argentina.

Twenty-five guerrillas participated in this escape and fled to a nearby airport where six of them managed to get aboard a plane bound for Chile. Santucho was among the six.

His nineteen comrades were delayed in reaching the airport and surrendered to the authorities with no resistance. Days later, sixteen of them were murdered in

cold blood at the Trelew prison. Among the victims was Ana María Villareal de Santucho. She was a member of the organization and the companion of the ERP leader.

Santucho and the other five refugees were given temporary visas by the Allende government until they could be flown to Cuba ten days later.

Sometime later Santucho returned to Argentina to resume functioning with the ERP. It was in a Buenos Aires press conference, where he was one of four representatives of the ERP, that the organization publicly dissociated itself completely from the Fourth International and Trotskyism.

The June 9, 1973, issue of the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín* reported the statement as follows:

"The ERP is not Trotskyist. It has an anti-imperialist and socialist program, and it includes Marxists, Peronists, and Christians. Of its members, 38 percent are workers, they said.

"The Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores exercises leadership and defines itself as Marxist-Leninist. It was linked to the 'Fourth International,' but 'we have moved away.'" (Emphasis in original.)

In February 1974 the ERP was one of four guerrilla organizations to launch the Junta de Coordinación Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Coordinating Committee). This committee, organized to carry out a strategy of "revolutionary war" throughout Latin America, a process "converging around the axis of armed struggle," was founded by the ERP, the Bolivian ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army), the Tupamaros of Uruguay, and the Chilean MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left).

All of these organizations have suffered severe repression in recent years. The only one still notably active was the ERP.

However, the ERP and other Argentine guerrilla groups have been heavily hit by repression especially in the year and a half since the army launched its campaign to exterminate subversion. Official reports in the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* during the month of June, for example, recorded the deaths or disappearances of eighty-nine "extremists." These reports are highly selective, at best. Generally they do not include details on the number of persons

mysteriously "arrested" but never located by the authorities, nor of those who fall victim to extralegal rightist gangs. Statistics on the number of "extremists" who are being held in prison are also unavailable, but it has been estimated that there are thousands of political prisoners. Few of these victims of repression in Argentina were ever involved with guerrilla organizations. They are primarily trade-union

activists and those who criticize the Videla junta's policies for being too repressive.

In addition, the families of guerrillas have frequently been singled out as special targets for repression. The July 16 issue of the French revolutionary-socialist daily *Rouge* reported that two members of Santucho's family—his sister Manuela Erminda Santucho and his sister-in-law Cristina Navajos de Santucho—were ar-

rested in Buenos Aires July 14.

On December 8, 1975, Ofelia Ruiz de Santucho was arrested along with her four children and the four children of Mario Roberto Santucho. Ruiz was held in a torture center, and some of the children were threatened with rape by the soldiers.

And on December 19, Maria del Valle Santucho was arrested simply because she was a relative of the ERP leader. □

## Thirteen Workers Sentenced Up to Ten Years

# Wave of Repression in Poland After Price Protests

In a campaign designed to crush in advance future protests against price increases, the Gierek regime has imposed extremely harsh sentences on thirteen persons accused of participation in the workers' demonstrations June 25.

On July 19 in Radom, following a secret trial, six workers convicted of "active participation in demonstrations" were given sentences of from four to ten years. The following day, in Warsaw District court, sentences of from three to five years were handed down against seven workers from the Ursus tractor factory, located in a suburb outside Warsaw.

In an attempt to cloak the frame-up nature of the case, foreign reporters were barred from both courtrooms. In Warsaw, some fifty friends and relatives of the accused were also refused permission to observe the trial.

"Other trials are to follow," *Le Monde* reported July 20. "The official Polish press agency PAP has already announced that the 'seven accused persons [tried in Warsaw] acted with other persons, against whom judicial proceedings are under way.' A trial against nineteen persons is believed to be imminent, and a dozen other workers from the Ursus factory are thought to be under arrest."

Protests against the increase in prices were so widespread that it is unlikely that the trials will stop there, *Le Monde* reported July 21.

"Incidents on June 25 also occurred in Plock, the petrochemical center serving as the terminal for the 'friendship pipeline' that brings Soviet oil to Poland, and there seem to have been a great number of work stoppages there. Strikes with relatively low participation are said to have taken place in Poznan and Wroclaw. In Warsaw, the work stoppages are believed to have been more significant, particularly at the Karol-Swierczewski cutlery plants . . . which employ 5,000 workers; at the Tewa transistor plant, which employs more than 2,000 workers, mostly women; and at the Zeran auto plant."



KURON: Urges Italian CP to support campaign for amnesty for demonstrators.

A report in the July 21 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* indicated that the repression in Ursus was not limited to the arrest of the nineteen workers still slated to face trial. "Several hundred workers were called in for questioning after the demonstrations, . . ." *Rouge* reported. "Witnesses saw dozens of trucks take them to Warsaw, where interrogations were held with the assistance of photos taken by police in helicopters at the time of the protests."

In an appeal directed to Enrico Berlinguer, general secretary of the Italian Communist party, Polish dissident Jacek Kuron urged support for a campaign for amnesty for all persons arrested in connection with the protests. According to excerpts printed in the July 21 *Le Monde*, the appeal said, in part:

"I turn to you to ask your aid for Polish workers who have been vilified by the press, radio, and television, beaten by police, thrown into prison, accused in court of sabotage, and sentenced to long terms in prison. Massive repression against the demonstrators is under way in the cities and regions. . . .

"Only a general amnesty for all who took part in the demonstrations in June can halt the campaign of terror against the workers. Public opinion, in the countries where it is genuinely independent, must take up the struggle for this amnesty. I know that your voice counts in the countries of Western Europe, as well as with the Polish authorities. . . . Do not stand indifferent before this cause!"

The appeal was well calculated to reach a tender spot in the Italian CP, which is greatly embarrassed when its professed support for workers democracy is contrasted to the repressive actions of its East European mentors.

Berlinguer responded to the pressure July 20. Although the Italian CP did not directly acknowledge Kuron's appeal, its press office issued a statement urging the Gierek regime to treat the demonstrators with "moderation and clemency."

The Polish Stalinists answered in customary fashion. Kuron, who is forty years old, was suddenly called up for three months' military service on the eastern border of Poland. □

### Even Children Tortured in Uruguay

The Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists denounced the dictatorship in Uruguay in a July 16 statement, saying:

"Torture has become an everyday instrument applied to political prisoners, be they men, women or even children. . . .

"Uruguay has perhaps now the sad honor of housing in its barracks, prisons and internment camps the greatest number of political prisoners relative to its population of any country in Latin America."

## Free Mustafa Dzhemilev and All Other Political Prisoners!

[The following speech was given by Reza Baraheni at a New York meeting in defense of Crimean Tatar activist Mustafa Dzhemilev June 24. Baraheni is Iran's foremost modern poet and literary critic, as well as a former political prisoner of the Iranian regime. The meeting was sponsored by the Mustafa Dzhemilev Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Room 414, New York, N.Y. 10003.]

\* \* \*

In a letter written and signed on August 20, 1969, by Mustafa Dzhemilev, Leonid Plyushch, and many other Soviet dissidents, the prominent signatories touched on a prominent issue, which deals with our international plight today. They said, "We are firmly convinced that a people which oppresses other peoples cannot be free or happy."

This is something with which we can hardly disagree. The genocide of American Indians and the enslaving, lynching, and assassination of the American Blacks by the whites, are of the same caliber as the mass slaughter of the Vietnamese people by the American army. The same system that administered the coup in 1953 in Iran, the coup in Guatemala, the Bay of Pigs, the coup in Chile, and in fact created oppression in all corners of the Third World, also created Watergate.

Those who oppress others cannot be free or happy among themselves.

But the above quotation does not come from a letter written on the occasion of American involvement abroad. The letter was written to protest the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the forces of the Warsaw Pact. The invasion was an outright violation of all the principles on which the Bolshevik revolution was founded.

The protest to the invasion came not from a host of demoralized and depoliticized "nuts"; it came from those who are Marxists, and who adhere to the Leninist line of self-determination of nationalities, and those who also abhor capitalist exploitation of nationality movements.

The leaders of the Soviet Union, trained on Stalinist indoctrination, turned deaf ears to the protest and the Czechoslovak movement. The democratic movement was crushed. But this wasn't the only democratic movement that has been crushed by Stalinism within the Soviet satellites or within the Soviet Union. Of these, the crushing of the movement of the Crimean Tatars is the most abhorrent example.

To refresh our memories, let me say that in the heroic war of the Soviet peoples against fascism and Nazism, twenty

million people gave their lives to defend the Soviet territories and the freedom of their peoples; 2.5 percent of the Soviet Union's population for each year of the war fell in the battle. This is a great number, and certainly it demonstrates the extent to which Hitler would go in killing people, and the extent to which the peoples of the Soviet Union would go in defending their own freedom and their own revolution.

But from 1944 to 1945, about 50 percent of all the Crimean Tatars were killed by the regime that was fighting fascism. What Hitler did to the Jews, Stalin did to the Crimean Tatars.

In the spring of 1969, Pyotr Grigorenko wrote, "Genocide was one of the terrible products of the two accursed Führers of the twentieth century. But the frenzied Adolf set at once upon nations numbering hundreds of millions, while the 'Marxist' Stalin preferred to 'get a little training' on the small nations. Among these nations fate included the Crimean Tatars."

Half of the whole Tatar nation was murdered. The rest were deported and since then their language and culture, in fact, all their national characteristics, have been demolished. But fortunately the spirit, the leaders, and the yearning to go back to Crimea, their place of birth and origin, are still there.

Mustafa Dzhemilev represents this movement. The plight of the Crimean Tatars is as old as he is, and his name is so much linked with the movement that a threat on his life is a threat on the life of the whole movement. At the same time, if this nationality movement is crushed, hope for the self-determination of other nationality movements will become meager.

For instance, there is very little difference in my mind between the Palestinian movement, the movement of the Black majority in South Africa—that is to say, Pretoria and Soweto—the Kurdish movement, on one side, and the Crimean Tatar movement on the other. The Soviet Union will look sincere in the eyes of the world in its defense of the Palestinians only when the democratic steps in similar cases inside the USSR are taken.

I would like to say that we are living in a world which dictates that progressive nationality movements be put on the agenda of all revolutionary movements. I believe that if the Crimean Tatars are allowed to go back to Crimea and have their national self-determination and cultural and linguistic identity restored, and if they live unharassed by the bigger nationalities, then the Soviet Union will

have actually reverted to the spirit of the Bolshevik revolution, and to the spirit of revolutionary internationalism. Otherwise, Stalin's specter is still hanging over the Soviet Union, and—certainly—over the whole world.

I identify with Mustafa in more than one way. His mother tongue and mine are the same. We speak two dialects of the same, archaic, Uralic language called Turkish, but we are forbidden to use it. I cannot use it because of the shah [of Iran]; he could not and cannot use it because of Stalin and Stalinism.

Although not deported—certainly it would be difficult to deport ten million Turks from Iran—the national rights of the Turks in Iran are violated in the same manner as the rights of the Tatars in the Soviet Union. The Turks in Iran do not have an autonomous government of their own; the Tatars don't have one either.

Stalin slaughtered and deported the Tatars on the pretext that they were collaborating with the Germans. Strangely enough, the shah imagines that if the Turks in Iran were given self-determination they would immediately join the Soviet Union. As if those like the Tatars, who have joined, have self-determination. The problem is, those who have the power think that those who don't have it are all traitors. So the most powerful are killing the least powerful in the world. This is how we maintain this world of ours, the world of oppressors and the world of the oppressed.

I also identify with Dzhemilev because we both belong to a common heritage—the Islamic heritage. By that I don't mean religion only, but also some sort of cultural and traditional heritage which certainly facilitates communication among the Muslims. In other words, where there would be gaps between myself and a Christian American, there would be bridges between me and Mustafa. These bridges are not only religious, but also cultural, and certainly a more liberated form of identity than religion per se.

And last, but not least, I identify with him in his battle for the rights of his oppressed nationality. He is a great defender of the three topics of our concern in this meeting—namely, the rights of political prisoners, democratic rights, and the rights of oppressed nationalities. I believe that these should be the immediate concerns of all decent revolutionary movements in the world. It would be criminal to play nationality movements into the hands of either capitalist imperialism, or Stalinist bureaucracy, or a combination of

both, as we have seen for example in the case of the Kurdish movement in Iraq.

The Soviet Union must be asked to restore the rights of all oppressed nationalities within its borders, including the Ukrainians, the Jews, and certainly the

Tatars. All lovers of freedom should battle for this restoration, because this is one of the most important ways through which the Soviet regime will be able to purge itself of its Stalinism.

To Dzhemilev, I can only say, *yashasin*,

which simply, in our common Turkish, means go on living.

Let us fight to free Dzhemilev and to free all political prisoners. Let us fight to restore all the democratic rights of all the nationalities in the world. □

## Offers 'Safeguards' to White Settlers

# Washington Seeks to Defuse Zimbabwean Time Bomb

By Ernest Harsch

The sharpening conflict between the Zimbabwean masses and the white supremacist Rhodesian regime continues to be a priority consideration in Washington's strategy toward southern Africa. From the viewpoint of the American imperialists, the recent massive Black uprisings in South Africa have lent even greater urgency to their efforts to derail and slow down the Zimbabwean struggle for freedom.

What the foreign policy planners in the White House fear most is that the Black population of Zimbabwe, which outnumbered the whites by 20 to 1, will rise up and overthrow the colonial-settler regime. Like the successful struggles for independence in Angola and Mozambique, the end of direct colonial rule over Zimbabwe would be a tremendous inspiration to the Blacks of South Africa to rid their own country of the hated apartheid regime.

One of Washington's basic aims is to head off an upsurge in Zimbabwe, and thus buy more time for its allies in South Africa itself.

Accordingly, U.S. officials are seeking to pressure Prime Minister Ian Smith into a compromise with some of the Black nationalist leaders. They hope this will pave the way for the installation of a Black neocolonial regime willing to protect imperialist interests.

Since South Africa plays a crucial role in propping up the Rhodesian economy, Washington has tried to get Pretoria to apply greater pressure on Smith. Shortly before meeting with South African Prime Minister John Vorster in West Germany June 23 and 24, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger said that his goal was to determine whether Pretoria would "separate" its future from that of Salisbury, implying that he would ask Vorster to comply with the United Nations sanctions against the Smith regime.

This approach was rejected by Vorster, however. He replied, through a spokesman: "It has been made clear that South Africa will never support the imposition of sanctions policies against Rhodesia or any other country."

Although Pretoria shares Washington's basic aims in preventing a Zimbabwean upsurge, its pressure on Smith has so far been limited.\* In late 1974, Vorster induced Smith to release some of the Zimbabwean nationalist leaders from prison and to begin talks with them. He also pulled South African troops out of Rhodesia. But Pretoria continues to supply Salisbury with arms and ammunition, to underwrite its currency, and to allow all Rhodesian trade to pass through South Africa.

According to a report by Colin Legum in the June 27 London *Observer*, Vorster suggested to Kissinger during their meeting in West Germany that Washington try to pressure Smith by different means. "He is believed to have urged Dr Kissinger to focus Western policy on providing massive economic assistance for white Rhodesians who may wish to emigrate," Legum said.

Kissinger appears to have accepted this proposal. Citing diplomatic sources in London, Bernard Weinraub reported in the July 20 *New York Times* that the American and British governments "are quietly shaping a joint policy that assures financial aid and property guarantees to the white minority. . . ."

The proposals are reported to include the establishment of a bank to buy white-owned land and businesses at guaranteed floor prices and the provision of pensions to white civil servants.

Legum reported that during Kissinger's meeting with British Prime Minister James Callaghan shortly after the Vorster talks, "Mr Callaghan is believed to have told Dr Kissinger of a British contingency plan to help white Rhodesians, first by providing effective safeguards for white Rhodesians who agree to stay on, at least for a trial period, under black majority rule and secondly by assisting those who wanted to leave."

The main factor behind the white

\*Pretoria fears that if the sanctions against Salisbury are successful, UN members would be encouraged to press for an extension of sanctions against South Africa itself.

settlers' determination to hang on to political power is their highly privileged social position. The settlers own virtually all the land in Zimbabwe that is of any economic value. In 1974, the average yearly income of whites, Asians, and persons of mixed ancestry was \$7,152, while for Africans it was only \$641.

Even the most moderate Black neocolonial regime would be forced to take some economic measures against the settlers, particularly against the large landholders. It was the fear of losing their privileges that prompted the settlers to defy Britain's efforts in the early 1960s to move toward neocolonial rule in Zimbabwe as it had in its other African colonies. The whites unilaterally declared "independence" from Britain in 1965 so as to maintain their political and economic supremacy.

The policy of "safeguards" and compensation for the whites now being worked out by London and Washington thus appears designed to lessen their fear of the consequences of Black majority rule and to undermine the regime's resistance to compromise.

An editorial in the July 23 *New York Times* declared that such a policy "makes excellent sense." Although the editors expressed pessimism about the chances of it working under the present circumstances, they added, "The attempt is clearly worth making, however, and every effort should be made to associate black African governments with it."

The *Times* editors also expressed the hope that the financial guarantees would induce as many settlers as possible to stay: "A peaceful passage to majority rule with guarantees of security to those whites who choose to remain and help build an independent 'Zimbabwe' would be an enormous boon to stability in Africa and to race relations everywhere."

The specific details of this approach may emerge after a second round of talks between Kissinger and Vorster (the time and place of the meeting have not yet been announced). According to a report by John Patten in the July 10 weekly edition of the

Johannesburg *Star*, the summit "will be the dramatic signal to the world that a settlement deal for Rhodesia is close." He said that "crucial alternative plans are under consideration for a joint Western peace thrust in the subcontinent."

In the meantime, Washington has increased its direct political pressure on Smith. Following a tour of eleven African countries, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations William Scranton said at a news conference in New York July 9 that Washington had no objection to Zimbabweans gaining majority rule through guerrilla warfare.

According to a report in the July 10 *Washington Post*, "The Scranton statement, in response to questions, took publicly stated U.S. policy toward the struggle in Rhodesia one step beyond the stand taken by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger earlier. . . ."

"Kissinger, in speeches on the subject, had simply omitted any reference to U.S. opposition to the use of violence."

Although Scranton ruled out any American military aid or arms to the guerrillas, he said more than a week earlier in Lusaka, Zambia, that Washington would consider giving medical assistance to the guerrillas through the Organization of African Unity.

The American imperialists, of course, are not interested in seeing the Smith regime toppled through guerrilla warfare. Besides serving as a signal to Smith, Scranton's statement was designed to give Washington some political cover for its efforts to derail the Zimbabwean liberation struggle.

Because of domestic opposition to any direct American intervention in Africa, Washington has been unable to restrain the guerrillas directly. It is seeking to do so through the Black neocolonial regimes neighboring Zimbabwe instead.

Basing his report on interviews with officials in Washington, Leslie H. Gelb said in the June 21 *New York Times* that there were regular behind-the-scenes contacts between Washington and the "four presidents," Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania, Samora Machel of Mozambique, and Seretse Khama of Botswana.

Since Kissinger's tour of several African countries in late April and early May, there have also been a number of public meetings between U.S. officials and the heads of these four states. Besides Scranton's tour, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs William E. Schauffele visited several countries in early July, including Zambia, Tanzania, and Botswana.

The flurry of diplomatic activity has been accompanied by promises of greater American economic assistance to the neocolonial states of southern Africa. Congress is expected to approve \$75 million in aid for the Black states bordering Zimbabwe, including \$27.5 million

for the Kaunda regime. Another \$10 million in transitional budget funds is slated for Mozambique, plus \$4 million in food aid.

