



Black Workers Strike in South Africa

VORSTER: Blames "handful" of troublemakers for massive strike against apartheid regime.

The Verdict: 'A Shameless Frame-up'

A Statement on the Slanders Circulated by Healy Group Against Hansen, Novack, and the Socialist Workers Party

NEWS ANALYSIS

Growing Repression in Argentina

By Judy White

Mass executions claimed the lives of forty-seven political prisoners in the Buenos Aires region August 20. Five additional "extremists" were gunned down in Córdoba the same day in what security forces reported as "armed confrontations."

The Buenos Aires victims had been transported from jail to suburban areas, where they were mowed down with automatic weapons fire and then dynamited. Most of them were tied up. Some of the bodies were so badly mutilated it was impossible to tell their sex.

These were the latest in the continued wave of kidnappings and killings of even the mildest critics of the Argentine military dictatorship.

Governmental use of extralegal gangs to kill trade-union and political activists began with the return from exile of Gen. Juan Perón in 1973. But a qualitative change in the repression took place following the military coup on March 24, 1976. Since then the use of rightist murder gangs has become more blatant and has been complemented with "official" repression.

From the outset, these murder gangs served a particularly useful purpose for the bourgeois rulers of Argentina. They perform the dirtiest tasks, while their "unofficial" status makes it possible for their promoters and organizers to disclaim all knowledge of and responsibility for their actions.

Since mid-August, the junta has increasingly repeated its claim that the gangs are "out of control." The Ministry of the Interior described the August 20 mass murders as "the madness of irrational groups."

But the murder gangs are hardly "irrational" in their choice of targets. They began by focusing on rank-and-file leaders of the workers movement. Later, they broadened their target to include family members and others associated with alleged subversives, the tens of thousands of political exiles who live in Argentina, the Jewish community, and anyone suspected of having even liberal sympathies.

Among their most recent victims have been Hipólito Solari Yrigoyen and Abel Amaya, two former members of Congress from the Unión Cívica Radical (UCR—Radical Civic Union), one of the major bourgeois parties in Argentina. The two attorneys, who had defended left-wing labor leaders and political prisoners in the past, were kidnapped in mid-August. They have not been heard from since.

Moreover, the evidence has never pointed to the gangs being "out of control." Quite the contrary.

- Despite official promises to spare no efforts to punish those responsible, *not a single arrest*—let alone conviction—has been made of any of the perpetrators of the rightist terror that has been a regular feature of Argentine life for more than three years.

- Those carrying out abductions invariably show police or armed services credentials.

- There is growing evidence that the Videla regime is cooperating directly with the security forces of other Latin American dictatorships in the cases of political exiles who are abducted.

Uruguayan refugee sources reported that Hugo Gatti, an exiled labor leader among those abducted in July, had been seen in a police detention center in Buenos Aires. He lost an eye under torture conducted by Uruguayan intelligence personnel operating in conjunction with Argentine security agents.

- *New York Times* reporter Juan de Onis has confirmed reports coming from Argentine political prisoners that (in the case of the August 20 mass executions) the victims "appeared to have been brought to the place they were murdered from detention centers."

Furthermore, the Videla regime's official campaign to "annihilate subversion" encourages the actions of such gangs, as do Videla's repressive decrees. Along with the armed forces' shoot-on-sight operations against alleged extremists and the mass arrest of "factory guerrillas," Videla has reinstated the death penalty, imposed a ban on carrying firearms, decreed all political and trade-union activity illegal, and banned Marxist literature.

Political exiles are refused official refugee status and are referred to as participants in an international terrorist conspiracy.

On August 16, sweeping powers were granted to public prosecutors. That arm of government now has the right to make arrests, tap telephones, intercept mail, carry out searches of any public or private premises, seize any documents or other materials at will, hold prisoners incommunicado, and ask for the aid of the police and armed forces and the collaboration of all intelligence services.

The regime carried out a major "antisubversive" action in the academic sphere in early August. Seventeen faculty members

at the University of Bahía Blanca were arrested and a list of another thirty-one "wanted" members was issued in an effort to "cleanse the teaching field" of "subversion." The arrested professors were accused of indoctrinating the students in revolutionary Marxist ideas that led to the organization of guerrilla forces.

There are an estimated 20,000 persons in jail. Videla refuses to issue lists of the prisoners, thus facilitating their "disappearance" or making it possible for authorities to claim "they have never been arrested."

Among the prisoners are approximately 100 members of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party), including PST leader José Francisco Páez.

Páez was one of the main leaders of the autoworkers union in Córdoba, which was in the vanguard of the working-class upsurges in that city in 1969 and 1971.

In 1973 Páez supported the PST's call for an independent working-class slate in the Argentine federal elections. He ran for governor of the province of Córdoba in the March election and for vice-president on the PST's slate in September. Following the campaign, he acted as the party's trade-union director and as one of its public spokesmen until his arrest in January 1976.

Today Páez is being held in the Córdoba penitentiary, where all inmates have been held incommunicado since March 24 and where at least seventeen prisoners have been removed from their cells to be later reported killed in "clashes with security forces."

The regime justifies keeping these prisoners incommunicado on the grounds that the Third Army Corps in Córdoba is conducting a security investigation that could be impeded by granting the prisoners the right to see their families and attorneys, and to receive and send mail.

If Videla is now bleating about the repressive forces being out of control, it is because the barbarities of his regime have received increasingly unfavorable publicity in the world press. This, in turn, has generated international protest and condemnation of his practices from wide-ranging sources.

The protests threaten to undermine one of the main immediate goals of the junta—foreign financial aid. They make it politically costly for Washington and the European governments Videla has been wooing to come across with the loans and investments the Argentine ruling class needs to shore up its economy. □

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Lockheed Scandal Snares Royal Crook

Seven months ago a U.S. Senate subcommittee released documents showing that the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation had paid out \$24.4 million in bribes to facilitate sales of its planes. Since then, the list of those who are known to have sold their services to Lockheed has grown to include former Japanese Premier Kakuei Tanaka, one of the three Italian prime ministers in office from 1968 to 1970, and Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands.

Details about the higher-ups who were on the Lockheed payroll in Iran, West Germany, and other countries have not come out. Nevertheless, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that those who were caught were not untypical—just unlucky.

The latest crook to be exposed was His Royal Highness Bernhard Leopold Frederik Everhard Julius Coert Karel Godfried Pieter, Prince of the Netherlands. The royal influence-peddler resigned from numerous posts August 26, including that of Inspector General of the Armed Forces. The prince was also a member of the General Defense Council (a strategic planning body) and honorary director of KLM Royal Dutch Airlines, the VFW-Fokker Aircraft Company, and the Hoogovens Steel Company.

Apparently a cover-up was considered too risky by the government commission that investigated Prince Bernhard's dealings with Lockheed. Although Bernhard's books naturally showed no indication of the \$1.1 million bribe paid by Lockheed into a Swiss bank account, the commission noted that his version of the affair was "completely unbelievable" and "cannot be reconciled with established facts."

Moreover, an auditor's report proved that Bernhard had received a payment of \$62,000 from Lockheed in 1965, which the prince was unable to explain. In 1974 Bernhard wanted \$4 to \$6 million for the sale of antisubmarine aircraft to the Dutch navy, later lowering his requested commission to only \$1 million.

In any event, the prince will not be left destitute, despite his disgrace. In addition to whatever he managed to stash away in his Swiss bank accounts, he will continue to receive his state salary of \$300,000 a year. Queen Juliana, his wife, receives a tax-free allowance of \$1.3 million annually, and has a private fortune estimated at \$12 million.

While sacrificing the prince to public opinion, the Dutch regime is attempting to maintain the reactionary institution of the monarchy intact. *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Weinraub reported in an August 27 dispatch from The Hague that "the Prime Minister is said to have told the Queen that if she stepped down, the Prince would be open to a criminal investigation and possible prosecution." □

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General Strike by Black Workers Shakes South Africa

By Tony Thomas

Johannesburg, the main industrial center of South Africa, was shaken by a general strike of tens of thousands of Black workers August 23-25. Chief among the demands of the strike was the release of Black political prisoners arrested by the South African government since the Soweto rebellion this June.

Most of the strikers were from Soweto, South Africa's largest Black township, which has a population of more than one million. London *Times* correspondent Nicholas Ashford estimated that between 150,000 and 200,000 of the 250,000 Blacks from Soweto who normally work in Johannesburg observed the first day of the strike.

The next day, the Transvaal Chamber of Industries reported that only 10 percent of Soweto's workers had reported to work.

The city was hit with what one reporter called an "eerie quiet." Nearly all 300 plants in the clothing industry were closed down, as were most construction sites.

Christiane Chombeau described the scene in the August 25 issue of *Le Monde*: "Factories, department stores, delivery services, offices, almost all the businesses of Johannesburg have been strongly affected by the first of the three days of operation 'Azikwelwao' (don't ride). Scores of factories hit by the absence of 70 percent to 100 percent of the Black employees and workers had to close for the day."

Operation *Azikwelwao* grew out of an earlier series of demonstrations and work boycotts. On August 4 and 5, smaller numbers of Soweto workers heeded the call of Black students and stayed away from work. As the arrests of Black community leaders continued, Black organizers began to coordinate plans for the three-day general strike.

Black representatives from Soweto were able to travel across South Africa with "relative freedom" to gain support for the strike, a dispatch in the August 25 *Christian Science Monitor* reported. Thousands of leaflets and pamphlets were handed out in Soweto during the weekend before the strike.

The pamphlets appealed to workers to stay at home in support of students and youth who had been among the main victims of the repression following the June rebellion.

"If you go to work," one of the pamphlets said, "you will be inviting [South African Prime Minister] Vorster to slaughter us, your children, as he has done already."

They described the students as "soldiers of liberation who prefer to die from a bullet, rather than swallow a poisonous education which relegates them and their parents to a position of perpetual subordination."

The pamphlets cited the example of government concessions on language and home ownership won as a result of earlier struggles by the youth. One said: "Now for the greater victories: The scrapping of Bantu education, the release of prisoners detained during the demos, and the overthrow of oppression." (Bantu education refers to the inferior, segregated education system for Blacks that is one of the keystones of the apartheid system.)

John F. Burns, writing in the *New York Times* of August 23, reported that *Rapport*, a Johannesburg newspaper, had imputed more limited goals to the strike.