According to Gelb, "State Department officials are hoping that the African leaders from whose countries the guerrillas are operating will use their influence to promote compromises. 'The four presidents have real control now if they want to use it, but once the fighting becomes grisly, they'll lose control, and they don't want that any more than we do,' one official said."

This aspect of Washington's policy in Zimbabwe is simply a continuation of Pretoria's "détente" exercise that was launched in late 1974.

Under the guise of seeking a "peaceful settlement" in Zimbabwe, Vorster used South Africa's economic dominance to enlist the collaboration of the neocolonial regimes in reining in the guerrillas. The "four presidents" induced the Zimbabwean liberation groups to halt guerrilla actions in favor of long, drawn-out negotiations with the Smith regime. The Kaunda regime, in particular, hindered the freedom fighters by closing the Zambian border to all guerrilla operations and by arresting a number of Zimbabwean militants.

These African regimes fear the potential impact that a successful Zimbabwean struggle for independence could have within their own countries.

Because of the South African intervention in the Angolan civil war and Pretoria's brutal suppression of the Black uprisings in South Africa, its "détente" policy with the Black states has been set back. It would now be extremely costly in political terms for the neocolonial regimes to openly collaborate with Vorster.

In fact, the growing conflict in Zimbabwe has now forced these regimes to make a show of giving more aid to the guerrillas. On May 28, Kaunda announced that he would again allow Zimbabwean guerrillas to use Zambia as a base for operations against the settler regime.

Washington's stepped-up diplomatic and economic involvement in southern Africa is thus designed to revive Pretoria's crumbling "détente" policy under American supervision.

So far, however, Washington's attempts to defuse the Zimbabwean conflict have shown no signs of success.

The Smith regime remains as opposed to compromise as ever. In early July, Smith said that there was no point in reopening negotiations with the African National Council because of the "extreme nature" of the demands put forward by the Zimbabwean leaders.

In a June 20 dispatch from Salisbury, *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Weinraub reported that the regime has mobilized most of its 40,000 reservists to combat the guerrillas. The military budget for the coming year has been increased by

40 percent and the police budget by 25 percent.

The racist regime has also stepped up its terrorization of the civilian Black population. Many thousands of Blacks have been herded into "protected villages" in the countryside in an attempt to cut the guerrillas off from their supporters. Any African found outside the compounds after curfew is shot on sight. According to a report in the July 4 London *Sunday Times* by Will Ellsworth-Jones, "More than 40 curfew-breakers, including women and children, have been killed this year."

Rhodesian Defense Minister Pieter van der Byl has admitted that there are now about 1,300 guerrillas active inside the country. Thousands more are being trained in camps in Mozambique, Zambia, and Tanzania, and many Zimbabweans are reportedly leaving the country to join them.

Although the guerrilla warfare has so far been limited mostly to clashes along the eastern border with Mozambique, some of the actions have taken place deep within the country. There have been at least seven attacks against Rhodesia's three main rail links, and on July 20 grenades exploded at two white restaurants in the capital itself.

Noting that there are nearly 370,000 Blacks in Salisbury's townships (more than the white population in the entire country), Ellsworth-Jones commented that "Smith must now face the real possibility of armed urban violence which would end once and for all his charade, still maintained in bustling Salisbury, that everything can be carried on as normal."

Reflecting the deepening militancy of the Zimbabwean freedom struggle, some of the guerrilla leaders have already rejected Washington's efforts to engineer a compromise agreement.

According to a report in the July 9 *New York Times*, Robert Mugabe, the general secretary of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), and Edgar Takeri, a member of ZANU's Central Committee, told a U.S. congressman "that they will reject any proposals for a negotiated settlement of the Rhodesian conflict that do not provide for an immediate and unconditional transfer of power by the ruling white minority."

Mugabe and Takeri, according to Congressman Stephen J. Solarz, also ruled out any guarantees for white settlers who chose to remain under a Black regime and rejected any compensation for the take-over of white-owned land.

If the positions of Mugabe and Takeri reflect those of the guerrilla leadership as a whole it may already be too late for Washington's schemes to work, even if it is able to convince Smith to agree to some compromises.

A collapse of the imperialist strategy in Zimbabwe would echo loudly throughout southern Africa. □



# Black Students Mount New Protests in South Africa

By Ernest Harsch

When tens of thousands of Blacks in the Johannesburg and Pretoria areas rose up against the hated apartheid regime in June, the South African authorities brutally shot down an unknown number of demonstrators—perhaps hundreds—and arrested at least 1,300 young militants. But while it managed to quell the massive rebellions for the moment, the Vorster regime has not been successful in its basic aim: beating the country's Black majority into submission.

On July 20, Black youths in several parts of the country delivered a sharp reminder to the apartheid regime of the continued militancy among Blacks.

In the Black township of Mhluzi near Witbank, a coal-mining center about 75 miles east of Johannesburg, students from six high schools converged in a protest march. They shouted antigovernment slogans and attacked symbols of white authority, such as the Highveld Bantu Administration Board, which supervises the Black townships in the Witbank area.

*New York Times* correspondent John F. Burns reported in a July 21 dispatch from Johannesburg, "As in the Soweto riots [in June], the disturbances in Witbank seemed to show a general resentment of apartheid rather than any particular grievance. The police said that almost all the rioters were schoolchildren, and that their main targets were Government vehicles and offices, and stores owned by Indian traders."

Police reinforcements and a special riot squad armed with automatic weapons were called in from Pretoria, and the army was put on alert. Police attacked the student demonstration with tear gas and gunfire. Although the police claimed that they had only fired warning shots into the air to disperse the "unruly mob," at least two Blacks were killed, one of them an eighteen-year-old who was shot in the head. Several Black townships were sealed off and officials announced that schools would be closed indefinitely.

There were also reports of unrest in Middelburg, about 85 miles northeast of Johannesburg, and in Hendrina, a Black township 35 miles southeast of Witbank. At Khutsong, near the mining town of Carletonville 40 miles southwest of Johannesburg, Black protesters reportedly set fire to several buildings.

According to a report in the July 21 *Le Monde*, a restaurant reserved exclusively for whites near Alexandra was burned

during the weekend of July 17 and 18. There was also an attempt to burn a court building near Johannesburg July 19, where eleven Blacks arrested during the June uprisings were to appear.

The most recent protest broke out despite the regime's imposition of a series of repressive measures July 15. Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons James T. Kruger declared that the preventive detention powers of the newly adopted Internal Security Act would be in force in Transvaal Province for one year. Under the act, the regime can arrest anyone it deems a danger to "public order" for up to one year without bail, court hearings, or access to a lawyer.

Kruger also extended the ban on public meetings for another month and declared that Black schools in the Johannesburg and Pretoria areas would remain closed "till the Blacks show a willingness to use schools for the right purpose."

The July 17 weekly edition of the Johannesburg *Star* reported: "These drastic steps had been necessary, he said, because political agitators and tsotsi [criminal] elements in large numbers were still at work, especially in Soweto."

In a dispatch from Johannesburg in the July 17 *Washington Post*, correspondent Robin Wright quoted a white political commentator as saying, "It amounts to a state of emergency but without having the army involved. They're really putting their foot down this time—and hard."

According to the *Star*, security police are continuing to arrest key members of the Black Consciousness movement in Soweto.

Among those known to have been arrested so far are Kenneth Rachidi, president of the Black People's Convention (BPC), Thomas Manthatha, another BPC leader, and Jairus Kgokong, a leader of the South African Students Organisation (SASO). Members of the South African Students Movement, a high-school group that works closely with SASO and the BPC, have also been arrested.

In an effort to head off more student protests, the racist regime decided July 21 to reopen Black schools, despite its earlier announcement that they would remain closed indefinitely. The decision was made after Kruger and other top police and security officials met with the Committee of 30, a group of administrators from the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, and of Black principals, school-board members, and community

figures from the townships.

The Black township officials told Kruger that the danger of renewed unrest would be greater if the schools remained closed.

Hoping to dampen Black discontent, Pretoria has sought to give the impression that it may agree to more concessions. Staff writers Thomas Butson and Bryant Rollins commented in the July 25 *New York Times* that members of the Urban Bantu Councils in the townships

are normally compliant Government appointees, but under pressure from militants in the townships the appointees agreed to try to broaden the discussion by demanding changes in fundamental racial policies. The Government has continued the talks, and made its relatively minor concessions, apparently because it believes that will placate blacks in the townships and shift some of the responsibility for its decisions onto the black leaders.

The Vorster regime has agreed to allocate new powers to its Black appointees on the Soweto Urban Bantu Council, indicating that the township may eventually be administered by Black supervisors.

Such cosmetic alterations will not satisfy the basic grievances of the Black population, which is opposed to the entire apartheid system. Nor is greater use of Black administrators likely to help bring the townships under tighter control. What little influence these officials had on the Black population is being eroded by the deepening militancy.

In a dispatch from Cape Town in the July 11 London *Observer*, correspondent Stanley Uys pointed out, "Although the older black leaders still occupy the same positions of authority, the real influence in the sprawling townships, like Soweto with its one million Africans, is passing inexorably to the young activists." Most of these activists, he reported, are supporters of such groups as the SASO and BPC.

Uys continued, "The question being asked is: if the young militants take over, and there are more riots, will the riots be confined to the townships, as they were last month, or will they spread to the factories?" □

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

Intercontinental Press  
P.O. Box 116, Village Station  
New York, NY 10014

## The Fight Against Political Blacklisting in West Germany

By Sigfried Kreisler and Derek Jeffers

FRANKFURT—Valentin Röder worked for the railroad before the victory of German fascism in 1933. He was fired because of his political convictions—he belonged to the Communist party of Germany.<sup>1</sup> In April 1933 he was arrested by the Nazi government.

Today his son Rudi Röder also works for the railroad, which is state owned in West Germany. According to his colleagues in Nuremberg and Würzburg, he is an "excellent locomotive engineer and a good trade unionist."

But on March 23, 1976, Rudi Röder received a letter of dismissal from the German Federal Railway for "a grave violation of duty"—namely, membership in the Communist party.

Röder is to be fired because he falls under the "extremist decree," along with five million other state employees in West Germany (20 percent of the entire labor force).

This decree, unanimously decided upon by a conference of the governors of each West German state and then-Chancellor Willy Brandt in January 1972, bars "extremists" from state employment. Not only Communist party members, but even left-wing Social Democrats have been among its victims.

In a recent case, the contract of a teacher in Mainz was not extended because it was "suspected" that she had the "intention" to drive to a Maoist demonstration several years ago. Indeed, it seems that the state authorities have had an increasing tendency to act in accordance with the saying from Brecht: "The suspicion exists that you are suspicious."

According to the Ministry of Interior, 464,585 state job applicants and jobholders were investigated from January 1, 1973, to June 30, 1975. For political reasons, 594 were either denied public employment or fired from the jobs they held, thereby receiving what West Germans refer to as the "Berufsverbot" (job ban).

Virtually all of these people had been trained for professions that are either totally or nearly monopolized by the state—most of them are teachers. When a teacher is refused employment by the state on the basis of the "extremist decree," he or she is practically prevented from exercising his or her profession.

Doubts have been raised as to the

accuracy of the figures given out by the Ministry of Interior. But in any case, all indications are that application of the Berufsverbot has been extended and systematized. The Ministry of Interior for Lower Saxony announced in January, for example, that since the introduction of the extremist decree forty-two persons had been banned from state employment, thirty-three of them in the last year alone. Whereas the decree originally applied solely to teachers, increasing numbers of doctors, lawyers, and railroad engineers are now being fired because of "doubts as to their loyalty to the free and democratic basic order."

### Background to the Current Attacks

The Berufsverbot is one of the latest in a long series of undemocratic measures first introduced shortly after the birth of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Bourgeois democracy was reinstated in West Germany by the conquering powers after the end of the Second World War. It was not the product of struggles that had shattered the state apparatus from within. In fact, the state apparatus remained largely intact despite a superficial purge of Nazis and the installation of a parliament. However, the working class began to utilize its newly won opening to reconstruct the workers movement, which had been destroyed by fascism. After two or three years the Social Democratic party, which had been the strongest party of the workers movement for eighty years, gained predominance in the German working-class movement.

Two factors led to the virtual disappearance of the Communist party from the field within a few years. The first was its catastrophic policies, which placed it to the right of the SPD.<sup>2</sup> Whereas the SPD put forward the slogan, "Socialism is the task of the hour," the KPD called for the construction of a bourgeois democracy during an extended "antifascist period" and explicitly made its program the protection of capitalist interests.

The second factor consisted in the outbreak of the cold war on an international scale and its repercussions in divided Germany. The forcible fusion of the SPD and the KPD into the SED<sup>3</sup> in the Soviet-

occupied section of Germany, together with the setting up of Stalinist rule, had an especially repellent effect on the working class. In the area of democratic rights for the masses, the Stalinist system had many similarities with fascism.

The KPD, which accepted political responsibility for this, had already lost all mass influence by the time the Federal Constitutional Court of the Christian Democratic Adenauer government banned it in 1956. The ruling class correctly gauged that this would not evoke any great protests on the part of the workers movement.

### Consequences of the Ban on the KPD

The reasoning behind the ban became a precedent for the future, resolving the contradictory character of the constitution in favor of a curtailment of freedom of speech and the right of assembly.

An article in the constitution provides for the banning of parties "if, in their goals or in the behavior of their followers, they attempt to impair or overthrow the free and democratic basic order, or endanger the existence of the Federal Republic of Germany."

However much it was emphasized that the sole aim was to prevent the formation of a new National Socialist party, it was nevertheless clear that this *general* curtailment of political freedom would necessarily be directed against the rights of the real opponents of the bourgeois system, the working class.

This article of the constitution contradicts other articles that supposedly give broad guarantees of freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of the press, declaring them to be inalienable.

But the decision of the Federal Constitutional Court went far beyond this framework, establishing an interpretation of the constitution that amounts to a prohibition of certain political theories. It not only ruled that it is illegal to propagandize for the "dictatorship of the proletariat," but also that equating the "welfare of the whole" with the interests of one class does not correspond to the "set of values of the free and democratic basic order."

### The Emergency Laws

The rearmament of West Germany and its integration into NATO at the beginning of the 1950s gave rise to a broad protest movement that involved millions of persons but was led to defeat by the Social

1. Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (Communist party of Germany, original name of the pro-Moscow Stalinist party).

2. Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic party of Germany).

3. Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity party, the East German CP).

Democratic and trade-union bureaucracies. This victory for the Christian Democratic reaction paved the way for a new general attack on constitutional rights in 1968: the passage of the Emergency Laws.

For a long time, Christian Democratic governments had made repeated attempts to get such a bill passed. They were thwarted each time by the Social Democratic opposition, since a two-thirds majority was necessary to alter the constitution.

This changed beginning in 1966. In the wake of the first economic crisis in West Germany a governmental crisis set in, which was resolved by the formation of a "Grand Coalition" between Christian Democrats and Social Democrats. Part of the price that the Social Democracy paid for participating in the government was support for the Emergency Laws.

Through them the legal groundwork was laid for the federal government being able to declare a state of emergency "in case of foreign or domestic danger." It can then empower itself to:

- Rule practically without any control over it by parliament, and base itself on a so-called emergency parliament.
- Use the military as a domestic police force.
- Place certain groups of workers under military command.
- Forbid strikes.

The Social Democracy sought to justify its support for the measures by referring to the possibility of "natural catastrophes" or war, but its partner in the government made no secret of its real intentions. For example, former Vice-President of the Constitutional Court Katz explained that a strike on the scale of the American steelworkers strike of 1959 would cause a state of emergency, which would necessitate "hard measures."

Supplementary laws restricted the right of privacy in using the telephone and telegraph, and expanded the "Constitutional Police," the West German domestic secret-police force.

A very broad movement sprang up against the Emergency Laws, ranging from the newly arisen student movement to large sectors of the Social Democracy and the trade-union movement. At the high point of this movement, more than 60,000 persons took part in a national march in Bonn in 1968.

Protest against the passage of the Emergency Laws introduced a new, radical ferment into society. This shift in the political climate led to a situation in which the instruments of repression remained on the books but could not be stringently applied.

In face of this, the government decided to allow the pro-Moscow Stalinist current to once again lead a legal existence. In secret negotiations between top Stalinists and the Ministry of Interior, the founding of the German Communist party<sup>4</sup> was arranged in 1968.

Although the bourgeoisie was compelled to make numerous concessions from 1967 to about 1971, these gains later came under attack. The main weapon was an unparalleled propaganda offensive on "terrorism."

The terrorist actions of tiny groups were



BRANDT: Acknowledges some "gross deviations" in application of witch-hunt law.

played up as a danger to the state. The success of the campaign depended heavily on its receiving fresh nourishment through terrorist attacks at decisive moments. Accordingly, the question of the extent of the government's involvement in such intrigues has arisen.

The so-called *Berufsverbot* has become the main means of repression available to the state governments, aside from the outright banning of organizations. No applicant for state employment can be given a job without undergoing an intensive investigation. Anyone who has had any kind of relations, however indirect, with radical groups can be branded an enemy of the constitution and rejected. Signing a petition or attending a meeting or demonstration can suffice.

The first attempt at a unified federal regulation was the so-called extremist decree adopted in January 1972. It established for the first time the principle that an applicant for a state job "must offer the guarantee that he will at all times actively defend the free and democratic basic order," and that even "doubts" as to the validity of this guarantee are enough to reject him.

This decree was concretized in April

4. Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (German Communist party, the new name adopted by the pro-Moscow Stalinists).

1975 by a decision of the Federal Constitutional Court in the Anne Lenhart case. After taking her teacher's examination, Lenhart had applied to the Mainz Ministry of Education for a position. The ministry refused her employment because she was a member of the university chapter of the MSB Spartakus (youth organization of the DKP) and had run as a DKP candidate in the 1972 federal elections. The court explained that the duty of being loyal to the constitution could not be "simply" limited "to an assertion of opinion," but that it was necessary "to defend the free and democratic basic order in an outwardly recognizable—active—manner."

After this decision, more *Berufsverbot* cases accumulated, including the following:

- Charlotte Niess, an attorney and SPD member, was refused a job by the Bavarian Ministry of Justice because of her membership in the Association of Democratic Lawyers, on whose Executive Committee Communists are also active. The fact that Social Democrats and liberals are also on the Executive Committee and even hold a majority in it was not mentioned. The Bavarian Ministry of Justice based its decision on the assertion that "the membership in a democratic party cannot be an alibi for other, more weighty activities—such as those in an organization whose goal is the communist infiltration and destruction of the judiciary in the Federal Republic of Germany" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, January 15, 1975).

- Wolfgang Eichhorn, a teacher who is not a member of any political organization, was told by the Munich Ministry of Education that an investigation had resulted in reservations about employing him. His attorney then received a letter from the ministry, which noted among other things: "It would also be of advantage to your client if proof of the initiation of divorce proceedings and, in the case that the wife's membership in the DKP was named as one of the reasons in seeking the divorce, confirmation of that could also be cited" (*Der Spiegel*, April 12, 1976).

- Rotraut Brentzel, a teacher in Berlin, was rejected by the district office of Steglitz after the Constitutional Police raised the following "doubts" about her loyalty to the constitution: She had "subscribed to a left-wing, extremist information service in 1969, distributed a left-wing piece of propaganda for May Day, and belonged to the 'at the very least left-wing-influenced' German-Chinese Friendship Society, as well as the 'Socialist Teaching Assistants Cell' at the Free University. Of those in the cell belonging to a political party, all are members of the SPD" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, February 5, 1976).

- Christina Gorski-Hauser had to stop teaching because, "according to the information of the Constitutional Police, it was

'suspected' that she had once had the 'intention' to drive to a KPD<sup>5</sup> demonstration" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, June 10, 1976).

#### How 'Information' Is Collected

The Berufsverbot has not only created a climate of intimidation on the campuses, in public service, and the entire society. It has also led to the formation of a gigantic apparatus for the systematic surveillance of all citizens.

The budget for the Federal Office of the Constitutional Police has climbed 128 percent from 1970, when it was 34 million Deutsche marks (about US\$13.3 million), to the present total of 77.8 million Deutsche marks (about US\$30.3 million). In numerous other secret services, such as the Federal Information Service and the Military Screening Service, the situation is similar. At the Federal Criminal Police Office, a new division for political crimes and "terrorism" has recently been set up.

Thousands of informers, from the professionals down to the students who receive rewards for information on fellow students, serve as stool pigeons for these apparatuses. The university bureaucrats are also supposed to collect information and report to the authorities. "No one who was ever active in left-wing politics escapes the informers. About two million names are on file alone in the modern computer complex of the Cologne Federal Office for the Constitutional Police" (*Stern*, November 27, 1975).

In addition, there are the private informers—the professional anticommunists and the extreme right-wing organizations—who are able to boast of their excellent working relations with the authorities. Virtually no right-wing extremists have received a Berufsverbot. Well-known members of the neofascist NPD,<sup>6</sup> as well as former Nazis, occupy distinguished state posts.

A further, supplementary measure for the "protection of democracy" was the passage of the "violence law" by the Bundestag in January of this year. This law makes it a crime to "advocate serious acts of violence, if by so doing others will be moved to take action through which the existence and security of the Federal Republic of Germany is endangered" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, January 17, 1976).

Whoever "(1) distributes; (2) publicly exhibits, displays, demonstrates or in any other way makes accessible; or (3) produces, subscribes to, delivers, stores, offers, recommends. . ." such writings ". . . will be punished by not more than three years

of imprisonment or by fine."

"Whoever advocates the committing of one of the . . . above-named illegal acts will likewise be penalized. . . ."

This law was a *compromise* between the government and the opposition. The original draft was even more strongly worded, but the above formulation was proposed after a wave of protests by many liberals, writers, publishers, and Social Democratic clubs. The opposition voted for it only under protest, claiming it was too liberal.

Other laws have been passed in the last two years restricting the rights of defendants and lawyers in certain cases. (See *Intercontinental Press*, July 21, 1975, p. 1037.)

#### Alarm in Europe

These increasingly direct challenges to democratic rights have given a new sense of urgency to the movement against the Berufsverbot in West Germany and abroad, and recently the government and the ruling Social Democratic party have been compelled to make a few verbal retreats.

At the end of May, French Socialist leader François Mitterrand, together with other leading French Social Democrats, announced the formation of a Committee for the Defense of Civil and Professional Rights in West Germany. Television documentaries in Sweden and Belgium have interviewed West Germans banned from public employment and drawn parallels with Chile, Spain, Iran, and even the beginnings of Nazi rule. The International Commission of Jurists has named West Germany as one of the countries where democratic rights are most endangered.

When the wave of foreign criticism made headlines across the front pages of almost every West German newspaper, the first reaction of the government in Bonn was to not give the critics an inch. On June 1, West German President Walter Scheel characterized Mitterrand's statement as "cheap polemics."

Federal Minister of Justice Hans-Jochen Vogel of the SPD responded to the criticism by declaring May 30: "Whoever wants to replace the fundamental principles of this order with a different system—for example, the system prescribed by Marxism-Leninism—can freely state his opinion in our country, but he cannot be employed by the state."

For the right-wing CSU,<sup>7</sup> even these statements were a little too soft. In its view, Mitterrand's "impudent arrogance" and the "scandalous reporting" of Belgian television were "part of a far-reaching, internationally directed action with a double purpose: to complete the communist

infiltration of West Germany and to encourage an anti-German mood in Europe."

However, a few days after the initial hard-line reaction to the French committee, the tenor of the Social Democratic attitude toward the Berufsverbot was altered somewhat by the publication of an election-year book containing interviews with SPD Chairman Willy Brandt and Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

Here Brandt said, "In fact, the attempt that was made with the so-called radical decree at the beginning of 1972 has to be clearly viewed as a failure. I have to admit that. I made a mistake at that time. . . . There have been gross deviations and grotesque developments."

Schmidt added, "If I could have my wish I would best like to see all these decrees and law-making attempts tucked away in the file cabinets."

Scoring the hypocrisy of these statements, the June 10 issue of *Was Tun*, weekly newspaper of the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (International Marxist Group), German section of the Fourth International, pointed out that if it were really a "mistake," it would be a simple matter for the government to issue a new decree guaranteeing "immediate employment in the profession of their choice" to all who have received a Berufsverbot.

The "mistake" the SPD is worried about, *Was Tun* said, is "not the Berufsverbot as such but the stir that it has raised. . . ."

#### The Movement Against Berufsverbot

Since the promulgation of the extremist decree, the SPD leadership has had to contend with opposition to the Berufsverbot on the part of a sizable section of the party itself. In July 1972, the SPD state parliamentary fraction in Schleswig-Holstein labeled the governors' decree "not only superfluous, but also . . . cause for concern for constitutional rights." The last four conventions of the youth organization of the SPD, the Young Socialists (Jusos), have condemned the Berufsverbot and called for actions to abolish it.

The Young Democrats, the youth organization of the FDP,<sup>8</sup> have also opposed the Berufsverbot. A number of trade-union conferences have passed resolutions against the extremist decree, including the printers union and the women's conference of the metalworkers union, the largest trade union in Europe.

In general, however, the Social Democratic leadership has been able to hold the majority of its followers in the SPD and the unions in line. It does this by periodically issuing general statements defending democratic rights and by threatening those who become active in the anti-Berufsverbot movement with expulsion

5. A Maoist outfit has now appropriated this name for itself.

6. Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (National Democratic party of Germany).

7. Christlich-Soziale Union (Christian Social Union, the right-wing Bavarian branch of the main bourgeois party the Christian Democratic Union).

8. Freie Demokratische Partei (Free Democratic party).

from the party or trade union.

Representative Bünemann, a member of the state legislature in Schleswig-Holstein, was expelled from the SPD at the beginning of 1975 for his work in a Berufsverbot committee. The SPD Executive Committee issued a warning to all party members in June 1975 "not to take part in the transparent campaign against the alleged 'Berufsverbot' and to stay away from meetings that are strongly suspected of being either controlled or decisively influenced by the DKP." The trade unions have expelled hundreds of "extremists" in the last several years, especially from the teachers union, upon which the student radicalization has had the most impact.

Thus, since the unquestioned leadership of the working-class movement is itself applying the Berufsverbot, the task of leading a movement to abolish it falls to others. Unfortunately, this movement has been hindered by the lack of a clear perspective that could unite all opponents of the Berufsverbot, although there have been some impressive demonstrations in the last year.

One segment of the movement, which possesses the most developed apparatus, generally follows the strategy proposed by the DKP. These are the committees centered around the Hamburg initiative, "End the Berufsverbot," which in addition to the DKP includes Social Democrats, trade-union leaders, and even some Free Democrats.

These committees were first organized out of a national conference in Hamburg in June 1973, and claim to have grown to more than 300 local committees. Their platform states that they defend only those who support the West German constitution, as, for example, the DKP does. Thus they practice their own kind of extremist decree within the movement and refuse to challenge the central contention of the government that a state employee must "embrace" the constitution.

Yet, despite their sectarian platform, they have also organized actions against the Berufsverbot in general, including a rally of 8,000 persons last December in Stuttgart. The action also won the support of the Stuttgart Jusos. Despite repeated pleas by the party leadership, the Jusos refused to back off from support to the demonstration. Four days before it was to take place, the Juso leadership was forced to resign by the Baden-Württemberg SPD state Executive Committee.

In coordination with the Stuttgart rally a march of 11,000 persons was organized by the Berlin Action Committee Against Berufsverbot. The Berlin committee has its main base at the Free University, although it has also worked with a number of trade unions. It has not attached any political preconditions to the defense of victims of the Berufsverbot.

Another current in the movement is represented by certain Social Democrats

who carry out limited actions directed against the extremist decree, but who refuse to work with any left-wing groups, including the DKP. They hope to thereby avoid being expelled from the SPD. In



SCHMIDT: Not pleased by television documentaries comparing West Germany to Iran.

agreement with the state SPD Executive Committee, at the end of March Jusos in Nordrhein-Westfalen began petitioning within the party against "political repression." Only Social Democrats were allowed to sign the petition. After five weeks the Jusos announced they had collected 6,000 signatures.

On the weekend of June 5-7 the Socialist Bureau, a centrist organization with many contacts in the left Social Democratic milieu, organized a congress against political repression. Twenty thousand persons marched in a demonstration in Frankfurt June 5 at the opening of the congress. But the vague theme of the congress—"against political repression and economic exploitation" in general—detracted from its impact. Nor did the organizers of the congress try to draw in other than left-wing forces or propose future actions.

#### Strategy Needed

The effects of the extremist decree on the workers movement have become critical. At first cautiously applied, the decree has been interpreted more and more broadly. This can be traced back largely to the lack of an effective movement in opposition to it.

It is clear that anyone contemplating joining a left-wing organization has to reckon with the serious possibility that he

or she will be barred from public employment. This is especially true for all who exercise their democratic right to run for state office as the candidate of such an organization—or even for student government at a university.

But the intimidation applies to more than this. In the current election campaign, for example, the Maoist groups, the DKP, and the Trotskyists of the GIM have all had the experience of seeing many persons refuse to sign petitions to place these organizations on the ballot for fear of being denied a job by the state. Students in particular are worried, as the state controls 20 percent of the job market.

Thus, the importance of a movement against the Berufsverbot is clear. Equally clear is the potential for a much more powerful movement than has existed up till now. The verbal retreats the government has been forced into are indications of this.

The June 3 issue of *Was Tun* outlined a number of important points for building such a movement:

If we assume that the complete elimination of the Berufsverbot corresponds to the necessities of the class struggle, then the broadest possible support for this demand is necessary. If even bourgeois circles support this demand, which, after all, is the case here and there, then we welcome that; it is not our contradiction, but theirs. . . .

The struggle against the Berufsverbot must be conducted within a framework that *includes or can include all victims or potential victims, that is, regardless of their position on the constitution*. The struggle can be led to success only if we refuse to submit to the logic of our opponent, according to which the constitution is supposed to be made the dividing line against the left and at the same time within the left. Our dividing line must run between those who are liquidating democratic rights and those who are defending these rights.

If supporters of this perspective, including the German Trotskyists, are successful in putting it forward in the various committees and local struggles against Berufsverbot cases, enormous progress could be made toward a united, national movement with real authority.

At the same time, it will be necessary for supporters of civil liberties in other parts of the world to continue their defense of democratic rights in West Germany and spread their efforts to other countries. The fight to repeal the extremist decree in the most important European capitalist country will surely have a significant effect on the growing numbers of workers' struggles in all of Europe. □

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# OUT NOW!

## Chapter 20

### The First National Student Strike and the Split in SMC

By Fred Halstead

[First of three parts]

The Pentagon march and the Stop the Draft weeks were only the tip of the iceberg as far as the mood among student activists in this period was concerned. In the fall of 1967 there were hundreds of antiwar actions on campuses across the country, some of them involving large-scale strikes and confrontations. Many were dramatic actions against military, CIA, and war-industry recruiters—particularly the napalm-manufacturing Dow Chemical Corporation. These occurred at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, the University of Indiana at Bloomington, New York University, the University of Pennsylvania, Cornell, and UCLA, to mention a few.

Many of these actions involved local SDS chapters, though without SDS national office initiative.

By mid-November, 1967, the SDS N.O. was doing some rethinking about the importance of the antiwar issue and was considering calling a series of actions for April 1968. As for the SMC, the idea of a national student strike had been part of its

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projection from the beginning but was always postponed at its conferences. By early winter, 1967, however, conditions had ripened to the point where it was assumed a national student strike would be seriously considered at the next SMC conference scheduled for the end of January, 1968.

In November, SDS Inter-Organizational Secretary Carl Davidson wrote to Linda Morse, the executive secretary of the SMC, as follows: "If I am correct in sensing both the mood and the need for less sectarian politics within SDS, then I think we both need to work some things out together." An additional reason for this initiative, according to Davidson, was that "both SDS and SMC are considering similar programs centering around the idea of student strikes."<sup>1</sup>

In early December the SDS newspaper, *New Left Notes*, carried an article by Davidson and Gregg Calvert that said: "The time has come for SDS to assume a leadership position within the antiwar movement. . . . SDS must develop a positive, although critical, view toward relating to other groups or coalitions within the anti-war movement. To continue our previous position of separating ourselves from other anti-war forces, without advocating an independent program of our own, would be an indulgence in sectarianism which neither we nor the movement could afford. . . ."

"SDS should have enough confidence in its power and politics to enter into relationships with other groups for the purpose of winning people over to our perspectives, strategies, and tactics.

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1. Letter from Carl Davidson to Linda Morse, November 14, 1967. (Copy in author's files.)

When persuasion fails within certain groups, we should make further efforts within those coalitions to co-opt, neutralize, or contain their politics under the hegemony of our own perspective."<sup>2</sup>

Presumptuous phrasing notwithstanding, the SDS overtures were welcomed within both the Student and National Mobilization committees, and SDS was urged to send representatives to the National Mobe administrative committee meeting in New York on December 27. SDS began its own national council meeting that day in Bloomington, Indiana, so none of the current officers were present in New York. But Rennie Davis, one of the old guard SDSers in Chicago, who was understood to have close relations with the new guard, was present, as well as Steve Halliwell, a recent past president of SDS who had accompanied Dave Dellinger on a trip to Hanoi. Tom Hayden was also there. This was unusual, since he had not been involved in the national antiwar coalitions up to that time, though he would occasionally speak at rallies.

It seemed obvious to me then that this meeting should set a conference to discuss and call a major action for the spring. To my surprise this suggestion was not well received.

Some of the people present preferred to have SDS take the lead on the spring actions. Dellinger took a dim view of a large, open conference of the antiwar movement. "Everytime there's a conference," the minutes quote him as saying, "there's also a power scramble which with time could cause a fiasco."<sup>3</sup>

(I always had difficulty understanding Dellinger's concept of democracy, which usually did not include resolving disputed issues by debate and vote of the rank and file. Avoiding large conferences did not eliminate either power scrambles or fiascos. It just confined the scrambles to leading circles in isolation from the ranks and their collective feel of what was going on in the broader mass and in the workaday world. That increased the likelihood of fiascos, in my view. Avoiding conferences, however, did give more relative weight to prominent individuals than to organized tendencies, which in part perhaps, accounts for the differences between Dellinger and me on this point.)

The discussion centered around the possible Democratic Party convention demonstrations, still eight months away. The only consensus we could reach regarding spring was to leave it to "the students [to] set the date and then be backed by adult support."<sup>4</sup> "The students" meant SDS and SMC, or in some peoples' minds, one or the other.

At this meeting it was clear that the National Mobe was in something of an identity crisis. Questions like "Who are we?" kept on popping up. My answer was that we're the group that called the major mass demonstrations against the war in Vietnam and that we ought to keep doing that sort of thing and not kid ourselves that we—as this particular group—can do much else.

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2. *New Left Notes*, December 4, 1967.

3. Minutes, National Mobilization Committee administrative committee, December 27, 1967, New York. (Copy in author's files.) The minutes contain brief digests of each speaker's remarks, not full direct quotes.

4. *Ibid.*

This view seemed to satisfy almost no one. Some people thought we should relate directly to the McCarthy campaign and the fight within the Democratic Party. Mike Stein of the Communist Party said: "There is a dual obligation to both the Peace and Freedom movements to form a coalition of the National Mobe, SCLC, MFP [Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party], and the dissenting Democrats to show how to fight within the [Democratic Party] convention."<sup>5</sup>

Dellinger said there was widespread disillusionment with the electoral process, and that National Mobe should encourage the formation of a movement to express that sentiment around many issues in Chicago in August.

In the end the meeting made no decision on Chicago either, beyond leaving it to a subcommittee of the National Mobe officers and some people from Chicago, to call a conference of undetermined size and composition to further consider the plans for possible Democratic Party convention demonstrations.

\* \* \*

The SDS national council meeting December 27-30 in Bloomington actually passed a proposal for ten days of antiwar activity beginning April 20, along with a motion to send a representative to the National Mobilization Committee. The original proposal had been made in the December 4 article by Davidson and Calvert under the title "Ten Days to Shake the Empire." It emphasized "resistance" and "confrontation" activities and declared: "The crisis we are confronting is the disruption and dislocation of the political economy of imperialism in the face of wars of national liberation, of which Vietnam is only one front."<sup>6</sup>

This was opposed by the PL-SDSers who proposed developing student power issues on campus in the spring, followed by a summer "work-in" where students would go into factories and try to develop a "worker-student alliance." The PLers appeared at this conference in strength, which surprised the other tendencies in SDS, including the leadership. PL had about 15 of the roughly 80 voting delegates, and in a workshop the leadership proposal was narrowly defeated by the PL-backed resolution.

In part this was due to the fact that the leadership proposal was looked on—and indeed was designed—as encouraging disruptive activities which would involve confrontations with the forces of the law. There was a desire at this conference to at least slow down any process of establishing disruptive actions as a norm. There was some awareness among many of those present that, though SDS was receiving far more publicity than any other youth group and was a household word, in reality it was becoming isolated, not only from the general population, but from the mass of students as well.

A hasty compromise was drawn up by New York SDSers Naomi Jaffe, Bob Gottlieb, and John Fuerst, which kept the "Ten Days of Resistance" to the war, but emphasized that tactics would be decided by local chapters. The leadership group—which included Cathy Wilkerson, Greg Calvert, and Mike Spiegel (Davidson was on a trip to Cuba)—supported the compromise in the plenary and it passed easily over the PL motion. PL, incidentally, also opposed sending a "representative" to National Mobe, arguing for an "observer," but was voted down.

The SDS call was quite vague, specifying only that ten days of resistance to the war were to take place during the period April 20-30. (The fact that this counted out to eleven days, not ten, was later mentioned at the SMC conference, and someone jested: "SDS uses New Math.")

Underlying the discussion at the SDS meeting was the fact that SDS locals were following the SMC's lead on antiwar activity because the SDS national office was not providing any national direction or focus on the issue. But the very vagueness of the SDS call left it squarely up to the SMC to be specific.

In a mid-January report to the YSA membership, Lew Jones expressed the view that the upcoming SMC conference would have the responsibility for setting the dates and general character of the spring actions. "All other national antiwar formations," he said, "have either delayed or mismanaged the planning of the next actions. As a result the period between the previous action and the calling of the next has been extended longer than before. This delay stems basically from the deepening conflict between contrary perspectives. On the one hand, the ultra-lefts and hardcore 'resistance' supporters wish to jettison mass actions for periodic civil disobedient acts. On the other, those individuals and groups who are now supporting McCarthy or are looking for a 'peace and freedom' presidential ticket, do not want a major antiwar action that would compete."<sup>7</sup>

In my opinion this somewhat overstated the matter as it stood at that particular moment. These trends existed, but there were many people, especially in the rank and file of the various groups, who were attracted to McCarthy and also to mass action once such actions were called and were clearly building to significant proportions. This was certainly true of the broad layer of youth who responded to the initiatives of the SMC. Most of them would probably have voted for McCarthy if they had a chance to vote at all, but were not at that time in the mood to abandon the streets.