"Rapport," Burns wrote, "said that the people behind the campaign, whom it did not identify, would use it to try and force a meeting with Prime Minister John Vorster and Justice Minister James T. Kruger."

The Vorster regime apparently hoped that widespread arrests would prevent the general strike from being a success. In the weeks before the strike, more than 170 Black activists, many of them elected leaders of Black organizations, were detained without charges.

The August 21 issue of the weekly *Johannesburg Star* reported there had been "an estimated 60 people detained in the past three days." Among those arrested were all the members of the Soweto Black Parents Association except its chairman, Dr. Manas Buthelezi, a Black religious leader.

The Black Parents Council is an umbrella coalition in Soweto and other cities that includes Black nationalist political groups like the South African Students Organization (SASO) and the Black Peoples Convention (BPC), community leaders, and "nonpolitical" organizations like the Young Women's Christian Association.

Many of the leading activists in the BPC and SASO had already been detained in an earlier series of arrests. According to *Africa* magazine, more than 3,000 persons were arrested following the initial rebellion in June.

In fact, Kruger's response to the demand that he and Vorster meet with Black leaders was to say that "most of them have been detained." Therefore, he said, "There is no one I could see."

The government also sent large numbers of police and troops into Black areas to try to intimidate the strikers.

Chombeau reported in the August 25 *Le Monde*: "The forces of order were on a war footing Sunday afternoon [August 22]. Small armored cars patrolled certain streets in Soweto. Shock brigades in camouflage uniforms, armed with automatic weapons, stood guard at the main crossroads and at all the entrances and exits of the 'townships,' as well as at the stations. In the city [Johannesburg], the exits of the stations reserved for Blacks and the main bus stops were also well guarded."

When the strike began on August 23, this force was used to attack the Black community. Chombeau reported that police fired on Blacks in the Orlando district of Soweto, killing one and wounding several others. Blacks were tear-gassed in the Phefeni area. Most of the attacks were against young people, including children.

On August 24, "police fired tear-gas into a Soweto house where five children, including an infant, had locked themselves after seeing a police car approaching," reported the August 25 London *Financial Times*.

The South African regime tried to divide the Black community and break the strike by using violent vigilante gangs of Black strikebreakers. Publicity over the clashes between Zulu strikebreakers and other Blacks has been used by the apartheid regime to divert attention from the impact of the general strike.

As early as the June rebellion in Soweto, the Vorster government attempted to explain away the upsurge by saying that it was the work of "tsotsis" (a Zulu term for thugs) and agitators, and that "responsible" Blacks should form vigilante units to stop them.

As the general strike approached, the police encouraged Soweto residents to form these gangs. Police officers announced that there would be no prosecution of Blacks who used clubs against the supporters of the strike.

The regime also tried to portray Black workers as having been "intimidated" into striking by radical youths.

There are indications of deliberate government provocations to encourage such tactics. Ashford of the *London Times* reports that pamphlets threatening the homes of strikebreakers were seen in Johannesburg.

Unlike all other leaflets and pamphlets calling for the strike, which were anonymous, Ashford described the threatening pamphlets as "purportedly coming from the African National Council (ANC)."

The ANC is a nationalist group that was banned in the early 1960s. The press has not reported any other statements by the ANC, either from within South Africa or from its leadership in exile, taking credit for such actions in the current upsurge.

In fact, it would be highly unusual for any banned organization to take that type of step in its own name, given the repressive nature of South African laws.

Ashford added that "there were few outward signs of intimidation and that many blacks had not seen the threatening pamphlets."

Most reports from Black sources inside Soweto indicate that stories of intimidation were false or exaggerated. In the August 25 *Washington Post*, David Ottaway reported that a Black journalist "who lives in Soweto, denied there was much intimidation used to keep Africans away from their jobs and spoke of 'white police intimidation' instead."

South African English-language white newspapers called the strike an "intimidatory stay-away campaign," while the Black Johannesburg newspaper, *The World*, called the strike a "non-violent stay-at-home."

"On the whole," Ashford commented in the August 25 *London Times*, "the mass protest has been noteworthy for its lack of violence. . . ."

On the first day of the strike, he reported, "One black journalist who spent the morning and early afternoon in Soweto saw no attempts to dissuade people from going to work. Unlike the previous outbreak of unrest earlier this month, no road blocks were set up and the students who were then out on the streets were today absent."

Graham Hatton of the *London Financial Times* indicated the extent of "intimidation" on the opening day of the strike: "At railway stations, groups of children were telling isolated groups of people who were going to the stations not to board trains."

The police were successful in involving over a thousand workers in attacks on supporters of the demonstrations. They were migrant workers from the Zulu Bantustan, housed in barracks-like "hostels" for single men.

The apartheid regime has tried to separate different African nationalities from each other so as to increase "tribal" frictions. Black migrant workers from the Bantustans are housed in separate barracks not only to isolate them from workers from other African peoples, but also to separate them from the permanent, and generally more politically conscious, Black population in areas like Soweto.

Although the South African regime has tried to create the impression that the

fighting was between Zulus and other Blacks, in reality the strife was between a relatively small number of Zulu workers and the general Soweto population, a large part of which is of Zulu origin.

The fighting began on the evening of August 24, when club-wielding vigilantes escorting the strikebreakers back into Soweto were surrounded by angry crowds of demonstrators. John F. Burns reported in the August 25 *New York Times* that these Zulu workers then returned to their hostel, "collected weapons, and set out after the demonstrators, killing at least four and possibly seven" that evening.

Although the government and press tried to make the vigilante groups appear to be a spontaneous response to the burning of their hostel (an incident that took place after the first killings), it quickly became clear that they were organized and prompted by the South African police.

One reporter said he heard a Black cop tell these workers to eat and drink well so they could "kill on a full stomach," a dispatch in the August 27 *Christian Science Monitor* reported.

Nat Serache, a reporter for the *Rand Daily Mail* of Johannesburg, hid in a coal bin in the Zulu hostel and overheard a policeman giving the following orders to the strikebreakers: "If you damage houses, you will force us to take action to prevent you. . . . You have been ordered to kill only the troublemakers."

By their own actions, the police-organized gangs showed that it was the working masses of Soweto who were seen as the "troublemakers." The gangs launched a general attack against the

mass of the township's population.

A dispatch in the *New York Daily News* of August 26, reported that Black witnesses, "said the Zulus charged through the dusty streets of Soweto, kicking down doors of private homes, hacking at residents and their guests with knives and in some cases dragging young women off to hostels."

John Burns reported in the August 25 *New York Times*, "A resident of the area, Moffat Mokaga, was quoted as having said that mothers clutching infants were struck down as they ran from their homes trying to escape the Zulu attackers."

The Zulus were so violent that the South African police turned on them toward the end of the strike. Twenty-one people were killed in fighting between them and other Blacks, according to officials.

As during the June rebellion, the only thing that the Vorster regime has offered is to meet with a small group of leaders deemed "responsible" because of their positions in the apartheid system's "Bantu councils." The government rejected the demands of even these "responsible" Blacks to include arrested Black leaders such as ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who has been imprisoned since the early 1960s.

The regime may grant a few more concessions as it did following the initial rebellion. It may also try to minimize the problem by blaming a small handful of "troublemakers." But the Soweto strike was a major step forward for the oppressed Black majority in South Africa.

The power of the Black proletariat shown in the Soweto general strike, on a South Africa-wide level, can be used to overthrow the whole system of apartheid.

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The Verdict: 'A Shameless Frame-up'

A Statement on the Slanders Circulated by the Healy Group Against Hansen, Novack, and the Socialist Workers Party

[The signers of the following statement represent a rather wide range of tendencies in the left. Some belong to no organized formation but are strong advocates of free and honest dialogue among working-class organizations and are veteran battlers against the introduction of frame-up methods. Others represent groups or organizations holding similar views on this question whatever their special political points of view may be. All of them are familiar with the Trotskyist movement; many are acquainted personally with Joseph Hansen and George Novack, and know the record of the Socialist Workers party, although they may disagree with its positions on a number of issues.

[Among the signers are five former secretaries or guards to Leon Trotsky: Chris Andrews, Jake Cooper, Raya Dunayevskaya, Sara (Weber) Jacobs, and V.T. O'Brien. Another secretary, Jean van Heijenoort, who was with Trotsky in Turkey, France, Norway, and Mexico, made a separate statement, which is published below.

[Vsevolod Volkov, the grandson of Leon Trotsky, is among the signers. Also Marguerite Bonnet, a close friend of Natalia Sedoff, who was named European executor of Trotsky's literary estate.

[Internationally known Trotskyists of various tendencies and affiliations who signed the statement include Tariq Ali, Pierre Frank, Alain Krivine, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, Nahuel Moreno, Jack Barnes, Hugo Blanco, Connie Harris, Peng Shu-tse, Mary-Alice Waters, Arlette Laguiller, Michel Rodinson, Pierre Lambert, Betty Hamilton, and James Robertson.

[A number of veteran leaders and militants of the SWP going back to the thirties and earlier signed the statement, including Milton Alvin, George Breitman, Anne Chester, Harry de Boer, Farrell Dobbs, Max Geldman, Karolyn Kerry, Tom Kerry, Marvel Scholl, Art Sharon, and Augusta Trainor.

[Arne Swabeck, one of the founders of the American Communist party and of the Trotskyist movement, added his signature, as did Jack (Weber) Jacobs, Morris Stein, Murry Weiss and Myra Tanner Weiss. Charles Curtiss, another old timer, who worked with Trotsky in Mexico, submitted a statement of his own.

[Also to be noted among the signers is Ken Coates of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Tamara Deutscher, Daniel Guérin, and Ralph Schoenman.

[C.L.R. James submitted an individual statement.

[Statements by the Tendence Marxiste Révolutionnaire Internationale (TMRI—International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency) and the Bulletin Group are also printed.]

For almost a year the Workers Revolutionary party, the British group headed by Gerry Healy, has conducted a vicious slander campaign against the Socialist Workers party of the United States and two of its veteran leaders, Joseph Hansen and George Novack. Healy and his followers in various countries have published articles and pamphlets, held public meetings, and distributed leaflets and posters accusing both men of "criminal negligence" in Trotsky's assassination and of being "accomplices of the GPU," alleging that they have covered up crimes of the Soviet secret police and shielded its agents.

They also insinuate that Hansen colluded with the FBI. By implication their charges likewise dishonor James P. Cannon, founder of the American Trotskyist movement, as well as Trotsky himself and his son Sedov.

Healy and his associates have not brought forward the slightest probative evidence, documents, or testimony to substantiate their libelous accusations against Hansen and Novack, the nominal targets of the attacks. The script of their polemics is fabricated out of baseless innuendoes, gratuitous suppositions and outright lies that do not have any political content or foundation in fact. They constitute a shameless frame-up.

The specific allegations have been exposed and refuted point by point in articles by various organizations and individuals printed in *Intercontinental Press* which can be consulted for extensive information.

The records of Hansen and Novack as political figures, writers, and editors are well known to us and many others the world over. Both have been continuously active for more than forty years as prominent members of the American Trotskyist movement and supporters of the Fourth International. It is especially odious that they have been singled out and falsely accused of aiding Stalin's assassins, since they devoted themselves to protecting Trotsky's life during his last exile in Mexico.

The signers of this statement feel obliged to speak out in defense of Hansen and Novack and the Socialist Workers party against the smear campaign impugning their integrity.

But there is more to the matter than that. We are concerned about the practice of such disruptive methods in the workers movement. They are not new. The Mensheviks maintained that Lenin was a paid agent of the Kaiser. Later Stalin accused Trotsky of being an agent of the Gestapo. Marxists and civil libertarians have from the first repudiated these frame-up techniques employed by the Stalinists against their political opponents and critics. Anyone else who resorts to them must be opposed. Otherwise the struggle for socialism, which includes the honest presentation of conflicting views, becomes discredited.

We call upon the leaders of the Workers Revolutionary party and their followers to cease their scurrilous attacks. They discredit the authors, not the accused. We further ask others who share our position that frame-ups have no place in the socialist movement to add their voice of protest and public condemnation to ours.

Argentina

Mario González (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores)
D. Marcelo (Manifiesto Obrero)
Nahuel Moreno (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores)

Australia

Phil Griffiths (International Socialists)
Dave Holmes (Socialist Workers party)
Juanita Keig (Socialist Workers party)
Bill Logan (Spartacist League)
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Louis Sinclair
Harry Wicks
David Yaffe (for the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Group)

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William White
Art Young (League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière)

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Pierre Lambert (Organisation Communiste Internationaliste)
Michel Rodinson (Lutte Ouvrière)
Pierre Rousset (Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire)

Gérard Vergeat (Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire)

Germany

Herwart Achterberg (Gruppe Internationale Marxisten)
Jakob Moneta
Winfried Wolf (Gruppe Internationale Marxisten)

Greece

Giannis Felekis (Organization of Communist Internationalists)

Iceland

Már Gudmundsson (Fylking Byltingarsinnadra Kommúnista)

India

Dr. A.R. Desai
Magan Desai (Communist League)

Iran

Javad Sadeeg
Cyrus Paydar (Sattar League)

Ireland

Dermot Whelan

Israel

J. Taut (League of Revolutionary Communists)

Italy

Livio Maitan (Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari)

Luxembourg

Robert Mertzig (Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire)

Mexico

Manuel Aguilar Mora (Liga Comunista Internacionalista)
Luciano Galicia S.
Jaime González (Liga Socialista [Fracción Bolchevique-Leninista])
Roberto Martínez Aveleira
César Nicolás Molina
Cristina Rivas (Liga Socialista [Fracción Bolchevique-Leninista])
Vsevolod Volkof

New Zealand

George Fyson (Socialist Action League)
Russell Johnson (Socialist Action League)
Keith Locke (Socialist Action League)

Peru

Hugo Blanco (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores)

Portugal

Paulo Mendes (Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores)

Antônio Sá Leal (Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores)
José Sintra (Grupos de Ação Socialista)

Spain

Manuel (for the Political Bureau, Liga Comunista Revolucionaria/Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna-VI)
Mélan (for the Political Bureau, Liga Comunista)

Sri Lanka

Edmund Samarakkody (Revolutionary Workers party)
Bala Tampoe (Revolutionary Marxist party)

Sweden

Kjell Östberg (Kommunistiska Arbetarförbundet)

Switzerland

Charles-André Udry (Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire)

United States

Milton Alvin (Socialist Workers party)
Charles Andrews (Trotskyist Organizing Committee)
Chris Andrews
Jack Barnes (Socialist Workers party)
George Breitman (Socialist Workers party)
Peter Camejo (Socialist Workers party)
Anne Chester (Socialist Workers party)
Jake Cooper (Socialist Workers party)
Lillian Curtiss (Socialist Workers party)
Clifton DeBerry (Socialist Workers party)
Harry de Boer (Socialist Workers party)
Farrell Dobbs (Socialist Workers party)
Margaret R. Dullea
Robert D. Dullea



Charles Ostrofsky/Militant

GEORGE NOVACK

Raya Dunayevskaya (National Chairwoman, News & Letters Committees)
V. Raymond Dunne
Nancy Fields (Socialist Workers party)
Hugh Fredricks (Trotskyist Organizing Committee)
Max Geldman (Socialist Workers party)
Albert Glotzer
Fred Halstead (Socialist Workers party)
Allan Hansen (Socialist Workers party)
Reba Hansen (Socialist Workers party)
Gus Horowitz (Socialist Workers party)
Jack (Weber) Jacobs
Sara (Weber) Jacobs
Karolyn Kerry (Socialist Workers party)
Tom Kerry (Socialist Workers party)
Bruce Landau (Revolutionary Marxist Committee)

Frank Lovell (Socialist Workers party)
V.T. O'Brien
Earl Owens (Trotskyist Organizing Committee)
Evelyn Reed (Socialist Workers party)
James Robertson (for the International Executive Committee of the international Spartacist tendency)
Grace Saunders
Ralph Schoenman
Marvel Scholl (Socialist Workers party)
Art Sharon (Socialist Workers party)
Ed Shaw (Socialist Workers party)
Barry Sheppard (Socialist Workers party)
Paul N. Siegel
Morris Stein
Elizabeth Stone (Socialist Workers party)
Arne Swabeck
Tony Thomas (Socialist Workers party)
Augusta M. Trainor (Socialist Workers party)
Harry Turner (Trotskyist Organizing Committee)
Mary-Alice Waters (Socialist Workers party)
Murry Weiss
Myra Tanner Weiss
Tim Wohlforth (Socialist Workers party)
Milton Zaslow (Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee)

Venezuela

Andrés (Liga Socialista)
Antonio (Liga Socialista)
Carlos (Liga Socialista)
Daniel (Liga Socialista)
Eva (Liga Socialista)
Juan (Liga Socialista)
Orieta (Liga Socialista)
Ulises (Liga Socialista)

Charles Curtiss Condemns Frame-up

April 22, 1976

More than four decades have passed since I first met Joe and Reba Hansen, originally in Salt Lake City, they as recent adherents to the Trotskyist sector of the socialist movement, and I as a footloose organizer, a "veteran" of several years of activism. I spent days under their hospitable roof, I shared meals with them, they provided me with a bed. I came to know Joe's family and Joe and Reba's circle of friends. Joe and Reba won his teenage brothers to Trotskyism, and convinced many of their friends to take places in the Trotskyist ranks. By events through more than 40 years, years that tested the firmness and dedication of socialists, I was able to appraise these two persons, we then young and now gray. My original estimate has not changed, despite divergences in our paths: they were and are dedicated and incorruptible socialists. One is embar-

Sara (Weber) Jacobs Recalls A Conversation With Trotsky

[Sara (Weber) Jacobs served as a Russian-language secretary to Leon Trotsky during his exile in Turkey, and again in Mexico, and was a close friend of Natalia Sedoff. Jack (Weber) Jacobs was an old-timer in the American Trotskyist movement.]

We are naturally outraged by the venomous, malicious attacks against Joseph Hansen and George Novack, both in leading positions in the SWP, of involvement with the GPU,—and all that thirty six years after the assassination of Leon Trotsky by a GPU assassin.

It is almost impossible to untangle the web of lies, prevarication and confusion which the "accusation" contains. It so

happens that Sara personally can offer testimony on an occurrence which would have seemed impossible of proof. It concerns Joseph Hansen's meetings with the so-called "John" of the GPU.

One evening, L.D., Natalia Sedova and Sara were in a car being driven by Hansen through a crowded section of Mexico City. In lowered voice, apparently pursuing a previous conversation, L.D. told Hansen (I do not recall the exact words, but I recall the sense vividly) that he thought that Joe should pursue his "contact" with the GPU man who had approached him (later identified as "John") to see what would develop further.

Sara and Jack (Weber) Jacobs

passed to even have to make this testimonial and sickened to have to refute the gross charge or despicable insinuation that Joe was an agent of the KGB or FBI—or both!

I can personally testify to the confidence that Trotsky placed in Joe. As is known, Trotsky lived day by day; each dawn marked one more day of reprieve from Stalin's, or reaction's, inexorable sentence of death. Given Trotsky's trust in Joe, given Joe's innumerable opportunities, were he a KGB agent, to execute the death sentence swiftly and safely, and given, in contrast, the manner and circumstance in which the death-dealing pickaxe descended, any of those days in which Trotsky survived could have been Trotsky's day of death, were Joe in the service of the KGB, long before the actual murder. The charge against Joe is as illogical as it is repulsive.

My knowledge of George Novack is as long if not quite so close as my knowledge of Joe and Reba Hansen, but all I have witnessed and observed of Novack would lead me to hold the same opinion of him as of Joe and Reba.

The bringing to an end the entire history of class exploitation and bureaucratic totalitarianism is a formidable endeavor, as is the construction of a new socialist world, the fostering of compassionate, free and thoughtful men and women, out of the debris of the old. In this effort there have been and will continue to be great debates and differences as to course, program and means. This is inevitable and salutary. We are striving for an entirely new, clean, classless epoch, and to accomplish that requires all the clarity we can receive from debate. But to inject into these differences calumnies and other methods reeking of the most desperate and degenerate of the defenders and beneficiaries of the societies of exploitation and privilege is destructive. Such means do not educate, slanders and lies do not clarify and invigorate but obscure and dishearten; such methods can cripple and destroy people by suspicion, above all precious "seed" people, so needed for motivating and enthusing the great majority for international socialism.