During this period the National Mobilization Committee staff was conducting a poll of local antiwar groups to see if it should "suggest" demonstrations on Saturday April 20 or 27 as part of the SDS ten days. How long this poll would take was anybody's guess. Rennie Davis and Tom Hayden, who had been co-opted as part of the National Mobe leadership, were heading an office in Chicago and working, not on spring actions, but on the Democratic Party convention demonstration, still six months away. The New York Parade Committee, many of whose affiliates were attracted to the McCarthy campaign, had avoided the question of spring actions, waiting for the National Mobe decision. The Resistance had taken its own initiative and called for another day of draft noncooperation on April 3.

"Such a lack of common perspective and coordination," bemoaned Jones, "comes at a time when the antiwar movement faces unprecedented opportunities for influencing public opinion and winning new recruits. As the Johnson Administration plans a further, major escalation, opposition to the war and general discontent have risen sharply. A series of actions designed to appeal to major sections of society could have visible results in the coming period."<sup>8</sup>

For its part, the SMC working committee, which at this time included youth from the YSA, the CP, radical pacifists, and independents, had agreed to take the initiative.

These SMCers, regardless of tendency, were quite sincere in wanting to involve SDS both nationally and locally in the spring actions, and they looked upon the SDS national council decision as an open opportunity. By this time the SMC was working with groups on more than 700 campuses located in every state but Alaska. While they had a variety of views on such matters as the McCarthy campaign and resistance tactics, the SMCers in the national office could feel a groundswell of antiwar sentiment among students generally, and were in pretty solid agreement that, whatever else people might do, this was no time to abandon mass action. They agreed to propose to the SMC conference a national student strike and a day of mass demonstrations in cities across the country, toward the end of the ten days suggested by SDS. This would give focus to the whole thing.

A ticklish problem remained, however. There was still no "adult" call and there might well be resentment if the SMC took it upon itself to call the spring actions in the name of the whole movement, thus formally preempting National Mobe's function. Apparently in informal discussions with the National Mobe office

5. Ibid.

6. *New Left Notes*, December 4, 1967.

7. Antiwar Report, by Lew Jones, January 17, 1968. YSA mailing. (Copy in author's files.)

8. Ibid.

it was agreed that the National Mobe officers would put out a statement endorsing the SDS call, listing any actions the SMC conference might call during the same period, and suggesting that Saturday, April 27, would be a good time for all concerned to unite in demonstrations in various cities for maximum visibility.

With that promise in their pockets, the SMCers prepared for their conference. They invited Carl Davidson to address the plenary and C. Clark Kissinger, who had been SDS national secretary when the first antiwar march on Washington in 1965 was organized, to chair the sessions.

On behalf of the working committee, Linda Morse presented a proposal which included a call for "ten days of campus-based antiwar action to coincide with the SDS-proposed ten days. . . . An international student strike on April 26," and "support of the National Mobilization's call for Mass Actions . . . on Saturday, April 27."<sup>9</sup> Actually the National Mobe call came only after this was adopted at the SMC conference.

\* \* \*

The January 27-29, 1968, conference of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam was the largest up to that time, and the major antiwar conference of the period. More than 900 students and youth from 110 colleges and 40 high schools in some 25 states registered. There were even a handful of junior high schools represented. The average age was twenty, with less than a dozen registrants over thirty.

Writers Walter and Miriam Schneir were present and observed: "Inasmuch as the President of the United States has publicly accused Movement activists of 'storm trooper tactics,' it seems worth recording that the S.M.C. conference was conducted along democratic lines, combining a rather loose preliminary procedure with Quaker meeting-house traditions. On the opening day of the conference, members of various organizations distributed sharply differing position papers on the proposed student strike and other matters, vying for the support of delegates who waited patiently in long lines to register. A room adjacent to the registration area was made available to any group that wished to set up a table for the free distribution or sale of literature. The conference's workshops and steering committee were open to anyone who cared to attend. All ideas were afforded an opportunity to be brought to the floor; any individual or group could mimeograph statements and distribute them. Decisions were reached by majority vote but, where practicable, proposals were modified so that any sizable minority view might be encompassed. At times, sectarian opinions held by comparatively few delegates received considerable attention. For example, the SMC considered at some length a proposal circulated by thirty-seven individuals to 'expose, repudiate and reject' the S.M.C. . . ."<sup>10</sup>

This motion was prompted by Progressive Labor. It was put on the floor in opposition to the student strike proposal, and in the process of answering it, some effective education was done regarding the nature and purpose of the student antiwar coalition. The PL motion received only a handful of votes and the strike proposal passed overwhelmingly. The previous day, Carl Davidson had appeared as a guest speaker and in the course of his remarks had said that though the SDS national council had not taken a position on the proposed strike, local SDS chapters were free to decide for themselves whether or not to participate and he was confident many would.

The major dispute and the longest debate at the conference centered around proposals by the CP delegates to change the SMC from mainly an antiwar group into a "peace and freedom" group—that is a combination antiwar and civil rights organization. As part of this perspective the CP and the Du Bois Clubs put

forth an organizational proposal to give the Black caucus—attended by sixty of the more militant Blacks at the conference—parity on all bodies, including 50 percent of the conference vote.

The SMC had always taken a position against racism. Its main contribution to this struggle was its fight against the racist war. It did not, however, pretend that the SMC as such was a part of the leadership of the Black freedom struggle in the United States, and it did not adopt as its own position any of the competing strategies for fighting racism then being argued out within the Black movement. There had been indications before the conference that a change in this policy would be proposed.

For example, a position paper circulated by the Du Bois Clubs, in support of the student strike idea, declared: "The issue of racism cannot be tacked onto the peace slogan as an afterthought. We must understand the organic connection in today's realities. This must be reflected in the composition of all the planning meetings and committees for this strike beginning with the Chicago [SMC conference] meeting at the end of January."<sup>11</sup>

In his January 17 report Lew Jones of the YSA declared: "The CP wants the SMC to emulate the practices of the National Conference for New Politics convention by giving half the vote to a black caucus (where they will be heavily represented) and thereby 'prove' that the SMC is 'really' against racism. Both the CP and the DBC [Du Bois Clubs] are mobilizing for the conference for this purpose and to put forward the demand that the SMC adopt the slogan 'end racism' and conduct the student strike under the banner of 'freedom and peace.'

"The CP has seized on the most emotional and guilt-ridden issue in American politics as a means of jamming their class collaborationist politics down the throat of the antiwar movement."

Jones charged that the CP wanted to change the character of the SMC so that it would become involved in support of Democratic Party candidates or, on the presidential level and after the Democratic Party convention, in support of a "peace and freedom" ticket.

"This proposal," continued Jones, "must be debated politically. . . . On the organization side, it is important to point out that it is a crass and foolish error for a predominantly white organization to try to mechanically achieve 'black-white unity.' As Malcolm said, there can only be such unity when first there is black unity. Moreover such unity must flow from a concrete political agreement, which does not exist at present. If there is no political agreement, then parity voting or other organizational measures will not solve the problem.

"The CP proposal for parity appeals to those interested in individual soul-cleansing. . . . Do they practice what they preach? Does the CP have 50 percent black representation on its own bodies?"<sup>12</sup>

At the conference itself the proposal for parity to the Black caucus was made and passed in a workshop on "racism and the war" which was predominantly white. But the Black caucus rejected the idea. As it turned out the Black caucus was convened by John Wilson of SNCC, and the delegates who attended it were largely militants inclined toward a Black nationalist, rather than a liberal approach. Gwen Patton, who was on the national SMC staff, declared in a position paper she presented at the caucus:

". . . Black militants find it necessary to coerce the Peace Movement to call for certain demands which in fact can have only black implementation. This is one of the greatest contradictions that exists in the total Movement. . . . The only way we can solve these contradictions is by the establishment of a black base that will deal with imperialism. . . .

"Without such a base, black people will forever be absorbed by the Peace Movement. . . . With this black base black people will

9. Proposal by Linda Morse for the SMC national working committee to the January 27-29, 1968, SMC conference. (Copy in author's files.)

10. *Liberation*, March 1968.

11. *For a Student Strike*. Du Bois Clubs pamphlet, undated, circa early January, 1968. (Copy in author's files.)

12. Jones, Antiwar Report.



be their own dictates for action and will be the keepers of their own works."<sup>13</sup>

The Black caucus founded the National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union (NBAWADU), which issued its own call to the April 26 student strike as well as other actions specifically aimed at the oppressed national minorities. The call included certain statements which not all the other SMCers were ready to agree to, such as solidarity with the Arab revolution. NBAWADU was established as an independent organization with fraternal relations to the SMC but not subordinate to its policies. John Wilson and Gwen Patton were chosen national officers of the group.

The debate over whether the SMC should continue as an organization centrally concerned with getting the U.S. out of Vietnam began in the Sunday plenary, January 28, in a somewhat confused form. Spokespersons for the CP introduced a motion that the title of the student strike should be "Against the Vietnam War, Racial Oppression and the Draft." YSAers accused the CPers of trying to slip in their multi-issue perspective, and put a counter-motion that the strike should be "Against the Racist War in Vietnam." The CPers then accused the YSA of refusing to take a stand against racism. In the heated debate which followed, C. Clark Kissinger in the chair did a good job of keeping tempers down and bringing the issues out. It turned into a discussion of the various strategies for fighting racism, from electing better Democrats to projections for an independent Black political party, from pacifism to self-defense, from the difference between voluntary separation and imposed segregation to the difference between integration and self-determination. If nothing else it was educational.

Finally the chair gave precedence to a motion declaring: "The purpose of the Student Mobilization Committee is to fight against the racist war in Vietnam." When that had passed by overwhelm-

ing vote the title for the strike was adopted. It was also voted that the SMC would circulate the National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union call.

The ten days of April action and the April 27 mass demonstrations, were also adopted, as well as endorsement of the idea of massive demonstrations at the Democratic Party convention in August. The last day of the conference was devoted to brief working sessions to get the program rolling. Some of the New York delegates left early to get back for an important rally taking place that night.

\* \* \*

The New York meeting, sponsored by a broad range of antiwar groups, including the SMC, was scheduled for Manhattan Center. Its purpose was to greet Dr. Benjamin Spock, Rev. William Sloan Coffin, Jr., Michael Ferber, Mitchell Goodman, and Marcus Raskin. These five were most of the delegation that had presented the draft cards of resisters at the Justice Department the previous October. They arrived at the New York rally after having been arraigned that day in Boston on charges of "conspiring to counsel, aid, and abet" young men in refusing the draft.

Long before the start of the meeting more than 3,000 antiwar activists jammed the hall. A hastily rented annex was quickly filled with another 1,800, and 800 more stood outside in a dark street listening to speeches over a loudspeaker, and expressing solidarity with the defendants. One of the speakers, attorney Arthur Kinoy, who had also spoken at the SDS national council and the SMC conference along similar lines, warned that a comprehensive program of government repression was under way. It had been signaled by the indictment of H. Rap Brown, said Kinoy, and, while aimed first and most heavily at militant Black groups, included the antiwar movement as a primary target. The use of catch-all "conspiracy" indictments, he said, could be expected to increase.

[To be continued]

13. *Militant*, February 5, 1968.

## 'He Looked Like an Arab'

# Israeli Troops Gunned Down Jewish Hostage

One of the hostages killed during the Israeli commando raid on Uganda's Entebbe Airport July 4 was nineteen-year-old Jean-Jaques Maimoni, an Israeli Jew of Moroccan origin. A surviving hostage explained that Maimoni had stood up when Israeli troops burst into the area where they were being held. "He looked like an Arab and one of our soldiers shot him," the survivor said. (*Newsweek*, July 19.)

The racist attitudes engendered by Zionist colonialism toward everything associated with the Arab world has resulted in severe discrimination within the Jewish state, not only against Palestinian Arabs, but also against Jews from Arab countries, who make up more than half the Jewish population of Israel. One result of the discrimination, Elie Teicher reported in the June 6 issue of the Israeli daily *Haaretz*, is that "some 200 Jews of Moroccan origin leave Israel for good every month."

Many of those leaving Israel are return-

ing to Morocco, Teicher said. "The heads of a family counting 60 souls told me that they are liquidating all their possessions in Israel and will 'return to Morocco as soon as possible.' They added that 'many more will follow them.'"

This emigration has drawn bitter reproaches from Zionist leaders. In a recent speech Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin denounced emigrants as "dregs" and "deserters," and in February the Jewish Agency set up a special "department for the prevention of emigration."

Teicher related the following exchange that he had in an interview with the leader of a group of Jews planning to return to Morocco. The Moroccan Jew said:

The main point is that we are regarded as third rate citizens. . . . The Ashkenazim [European Jews] have built a regime of persecution and arrests for no reason against us, a rule of the white rich over the black poor. . . .

Besides . . . why do you Ashkenazim make such a fuss when we return to Morocco? When

Jews return to Germany, where six million Jews were murdered, you swallow it, and say nothing. So why all this fuss when we go back to Morocco? There was no Holocaust there. On the contrary. Jews were treated with respect there.

Teicher asks: "And what if . . . King Hassan [of Morocco] is overthrown and a madman like Qadaffi seizes power?"

To this they answer: "And what if the Arabs settle their account with Israel? You take a risk in staying here. We also take a risk in returning to Morocco. The future will tell who was the wisest. Besides, you should know that we have always managed well with the Arabs. They are fine people. Only with the Ashkenazim we never managed." □

### Predict Smash Hit With Racists

At least five film companies, including one South African firm, have expressed interest in making a movie about the Israeli raid into Uganda, an Israeli official announced July 8.

## Israel—A Racist State Founded by a Racist Movement

By Israel Shahak

[The following article by Israel Shahak was published in a shortened version in the November 5, 1975, issue of *Pi-Ha'aton*, the weekly student newspaper at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. None of the pro-Zionist figures at the university chose to answer Shahak, who is a professor of chemistry there and the chairman of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights. The translation below, by *Intercontinental Press*, gives the original, unabbreviated text of the article.]

\* \* \*

It is my opinion that Israel is a racist state in the full sense of the term. In this state, people of non-Jewish origin are constantly and quite legally discriminated against in the most important areas of life. This racist discrimination has its beginnings in Zionism itself and is mainly carried out through close cooperation with the institutions of the Zionist movement.

By way of proof I propose to cite all those laws and regulations that are enforced by the government and which are familiar to everyone. Since this approach concentrates on describing the institutional character of Israeli racism, I will not discuss individual instances of racist behavior. Nor will I go into those explicit and implicit assumptions that are occasionally used to "justify" this racism.

### 1. The right to live in or open up a business in any area of one's choosing

Most of the land in Israel belongs to or is administered by the Jewish National Fund (JNF). The JNF is part of the Zionist establishment and openly operates on the basis of racist policies. It forbids non-Jews to dwell, open up a business, or even seek employment on its lands. The sole reason for this is that these people are not Jewish! In contrast to similar discrimination against Jews that is outlawed in most countries, the racist practices of the JNF are not only legal, but they also receive the full support of all government institutions.

Historically, these practices have resulted in the setting up of towns such as Carmiel and Arad. These and other similar towns are, as the phrase goes, "clean of Arabs"—or perhaps it would be better to say, "clean of Gentiles." In other places such as Upper Nazareth, a quarter is set aside for Arab residents. Here [in Upper Nazareth], any attempts by an Arab to buy or rent an apartment from a Jew

encounters the open and vigorous opposition of all government authorities (the Ministry of Housing, municipal authorities, etc.).

In addition, there is the illegal opposition of Jewish residents which is nonetheless encouraged by the police. I remind you that similar opposition does not occur if the purchase or rental of an apartment is made to a Jew. According to the racist definition of things, this means that the person can prove his mother, grandmother, great-grandmother and great-great-grandmother to have been Jewesses. In such instances the transaction is considered "kosher" and provokes no opposition either from the residents or from the government. It is only in cases where the mother of the would-be purchaser is not Jewish that we have an outcry.

In regard to this issue of residence, another good example is the case of Mr. Muhammad Ma'araf, an Israeli citizen from the village of Deir el-Assad who wanted to open a factory in Carmiel. Permission was officially denied him on the grounds that Carmiel was "out of bounds" to non-Jews. Ma'araf was finally obliged to build his factory outside the "pure" boundaries of Carmiel.

I wish to reemphasize the racist character of these restrictions. They are enforced in most parts of Israel, but do not apply to Jews. Jews can live or open up a business wherever they choose. I can live anywhere, open a business anywhere (it being understood that I have bought the place from its previous owner), because my mother is Jewish. An Israeli citizen whose mother is not Jewish cannot do so. He encounters racist discrimination and oppression every day of his life.

I would like to look at this issue in greater detail so as to show that:

a. *It has nothing to do with what we call "security."*

These racist restrictions apply to all non-Jews. They are even enforced against those who have served in the army or, if they are too old, whose children and relatives have been conscripted at one time or another. Indeed, some of these non-Jewish soldiers have served with distinction and have also been wounded in action.

Mr. Ma'araf is a Druze. Like Jews, all members of his family are obligated to serve in the Israel Defence Army. However, because he is not a Jew, he does not have the right to live in Carmiel! A Jewish thief, robber, or murderer, upon completion

of his sentence, has the right to reside in Carmiel. But a Gentile, be he Druze, Circassian, or Bedouin, who has, say, served in the army, was wounded, and is now an invalid—that man has no right to live there. Unfortunately for him, he happened to have been born to the wrong type of mother.

b. *It has nothing to do with the distinctions we make between "left" and "right," "hawks" or "doves," within the Zionist movement.*

On the contrary. The most racist political bloc in Israel are the Zionist "socialists" and the religious nationalists. The holy alliance between the two is based on this common ground. For example, when the Sebastia "settlement" was carried out by right-wingers, activists of Moked<sup>1</sup> and similar organizations demonstrated outside a farm belonging to General Arik Sharon. They were protesting the fact that he employed Arabs on the farm!

I am a bitter opponent of the policies and actions of General Sharon. However, in this instance, I consider the writer Amos Oz, a man who had particularly "distinguished" himself in exploiting these charges, to be the more dangerous racist. Sharon has every right to hire farmhands regardless of race, creed, or nationality.

c. *In this area, the worst racists in Israel are the Kibbutz members, of whom the most despicable—because of their hypocrisy—are those belonging to the "Hashomer Hatzair" kibbutzim.<sup>2</sup>*

An Israeli citizen who is not a Jew cannot be accepted as a member of any kibbutz—even in cases where a daughter of a kibbutz falls in love with one of its hired non-Jewish workers.

d. *Any discrimination of this kind, if inflicted on Jews in other countries, encounters—and rightly so—shouts of "anti-Semitism!"*

But what is the difference? What is the difference between the continuous struggle

1. Moked—a Zionist electoral bloc that includes the so-called Israeli New Left (Siah) and a pro-Zionist split from the Israeli Communist party (Rakah). The right-wing "settlement" referred to was a demonstration aimed at pressuring the regime to allow unrestricted Jewish settlement in the West Bank.—IP

2. Hashomer Hatzair is the youth group of the Mapam (United Workers) party. Mapam, which insists on its "socialist" character, is one of the parties making up the governmental coalition currently ruling Israel.—IP

to open clubs or develop neighborhoods in the United States that refuse to accept Jews, and the same struggle in Israel that prevents non-Jews from entering whole cities either for the purpose of living there or of simply opening up a business?

The difference is that the Zionists here in Israel, and the anti-Semites over there in the United States are really fighting on the same side of the barricade. The Zionist State of Israel does exactly what the anti-Semites attempt to do—usually without success—in other countries. I shall now briefly describe some of the other forms of racist discrimination.

## 2. "Redemption of the Land"

"Redemption of the Land"—a concept that is pushed into the heads of all Jewish students beginning with kindergarten. What does it mean? According to the teaching of the Israeli Ministry of Education, this term means land that has been "redeemed" and transferred to Jewish ownership. Lands that have not been "redeemed" belong to persons who were born to non-Jewish mothers. These lands have yet to be "redeemed."