Charles Curtiss

Statement by Bala Tampoe

We are of the view that the allegation that comrades Hansen and Novack were or are "accomplices of the GPU" is not merely due to "some obsession" or "madness" or "paranoia" on the part of Healy. We are strongly of the view that the slanders are deliberately intended to serve a political purpose, just as in the case of the Stalinist slanders of Trotsky and Trotskyists.

Ready to Participate in Jury of Honor

[The following letter and resolution state the position taken by the Tendance Marxiste Révolutionnaire Internationale. The leading figure in the TMRI is Michel Pablo.]

Paris
April 7, 1976

Socialist Workers Party

Dear Comrades,

The International Secretariat, at its meeting of March 27-28, 1976, voted unanimously, with the exception of Comrade Vereeken, for the following resolution, which we are enclosing.

With our revolutionary greetings,
Bureau of the International
Secretariat of the TMRI

Resolution

The International Secretariat of the Tendance Marxiste Révolutionnaire Internationale [TMRI—International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency], at its meeting of March 27-28, 1976, rejected the irresponsible accusations launched by the Healy tendency against Comrades Hansen and Novack of the Socialist Workers party.

It states that in case these comrades ask that a Jury of Honor be set up on this affair, the TMRI is ready to participate in it.

It thus considers it likewise necessary to express its disagreement with the public position taken on this question by its Belgian section. □

Jean van Heijenoort's Opinion

[The following interview with Jean van Heijenoort was obtained by George Weissman on June 15, 1976.

[Van Heijenoort served as a secretary to Trotsky in Turkey, France, Norway, and Mexico.]

* * *

Question. You have seen some of the material published by the Healyite press attacking the SWP and in particular Joseph Hansen and George Novack; for example, the booklet *Security* and the Fourth International. Have you formed any opinion about the accuracy or merit of the contents of these charges?

Answer. I would like to talk first about things which concern me directly and which I know very well and which are alluded to in the booklet, namely the coming of Zborowski to the United States. As a matter of fact, I did not help Zborowski to come to the United States, on the question of a visa and so forth. But I might have very well, if the occasion had arisen.

He was considered a comrade in the organization. He had been trusted by Sedov and Trotsky. Even when these two were alive, they dismissed the charges against him, and nothing more concrete had been presented since then.

So, as a matter of fact, I didn't do anything to bring him to the States, but if I had had the occasion, I would have done it very well as for any other comrade in the organization.

Now, as for the relations between Zborowski and the SWP, there were none practically. There was a small group of European émigrés, French and other nationalities, in New York. We were

perhaps eight or ten, and Zborowski was one of them. I was acting as a kind of secretary for that group. And I would maintain the connection with the SWP. I would very often meet SWP members, but the other members of the group, on the whole, did not have contact with the SWP. I saw somewhere in the booklet that there were SWP meetings in Zborowski's apartment on the West Side. That's absurd. It just does not correspond at all to the actual situation.

Then some point is made that I was International Secretary of the Fourth International at that time and that Zborowski had access to a lot of information. Well, that's false too. It's true that I was International Secretary at that time. But my work as International Secretary was kept quite separate from my work as secretary, or organizer, of that small émigré group. These were two entirely different things.

Q. Since the publication of that booklet by the American Healyites, their press has begun another series of articles on the same subject strongly attacking, among other things, George Novack because he was on a committee during the war years which helped political refugees in France to come to the United States; and among those so helped was the GPU agent Etienne (Zborowski). What is your opinion of the merit of this charge against Novack?

A. First of all I don't consider that a charge. I don't have any recollection one way or another whether Novack had anything to do with the visa and affidavits for Etienne. But in a sense, it was his duty,

namely Novack's duty, to get refugees out of France.

And let us imagine, for instance, the following hypothetical situation—that Trotsky had been alive after the fall of France and I had been with him in Mexico. Then I can very well imagine that Trotsky would have asked me to approach the Mexican authorities and get a visa for Zborowski out of Europe. It's the kind of thing I did in 1938 and 1939 for Czech refugees and that would have been totally in place at that time. So I really don't see that a fact like that, if it is a fact, can be brought against Novack. The whole story is absurd.

Q. I understand that you have written, or are just now completing, a book of memoirs about your years with Natalia and Leon Trotsky. In it do you give any description or evaluation of the character and trustworthiness of Joseph Hansen and George Novack?

A. Yes. I have a few months more of work. I hope by the end of the year the writing will be over. Of course I speak about many things in that book, but one of them is the relationship between Trotsky and the secretaries and other people around him, and one of these people is Joe Hansen.

I must say that the relations between Trotsky and Hansen were the best, and with time, they always improved. Trotsky had respect and affection for Joe Hansen, for his firmness and stable character, and I don't recall any incident that would reflect against Joe in any way. The relations were really the best that one could imagine, which was not the case with everybody else. I think Joe was one of those which were most successful as a secretary with Trotsky.

Q. What would be your reaction, then, to the charges by Healy that Joe Hansen was criminally negligent in the events surrounding the assassination of Leon Trotsky and that he is in some way to be considered an accomplice of the GPU and a possible accomplice of the FBI?

A. As to the motivations of Healy I don't know anything at all. From what I have seen so far and from what I know, of course, there is no content at all. It is a huge hue and cry about nothing.

A number of authentic and interesting documents are reproduced. And there they

are. And then after that comes some kind of wild commentaries, unconnected with the documents. The whole thing is absurd to me. If Healy has some specific facts, he should present them. But so far I have not seen any such facts.

Q. On the security of the Trotsky household, do you think that greater vigilance or preparation on the part just of the secretaries and guards could have saved Trotsky's life? Didn't a great deal depend on the attitude of the Mexican government and its police in addition to what the guards could do? And in general what is your opinion of the responsibility of the guards in this assassination?

A. Of course when we look back we can always say, "Ah, well, if we had known . . ." or "If we had done this or that . . ." But one must realize what the situation was. It was a few people, which could be counted on the fingers of one hand, trying to protect the life of one man against attacks coming from the government of a big country which had at its disposal an unlimited supply of men, money, and technical means.

And I remember very well, in those sleepless nights of watch on Prinkipo, that I did not have illusions in the effectiveness of our guard. We gave our time, our attention, our efforts, but without much illusion as to their effectiveness. If one attempt could not succeed one way, the next would be tried in another way. The means against us were unlimited.

Of course we can always regret—and I'm sure Natalia regretted not to have seen more in Mercader—and Trotsky himself, for that matter. We can always regret that more was not done. But that's not the same thing as accusing specific persons of specific negligence.

Q. In regard to the accuracy of the booklet Security and the Fourth International, you had a comment to make about the photograph that appears on page 66.

A. Yes. With all the accumulation of documents by Healy (not written by him; he just put them together), some are interesting, of course, and it is nice to read them. But I feel there is not a deep understanding by Healy himself of what he is doing. For instance, on page 66 there is a picture which according to the caption is supposed to represent Mercader with his Mexican lawyer.

Now, "Mercader" is not Mercader in that picture; it's really the French lawyer for Trotsky, Gérard Rosenthal. And the person in the center which is supposed to be the Mexican lawyer of Mercader is in fact Leon Sedov. The whole thing is absurd. And it betrays a complete lack of understanding of what is being done. □

Statement of 'Bulletin Group'

The "Bulletin Group", which consists of the supporters in Britain of the Organising Committee for the Re-Construction of the Fourth International, condemns the dishonest campaign in which the Workers' Revolutionary Party, under the inspiration of G. Healy, on the pretext of "investigating" the murder of Trotsky by the G.P.U. in 1940, is devoting substantial resources to an attempt to represent Comrades Joe Hansen and George Novack, of the Socialist Workers Party (U.S.A.) as "accomplices of the G.P.U."

This campaign has been eagerly seized upon by the bourgeoisie and its press, to which the W.R.P. took it, to discredit Trotskyism.

The "Bulletin Group" expresses its solidarity with Comrades Hansen and Novack, and rejects the demagogic proposal of the Healy-ites for an "enquiry" into the conduct of these comrades, who have already conclusively dealt with the content of Healy's attempts to frame them up. The "Bulletin Group" declares that this campaign is a manifestation of the degeneration of the W.R.P., which, having broken from Trotskyism, comes into ever-sharper conflict with the historic movement towards the re-construction of the Fourth International, and increasingly endangers that movement.

The "Bulletin Group" declares that the W.R.P. finds itself obliged deliberately to undertake this dishonest campaign, because it feels the necessity for yet more desperate efforts to divert any militants whom it may be able to influence, whether inside or outside its ranks, from studying objectively the historical and theoretical questions which confront them, questions which the W.R.P. has shown itself unable to answer and to the discussion of which it has shown that it has nothing useful to contribute.

August 21, 1976

Opinion of C.L.R. James

[C.L.R. James is the author of *The Black Jacobins*, *World Revolution*, and other works.]

I want to say that I knew and worked with Joseph Hansen and George Novack for a length of time during which I had every opportunity of forming an opinion of their political and personal conduct. The idea that they have at any time been in contact with or in any way associated with the G.P.U. is utterly false and a dangerous political fabrication. I am most certain of that because of the reputation of the leaders of the organization which accuses them.

C.L.R. James

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Dublin Government Seeks Emergency Powers

By Gerry Foley

The Cosgrave government in Dublin announced August 25 that it would ask the Irish parliament to declare a state of emergency when the body reconvenes August 31. The same day, the proimperialist coalition cabinet began circulating proposals for new repressive laws to members of the assembly. Under a state of emergency, the constitution is suspended and laws are no longer subject to the test of constitutionality in the courts.

According to a dispatch from Jonathan Harsch in the August 26 *Christian Science Monitor*, the Dublin government is asking for the right to jail for ten years "anyone inciting or inviting support of the IRA—an offense which could apply to sympathizers who collect money or sell pro-IRA literature." It also wants to be able to jail for twenty years anyone found guilty of "usurpation of the functions of government or obstruction of government by force of arms or intimidation."

Jury trials for political cases were abolished in May 1972 by government decree. On December 2, 1972, the Special Powers (Amendment) Act eliminated the usual rules of evidence. Sentences are handed down by three-judge tribunals. The word of a police officer that he believes a person is a member of the IRA is considered sufficient evidence for conviction. Up until now, these courts have been empowered to decree two-year sentences for membership in the IRA. The government wants to raise this to seven years.

The Cosgrave government is also calling for sentences of ten years against the political leaders of the republican movement, as well as fifteen years for anyone "participating in an unauthorized military exercise."

The recommended new legislation would also give powers of search and arrest directly to the neocolonialist army.

Compared to the call for empowering special tribunals to hand down harsh sentences for very broadly defined political offenses on no more evidence than the word of police officers, the recommendation for increasing the period of detention on suspicion from two to seven days might seem relatively unimportant. Actually, it has grave implications. This measure increases the time police have to extort confessions by torture.

In April, the Dublin government's police got a number of successive detention orders against Osgur Breathnach, the editor of the *Starry Plough*, the monthly newspaper of the Irish Republican Socialist party. They were trying to force him to

"admit" involvement in a train robbery. When he was finally released, he showed obvious signs of torture.

Torture has reportedly become standard operating procedure in the neocolonialist part of Ireland.

"Allegations of torture and brutality by the Gardaí [police] have come so thick and fast in recent months that few are able any longer to dismiss them as mere propaganda," Eamonn McCann wrote in the July 16, 1976, issue of the Dublin liberal fortnightly *Hibernia*. This was especially true, he noted, "since the *Sunday Independent's* Vincent Browne drew from a semantically-minded member of the Dublin 'interrogation squad' the explanation that their treatment of prisoners could not be described as torture because 'we do use instruments.'"

Ironically, publication of the European Commission on Human Rights report on the use of torture by British forces against internees in Northern Ireland came only a few days after the Dublin government's new step toward institutionalizing such practices in its own territory. It was the Dublin government itself that brought the Northern Ireland case to the commission.

In the August 28 *New York Times*, correspondent Peter T. Kilborn summarized the commission's findings:

"The Ulster police were taught five new interrogation techniques at a special seminar at Belfast in April 1971 [internment was introduced August 9], which the paper said were 'designed to cause severe mental and physical stress.'

"The techniques were said to have consisted of forcing prisoners to stand against a wall with legs spread apart for long periods, tying hoods on them, subjecting them to continuous banging noises, depriving them of sleep and denying them adequate diets."

Similar techniques, along with more traditional police goon methods, were used against three men arrested in Dublin's territory in connection with the May 20 shooting of a British police employee in a border county tavern.

The testimony of one of these three suspects, John Little, was reported in the *Hibernia* article by Eamonn McCann. Little was arrested at 2 p.m. on May 22 and not released until 1 p.m. on May 24.

"At no time during this period was I allowed to rest . . . My boots were taken off and I was forced to go barefoot. I was forced to strip to the waist and pushed about. I was spreadeagled against a wall

for long periods of time. My feet were trampled on. I was beaten on the back, chest, face and arms. My feet were twisted, my legs were twisted. I was half choked. I was forced down on hands and knees and kicked on the backside. My arms were twisted behind my back. I was spat upon."

Another one of the three arrested, Patrick Rehill, claimed that he was charged with being a member of the IRA "to keep me in prison where my body could not bear witness nor my tongue testimony to the tortures I had undergone." Rehill was accused by police of being a member of the Provisional IRA, although he offered to accept bail, taking an attitude that McCann noted was "in contradiction of standard Provo attitudes."

According to McCann, courts in Dublin's jurisdiction have been refusing to rule inadmissible "confessions" by defendants when the persons making such statements have denounced them as extorted by torture.

The new escalation of repressive legislation in the formally independent part of Ireland has been described in the bourgeois press in Britain and the U.S. as a reaction to the assassination of the British ambassador to Ireland, Christopher T.E. Ewart-Biggs on July 21. The Provisional republican movement has been accused of responsibility for this action, and a number of its leaders were arrested, including Ruairi O Bradaigh, the president of Provisional Sinn Féin, the Provisional republicans' political organization.

The day the government's new legislation plans were announced, eight Provisional republicans were arrested in connection with their participating in a banned republican demonstration, held on the anniversary of the Easter 1916 uprising in whose name the Dublin government claims the right to rule Ireland. More than 10,000 persons took part in this demonstration, including a leading member of the Irish Labour party, David Thornley, who was there to protest the denial of civil rights by the ban. One of those arrested was described in the August 25 *London Times* as "the manager of a republican paper."

Although the Provisionals traditionally take responsibility for their actions, they did not claim the Ewart-Biggs assassination. The bourgeois press in Ireland, Britain, and the U.S. speculated that a "splinter group" might be involved. It is true that a campaign of small-scale commando actions such as the Provisionals have been waging is difficult by its nature

to control. But in various truces with the British in Northern Ireland the Provo leadership has demonstrated that it has considerable authority over its followers.

The fact is that there are many refugees in the formally independent part of Ireland, driven from the North by police terror, who might have thought they had something to fear from Ewart-Biggs. He was appointed to the Dublin post following acceptance of the "common law enforcement area" plan by the neocolonialist government. According to this scheme, "crimes" committed in the North can be prosecuted in the neocolonialist area.

On the day Ewart-Biggs was assassinated, *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Weinraub wrote: "Because of his background—he served in Manila, Algiers and Brussels and was a specialist on Arab affairs—Mr. Ewart-Biggs was reported to have been linked to the British intelligence establishment, and his appointment here was seen as part of a forceful effort to counter the activities of the I.R.A."

Weinraub noted that "Mr. Ewart-Biggs's appointment had delighted the [neocolonialist] Government because 'traditionally Dublin has been a retirement post and Ewart-Biggs was a heavy weight, the first one we've had in a long time.'" The top British official in Northern Ireland, Permanent Under Secretary of State Brian Cubbon, was in the ambassador's car when it ran over a land mine on a road outside Dublin. He was seriously injured but not killed.

The assassination came in the context of more and more British incursions across the border to arrest republican suspects. For example, on July 12 a British snatch squad grabbed an Irish businessman on the formally independent side of the border.

The man seized, Patrick Mooney, was doing some business with a warehouse owner, while his wife and three children stayed in his car. While he was talking, a car sped across the border. Four men carrying pistols rushed toward Mooney. In the July 14 *Irish Times*, Fionnuala O Connor reported what happened next:

"Mrs. Mooney had been looking around for somewhere to buy potato crisps for her children. She saw a second car pull in and counted at least half-a-dozen men in all, in sweaters and slacks, all carrying guns . . . 'They pushed my husband and another man against the wall of a shed and put guns to their heads.' . . .

"She saw her husband held for a few minutes against the wall with his legs kicked apart, then saw him taken with a gun to his head across the road and across the Border."

Mooney was then taken to the British army's Bessbrook barracks by helicopter. After he was released, he described what happened. O Connor reported:

"He was put into the helicopter first, told to lie face down, and Mr. Burns [another captive] was forced to lie on top of him. Mr.

Mooney held on firmly to what seemed to be a seat belt for the whole journey—two seats in front of him and two soldiers behind with their feet under him.

"Mr. Mooney's legs, from the knees, stuck out of the helicopter into the air. In the air, about ten minutes later, Mr. Mooney felt Mr. Burns being jerked towards the door. The soldiers seemed to be 'having a bit of fun' and told Mr. Burns three or four times that they were going to throw him out."

The British government in Northern Ireland has apparently been escalating its repression in harmony with the moves down South, despite the complaints of Orange politicians, after announcement of the state of emergency plans, that Dublin is now showing more "determination" than London.

On June 17, the *Irish Times* reported complaints by three Belfast men, Peter Hands, Frankie McAlorum, and Jim Scullion. The first two presented their case in a news conference organized by the Northern Ireland Official Republican Clubs. They were accused of involvement in the assassination of a policeman in Belfast, an action claimed by the Provisionals. (Relations between Officials and Provisionals are notoriously bad.)

One of the three said that he had been driven to the verge of suicide. "Mr. Hands, who was said to be vice-chairman of the housing action group in his area, was in a distressed condition throughout the interview and found difficulty in speaking.

"On the Thursday night they made me stand on a chair with a hood over my head. I found them putting a rope around my neck. Then one of them kicked the chair away and everything went blank. When I came around they were all around me, slapping me."

"He said that after this he could take no more and later that night he made an attempt to slash his wrists with a plastic knife he found lying on the ground. Afterwards he made the statement admitting the murder 'to get them to leave me alone. I just could take no more.'"

Escalating repression North and South has been running into more opposition, as shown, among other things, by the Provisional Easter march and the outcry over the torturing of IRSP members. The official opposition party, Fianna Fáil, the historically more anti-imperialist bourgeois party in the formally independent part of Ireland, has indicated that it would make at least token objections to some parts of Cosgrave's proposals.

However, Fianna Fáil will certainly not put up much of a fight unless there is organized mass opposition, independent of the bourgeois parties.

So far, however, the antirepression movement has been rather ineffective. Among the most important reasons for this are the sectarianism of the larger left and anti-imperialist groups, as well as the political weaknesses and illusions of the

Provisional republicans. The Irish labor movement has also tended to be narrowly syndicalist, avoiding general political questions.

The majority of the Irish people do not want to be thrown into confrontation with the power of British imperialism and the fanatical Protestant settler caste by sections of small armed groups. They have to be educated and organized to realize their own power and use it. Spectacular commando-group actions of the Provisionals and other groups interfere with this. Furthermore, the republicans traditionally tend to regard antirepression movements as a "propaganda arm," depriving them of the independence and breadth they need to be effective.

However, the anti-imperialist movement now has to face a new situation. The current escalation of repression is not just a continuation of the repression that has been endemic since the British-imposed "compromise" ending the war of independence. The world economic crisis is rapidly destroying the basis of stability in Ireland, and the imperialists and the Irish and settler bourgeoisie will have to resort more and more to the methods of rule used in other colonial countries.

Emigration, which drained off the "surplus" work force and concealed underdevelopment, is being choked off by high unemployment in Britain and the other English-speaking countries. The feeble attempts to industrialize behind tariff barriers were abandoned several years ago. The influx of imperialist investment attracted by marginal factors, such as proximity to European markets, somewhat lower wages than elsewhere in the general area, as well as state subsidies, failed to make any fundamental changes and is now declining.

In the past three years, according to a study in the August 25 *London Times*, the formally independent part of Ireland has lost 57,000 jobs out of 200,000 in the manufacturing sector, while only 50,000 have been created. However, "the best estimates suggest that there will need to be a net increase of 30,000 jobs a year to wipe out structural unemployment by 1986." No economist believes the Irish government and bourgeoisie can come anywhere near to this. So, in the coming years, the Irish rulers will face a growing layer of youth with no future, the same force that has fueled revolutionary mass movements elsewhere in the underdeveloped world.