JNF envoys, who enjoy the vigorous backing of the Israeli government and especially of its security branches, are continually employed in "redeeming" land both in Israel and in the conquered territories. In the process they transform such lands into additional areas for racist exclusion.

The best and most recent example is that of the Rafiah Approaches [the area separating the Gaza Strip from the Sinai Peninsula]. Here I do not intend to discuss the problems of "fair" or "unfair" compensation for the Arabs expelled from that area. Nor do I want to discuss the problem of "Jewish labor" versus "Arab labor." I leave the debate on these issues to the hypocrites of Mapam and Moked.

My only wish is to ask this simple human question: Do the people who lived in that area until a few years ago enjoy the right to dwell in the new racist town of Yamit? Has an Israeli Arab the right to settle in Yamit? The official and quite open Israeli answer is, *no!*

Only Jews enjoy the right to live there, or in any of the nearby settlements. The reasons for such a state of affairs do not interest me. Maybe the tsars of Russia had a good reason when they prohibited Jews, simply for being Jews, from dwelling outside of the Pale area. But that was racism!

The "redemption" of the Rafiah Approaches and all other instances of "land redemption" constitute a form of racism that is identical to that practiced by the tsars.

I would like to emphasize that this exclusionary racism has no limits for the Zionists. The objective is the redemption of *all* land in Israel, and, therefore, the



Gamma/Afrique-Asie  
Palestinian prisoners in an Israeli jail.

expulsion of all non-Jews from lands that have been so "redeemed."

In this respect, Zionism is worse than the apartheid regime of South Africa. There, the regime has "divided" the country into two. Whites are forbidden to buy land in a "Black" area (the Bantustan), and, conversely, Blacks are forbidden to buy land in a "white" area. But Zionism wants to "redeem" as much land in Israel as it can, without any limitations being placed on it. Its aspirations are to turn *all* land in Israel into an apartheid-like territory where persons born to non-Jewish mothers have no residence rights.

I see no difference between racially exclusionary areas that were created either by confiscation or by purchase. The most important fact is that they exist. Again, the "moderate" Zionists are the worst when it comes to making these distinctions. In his *History of Zionism*, Walter Lacquer, himself a Zionist, is correct when he writes:

"A.D. Gordon" . . . was opposed in principle to the use of violence and justified self-defence only in extreme circumstances. But he and his comrades wanted every tree and every bush in the Jewish homeland to be planted by the pioneers."

In other words, he wanted complete apartheid, the total expulsion of non-Jews

from the "Jewish Fatherland." The only difference is that he wanted to accomplish his objective without the loss of blood. I, on the other hand, while not principally opposed to violence, do on principle oppose apartheid. I do not care *what* means are used to bring it about.

## 3. The Right to Work

I will use two quotations to illustrate the situation. The June 3, 1975, issue of *Ma'ariv* ran the following racist story under the headline: "The Israeli Settlement Authorities are taking action against the leasing of lands to Arabs":

*The Ministry of Agriculture and the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency have recently launched a vigorous campaign to eradicate the plague of land and orchard leasing to Bedouins and Arab farmers in Western Galilee.*

The Jewish Agency Director for the Galilee region, Mr. Aharon Nahmani, has said that his office sent out circulars to all settlements regarding the matter. These circulars give notice that the leasing of national lands for cultivation by Arab sharecroppers, or the renting out of orchards to Arabs for the purpose of harvesting and marketing crops, contradicts the law, *the regulations of the Settlement Authorities*, and the very nature of the settlement movements.

The management of the Galilee area is enjoining the settlements to abstain from this practice, and stresses that last year the department pressed legal charges against violators. [Emphases added.]

3. One of the founders of Zionist "socialism."—*IP*

Pay attention, please. Because I am a

Jew, I am permitted to lease orchards with a view to harvesting and marketing the crop. However, an Arab, solely because he is Arab, is forbidden to do this!

The Israeli Ministry of Agriculture, together with the Zionist Settlement Authorities, will seek out and severely punish Jewish settlements for committing the grave offense of dealing with Arabs—transactions that are perfectly legal when carried out between Jew and Jew! Indeed some have already been brought to task.

However, since in this country [Zionist] "settlements" are considered holy cows precisely because of their racist character, a special privilege was granted to those offenders who "broke the law," something not granted to Yehoshua Peretz [a labor leader in Ashdod and a Moroccan Jew who fell afoul of the authorities as a result of a wildcat strike by dock workers].

Instead of being brought to justice for the horrible crime of not being racists, they were able to buy themselves off by means of "donations" made to a mysterious fund! The June 2, 1975, issue of *Al-Hamishmar* carried a report on the deal:

The Ministry of Agriculture reports that a number of agricultural settlements have been "caught" breaking the law by leasing their lands for the purposes of cultivation and the harvesting of crops. Since the settlements were first-time offenders, they were not fined but were instead obliged to donate monies to a special fund that stands to be established in the near future. The aims of this special fund have yet to be defined.

In all, these "donations" amounted to £750,000 [\$94,000]! The article went on to report that, "if any settlement is caught leasing lands again, all forms of state support will be interrupted. That settlement will not receive water-allotments, not will it be eligible for credit and development loans."

These are the lengths to which the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture is willing to go in order to assure the preservation of

racism! But after all, it was not for nothing that a racist struggle was begun aimed at denying Israeli Arabs the human right to work and earn an honest living. As Mr. Uzan, minister of agriculture, explained in a recent statement, there are good reasons for all this. "The domination of Jewish agriculture by Arab workers," he declared, "is a cancer in our body." (Emphasis added.) Let it be added that Mr. Uzan cannot be faulted for not practicing what he preaches. The minister does, in fact, treat these people as if they were a cancer!

Can a worse form of racism be imagined? Can you imagine a French minister comparing the Jewish textile merchants in France to "a cancer" and then "dealing" with them along similar lines?

#### 4. The right to equality—the right to a government policy that treats each citizen according to nonracist criteria

The Israeli Ministry of Housing consists of two sections. One section, the largest, implements a racist policy that aims at benefiting Jews alone. We saw an example of this in Rafiah Approaches. The other section is a unit that goes by the worthy name, "Department for the Housing of Minorities." It deals solely with non-Jews.

The *modus operandi* of this department is instructive. For example, here in Jerusalem, while the Ministry of Housing builds apartments for Jews strictly *inside* the city boundaries, the "Department for the Housing of Minorities" does exactly the opposite. It "thins out"—what a term to use with respect to human beings—the Muslims and transfers them *out* of Jerusalem.

We have a similar situation in Galilee. The terms "populating Galilee" and "Judaization of Galilee" are identical. It is not the *population* of Israel that is invited to settle in Galilee! An Arab from the "Little Triangle" [an area inside Israel heavily populated by Palestinians] will neither be invited nor allowed to participate in that racist plan. The racist State of Israel has no *human housing policy*, such as exists in various forms in the USSR, the United States, or Britain.

Israel does not even pretend to care about the housing of human beings simply because they are human. It does not care about the need to house a poor family, or one that has many children, because the need for decent housing is a *human* need.

No! Because of its Zionist objectives—expressed in the "Judaization of Galilee"—Israel simultaneously carried out two contradictory policies. One aims at maximum care for Jews, the other at maximum discrimination and oppression of non-Jews.

Health is dealt with in the same way. When it was deemed appropriate to honor Abdul Aziz Zu'abi, a member of Mapam, he was appointed deputy minister of health for "minority affairs." For racist reasons human health as such is not recognized in Israel. Instead you have one

standard of health for Jews and a second, less rigorous, standard for non-Jews.

This is why Mr. Hussein Qassaem Mustafa, "trustee" of the Mikhman el-Khujirat tribe (Bedouins in Galilee who serve in the army) recently complained against his tribe "having no right" to get immunizations under the aegis of the Ministry of Health. But when a separate department for "the health of minorities" is allowed to exist, such a situation *must* develop.

Housing and health care are, of course, not the only examples. Racist separation between "Jews" and "non-Jews" exists in most areas of life. I am perfectly prepared to cite further examples if other opportunities are provided to do so. In the meantime, I would like to end with two principal conclusions.

First, I am not interested in debating justifications for these racist policies. As I previously pointed out, the most important fact is that *they exist*. Therefore, the first step consists in admitting the truth: the State of Israel is a racist state, and this is a necessary consequence of the racist character of the Zionist movement itself.

Facts are facts. Once we admit them, then, if we wish to do so, we can debate why such racism is "forbidden" when practiced *against* Jews, but immediately becomes acceptable when carried out *by* Jews.

Second, I am well aware that the State of Israel is not the *only* racist state. I am also aware that the Zionist organization is not the *only* racist organization. For example, I know that paragraph six of the 1968 Palestinian Covenant can also be considered to be racist in character. I have said so many times when speaking to Palestinian-Arab audiences in neutral countries, and usually the reaction has been one of great understanding.

However, justice begins at home. The primary duty of all Israeli citizens, and also of all Jews in the Diaspora who consider themselves "supporters of Israel," is to struggle against the racism and discrimination set up in Israel by Zionism and enforced against all non-Jews. Such a struggle necessarily begins with explaining the racist character both of Zionism and the State of Israel. A struggle that condemns this racism is neither anti-Jewish nor anti-Semitic. When similar condemnations were made against the racist practices of tsarist Russia, they were not accompanied by a hatred of Russians.

Only a state that abolishes all forms of racism within its borders—beginning with those it itself enforces—can hope to formulate a policy that results in a lasting peace. This peace can only be one in which people are not discriminated against for reasons of origin in such matters as housing, the right to work, or in any other area. Whatever government comes into existence, it will have to treat everyone with a dignity that befits human beings. □

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# Capitalism Fouls Things Up



## 'No Immediate Health Hazard'

"CHICAGO, July 16 (Reuters)—A West Chicago park was closed this week after authorities noted radiation levels there up to 20 times above federal guidelines.

"A Nuclear Regulatory Commission spokesman said there was no immediate health hazard but the park was closed as a precaution. A section of the park was used as a waste disposal area in the 1930s and 1940s by a plant that processed the radioactive element thorium."

## Only a 'Temporary' Problem

The quality of the water in the rivers and bays surrounding New York City grew increasingly worse since 1969 because of a six-year "temporary increase" in the discharge of raw sewage, according to city officials.

During construction to "improve" sewage treatment plants, 150 million to 200 million gallons of raw sewage that previously would have been treated was discharged directly into the rivers each day. This is in addition to the 200 million gallons of raw sewage normally dumped into the city's surrounding waters each day because no plant exists to treat it.

It should be noted, however, that by "treatment," the city merely means processing the sewage into "sludge," which is

then taken by barge and dumped twelve miles offshore from nearby beaches. The dumping ground has been used for forty years, with the result that the sludge has now oozed to within a quarter mile of the shore.

## \$10 Million in Damages Sought for Sewage-Coated Beaches

"We don't mind being New York City's bedroom, but we don't want to be the city's bathroom," the town supervisor of the suburban city of Hempstead, New York, told reporters at a news conference July 20.

The news conference had been called to announce the filing in State Supreme Court of a \$10 million suit for damages resulting from the sewage that recently coated more than seventy miles of Long Island beaches.

The supervisor, Alfonse M. D'Amato, said that New York City officials allowed 250 million gallons of "disease-producing, untreated human excrement to cascade" each day into New York Harbor, and that this sewage was eventually deposited on Long Island beaches by tides and winds.

New York City Environmental Protection Administrator Robert A. Low took a dim view of the suit. According to a report in the July 21 *New York Times*, "He said that the discharge of untreated sewage had been going on for several years with the full knowledge of the Federal and state governments—and in compliance with their regulations."

## New York's Dead Sea

The 1.4 million gallons of New York City sewage sludge dumped each day twelve miles off the coast have done far more than foul most nearby beaches. The *New York Times* reported July 8 that commercial fishermen have discovered a huge fish kill, in an area thirty miles wide and fifty-five miles long, just south of the sludge dump.

Pat Yanatan, a microbiologist who is an environmental committeeman for a local scuba diving club, described what he found when diving in the area. "I went out to a shipwreck," he said, "and it was completely dead—starfish, eels, lobsters, all sizes of crab—everything was dead." The dead fish have also been discovered on the ocean

floor by fishermen using drag nets.

Nobody "can remember anything like this," Yanatan said of the fish kill. "For fifteen years the water quality has been getting progressively worse."

Although the fish kill and, presumably, the pollution that caused it, spreads fifty-five miles down the coast of New Jersey, state environmental officials declined to close the beaches. "We don't buy the idea that it's sludge, yet," one official said.

## No Swimming in the Rhône

"Tuesday afternoon [July 13], soldiers of the 4th Engineering Company continued to remove dead fish from the water intake of the Loire power station (on the Rhône River)," the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* reported July 15.

"In three days they removed nearly thirty tons of dead fish. . . ."

"Layers of dead fish began appearing several days ago, from the outskirts of Lyon to St. Vallier, 100 kilometers away."

The cause of the massive fish kill was traced to the UGINE-Kuhlmann chemical works, which had dumped 20,000 liters of the highly toxic chemical acrolein into the river.

The factory, a notorious polluter, blamed the incident on an "incorrect interpretation of a verbal order." Its director claimed that the effects of the discharge were "localized and temporary."

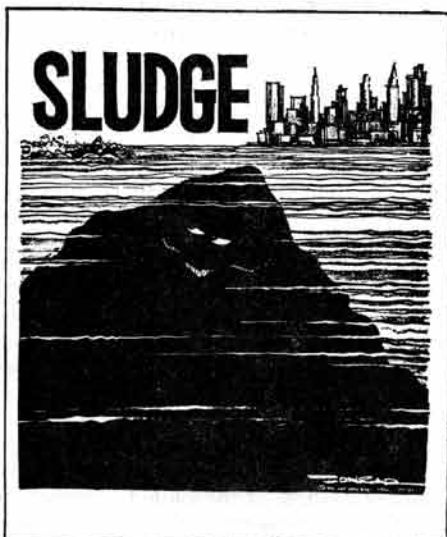
## Note to Motorists

Two and a half million packages of radioactive material crisscrossed the United States in 1975, according to a Nuclear Regulatory Commission survey reported in the July-August issue of *Environment*.

Half the packages were shipped by truck, and one-third were considered to contain "so little" radioactivity that they traveled without any special marking or packaging.

## Concorde's Wings Clipped in India

The Gandhi regime has refused to allow supersonic flights of the Concorde over Indian territory, a New Delhi official reported July 9. He noted that a Concorde test flight over heavily populated areas along India's eastern coast had evoked "many protests."



Conrad/Los Angeles Times

# Selections From the Left

## young socialist

Newspaper published in Wellington, New Zealand. Presents the views of the Young Socialists.

The editorial in the July/August issue scores the hypocrisy of Prime Minister Muldoon denouncing "terrorism" while hailing the Israeli raid into Uganda.

"Muldoon's condemnation of terror is not based on an abhorrence of violence," the editors write, "for it is Muldoon who openly welcomes the nuclear danger into our midst [the government has authorized the entry of American nuclear warships into New Zealand's ports], and who supported the US genocide in Vietnam. He only calls it terror when it involves those who are struggling for freedom from oppression. That is why Palestinians are referred to as 'terrorists', but Israelis are 'commandos'. Or likewise in Rhodesia, it is Black 'terrorists', but Rhodesian 'soldiers'. Muldoon is prepared to accept white Rhodesians into this country as our 'kith and kin', but Black Rhodesians who suffer every day under the Smith regime are not being extended this invitation. Thus his eloquent words on terrorism are a mask to cover up for the real terrorists in this world, those who use force to deny the rights of the majority."

## CLAVE

"Key," fortnightly newspaper published in defense of the interests of the working class. Printed in Mexico City.

One of the central questions before the July convention of the Sindicato de Telefonistas de la República Mexicana (STRM—Telephone Workers Union of the Mexican Republic) is the question of disaffiliating from the ruling bourgeois party, the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional—Institutional Revolutionary party), and its fake trade-union federation, the Congreso del Trabajo (Congress of Labor).

A "Democratic Committee" has been formed in the STRM. It has launched a fight for democracy in the telephone workers union and expressed solidarity with the fight for trade-union democracy in the electrical workers union.

The July 18-31 issue comments that a decision by the STRM to break with the PRI would mean a "break with the organization of the enemies of the working class."

Such a step would make the STRM responsible "for fully taking on the commitment to help promote and consolidate the independent workers movement. The STRM is one of the workers organizations with tradition and influence, and, as a result, it has the potential to strengthen the unity and political independence of workers throughout the country."

The organizational vehicle that shows most promise of being able to accomplish this task, *Clave* says, is the recently formed Frente Nacional de Acción Popular (FNAP—National Front for Mass Action).

The FNAP is "the only grouping capable, at this time, of drawing together and organizing the combative trade-union movement of the country," and the STRM should ally itself with the FNAP "so as to unite the struggle for trade-union democracy into a single front."

## lutte ouvrière

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

The list of Italian officials killed by extreme right-wing commandos continues to grow, Michèle Verdier writes in the July 17 issue. Judge Vittorio Occorsio, an assistant prosecutor, was gunned down in Rome by rightists July 9.

"To be sure, on the pretext of a leaflet from the so-called Red Brigades found in a telephone booth, the major dailies have suggested that it was an action by the far left. But the probability that the killings have been by the far right is much greater," Verdier writes.

"First, the killers have openly signed their crime. New Order—a fascist group officially banned in 1973 following an investigation carried out by the murdered Judge Occorsio, but which nonetheless continues to exist—has publicly claimed credit for its action."

At the time of his death Occorsio was prosecuting a new case against New Order, and had sought a number of indictments against members of the group for reestablishing a banned organization. Documents relating to the case were stolen by his killers.

Shortly after the shooting, the home of the Bologna prosecutor was firebombed and revolver shots were fired into the door of the home of the assistant prosecutor in Perugia.

"This fresh wave of attacks comes as no surprise," Verdier writes. "It is true that many observers saw the recent legislative

elections as a 'setback' to the Italian far right." But in fact the elections "resolved nothing" and the far right has continued to pursue a "strategy of tension"—terrorist attacks aimed at maintaining a climate of insecurity.

"In short, a few weeks after the elections, the far right is seeking to assert that it is still present on the scene, that it in no way feels defeated by the loss of a few hundred thousand votes."



"*Combat*," central organ of the Revolutionary Communist League-Basque Nation and Freedom (VI), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain.

The promised amnesty for political prisoners in Spain may prove to be hollow, reports the July 1 issue, since the majority of those in prison are accused of membership in one of the organizations still declared illegal.

*Combate* reminds its readers that amnesty was promised on January 1 by then Interior Minister Manuel Fraga, but with the proviso that it would occur "only after changes have been made in the Penal Code and the Antiterrorist Law." Now the Penal Code has been "reformed," but in such a way that communist, revolutionary-nationalist, and anarchist groups are still banned.

Among those imprisoned in Spain are María Luz Fernández, Eva Forest, and Antonio Durán, who have been held for almost two years on accusations of links to the bombing of a café in Calle Correo.

*Combate* reports, "After having been indicted by the Public Order Tribunal a few months ago, they are now in danger of once again being sent to the military court. Meanwhile, the press has recently reported the rumor that the extreme rightists arrested as the result of the Montejurra killings might soon be provisionally released. [During the recent annual gathering of supporters of the Juan Carlos monarchy in Montejurra, ultrarightists killed and wounded several persons.] The charges against the former [Fernández, Forest, Durán] are that 'there are clues that lead us to assume that they were in contact with extremist elements who built people's prisons to hide arms and persons, and that in one of those hideouts the alleged authors of the Calle Correo attack might have remained hidden.' With regard to the Montejurra fascists, the official charges are not known, although everyone

could see the photos of some of them at the time they fired against the Carlists."

The newspaper states that the only way to guarantee an end to such injustices is to "mobilize the masses of people independently in antifascist vigilance pickets, committees to investigate and denounce the tortures and other crimes of the dictatorship, and ongoing activity against repression."

## **labor** Challenge

*Twice monthly newspaper published in Toronto, Canada.*

The July 5 issue reports on demonstrations against the massacre of Black demonstrators in South Africa.

In Vancouver, Monica Jones reports, 300 persons took part in a June 19 protest called by the South African Action Coalition. "Supporters of American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier, who has been ordered deported from Canada, marched from their own demonstration to join the South Africa protest, expressing their solidarity with the South African freedom struggle."

In Toronto, more than 200 persons attended a rally called by the Canadian Peace Congress and supporters of the African National Congress.

In Edmonton, Alberta, Linda Meissenheimer writes, the Free Southern Africa Committee has initiated a protest against a planned cross-Canada tour by a South African cricket team.

The South African regime, Meissenheimer says, "evidently hoped to enhance its political image by successfully spiriting the multiracial team through a whirlwind Canadian tour without provoking public outrage."

So far, however, opposition has forced cancellation of a match scheduled for Calgary, and a protest was planned for the scheduled July 3 match in Edmonton.

## **COMBATE** **socialista**



*"Socialist Combat," weekly organ of the Revolutionary Workers party. Published in Lisbon.*

The June 30 issue features an assessment by Joaquim Areias of the June 27 presidential elections.

With Eanes as president, he notes, the bourgeoisie hopes to appeal to the "authority" of the elections and the military to form an "operational government, a real government" that will be able to carry out "the great task of national reconstruction."

However, Areias says, the elections were only a partial victory for the authoritarian plans of the bourgeoisie, because Eanes was elected by only 45 percent of the eligible voters.

The remainder of the votes were divided

among three other candidates in what Areias describes as "a distorted form of expressing rejection of Eanes."

The PRT called for a vote for the CP candidate, Octávio Pato, as the only working-class candidate contesting the presidency, although, Areias states, the CP's only purpose in running Pato was to negotiate its future participation in the bourgeois government.

Pinheiro de Azevedo and Carvalho were "bourgeois candidates." Nonetheless, the vote for them was an "expression of opposition" to Eanes's program and of support to the gains made by the workers since the April 1974 overturn of the dictatorship.

The bourgeoisie drew the same conclusions from the election results, Areias says. Eanes was "not pleased" with Carvalho's vote, which he said "represents an element of instability and agitation that could endanger the pressing tasks of national reconstruction."

Areias concludes by pointing out that the workers have been perfectly capable of winning big concessions from the bourgeoisie in the last two years, and that the way ahead for them is the "united struggle against the bourgeoisie" and the building of a revolutionary workers party.

## **tribune** **socialiste**

*"Socialist Tribune," weekly newspaper of the United Socialist party. Published in Paris.*

Under the headline "A Crime Against Africa," Claude Bourdet comments in the June 5-11 issue on the French government's decision to sell South Africa a \$1 billion nuclear power station.

"Contrary to the repeated assertions of the French government that nuclear cooperation with the South African regime is subject to clauses on the peaceful use of the atom, what is in fact involved is the delivery to South Africa of the material necessary to create a military force equipped with thermonuclear arms," Bourdet writes.

By the 1980s, the reactors will provide 500 kilograms of plutonium a year—enough to make 100 atomic bombs of the size Washington dropped on Hiroshima, or to construct the detonator for a thermonuclear bomb.

"It should be stressed," Bourdet says, "that, as Dr. Verwoerd made clear in 1965, the military use of uranium is the most important aspect of South Africa's work in this domain, the economic aspect being completely secondary (namely, that it would be completely absurd not to take advantage of the economic benefits of a military project). It should further be noted that strictly on the basis of economic considerations, South Africa has no need for nuclear energy. In an advertisement

published in the newspaper *Die Welt* (April 14, 1971), the economic attaché of the South African embassy in West Germany said in so many words, 'We possess sufficient coal to take care of our energy needs for 1,000 years.' He also pointed out that the price of this coal was ridiculously low (\$3 a ton, as opposed to \$9 a ton in the United States and \$60 a ton in West Germany, for example)."

Consequently, Bourdet writes, the sale of the nuclear reactors can only be seen as a "disguised delivery" of nuclear weapons.

## **rouge**

*"Red." Revolutionary Communist daily, published in Paris.*

Recent issues have featured coverage of the protest against construction of the "Super-Phénix" nuclear breeder reactor at Creys-Malville, near Lyon.

Demonstrations at the proposed construction site, which began July 3 and drew more than 15,000 persons July 4, were brutally crushed by the French riot police July 10.

The protests opened July 3, when thousands of residents of Lyon, Geneva, Grenoble, Malville and the surrounding area, and from all over France gathered at Creys-Malville. Opposition to Super-Phénix, which if built would be the largest breeder reactor in the world, has focused on the deadly peril the plant poses.

"Judge for yourself," *Rouge* said in its July 3-4 issue. "Super-Phénix contains 4,600 kilograms of plutonium, that is, the equivalent of nearly 900 Hiroshima atom bombs. Its core is cooled by liquid sodium, which burns on contact with air and explodes on contact with water. There will be 5,000 tons of sodium in Super-Phénix. However, it is not known how to put out a fire involving more than a few hundred liters of sodium.

"As for the functioning of the mechanism of such a reactor, here is what scientists in the Scientists Group for Information on Nuclear Energy have to say: 'Unlike conventional nuclear reactors and contrary to what is stated in official propaganda, breeder reactors can, in case of accident, explode like an atomic bomb.'"

After the big rally July 4, protesters remained near the site until July 8, at times occupying a small part of the proposed construction area. The afternoon of July 8, however, demonstrators were driven away by French riot police using tear gas.

On Saturday, July 10, many local residents joined the protest, including farmers aboard fifty tractors and the mayors of three nearby villages. That evening, *Rouge* reported July 12, more than 700 club-swinging riot police invaded the protesters' campground. They struck without warning and cleared the campground, injuring twenty persons.

# AROUND THE WORLD



## Chase Sardi Freed in Paraguay

Paraguayan anthropologist Miguel Chase Sardi was released from jail June 30 after being held and tortured by the Stroessner regime for more than five months. His release came only days before the visit to Paraguay of an investigating team from the International League for Human Rights, the group that had been spearheading the defense campaign for the imprisoned anthropologist.

Among the political prisoners remaining in jail in Paraguay are 150 members of the Communist party, including CP General Secretary Miguel Sotergn.

## Peruvian Government Under Fire for Deportation of Hugo Blanco

The Confederación Campesina del Perú (CCP—Peruvian Peasant Federation) issued a statement July 14 protesting the deportation of Peruvian revolutionist and peasant leader Hugo Blanco. The CCP said that at the time of his arrest for alleged involvement in mass demonstrations in Lima, Blanco was actually in the city of Cuzco where he was involved in work for the CCP.

Blanco's deportation was also publicized in the July 19 issue of *Publishers Weekly*, the major trade journal of the American publishing industry. The journal quoted a Peruvian government communiqué to the effect that it had "conclusive evidence" that Blanco had been involved in the Lima demonstrations.

However, *Publishers Weekly* pointed out, "The Peruvian government's allegation contradicts statements made by telephone from Lima to Pathfinder Press [Blanco's American publisher] from Oscar Blanco, the writer's brother, Angel Castro Lavarello, his lawyer, and others."

## Rightist Goons Oust Editor of Mexican Daily 'Excelsior'

Following a campaign of physical harassment by a group of squatters led by a progovernment legislator, editor Julio Scherer García and 200 editorial employees of the liberal Mexico City daily *Excelsior* were removed from the staff July 8 at a rump meeting of the paper's staff. The government turned a blind eye on the disruption, and it is widely believed that Mexican President Luis Echeverría Álvarez was behind the ouster.

An extensive propaganda campaign had

been waged, attacking the newspaper and Scherer for lack of "patriotism." The campaign cost "thousands of dollars," former *Excelsior* correspondent Armando Vargas said.

The campaign was accompanied by an occupation of *Excelsior's* property by squatters led by Humberto Serrano, a legislator recently elected on the government ticket. Authorities refused to evict the squatters.

On July 8, employees backing the rightist take-over bid voted to expel the Scherer group and threatened them with violence, forcing them to leave the newspaper's offices.

Scherer and the other former employees have announced plans to establish a new newspaper with a similar critical stance. Prospects appear dim, however, since the ruling Institutional Revolutionary party controls the sale and distribution of newspaper.

More than 3,000 persons attended a July 19 meeting where the plan for the new newspaper was announced, and \$120,000 was donated to the project.

## Amnesty International Protests Repression of Bolivian Miners

The arrests, deportations, and killings of Bolivian miners were protested in a July 20 statement by Amnesty International. The statement, sent to Bolivian President Hugo Banzer, scored the fact that more than 400 miners had been jailed, 25 forcibly exiled to Chile, 4 murdered by troops, and many others injured since the dictatorship sent the army to occupy the mines and placed the country under a state of "exception" in mid-June.

Among those deported were Víctor López Arias, general secretary of the Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia (Trade Union Federation of Mine Workers of Bolivia), and members of the union's executive board. The deported miners are being held under house arrest in Chile.

## Agnelli Urges CP Support for Austerity Measures

Only an austerity plan backed by the Communist party can save Italian capitalism. This is the view of a relatively well-informed observer—Giovanni Agnelli, chairman of the Fiat auto company and outgoing president of Confindustria, the federation of Italian industrialists.

In an interview published in the July 6 *Le Monde*, Agnelli said that the most important thing for the Italian economy is to "begin work on an emergency plan, in which the participation of the Communists is an absolute necessity."

This austerity plan, he said, must have several basic aims, including "slowing down inflation, improving the balance of payments, and reducing the budget deficit. . . ."

As window dressing for the benefit of the Stalinists he added that of course such cutbacks would be carried out without "correlative unemployment" and with "concern for assuring the return of the unemployed to economic activity." He did not, however, explain how this would be done.

## Imperialists Will Veto Aid to Italy If Communists Enter Government

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt told reporters in Washington July 16 that "a political condition" for any aid to Italy from the American, French, British, and West German regimes was that the Communist party continue to be excluded from the government. It is generally expected that Italy, with the worst economic situation of any of the imperialist powers, will require further international loans.

A July 16 Associated Press dispatch reported that Schmidt "said that aid to Italy was the main issue at last month's western economic summit conference in Puerto Rico, although the subject was not discussed in the presence of Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro."

## Only Half a Century Too Late

Fifty years after the death of the great American socialist leader Eugene V. Debs, the U.S. Senate passed June 30 a resolution granting him full citizenship rights. Debs lost his citizenship rights and went to prison in 1918 because he stood up and denounced the imperialist war for what it was.

The House of Representatives has not yet acted on the proposal, but there can be little doubt that if Debs were alive today he would have some choice words for the pigmy officeholders and their miserable gift. Debs was a citizen of the world, and he didn't need any testimonials from imperialist politicians to prove it.



## Roy Medvedev and the October Revolution

Reviewed by J.J. Marie



[The following review appeared in the May 5-12 issue of *Informations Ouvrières*, a Paris weekly reflecting the views of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (Internationalist Communist Organization). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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For three-quarters of this book one wonders what on earth Medvedev is driving at. It is not that his observations are of no interest, or that they fail to provoke genuine reflection on one or another aspect of the revolution. But it is difficult to see where his reasoning is leading: "The end of the autocracy in Russia was apparently a natural event, but it was not, in that precise form, the only possible result of the political, social, and economic processes under way in Russia at the time" (p. 42). Again, "If the February revolution cannot be said to have been inevitable, all the more reason not to view the socialist revolution of October as such" (p. 43). And his many remarks to the effect that the taking of power in October 1917 was solely the product of a conscious decision, of an action by an organization, in which the spontaneity of the masses did not play a decisive role.

Actually, through the questions he raises on the "inevitable" character of this or that aspect of the revolution, Medvedev is seeking to illustrate a thesis that emerges abruptly in regard to the civil war: Russia in revolution was an isolated totality in which the conscious decisions of an organization constituted a decisive historical factor (perhaps *the* decisive factor).

In other words, for Medvedev the revolution did not arise from the objective movement, from the unconscious movement of the masses of which the party of Lenin and Trotsky provided the conscious expression.

The aim of the book becomes clear on page 116, in the fifth chapter of the second part entitled, "The attack on capitalism and market production in the spring of 1918." Medvedev's thesis, based on the principle I have just summarized, is highly simplistic. Everything was going well and the revolution was marching forward when, through haste for "socialism," the Bolsheviks committed a fatal error that was to throw Russia into civil war: They

decided to institute the socialist principle of exchanging goods through barter, to suppress the use of money, and to institute the forced requisition of grain from the peasants, thereby endangering the provision of food for the country, the worker-peasant alliance, and even the confidence of the workers in the Bolsheviks. This in turn led to the civil war, its horrors, and all

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*La Révolution d'Octobre Etait-Elle Inévitable? (Was the October Revolution Inevitable?),* by Roy Medvedev. Paris: Editions Albin Michel.

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the rest. . . . And all this was made worse by some additional errors. For example, the error of Trotsky, who "by his unfortunate telegram ordering the disarmament of the Czechoslovak troops" (p. 134) provoked their uprising (this is the only time a decision or proposal by Trotsky is mentioned in the book).

In reading the book an irresistible question arises: Was Russia really a Robinson Crusoe island, isolated from the world (and therefore already prepared for "socialism in a single country")? Did the world war—which appears moreover to have been one of the factors in the revolutionary crisis in Russia!—still exist? Did it still influence the course of events in Russia in 1917? Astonishingly, to read Medvedev, one must reply "No"! And it did not from the very beginning of the war. However, when the Bolsheviks decided at the Central Committee meeting of October 10, and then at the one of October 16, to move toward the insurrection, they began—and the October 10 resolution shows this—from the world situation. Then, on the basis of this, they took up the situation in Russia, seen as a part of the whole. Medvedev deliberately isolates the part from the whole.

In doing so he distorts reality so as to be able to conclude: "The historic responsibility for the civil war falls not only on the Russian counterrevolution and the interventionists, but also on the Bolsheviks themselves who, through their premature introduction of socialism, arrayed against themselves a large part of the population" (p. 134). But the picture painted of the revolution before these "premature" measures (and perhaps some of them were

premature after all—it is undoubtedly true that numerous illusions about what was called "war communism" developed among the Bolsheviks) is a false one.

No, the revolution did not unfold harmoniously or nearly so in Russia at the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918! The world war continued, and the Brest-Litovsk treaty, the disorganized flight of Russian soldiers across the country, the dislocation of the old state apparatus, the breakdown in the old discipline, the heritage of social decomposition and, at the beginning, its inevitable acceleration by the revolution, all contributed to a fantastic disorder, an incredible chaos. Threatened on all sides, the revolution gave the appearance of a ship adrift. The measures taken by its pilots were in response to this sentiment, felt by all, and to the desire to put an end to the situation.

Whether or not they were all correct is another question. But Medvedev paints a typically "socialist realist" picture of the revolution that falsifies the perspective, distorts the problem, and undermines much of the effect of the observations he may make. In doing so he reduces, for example, much of the impact of the letter by the Cossack chief Mironov, which he reprints at the end of the book. Mironov protested the exactions of which the Cossacks were victims. He was shot following charges of treason, the foundations of which have been questioned and are questionable despite unfortunate previous events (in 1919, Mironov formed a detachment of 5,000 Cossacks to fight both the Whites and the Reds). Placed where it is, the letter seems to signify the following: The hasty measures taken in the spring of 1918 automatically led to a stupid anti-Cossack policy, Mironov protested, witness his letter; and afterwards this courageous critic was shot. . . . This is not far, really, from Stalinism. . . .

But Medvedev's historical method emerges clearly. He has not broken the mold in which his thinking was formed, as is the case with many other Soviet dissidents, each in his way. Educated in and by Stalinism, they protest against it within the same framework of "socialism in one country." Consequently, they isolate a given political, economic, or moral factor and make it the explanation for a degeneration that remains, for them, incomprehensible. □

## La Crisis Actual de la Burocracia China

[El siguiente artículo apareció sin firma en el número del 15 de abril de *October Review*, revista publicada en Hong Kong. El artículo fue abreviado en la traducción al inglés que Jerry Chow hizo para el número del 19 de julio de *Intercontinental Press*. La traducción del inglés es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Se ha abierto una nueva lucha fraccional en el interior del Partido Comunista Chino (PCC), llamada la "lucha para rechazar el intento desviacionista de derecha de revocar los juicios correctos." Es una continuación de la Revolución Cultural lanzada la pasada década por Mao Tsetung, y es una manifestación más de la continua lucha interna en el PCC durante los últimos diez años.

El hecho de que el comienzo de la lucha actual haya resultado en una escisión dentro del Buró Político del PCC, no solamente indica su intensidad, sino también la agudeza de la crisis política en China. Es un reflejo indirecto de la contradicción irreconciliable entre la burocracia dominante y el pueblo.

Desde la caída de Lin Piao en 1971, la fracción de Mao ha realizado una serie de campañas contra otras fracciones del PCC. Muchos signos indicaban que Chu En-lai había sido el objeto de varios de estos ataques. La muerte de Chu le ha desplazado temporalmente como el blanco principal del ataque maoista, pero las fracciones antimaoistas han perdido un fuerte apoyo y protección. Para los seguidores de la fracción de Mao, ha desaparecido un fuerte oponente que era difícil de derrotar. Esto ha cambiado fundamentalmente la relación de fuerzas entre las diferentes fracciones del PCC. Una de las razones del rápido ascenso de la lucha fraccional, es la competición por la vacante dejada por Chu En-lai a su muerte.

Sin embargo, la causa central de la lucha interna son diferencias sobre política entre las fracciones maoista y antimaoista. Estas diferencias se han desarrollado sobre muchas cuestiones, como el desarrollo económico, la educación, y la ciencia y tecnología. Aunque la fracción maoista, que controla todas las publicaciones, nunca ha publicado documentos de las fracciones oponentes, podemos estimar las diferencias por medio de citas que aparecen en los documentos maoistas. En lo que sigue, vamos a intentar expresar nuestros puntos de vista sobre algunas de las cuestiones que actualmente se están discutiendo en China.

La fracción maoista denunció a Teng

Hsiao-ping por seguir la vía capitalista. El crimen de Teng, según los maoistas, es haber distorsionado las instrucciones de Mao, describiendo sus tres últimas directivas como "la piedra angular de todo el trabajo." Las tres directivas eran: 1) Impulsar la economía nacional; 2) Promover la estabilidad y la unidad; y 3) Estudiar la teoría de la dictadura del proletariado. Los maoistas dan el siguiente argumento nimio: Mao piensa que el estudio de la teoría de la dictadura del proletariado es la pieza clave. Y Teng dice que las tres directivas son igualmente importantes. Así, Teng está "negando la lucha de clases como el punto fundamental y falsificando la línea básica del partido" (*Peking Review*, 2 de abril 1976, p. 7).

El argumento maoista no es muy convincente. De forma mecánica, contraponen el trabajo ideológico al económico, maximizando el primero y minimizando e incluso repudiando el segundo. Pero los maoistas no llevan esto a la práctica. En un editorial reciente del *Diario del Pueblo*, los maoistas subrayaban el "principio de tomar los cereales como el punto fundamental y asegurar un desarrollo equilibrado arreglando la producción agrícola en general."

¿No está esto contra el argumento maoista de "tomar el estudio de la teoría de la dictadura del proletariado como el punto fundamental?"