In fact, it is unlikely that such draconian "antiterrorist" laws are aimed only at stamping out the increasingly aimless Provisional guerrilla campaign. The Irish bourgeoisie has longer-term plans.

The fight against these repressive schemes can be decisive for the future of the anti-imperialist and labor movements in a country that seems certain to become a point of more and more acute weakness in the capitalist order in Europe. □

Law of Uneven and Combined Development and Latin America

By George Novack

[The following is a response to David Romagnolo's article, "The So-Called Law of Uneven and Combined Development," which appeared in the Spring 1975 issue of *Latin American Perspectives*, a quarterly journal published in California by Latin Americanist scholars. At the time, Romagnolo was a graduate student of history at the University of California, Irvine. Novack's article appeared in the Spring 1976 issue of the same journal.]

* * *

David Romagnolo makes two main criticisms of the law of uneven and combined development. First, it supposedly disregards the leading principle of historical materialism that the mode of production determines the nature of a social formation. It thereby bases itself upon the superficial peculiarities, the exceptional features, of historical development instead of its general and fundamental ones. Second, the law of uneven and combined development focuses on exchange rather than productive relations, thus lapsing into the errors of the vulgar bourgeois economists.

Neither contention is factually correct. The law of uneven and combined development proceeds from the premise that the mode of production, constituted by the level of the productive forces and the corresponding relations of production, is the underlying determinant in all social structures and historical processes. Nor does the law subordinate the relations of production to exchange relations, although it recognizes that in the generalized commodity relations intrinsic to capitalism exchange relations have far greater importance than in pre-capitalist societies where the sale and purchase of products is economically marginal.

However, these two elementary Marxist principles only provide the points of departure and serve as guidelines for analyzing historically developed social formations in their full concreteness. With their aid it is necessary to go forward and explain why a particular mode of production manifests itself in such different ways and develops to such disparate degrees under different circumstances. How is it, as Marx pointed out, that "the same economic basis" shows "infinite variations and gradations of appearance?" This can be ascertained, he tells us, "only by analysis of the empirically given circumstances." In this case we must ask: what

empirical circumstances account for the variations and gradations of appearance of the modes of production in Latin America after its conquest and colonization?

The law of uneven and combined development formulates the general reason, the underlying causes, for the differential growth of a given mode of production within a concrete social formation. It may grow normally, like nineteenth century British capitalism, or in stunted fashion like feudal relations in the North American English colonies, or luxuriantly, like slavery in Brazil. The specific nature and level of its development depends upon the environing conditions and influences.

A mode of production does not come into the world, or a continental part of it, ready-made and fully fledged; it goes through a complex course of evolution from start to finish. In the process of origination, expansion, disintegration and destruction its relations with other modes of production of an inferior or superior order have a great deal to do with the rate, extent and quality of its own development. They mold its special characteristics. These distinctive features arising from its actual career in life are incorporated into the structure of the social formation and cannot be separated from it or ignored in defining or assessing its real nature.

The principal issue of historical theory in the so-called "dependency debate" is: what caused the relative backwardness of Latin America with all the fateful consequences of its underdevelopment? Collaterally, why have the Latin American bourgeoisies had so feeble and stunted a development, and played so limited a progressive role, compared with their North American and Western European counterparts?

The law of uneven and combined development can help clarify these problems along the following lines. Up to the sixteenth century the Old World and the New, cut off from each other, experienced very different paths of development which placed them on different levels. The maritime powers of Western Europe were passing over from feudalism to capitalism at a time when the original inhabitants of the Americas were still far behind them. This immense disparity in their grades of development predetermined the predominance of the one over the other and shaped the further destinies of Latin America from the conquest to the present day.

Romagnolo insists that "the focus of

historical materialism is upon internal development, while that of the law of uneven and combined development [is] upon external relationships" (1975:18). Such a rigid dichotomy between internal and external relationships is unwarranted for the era of capitalist expansion which unfolded on a world-wide scale. It is most inappropriate in connection with the development of Latin America in post-Columbian times when external forces directed by the Iberians invaded the continent, subjugated and plundered its inhabitants, and radically altered previous economic and social relationships. The collision and conjunction of their modes of life and labor set an indelible stamp upon the whole of Latin America.

The new and higher relations that the Spanish and Portuguese introduced into the Western hemisphere from Mexico to Chile did not evolve organically out of the preexisting social order, as in Western Europe, where the rising bourgeois forces flourished to the point where they demanded a higher form of social economy and political regime. To the contrary, commercial capital penetrated by various channels into the New World as its representatives broke up the ancient communal institutions and reconstructed human relations in hitherto unknown ways. For instance, the cities as trading centers did not grow out of the countryside as in Western Europe but were independently founded by the commercial colonizers under the patronage of the crown whence a nascent creole bourgeoisie proceeded to change rural life.

The law of uneven and combined development operates with special force and can be most relevantly applied to such periods of transition when old conditions are being uprooted and transformed, or deformed, and new ones are in the formative stage.

Romagnolo writes: "The extension of commodity circulation can provide an impetus to the development of a mode of production but does not initiate a change in the form of social production. The internal contradictions of the mode of production do not emanate from the 'fortuitous combination of elements,' i.e., externally; rather, they are inherent in the social form of production and characterize the essential relationship between the forces of production and the social relations of production" (p. 18).

This categorical assertion skips over the fact that before a mode of production can function in accord with its own immanent

laws, it must be brought into being. Chattel slave, feudal and capitalist relations, along with other institutions, customs and values of civilization, did not exist in the New World until they were imported from overseas. The commodity circulation of the world market and the lust for precious metals that propelled the Spaniards and Portuguese westward in the first place did far more than "give an impetus" to the existing form of social production; it implanted and fostered all the characteristic modes of class exploitation in Latin America except mechanized industry. Whether slavemasters or feudalists, its mine owners, entrepreneur planters and ranchers produced and sold commodities for the world market. The precious metals extracted by forced labor promoted the formation, circulation and accumulation of capital abroad.

Rosa Luxemburg stated in *The Accumulation of Capital*: "Capital, impelled to appropriate productive forces for purposes of exploitation, ransacks the whole world; it procures its means of production from all corners of the earth, seizing them, if necessary by force, from all levels of civilization and from all forms of society."¹ Capitalist accumulation in all its stages has depended to one or another extent upon access to means of production and subsistence produced under precapitalist or noncapitalist conditions. In doing so, it annexes precapitalist forms of production as tributaries to its economic operations. Brazilian sugar earlier played the same role in this respect as Southern cotton cultivated by slaves and Russian wheat raised by serfs.

Indeed, the Brazilian plantations, which had a precocious growth as the world's chief exporter of sugar, provide an impressive case of uneven and combined development. Their predominance imposed an extreme lopsidedness upon the economy during the colonial period.

The crop was cultivated and processed by slaves, the most primitive kind of extensive agricultural labor. While the sugar barons directly profited from the surplus labor of their workforce, their type of operation was not the same as the classical slavery based upon a natural economy. It was a commercialized slavery which originated and developed as an offshoot of the capitalist world market.

Although the plantation (*fazenda*) was a self-sustaining, isolated production unit outside the money economy, where the opulent landowning families disported themselves like lords and ladies on the backs of their slaves, it was geared into the vast machinery of commerce. The labor supply came not from the local Indians but, as in the Caribbean, from African

traders who dealt in slaves as a commodity.

The sugar mills required a sizeable capital investment. The luxury staple was marketed by monopolistic companies, carried on Portuguese ships alone, sold in Portugal and exchanged for goods from the mother country. Consequently, unlike the Spanish towns, the few underdeveloped seaboard centers were little more than places for the transshipment of goods.

This symbiosis of slave production with international commerce gave a combined character to the Brazilian economy. It resulted from and embodied the mutual penetration of factors belonging to two different historical species: slavery, which was characteristic of the first stage of class society, and the market and monetary relations that were ushering in its climactic capitalist form.

Of course, once Black slavery was established on a large scale (six to eight million slaves were brought into the colony from the late sixteenth to the early nineteenth century), it was actuated by its own internal laws. But this mode of production, beset by a twofold contradiction, had a twin-motored dynamic. Its development was regulated not only by its own momentum but even more by outside conditions and forces. The export economies were not self-determined but shaped and misshaped by the social division of labor bound up with the centralized imperial system and have to be analyzed and appraised in their organic connection with the money economy of the world market.

This linkup was evidenced in the cyclical pattern of Brazilian trade, the "boom and bust" cycles expressed in the rise and decline of the sugar crop and other commodities such as lumber, precious metals, cotton, and later, rubber and coffee, which depended upon the fluctuations in foreign demand and the competitive conditions in the world market. The expansion and contraction of these branches of production have been responsible for its one-sided, backward and dependent development.

The distortions of Latin America's economic and social development under the pressures of the world market and domination by foreign forces is one of the prime peculiarities of its history from which the continent suffers to the present day. The subordinate role clamped upon Latin America as a supplier of raw materials and foodstuffs in the international capitalist division of labor enabled the more advanced metropolitan powers to exploit and rule over its peoples, first under the colonial system and later through the more refined methods of monopoly capitalism.

This unevenness manifested itself, in Latin America as in other parts of the colonialized world, in the emergence and endurance of a broad spectrum of com-

bined forms in which precapitalist relations of one kind or another were fused with capitalist relations. In this way the various precapitalist modes of production were conscripted to serve the demands and interests of the monied men overseas and at home. In the transitional period from the dominance of one mode of production to the maturity of its displacement by another, Romagnolo does not allow for the existence of such mixed modes with contradictory characteristics that give a peculiar twist to the social structure of a country.

Two of the articles in the same issue of *Latin American Perspectives* pinpoint successive stages in the process of combination. The first step whereby institutions of a lower and weaker order were subjected to the influence of a higher and more powerful one is described in the paper by Karen Spalding on the reorganization of social relations in Peru under the Spanish colonial rulers.² The *ayllu*, the ancient unit of the Inca community based on kinship, was transmuted when the Andean population was relocated and concentrated into villages controlled by representatives of the Spanish authorities. Although the Indians retained the right of using the land, it became the legal property of the Spanish state.

Here the traditional kinship form of social life with its communal possession was subordinated to the rule of the exploiters and oppressors who exacted tribute from the people. The old communal possession was amalgamated with the new state property in a servile formation under the impulsion of the European exchange economy. Even more brutal was the parcelling out of the Indians to the proprietors of the *encomiendas* who exacted forced labor from them.

The prevalence of subsequent combined formations is excellently documented by Kyle Steenland in his "Notes on Feudalism and Capitalism in Chile and Latin America."³ He distinguishes four stages in the economic development of post-conquest Chile: (1) the direct enslavement of the native population; (2) the growth of semifeudal relations of production; (3) the appearance of wage-labor toward the end of the nineteenth century with agriculture remaining semifeudal; (4) the dominance of capitalist relations from the 1930s on. In none of these stages did the Chilean economy have a fully capitalist or a purely precapitalist character. It was, he pointed out, a composite, a singular mixture, of one and the other. While agriculture and

2. Karen Spalding, "Hacienda-Village Relations in Andean Society to 1830," *Latin American Perspectives*, Spring 1975, pp. 107-121.

3. Kyle Steenland, "Notes on Feudalism and Capitalism in Chile and Latin America," *Latin American Perspectives*, Spring 1975, pp. 49-58.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

1. Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1964), p. 358.

mining, the main sectors of production and sources of wealth, were carried on under servile or feudal conditions, these branches of the economy were hooked into commercial capitalist relations that were responsible for their rise or decline, as happened with the Brazilian sugar crop. The precapitalist forms of labor ministered to the needs of the world market dominated by merchant capital.

Steenland poses the problem very clearly when he writes: "... one cannot define as capitalist an economy which produces predominantly for the market but in which labor is not free. . . . On the other hand, it is clear that an economy which produces for the market, in which the main goal of the landowners or farmer is commodity exchange, cannot be called feudal."⁴ The solution to this contradictory situation is to acknowledge that Chile during this period was "semifeudal," he says. That is, its economy blended precapitalist productive relations with commodity ties to the local and world market.

That is correct. The Chilean economy did not have a homogeneous but a heterogeneous nature. It was, in fact, a combined formation in which primitive features were synthetically unified with more advanced ones.

When Romagnolo criticizes the law of uneven and combined development for focusing on exchange rather than productive relations, he fails to understand the peculiar and decisive feature of the colonial period in Latin America—and of the era of commercial capitalism as such. Under the colonial system the backward countries were exploited by their metropolitan masters precisely through "the external relations of exchange and commerce" that they instituted and operated for their benefit. The Board of Trade in London that monopolized the commerce of the British colonies for the crown government, exciting the North American War of Independence, had its counterpart in the Trade House at Seville which regulated foreign trade even more strictly.

Romagnolo faults the law of uneven and combined development for implying that "the capitalist mode of exploitation can take place, it would seem, under any conditions of production, be they capitalist or precapitalist" (p. 20). His irony is misplaced. He talks as though industrial production is the exclusive method of exploitation available to the capitalist. This is not so. Money lending and merchant capital employ the method of exploitation characteristic of capital without engaging in the distinctive capitalist mode of production. Wage-labor is the essential mode of extracting surplus value from the work force in a matured capitalism. But even under monopoly capitalism the work-

er can be exploited not only as a producer but as a consumer through installment loans from the money lender. Here the primary exploitation in the production process is supplemented by the secondary exploitation of the usurer.

Romagnolo forgets that, on top of the direct exploitation of one class by another, there exists the economic, political, military and cultural domination of one country—and even one continent—by another. These two types of exploitation are inseparably united under the colonial system and its imperialist successor. Before the capitalists arrived at their own mode of technical production based on mechanized industry, the bankers, merchants and manufacturers of the more advanced powers practiced diverse methods of extorting wealth from the backward peoples of the earth. Marx describes these ways and means in *Capital* under the heading of "The So-Called Primitive Accumulation."⁵

The Old World enriched itself at the expense of the New not only by direct exploitation through the process of production but indirectly through state and commercial relations. The globe was divided into oppressive and exploitative powers and oppressed and exploited nations. The maintenance of feudal relations in Latin America on its export plantations was indispensable both for the accumulation of international capital and the prosperity of the native landowners. These conjoined ruling class necessities have held the continent in their grip for centuries.

It is strange that Romagnolo objects to the application of the law of uneven and combined development to Latin America when he admits the possibility of the "simultaneous presence of more than one mode of production" (p. 15), and says that "backward Russia [was] characterized by a combination of semifeudal and capitalist relations" (p. 12). When two qualitatively different sets of economic relations com-

ingle, as they did in Czarist Russia and Latin America, they constitute a combined formation.

Romagnolo does not deny the presence of uneven development; structural inequality is all too obvious. He further admits the possibility of combined formations. However, he refuses to take the next logical step of putting the two historical phenomena together in their necessary correlation. That is what the law of uneven and combined development does.

* * *

There is an excess of abstraction and a dearth of concreteness in his strictures on the law of uneven and combined development. This is not excusable even in discussion of theoretical and methodological questions. The method of historical materialism yields the most fruitful results, not from constant reiteration of its formulas, but when these general truths are wedded to the concrete realities of history. While Marxism approaches the particular through the general, it simultaneously views the general in and through its specific embodiments in the given facts.

Both the generality and the particularity of the real historical process are embraced in the law of uneven and combined development. Far from negating or denying any of the principles of historical materialism, this law has enriched and extended them by theoretically explaining the wealth of variety in the concrete and changing expressions of any given mode of production. The same economic system has multiform manifestations, not a uniform course of evolution. Romagnolo could extricate himself from his one-sided outlook if he resorted to this law in considering the course of the economic and social development of Latin America since the sixteenth century, instead of misunderstanding and misinterpreting it in the manner of Maoism. □

Carlos Urrutia, Editor of 'Marka,' Jailed in Peru

Carlos Urrutia, editor of the Peruvian weekly newsmagazine *Marka*, was arrested in Lima August 17 by the political police. As of August 23, he had not been charged with any crime.

The arrest took place the same day that the Lima daily *Expreso* published a letter by Urrutia answering the regime's attempt to justify the recent shutdown of a number of independent publications, including *Marka*. Before its suppression, *Marka* had been noted for its extensive coverage of the plight of political prisoners.

In the letter Urrutia said, "The government has closed down twelve magazines, thrown into the streets hundreds of work-

ers who lent their services to those publications, almost bankrupted the news companies that depended on the sale of the now-banned magazines, and persecuted the journalists, including searching their homes—all for the single crime of expressing their dissenting positions with regard to the policies of the government."

It is feared that Urrutia may be deported or jailed in the notorious El Sepa prison in the Peruvian Amazon. *Marka* has issued an international appeal, asking that messages demanding Urrutia's release be sent to President Francisco Morales Bermúdez, Government House, Lima, Peru. □

5. Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. I (New York: International Publishers, 1967), part VIII.

The New Economic Upturn

By David Frankel

From the point of view of industrial production and corporate profits, the worldwide slump of 1974-75 is clearly over, at least for the main imperialist countries. By May of this year, according to a study by the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, output in the major imperialist economies was about where it was before the 1974 downturn.

A summary of the situation in Western Europe was given by Clyde H. Farnsworth in the July 23 *New York Times*. "The output graphs in Economics Ministries across Western Europe are all showing a comforting upward curve," he said. "Bankers and businessmen are talking a little more optimistically about future profits."

Industrial output in Britain was up 4% in May from a year earlier. France and West Germany scored year-to-year gains of 7.8% and 2% in the first quarter, while in Italy industrial production in April was up 6% over the previous year.

In Japan, the government's mining and manufacturing index posted increases of 8.5% in January, 12.2% in February, and 15.9% in March, compared with the same months last year. Tracy Dahlby reported in the June 25 *Far Eastern Economic Review* that "Japan's 500 leading manufacturers reported a three-fold increase in profits in the six months to March, with most of this occurring in January-March, according to Sumitomo Bank. Sumitomo is also predicting a 30% gain in corporate profit during the April-September period. . . ."

The upturn in the United States began about six months earlier than in most

other countries, with the real gross national product increasing in each of the last five quarters. At the end of June the real GNP stood at \$1,260 billion (measured in constant 1972 dollars), the highest point in history, and an increase of 8.5% in the last fifteen months. (See chart.) Industrial output increased at an annual rate of 12% in the first quarter of 1976, and of 7.5% in the second quarter.

Not only was the American economy the first to bounce back from the downturn, but—at least as of the first quarter—it was also climbing faster than the other main imperialist economies. The following are the estimates given by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the Argus Research Corporation for the rate of growth of the American economy in 1976 compared to some of its rivals:

	Argus	OECD
United States	7.4%	7.0%
West Germany	5.7%	6.0%
Britain	1.5%	2.5%
France	6.7%	5.5%
Italy	2.5%	2.0%
Japan	6.0%	5.5%

American imperialism has been aided in relation to its foreign rivals by a lower rate of inflation relative to them. The OECD recently estimated that of its twenty-four members—including all of the world's imperialist countries—the United States had the third-lowest rate of inflation, after West Germany and Switzerland. This helps the American capitalists compete for a bigger share of the world market, because ultimately inflation must be reflected in the prices of exports.

The Ford administration has attempted to regulate inflation by holding back the pace of the recovery—thereby keeping unemployment high. In June, U.S. unemployment stood at 7.5%, according to government figures, and in July it climbed to 7.8%. Unemployment is now above the February level of 7.6%, despite the growth in the American economy since then.

Even going by the official figures, which do not count millions of workers who have given up looking for jobs, unemployed workers in the United States account for more than half of the fourteen million out of work in the twenty-four countries of the OECD. (See chart.)