### Sobre el Problema de "Restringir los Derechos de la Burguesía"

El problema de restringir los derechos de la burguesía lo planteó el año pasado el mismo Mao, que dijo que el sistema de salarios vigente, una escala con ocho categorías, no era igualitario. Entonces, la prensa se lanzó en una campaña para pedir a los trabajadores que aumentasen sus horas de trabajo e intensificasen la productividad, pero sin pedir salarios más altos. Esto muestra lo que quiere decir la fracción de Mao cuando habla de restringir los "derechos de la burguesía" por medio del trabajo ideológico.

Entonces la fracción de Mao acusó al "seguidor de la vía capitalista" de no querer restringir los derechos de la burguesía. Si a lo que Teng se oponía era a este tipo de restricción de los "derechos de la burguesía," Teng estaba absolutamente en lo correcto.

En la actualidad, China se enfrenta a la escasez y a un bajo nivel de productividad. Si la fracción de Mao restringe los "derechos de la burguesía" prematuramente, reduciendo las categorías superiores de

salarios al nivel de las inferiores, presiona para aumentar la productividad del trabajo y se opone a cualquier incentivo material, toda esta política no solamente tendrá malos efectos sobre la producción, sino que también agudizará las contradicciones sociales.

¿Por qué no dan ejemplo los dirigentes del PCC en la "restricción de los derechos de la burguesía" rebajando sus propios salarios astronómicos al nivel del de un obrero medio? ¿Por qué no abolen sus privilegios tanto tiempo disfrutados? Cualquiera de estos pasos sería muy bien acogido por el pueblo de todo el país. Sin embargo, no solamente los "seguidores de la vía capitalista," sino también los mismos maoistas continúan abrazados a su estilo burgués de vida. ¿Cómo puede el pueblo ver las diferencias entre ellos? Lo que China necesita ahora es abolir todos los privilegios económicos y políticos.

### Sobre la "Revolución Educativa"

Una de las controversias que surgieron en la primera etapa de la actual lucha política se refería a la política educativa. Mao quería hacer una revolución en la educación, y puede que fuese sincero en un principio. Pero la burocracia maoista se pasó al otro extremo al intentar corregir errores pasados. Citaron correctamente a Lenin en que "la escuela debe ser un instrumento de la dictadura del proletariado." Pero deformaron la proposición de Lenin de que "la escuela sea transformada de un instrumento de la dominación burguesa en un instrumento de destrucción de esta dominación y de la completa eliminación de las divisiones de clase." Esto lo hicieron creando divisiones de clase artificiales, agravando innecesariamente las contradicciones entre el pueblo, e incitando a una parte de la población contra otra. Bajo el slogan "Abajo la autoridad académica burguesa," negaban la importancia de los profesores y libros de texto tradicionales. En lugar de ello, confiaron a los maoistas más convencidos la administración de las escuelas, la enseñanza y la reelaboración de los libros de texto. Aunque propusieron la fórmula

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correcta de combinar el aprendizaje en las aulas con la experiencia en el proceso de producción, con su entusiasmo excesivo forzaron a los niños de las escuelas a pasar tanto tiempo en el campo que apenas quedaba tiempo para el estudio en las aulas.

Bajo la consigna "La educación debe servir a los obreros, campesinos y soldados," permitieron la entrada en las universidades de aquellos cuyos niveles educativos eran como de graduados de escuela media e incluso primaria. Subrayaron al extremo la "rojez" en política, ignorando la "experiencia" en el conocimiento profesional.

Después de haber llevado a cabo este tipo de política educativa durante varios años, aparecieron sus resultados negativos. Como consecuencia se desarrolló la crítica de que "el nivel educativo en las universidades es aún más bajo que el de las escuelas medias," y que "los estudiantes no aprenden cultura en la escuela," etc. Para aplacar esta crítica, la fracción de Teng propuso "enviar buenos graduados de escuelas medias a la universidad," y "dejar que expertos no pertenecientes al partido dirijan las instituciones de educación superior."

Estas reformas encontraron fuerte oposición por parte de la fracción de Mao. Se acusó a los reformadores de ser "desviacionistas de derecha que intentan revocar los juicios correctos."

#### **Sobre el Problema de "Quiénes Deberían Tener Posiciones Dirigentes en los Circuitos Científicos y Tecnológicos"**

Un problema estrechamente relacionado es quiénes deberían tener posiciones dirigentes en los campos científico y tecnológico. En principio, los intelectuales deberían integrarse con los obreros, campesinos y soldados, y la investigación científica y tecnológica debería estar unida a la producción. Sin embargo, la disputa en los últimos años no era sobre este principio general, sino sobre el problema concreto de la "dirección." Bajo la consigna de "ejercer la dictadura del proletariado en el frente científico y tecnológico," los trabajadores y campesinos pro-Mao han tomado los puestos directivos de todas las instituciones científicas y tecnológicas desde el comienzo de la Revolución Cultural. Esto ha generado grandes fricciones y conflictos entre los cuadros que tienen los puestos directivos y los científicos y técnicos profesionales. El año pasado se oían a menudo comentarios como "Gente que no son profesionales no deberían dirigir a los profesionales," y "Autoridades de primera fila, reconocidas públicamente en las comunidades científicas y tecnológicas, deberían tener los puestos directivos."

En nuestra opinión, la dirección de los campos científico y tecnológico, como en cualquier otro, debe ser democráticamente elegida por los que trabajan en ese campo.

## Hugo Blanco Deportado



BLANCO

Por segunda vez, el régimen militar peruano ha deportado al conocido dirigente revolucionario Hugo Blanco, esta vez a Suecia.

Después de imponer el estado de sitio en todo el país, intentando cortar la ola de protestas por las alzas de precios, el régimen militar ve cada vez más claro que la única forma de mantener su dominación "progresista" es la represión de todos los luchadores y el constante ataque a los derechos de las masas oprimidas.

Es tarea de todos luchar contra la represión política en el Perú y promover la solidaridad con los presos políticos y represaliados peruanos. Los primeros objetivos de esta campaña son la readmisión de Hugo Blanco en su país y la liberación de los presos políticos.

Como forma de presión, se pueden enviar telegramas o cartas de protesta al General Francisco Morales Bermúdez, Casa del Gobierno, Lima, Perú, con copia a USLA (United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners—Comité de los Estados Unidos para la Justicia con los Presos Políticos Latinoamericanos), 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

No debería ser nombrada desde arriba. Ni tampoco se debería poner en los puestos directivos a estos "no profesionales" cuya única habilidad es recitar consignas maoistas.

#### **Sobre el Problema de la "Lucha contra la Burguesía"**

Mao Tsetung dijo recientemente: "Estáis haciendo la revolución socialista, y no sabéis dónde está la burguesía. Está dentro del Partido Comunista—los que están en el poder y toman la vía capitalista." Según Mao, los "seguidores de la vía capitalista" se han transformado en la "burguesía." Todavía no se ha presentado ninguna evidencia en ningún documento que pruebe que, en efecto, los "seguidores de la vía capitalista" en el PCC son la "burguesía."

En nuestra opinión, ninguno de los dirigentes y cuadros de ninguna de las fracciones del PCC forman una clase burguesa ni poseen ningún medio privado de producción. Son una casta burocrática privilegiada, simples parásitos del Estado obrero. Mao y sus seguidores han denunciado a Teng Hsiao-ping como un "redomado e impenitente seguidor de la vía capitalista" y como "un representante político de la burguesía." Pero Teng no es más burgués de lo que lo eran Liu Shao-chi y Lin Piao.

Sin embargo, esta acusación refleja dos

cosas. Primera, que la burocracia de los Estados obreros goza de privilegios materiales como la burguesía en los países capitalistas. Segunda, que los métodos de opresión de las masas trabajadoras por la burocracia son similares a los que utiliza la clase capitalista. Como las masas trabajadoras han mostrado cada vez más su impaciencia y su intolerancia de la situación actual, los maoistas intentan echar la culpa a los "seguidores de la vía capitalista" para proteger los intereses de toda la burocracia.

#### **El Camino que Deben Seguir los Obreros y Campesinos**

La interminable lucha fraccional dentro del PCC ha producido una crisis política tras otra. Ha desequilibrado seriamente no sólo el desarrollo normal de la construcción económica de China, sino que también ha impedido que suba el nivel de vida del pueblo.

Ya es hora de que los obreros y campesinos detengan la lucha fraccional que se lleva a cabo en el PCC. Las masas deberían formar sus propias organizaciones, plantear sus propias reivindicaciones, e intervenir en los asuntos de la nación. Solamente a través de sus propios esfuerzos será posible derribar a los burócratas y construir una sociedad socialista democrática. □

## Dura Lucha contra la Dictadura de Banzer

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 19 de julio, bajo el título "Bitter Strike Confronts Banzer Dictatorship." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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LA PAZ—El asesinato del ex presidente boliviano Juan José Torres, exilado en Buenos Aires, el 3 de junio ha conducido a una confrontación entre la dictadura militar de derecha del general Hugo Banzer, y el sector clave de la economía boliviana—los mineros del estaño. Banzer, que derribó al régimen nacionalista con inclinaciones hacia la izquierda del general Torres el 21 de agosto de 1971, en un golpe del que Augusto Pinochet podría haber tomado apuntes, respondió a la huelga de los mineros con dureza característica. Con la crisis que ya dura veinte días, han muerto tres estudiantes y cuatro mineros, y el país está parcialmente paralizado por una huelga general minera y huelgas de solidaridad en sectores importantes de la industria urbana y en las universidades.

El asesinato de Torres y el anterior asesinato del embajador boliviano en París, Zenteno Anaya, se ven en general en La Paz como la obra de Banzer y como un indicio del deterioro de su posición. Tanto el derechista Zenteno como Torres tenían un apoyo significativo en diferentes sectores, y ambos eran una amenaza potencial para Banzer en un momento en que el movimiento obrero y la izquierda clandestina comenzaban a tomar la ofensiva.

Hasta hace poco Banzer ha tenido éxito en su función de lacayo de los intereses imperialistas en Bolivia. Manteniendo un clima favorable para la inversión, y reduciendo drásticamente los salarios reales, su gobierno ha podido atraer una creciente inversión extranjera en empresas agrícolas y minería. La "estabilidad" que este gobierno ha logrado por medio de un aparato represivo asesino y la prohibición de todos los sindicatos tuvo su recompensa en forma de enormes préstamos del gobierno de los Estados Unidos, el Fondo Monetario Internacional y otras instituciones crediticias. En los cinco años que Banzer ha estado en el poder, Bolivia ha aumentado su deuda externa de 450 a 1,700 millones de dólares.

Para comprender la actual huelga minera, hace falta hablar un poco sobre la política económica del gobierno y los efectos que ha tenido sobre el pequeño sector industrializado de la economía. En esta pobrísima nación de Sudamérica, solamente el 9% de la fuerza de trabajo está empleada en la

producción industrial, el 70% son campesinos, principalmente viviendo en condiciones de simple subsistencia, y el aparato del gobierno absorbe el otro 20%. De la fuerza de trabajo potencial, oficialmente el 14% está en situación de desempleo, y el número de subempleados (los que venden chicles en las esquinas, por ejemplo) es probablemente mayor que el de desempleados. Para financiar a los militares, la burocracia y los escasos programas del gobierno, la dictadura se ha apoyado en las ganancias procedentes del sector estatal de la industria minera. La exportación total de la minería constituye cerca del 40% de las ventas al extranjero, principalmente a los Estados Unidos que son pobres en estaño. Para mantener las ganancias en un momento en que la recesión mundial y el control del mercado internacional de estaño por parte de Estados Unidos redujeron los precios casi hasta el nivel de los costos, Banzer tuvo que reducir progresivamente el salario real de los mineros. Esto se realizó por medio de congelaciones salariales, devaluación de la moneda e inflación.

Esta política ha sido desastrosa para los mineros. El salario medio, junto con los bonos, es solamente de alrededor de un dólar diario. Esto representa un aumento del 25% durante todo el período de cinco años de la dictadura de Banzer. Durante este mismo tiempo, la inflación en los precios de los artículos esenciales de consumo de los mineros ha aumentado en un 350%, según cifras oficialmente reconocidas.

Esta creciente miseria significa dificultades adicionales para los mineros, que ya sufren unas de las peores condiciones de trabajo en todo el mundo. Un minero que empiece a trabajar a los quince años, puede esperar una vida productiva de entre quince y veinticinco años antes de quedar incapacitado por la silicosis, la enfermedad pulmonar. Como resultado del alto contenido ácido en la atmósfera de las minas, un minero de treinta años tiene el aspecto de una persona de cincuenta.

Las cada vez más insoportables condiciones económicas bajo la dictadura de Banzer produjeron una situación altamente inestable en los campos mineros. En un congreso nacional minero en mayo, se decidió preparar una huelga en demanda de un amplio aumento de salarios, y aún más importante, una cláusula de coste de la vida que contribuiría a contrarrestar los efectos de la incesante inflación.

Mientras se hacían los preparativos, Torres fue asesinado y el gobierno boliviano se negó a permitir la repatriación de sus restos. Esto produjo una indignación

que cristalizó inmediatamente en una serie de huelgas de protesta en los campos mineros y las universidades.

A la vez que se extendía el movimiento espontáneo de huelgas, cambiaba su carácter. La ilegal Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia (FSTMB) y otros sindicatos mineros comenzaron a ampliar la huelga, formulando las reivindicaciones aprobadas en el congreso sindical.

Ante este desarrollo, Banzer se vio enfrentado a la crisis más seria de su dominación. Respondiendo con el máximo de fuerza, ordenó la militarización de los campos mineros, estado de sitio en toda la nación, el cierre de todas las escuelas medias y universidades, toque de queda y restricciones de viaje, y la ocupación de las emisoras de radio de los mineros. Durante los primeros días, fueron encarcelados 125 militantes, dirigentes sindicales y estudiantes; veinticinco de ellos fueron deportados a Chile.

Las medidas que se tomaron en los campos mineros fueron más serias. Estos campos, construidos en el modelo de la ciudad-empresa, dejan a sus habitantes completamente a merced de la administración del campo. Los servicios esenciales, incluyendo la comida y el agua, son suministrados por la empresa, que en una situación de huelga los corta.

Esta táctica se ha utilizado desde el primer día de la huelga, en un intento de someter a los mineros por el hambre. En Siglo XX y Cataví, dos minas con gran tradición de militancia, la dirección local se negó a abandonar las minas sabiendo que serían arrestados. Como respuesta, el ejército selló las entradas a las minas y cortó la energía eléctrica, atrapando a los mineros. Un comunicado de estos decía en una de sus partes: "Permaneced firmes y unidos bajo las directivas de los sindicatos y los comités de base. Seguid las instrucciones de los cinco sindicatos en huelga. Proteged a los perseguidos y ayudad a las familias de los prisioneros. Fraternalizad con los soldados y oficiales jóvenes explicando nuestra causa."

Durante los primeros dos días, la huelga fue total en las minas estatales y se extendió rápidamente al sector privado.

Desde el punto de vista del gobierno el peligro real está en el amplio apoyo nacional que están recibiendo los mineros. Primero en Cochabamba y más tarde en La Paz, los trabajadores de las fábricas principales llamaron a huelgas de solidaridad, y algunas de ellas plantearon sus propias reivindicaciones de aumentos salariales. Siete de las nueve universidades nacionales quedaron completamente cerra-

das por estudiantes y profesores después de que el gobierno las abriera de nuevo. Muchas organizaciones campesinas en la clandestinidad lanzaron declaraciones de apoyo e intentaron entregar comida a los mineros. Organizaciones religiosas y un grupo de profesionales pidieron una justa respuesta a las demandas de los mineros. Todo esto es una clara indicación de que Banzer no tiene prácticamente ningún apoyo popular.

Mientras continúe la huelga, la posición de Banzer es inestable. Ha tomado una línea dura en las negociaciones, diciendo que no quiere discutir las reivindicaciones de los mineros hasta que la huelga cese. Con la situación paralizada desde hace

casi tres semanas, Banzer se enfrenta al peligro de ser sustituido en un golpe de palacio si no puede romper la huelga o llegar a un acuerdo. Un golpe permitiría al ejército sustituirle por una figura un poco más moderada que tendría la posibilidad de retroceder desde la línea dura de Banzer y negociar.

Si Banzer logra someter a los mineros por el hambre, sin duda que intensificará la represión contra ellos, los trabajadores de las fábricas, los estudiantes y la izquierda en general en un intento de desorganizar el amplio movimiento popular de oposición a su régimen.

25 de junio de 1975

## Bandas Derechistas Intensifican Atentados

## Crece el Número de Víctimas en América Latina

Por Judy White

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 5 de julio con el título "Rising Toll of 'Death Squad' Victims in Latin America." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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El 12 de junio fueron liberados en Buenos Aires veinticinco refugiados políticos, después de haberseles comunicado en términos inequívocos que lo mejor para ellos sería salir de Argentina antes de cuarenta y ocho horas. El día anterior habían sido secuestrados por una banda de hombres fuertemente armados que se identificaron como miembros de un cuerpo estatal de seguridad inexistente.

Cuando los liberaron, muchos de ellos tenían costillas rotas y magulladuras. Los hombres informaron que habían sido torturados con descargas eléctricas. No tenían la menor idea de dónde los habían tenido durante ese período de veinticuatro horas.

Estos veinticinco refugiados fueron afortunados. En las semanas anteriores, se encontraron asesinados cuatro uruguayos—entre ellos dos antiguos miembros del parlamento—y un ex-presidente de Bolivia, después de ser raptados en Buenos Aires en operaciones similares.

En Río de Janeiro, murieron treinta y ocho personas a manos de bandas similares durante el mes de mayo. Muchos de los cuerpos que se encontraron agujereados por las balas tenían las manos atadas detrás de la espalda y mostraban señales de tortura.

Bandas de asesinos, como la Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA) y el brasileño Esquadrão da Morte, han estado

actuando en completa impunidad durante años en diversos países de América Latina.

En una ocasión miembros de La Banda en Santo Domingo tomaron parte en un asalto organizado contra los presos políticos de la principal prisión de la isla. Era un intento de provocar por parte de las víctimas una reacción violenta que justificase la represión oficial.

En general, las víctimas de las escuadras de la muerte son activistas políticos y sindicales, refugiados políticos, y habitantes de barrios pobres. Su táctica está dirigida a un intento de intimidar completamente a las masas oprimidas de la población.

Una indicación de su eficacia la da Jonathan Kandell en un artículo del *New York Times* del 7 de junio sobre los recientes asesinatos en Brasil:

... muchos residentes ni siquiera se atreven a discutir sobre las escuadras de la muerte. Su temor es tan profundo que muchos de ellos ni siquiera se atreven a reclamar los cuerpos de parientes asesinados por el escuadrón de la muerte por miedo a las represalias.

El antiguo cementerio de Marapicu, a pocas millas de Nova Iguaçu, es conocido por ser el cementerio del escuadrón de la muerte. Allí se enterraron durante los últimos tres meses, 32 cuerpos con agujeros de bala que no fueron reclamados.

Es del conocimiento general que estas bandas terroristas no solamente gozan de la tolerancia de los regímenes de los países donde operan, sino que importantes cargos dirigen y participan en sus actividades. En algunos casos, se ha mostrado que el apoyo del gobierno se extiende hasta la

financiación de las operaciones de las bandas.

El caso más notable que salió a la luz fue el de la AAA. El ministro peronista de Bienestar Social José López Rega estaba involucrado en la fundación del grupo, usó fondos del ministerio para financiar sus operaciones, y miembros permanentes de la AAA aparecían en las planillas del gobierno. Aunque el mismo López Rega se vio obligado a exilarse como resultado de las protestas contra su papel en la banda asesina, la AAA continúa funcionando. Desde el golpe militar del 24 de marzo ha matado por lo menos a 155 personas.

Ni Perón ni su sucesor, el general Jorge Videla, han hecho nunca el menor intento para detener o procesar a nadie por los crímenes de la AAA.

Estas fuerzas extralegales son muy útiles a los regímenes represivos, ya que les proporcionan un instrumento adecuado para realizar el trabajo más sucio. Mientras tanto el gobierno queda formalmente libre de responsabilidad, pudiendo hablar ampliamente de las libertades civiles, y a veces fingiendo una ignorancia completa sobre los terroristas.

Sin embargo, hay ocasiones en que la publicidad desfavorable ha forzado a estos regímenes que protegen a las bandas terroristas a simular que las hacen desaparecer.

En 1971, las noticias publicadas en la prensa estadounidense sobre los asesinatos realizados por La Banda en la República Dominicana forzaron al presidente Joaquín Balaguer a hacer exactamente esto. Como informaba *Intercontinental Press* en el número de 11 de octubre de 1971:

Anunció la expulsión de las fuerzas de la policía de un cierto "teniente Núñez, una figura controvertida a quien la oposición política acusa de ser el lazo entre la policía y La Banda" . . .

Balaguer proclamó que iba a designar un nuevo fiscal general para asegurar una completa localización y proceso a los responsables de los asesinatos y secuestros perpetrados por La Banda.

En los días siguientes, varios cientos acusados de ser miembros de La Banda fueron detenidos por la policía. Sin embargo, la mayoría de ellos fueron liberados tranquilamente entre uno y tres días después de su arresto.

Como era de prever, La Banda tardó poco en funcionar de nuevo; el 9 de octubre se encontraron cinco víctimas de la banda en Santo Domingo.

Las bandas terroristas semioficiales no son nada nuevo en América Latina. Hay noticias de la existencia del Esquadrão da Morte brasileño tan pronto como a mediados de los años 50, pero estas formaciones sólo comenzaron a ser descritas con detalle una década más tarde, cuando su número y sus acciones proliferaron.

La Mano Blanca en Guatemala se hizo famosa a finales de los 60 como instrumento del gobierno de Méndez Montenegro en su campaña contra las organizaciones

guerrilleras, los disidentes políticos y otros sectores de la población interesados en un cambio social.

En los años que siguieron al aplastamiento por las tropas norteamericanas de la sublevación de 1965 en Santo Domingo, La Banda emprendió una campaña de terror contra las masas dominicanas más feroz que casi cualquiera que se hubiera experimentado durante la sangrienta dictadura de Trujillo.

En Brasil, después del golpe de 1964, el Esquadrão da Morte pasó al primer plano en la colaboración para eliminar el movimiento de masas que los militares no habían sido capaces de aplastar completamente.

La aparición de la AAA en Argentina siguió muy de cerca a la vuelta de los peronistas al poder en 1973. Estos la usaban junto con la demagogia populista para contribuir a mantener el control sobre el movimiento obrero de masas.

Aún más, las escuadras de la muerte no existen sólo en Latinoamérica. Han sido un instrumento clásico de los poderes imperialistas en operaciones de contrainsurgencia. Los ingleses las utilizaron en Kenia y Malasia en los años 50 y más tarde en Irlanda.

En el caso de Latinoamérica, el imperialismo norteamericano ha jugado un papel similar. Un artículo sobre Guatemala en el *Economist* de Londres del 10 de junio de 1967, informaba:

La principal organización terrorista, Mano Blanca, es una creación del Movimiento de Liberación Nacional. En 1954 el MLN fue la punta de lanza de la invasión organizada por la CIA desde Honduras, que, con la connivencia del alto mando militar guatemalteco, derribó al régimen procomunista del coronel Jacobo Arbenz.

Desde el pasado mes de julio, dirigentes del MLN en el Oriente y muchos de sus seguidores han desaparecido en Honduras. Una nueva emisora de radio de corto alcance, Radio América, situada en Honduras, ha estado advirtiendo a los campesinos de una nueva invasión con apoyo norteamericano masivo.

El mismo artículo informaba que "los vigilantes anticomunistas de Mano Blanca en el Oriente han recibido aproximadamente 2,000 rifles y ametralladoras que fueron entregados al ejército guatemalteco bajo el programa norteamericano de ayuda militar."

Después de una estancia en la República Dominicana, Norman Gall decía en un artículo que apareció en el número del 22 de julio de 1971 del *New York Review of Books*:

El terror dominicano se parece a la actual ola de asesinatos políticos en Guatemala . . . en que las bandas paramilitares están organizadas por el ejército y la policía, que en ambos casos han recibido durante años gran cantidad de material de los Estados Unidos y su apoyo asesor.

Gall señaló que el programa de "Seguridad Pública" de la Agencia para el Desarrollo Internacional [Agency for International Development—AID] de Washing-

ton durante los años 1967-68 fue mayor en la República Dominicana que en cualquier otro país excepto Vietnam del Sur. Tam-

bién señaló que AID tenía importantes programas de "Seguridad Pública" para Brasil y Guatemala. □

## DOCUMENTOS

### Programa Electoral de Otelo Carvalho

[A continuación publicamos la plataforma con la que Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho se presentó a las elecciones presidenciales portuguesas. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Candidato a la Presidencia de la República por imposición popular, me comprometo ante los trabajadores y el pueblo portugués, en caso de ser elegido, a garantizar las condiciones, para que el pueblo, unido y organizado, avance en la resolución de sus problemas camino de una sociedad nueva donde sea posible el ejercicio democrático del poder por las clases trabajadoras, la sociedad socialista.

Así, me comprometo a:

1. Asegurar la defensa de la Constitución de la República Portuguesa, conquista del pueblo que debe ponerse al servicio de los trabajadores asalariados del campo y la ciudad, de los obreros de la industria y de los pequeños y medianos arrendatarios, de los técnicos y de los comerciantes pobres y acomodados, de los empleados de oficina, de la banca, de los seguros y del comercio.

No consentir que las clases privilegiadas, que continúan teniendo el poder, anulen lo que existe de progresista en nuestra ley fundamental.

Me comprometo a:

2. Asegurar intransigentemente la defensa y la profundización de las conquistas fundamentales obtenidas por el pueblo portugués a partir del 25 de abril:

- Reforma agraria, que debe ser llevada a cabo, consolidada y desarrollada con la intervención decisiva de los trabajadores, beneficiando a los pequeños y medianos agricultores y arrendatarios.

- Control obrero por parte de todos los trabajadores, que se deberá impulsar, desarrollar y extender en todo el país.

- Nacionalizaciones de los sectores básicos de la economía, que no se puede permitir sean puestos de nuevo al servicio de los grupos capitalistas y que deben desarrollarse para servir al pueblo y a la independencia nacional.

- Derecho de huelga, derecho sagrado de los trabajadores que no puede estar sujeto a reglamentaciones que lo ataquen y destruyan.

- Libertad de expresión, reunión y

asociación, siempre que no se fomenten ideas y prácticas fascistas o fascizantes.

Me comprometo a:

3. Defender, reforzar y desarrollar todas las formas de organización de los trabajadores, y especialmente las organizaciones populares de base, Comisiones de Trabajadores, Comisiones de Moradores y Consejos de Aldea.

Estas organizaciones son una creación fundamental y verdaderamente democrática de las masas trabajadoras, garantizan su unidad verdadera y constituyen una condición indispensable tanto para la resistencia como para el avance del movimiento popular.

Me comprometo a:

4. Garantizar la organización sindical autónoma de los trabajadores, independiente del Estado y de los partidos, contribuyendo a la creación de condiciones que hagan posibles sus formas unitarias y democráticas.

Me comprometo a:

5. Respetar la voluntad de los trabajadores y del pueblo, expresada en los resultados electorales, nombrando el Primer Ministro de acuerdo a la Constitución y garantizando en términos constitucionales que el gobierno ejecute una política que defienda los intereses de los trabajadores y del pueblo, y sin aceptar un gobierno que abra el camino a la violación de los principios constitucionales o que cree condiciones para el regreso del fascismo.

Me comprometo a:

6. No admitir tentativas cualesquiera de hacer pagar a las clases trabajadoras la crisis económica capitalista. La crisis tendrá que ser combatida con una política que asegure el aumento de la producción de bienes esenciales, la reducción de sus precios para el consumidor, la lucha contra el desempleo por la creación de nuevos puestos de trabajo y la liberación de la dependencia respecto a las potencias imperialistas.

Como primer e importantísimo paso para llevar a la práctica una política económica de esta naturaleza, hay que poner las empresas y sectores nacionalizados bajo el control de los trabajadores y a su servicio para la reorganización y planificación de la economía.

La resolución de la crisis económica sólo podrá tener lugar en una sociedad socialis-

ta, a través de la planificación económica, la afirmación de la independencia nacional, la movilización de los trabajadores y la dinámica creadora de su lucha.

Me comprometo a:

7. Llevar el 25 de abril a todos los pequeños y medianos agricultores y arrendatarios de todo el país que fueron los grandes olvidados y deben tener derecho al producto de su trabajo y a una real mejoría de sus condiciones de vida, a la construcción de carreteras, hospitales, escuelas, luz, agua y alcantarillado. Para ello, no podemos continuar sometidos al dominio de los grandes intermediarios y les tiene que ser garantizado el pago de los frutos de su trabajo a precio justo y garantizado antes de la cosecha, el crédito en condiciones ventajosas y los abonos y suministros, las semillas, máquinas y ganado a precios bajos.

La ley de arrendamiento rural deberá ser rigurosamente aplicada.

Me comprometo a:

8. Garantizar que la reforma agraria sea llevada hasta el fin por los asalariados rurales en las zonas de grandes propiedades, y en las otras zonas, por los agricultores y arrendatarios pequeños y medianos.

Los derechos de los agricultores y arrendatarios pequeños y medianos serán siempre escrupulosamente respetados.

La reforma agraria deberá contribuir a satisfacer la independencia del país en el sector alimenticio, en articulación con una política progresista en la pesca.

Me comprometo a:

9. Combatir las tentativas reaccionarias de cavar un foso entre los pequeños y medianos agricultores del norte y los trabajadores agrícolas del sur, a unirlos en la misma lucha por la mejoría de las condiciones de vida del pueblo portugués.

Rechazando el espantajo de divisiones políticas, religiosas y económicas será posible superar las divisiones que las fuerzas reaccionarias procuran agudizar entre el campo y la ciudad, entre el Norte y el Sur, entre el Continente y las Islas.

Me comprometo a:

10. Defender una política de vivienda y de salud al servicio de las masas desfavorecidas y no como hasta ahora, protegiendo a minorías privilegiadas.

Defender una política de apoyo a los emigrantes y a sus familias, tanto profundizando los lazos que les unen a Portugal, como defendiendo firmemente sus condiciones de vida y de derecho al trabajo, y luchar para que en el futuro los portugueses no necesiten emigrar.

Me comprometo a:

11. Promover una política verdaderamente democrática en los campos de la educación, la enseñanza y la información, defendiendo las formas de cultura nacional contra la dominación extranjera en este sector.

Luchar por la eliminación del analfabetismo y por la liberación cultural del pueblo, impulsando las manifestaciones de

cultura popular y apoyando a las asociaciones y organizaciones que la desarrollen.

También a contribuir a que el pueblo portugués pueda tener acceso al patrimonio cultural de toda la humanidad.

Me comprometo a:

12. Luchar por una política de independencia nacional que defienda los intereses del pueblo portugués contra las presiones y la dominación de las grandes potencias extranjeras y los intereses partidistas ligados a ellas, luchando especialmente por la liberación económica, política y militar frente a las potencias imperialistas que más directamente nos alcanzan.

Defender una política exterior de no alineamiento en relación a los bloques político-militares y favorecer el desarrollo de las relaciones con los países no alineados y particularmente con los países del tercer mundo.

Me comprometo a:

13. Desarrollar relaciones privilegiadas con los nuevos países africanos de lengua portuguesa, profundizando la base de solidaridad antimperialista en el proceso de descolonización.

La descolonización, convergencia de la lucha antifascista del pueblo portugués y del MFA con la lucha de los movimientos de liberación nacional, puso fin a una guerra colonial injusta que costó muchos millares de muertos y lisiados y muchos millones de escudos a nuestro pueblo y a los pueblos de las colonias.

## Amnistía 'a la Española'

Las movilizaciones realizadas durante la "semana de la amnistía" en el mes de julio han forzado al recién nombrado gobierno de Suárez a poner la amnistía y las elecciones como primeros puntos de su programa.

Las manifestaciones por la amnistía han sido las más numerosas desde la guerra civil (100,000 en Asturias, 200,000 en Bilbao el 8 de julio).

Suárez se ha visto obligado a hacer estas concesiones verbales por la creciente amplitud y fuerza de las movilizaciones de todo tipo, pero no ha conseguido ganarse la suficiente confianza por parte de la oposición como para esperar una relativa estabilidad en el ejercicio de su gobierno.

En primer lugar, la amnistía prometida, que se espera para el 25 de julio, es parcial, y en ella no entrarán los presos convictos por "terrorismo," que son aproximadamente una tercera parte de los presos políticos españoles. Los militantes de ETA (Euzkadi ta Askatasuna, organización nacionalista vasca), FRAP (Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriótico, organización fundamentalmente de guerrilla urbana) y otros grupos seguirán en prisión.

También continuarán encarcelados A. Durán, E. Forest y sus compañeros, a

Luchar por la resolución de los graves problemas que afectan a los portugueses que han vuelto de Africa, víctimas también de una situación colonial impuesta por el régimen fascista derribado el 25 de abril, reconociendo que la resolución de esos problemas se inserta en el cuadro de relaciones fraternales con los nuevos países africanos y pasa por la aplicación de una política económica al servicio de las clases trabajadoras, a las que la abrumadora mayoría de los portugueses pertenece.

Me comprometo a:

14. Colocar a las fuerzas armadas y militarizadas al servicio del pueblo y de los intereses nacionales, sin permitir nunca que la represión se abata sobre los trabajadores.

Será de la competencia de las fuerzas armadas el combate contra la contrarrevolución y el terrorismo, sin consentir que las fuerzas fascistas, aún no derrotadas completamente, se aprovechen de la libertad conquistada el 25 de abril para destruir esa misma libertad.

Las fuerzas armadas deberán asegurar un apoyo activo a la resolución de los problemas más acuciantes del pueblo portugués.

Las fuerzas armadas—pueblo armado y nunca mercenarios profesionalizados—tienen que ser garantía de la Constitución, haciendo posible el verdadero ejercicio democrático del poder por los trabajadores y por el pueblo. □

pesar de que no se ha conseguido probar nada en su sumario, en manos de tribunales militares. Este sumario está relacionado con la bomba de la calle del Correo en Madrid el año pasado; se sospecha que ellos pudieron haber escondido en sus casas a los responsables.

Los dirigentes reformistas ya han expresado también su desconfianza respecto a Suárez y su gobierno, reflejando en cierta forma la presión que reciben desde sus bases para enfrentarse a la monarquía de Juan Carlos y luchar por las libertades democráticas de forma decidida.

El socialdemócrata de derecha, Tierno Galván, aunque se mostró satisfecho de las promesas de Suárez, expresó a *La Opinión*, en su número del 18 de julio, que no creía que fuesen más que promesas.

Por su parte, el Partido Comunista, que no ha conseguido la aceptación del gobierno actuando como un freno en las luchas de masas, y siendo una fuerza moderadora en ellas, comienza a impacientarse. Camacho, conocido dirigente obrero de este partido, comentó el nombramiento de Suárez: "Que no obliguen a los españoles a pensar que es necesaria la república para llegar a la libertad." □

# FROM OUR READERS

George Breitman of New York sent us the following note concerning the article "Carter—A Redneck for President" by David Frankel, which appeared in our last issue:

"I think it's a mistake to designate Carter a 'redneck' candidate. Politically, this term refers to the arch-segregationists and, despite his past, that is not the kind of campaign he has been running or will run this year. What he is preaching is conciliation and compromise on racial issues, and what he is offering Blacks is participation, not exclusion; that is why he has the support of most Blacks so far and will have it on election day. While he will undoubtedly get redneck votes, it is likely that the majority of them will go to the Republican candidate."

David Frankel's reply: "The point is well taken. Moreover, according to *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, redneck is 'one belonging to or identified with the rural laboring class of the South—usu. used disparagingly.' As a millionaire businessman, Carter's only connection with the rural laboring class is that he exploits it. Thanks for the correction."

"I am presently doing research into the question of nuclear energy in Canada," writes J.K. of Toronto. "I have found the I.P. articles on this question most informative for my work. In this country the debate is only now getting under way and opposition has been minimal. This is not to say that it will remain so. The discovery of abnormal levels of radiation at Port Hope has pointed to the dangers of the extensive use of nuclear power as an energy source."

"Like many other readers," C.K.S. of Athens, Georgia, writes, "I am very enthusiastic about 'Selections from the Left.' It's exactly the sort of thing I've been wanting for years, without really knowing what I wanted, a way to get an idea of what

Trotskyist and other left tendencies the world over are thinking short of taking time and money to subscribe to a huge number of newspapers. I value the flexibility of 'Intercontinental Press' and the special features you produce with that flexibility. For militants who want to know what's happening, a subscription to ICP is the next best thing to being everywhere."

We couldn't agree more.

"'Capitalism Fouls Things Up' and 'Around the World,'" writes D.H. of Washington, D.C., "continue to be some of my favorite sections of *IP*, so I was also very happy to see 'Selections From the Left' in the June 7 issue. *IP* seems to improve before my very eyes!"

"I'd like to see more substantial articles on Cuba and China," writes A.M. from Brooklyn, New York. "Also, how about expanding your use of the documents section which is probably the most unique feature of the journal. For example, why no documents of the Italian and Portuguese far left campaigns aside from the Trotskyist organization's commentaries?"

F.L. of Cambridge, Massachusetts, asks: "Would you kindly send to me the issues containing Ernest Harsch's series 'Pretoria and Washington . . .'"

The series of three articles "Pretoria and Washington—Allies Against Africa" is still available at the special offer we made in the *Militant*. Just send us \$1 with your name and address.

"Is there any difference now between 1st class & airmail?" asks J.S., a subscriber in Chicago.

No, there's no difference within the USA. The Postal Service has dropped the category of "airmail," and all "first class" mail is now sent by air, except for nearby points. At least that's what the Postal Service claims.

A subscriber in Washington, D.C., sent us an "additional \$6" so that his *IP*s will be sent by airmail."

He added: "Please note that to this date I have not received the following issues of *IP*: Feb. 23, May 10, May 24, and May 31. Please send these missing issues by airmail, and let me know if any additional charge is involved for the mailing of these issues."

No additional charge. The missing issues went by "first class" mail. The rest of the \$6 was used to convert the subscription to "first class."

"I have another, in what must be a very long list, report of non-service by the Postal Service," writes G.B. from Chicago in a letter dated July 1, "which I bring to your attention in the hopes that something can be done.

"I have recently moved but I sent in the forms the required five weeks in advance. However I have not received an *IP* since the May 31 issue. I can't afford a first-class subscription so the issues arrive late enough as it is. A month's delay is too much to take, however.

"I am uncertain as to what your office can do to remedy the situation but every effort will be greatly appreciated."

We sent replacements. If those missing copies ever turn up, give them to a friend who doesn't have a sub now.

To speed delivery we might consider a Solvang, California, experiment. According to an AP dispatch the Post Office there "has agreed to let a horse-drawn refurbished Overland Butterfield stagecoach carry the mail"

In Belleville, Illinois, a different approach has been taken.

The postmaster said that to save time mail carriers are to take the shortest route in going from house to house by cutting across lawns.

Perhaps the best solution right now is the one suggested in Parker's "Wizard of Id" comic strip reproduced below. □

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