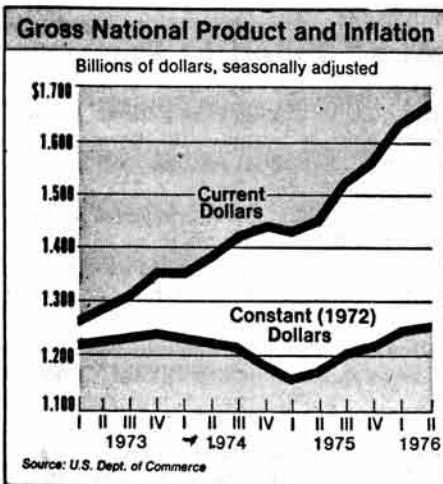
The ability of American imperialism to maintain high unemployment rates is inextricably tied to the oppression of the Black and Hispanic populations within the

Adjusted unemployment rates in selected OECD countries: % of total labour force, seasonally adjusted

Half-year	1975		1976
	I	II	I
US	8.3	8.3	7.5
Canada	6.9	7.1	6.8
UK	3.9	5.2	5.5
Spain	3.6	4.5	4.9 ^a
Australia	4.0	4.5	—
France	3.9	4.1	4.2
W. Germany	3.5	3.8	3.9
Italy	3.5	3.7	3.6 ^a
Finland	1.8	2.7	3.0
Japan	1.9	2.2	2.1
Norway	2.1	2.5	2.0
Sweden	1.7	1.7	1.6
Total ^b	5.0	5.3	5.0 ^c

(a) January. (b) Representing about 90% of total OECD. (c) Assuming no change for Australia

The Economist



New York Times

United States. Black unemployment is double that of whites, and among Black teen-agers unemployment in June was officially estimated at 40.3%. According to the Urban League, a Black civil rights group with ties to the American business community, unemployment among Black teen-agers is actually over 60%.

The strength of the recovery in the United States compared to the other imperialist powers is rooted in the across-the-board attack on the wages of American workers and the offensive in world trade and finance launched with the Nixon administration's "New Economic Policy" in August 1971.

The *Wall Street Journal* reported July 26 that major union contracts negotiated in the second quarter of 1976 "called for average first-year wage increases of 8.2%, trailing the first quarter's 8.8% and the 10.2% rise for contracts reached throughout 1975.

"Over the life of contracts negotiated in the second quarter, wages will increase an average of 6.6% a year, compared with the first quarter's 7.4% average and the 7.8% for all 1975."

Wages and benefits of American workers, measured in inflated dollars, increased 48% between 1970 and the middle of 1975. This compares to 162% in France, 116% in

Britain, 213% in Japan, and 167% in West Germany. Another measure of the success of the employer offensive is the fact that *real wages in the United States remain lower today than they were in 1965.*

The contrast between declining wage increases and soaring profits was indicated by the second-quarter earnings of the American Telegraph and Telephone Company and General Motors. They posted the first and second-highest quarterly profits in American business history. A.T.&T. raked in \$939.7 million, while G.M. posted a 173% increase in profits over its second quarter of 1975—\$909 million.

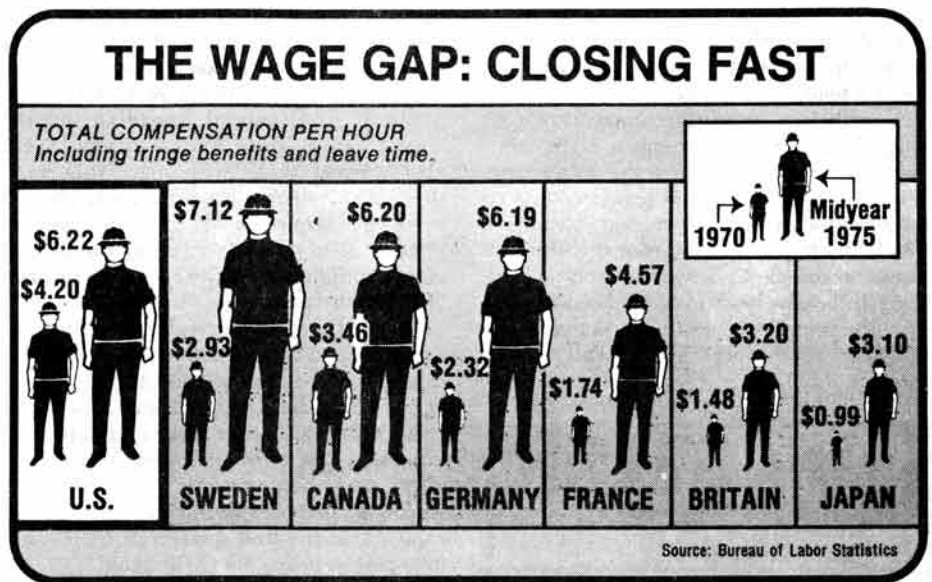
An indication of the success of U.S. imperialism in weakening the position of American workers is the accelerated influx of foreign investment into the United States. Between 1972 and 1976 this investment more than doubled. (See chart.)

Newsweek magazine reported July 12:

For some companies, in fact, the U.S. is now a cheap labor market. BASF [a West German chemical firm] says it spends \$10 an hour in total labor compensation at its German chemical plants and only \$8.63 at its U.S. facilities. Adds a top official of Hoechst: "We can produce chemical fiber more cheaply in South Carolina than in the lowest cost region in all of Germany."

Foreign companies also like certain American labor practices: they can lay off workers during business slumps more easily than they can at home. And many firms are especially attracted to the American South, where right-to-work laws and weak union activity result in lower total labor costs. It is widely assumed in France, for instance, that François Michelin—who has managed to keep unions out of his tire plants at home—picked South Carolina for a new facility because he could run a non-union shop there, too.

The strength of the American economic recovery compared to that of the other



Fenga & Freyer/Newsweek

imperialist powers has been reflected in renewed confidence in the U.S. dollar and in the profitability of American industry. This is paralleled by the sharp drop in the price of gold, from almost \$200 an ounce in December 1974 to the neighborhood of \$110 an ounce in July. Investors want to cash in on the increased profits being generated by the recovery.

"In fact," *Business Week* pointed out April 19, "the recent behavior of gold suggests a new investment rule for those who may be interested in it: Sell gold when the economic power of the U.S. is on the rise, and buy it when the U.S. is on the decline."

Similarly, sharp currency fluctuations have been caused by the unevenness in the rate of economic recovery between different imperialist countries. The flight from the British pound is the most spectacular case. From \$2.40 in the spring of 1975 it sank to a low of \$1.71 in June—a drop of nearly 30%.

A New Round of Inflation?

Along with its unevenness, there are additional weaknesses in the economic recovery that the capitalists themselves have pointed out. To begin with, there is the constant danger that inflation will get out of control again.

Inflation remains at dangerously high levels in Italy, Britain, Japan, and France. (See chart.) In Spain, consumer prices in April were 16.2% above those of a year earlier, and the following month prices soared by 4.6%.

Emile Van Lennup, the secretary general of the OECD, recently warned that the recovery "could easily degenerate into a new inflationary boom, leading quite probably to a new worldwide recession in 1977 and 1978."

An even more dismal view was given in

the July 3 issue of *The Economist*. The lead article in the business section pointed out that "the world's seven leading capitalist economies are already nine months into a more violent recovery than the 18 month boom in 1972-73 which caused so much trouble. . . . Cyclically, the equivalent point in the last cycle was early 1972." The *Economist* pointed to the following comparisons:

- Today, four of the seven big countries have inflation rates (latest figures compared with 12 months earlier) of 9-12%; two, Britain and Italy, of 15-17%; and one, Germany, of 5%. In early 1972 all were within spitting distance of 5%.
- Total unemployment in the seven countries is now just under 12½%. In early 1972 it was just under 8½%.
- Commodity prices (*The Economist* dollar index) rose 28% in the twelve months to June, 1976; just about equal to the 29% rise in the twelve months to June, 1972.
- In 1972 governments (Italy apart) were running budget deficits—on an internationally comparable basis—of ½-1½% of gnp to counter recession. Now they are running deficits equal to 3-7% of gnp. True, the slump is more severe, but deficits will not be easily eliminated.

Therefore, the article concludes, "Despite pleadings, exhortations, warnings and meetings, the seven major capitalist countries are less well prepared today than they were three years ago for a sustained and durable expansion. . . ."

"Most . . . countries are still assuming that the high unemployment will stop a resurgence of inflation. It probably won't."

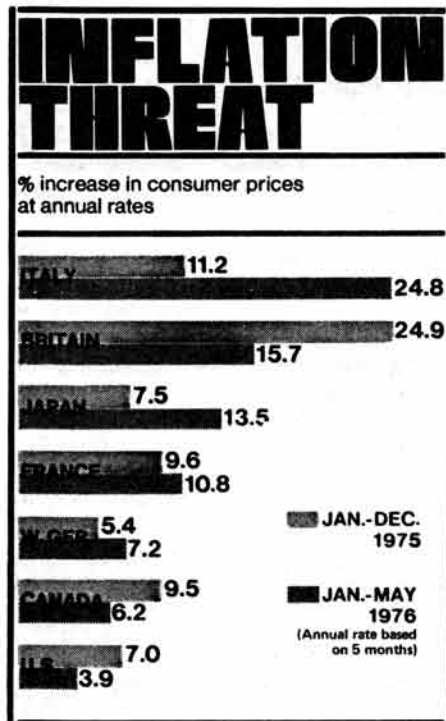
Of course, as the *Economist* article points out in passing, the severity of the 1974-75 downturn sets a different context today than was the case early in 1972. Economic indicators that read the same on paper may have an altogether different significance. For example, it is possible that the rise in commodity prices is largely speculative, based precisely on the expect-



Fenga & Freyer/Newsweek

tation that there will be a repeat of 1972. The fall in the price of gold and the overall decline in commodity prices in July and August tends to support this view.

Nevertheless, the inflationary threat is clear. Inflation has become a permanent feature of capitalism since the 1950s, and today it has reached the point where, as Felix Schultess, the chairman of the Swiss Credit Bank, put it, "Not even the severest recession of the postwar period" could bring inflation down to levels "compatible with the social and economic foundations of Western democracies." (*Wall Street Journal*, June 21.)



Time

There is another big unknown also remaining. Unless the capitalists make substantial new investments to expand productive capacity, the recovery will peter out.

In the American economy, which is leading the upturn, capital spending measured in constant dollars has not yet recovered even to the 1974 level. Housing starts, a crucial index for the massive American construction industry, are not much higher now than they were in October 1975. (See charts.)

In his July 23 article on the economic situation in Europe, Farnsworth reported, "The three major West German chemical companies—Bayer, Hoechst and BASF—all see clear improvement in profits this year, an optimism that is shared by the Rhone-Poulenc chemical giant in France and Imperial Chemical Industries in Britain.

"But very few companies plan to increase capital spending. The chairman of Hoechst, Rolf Sammet, says spending this year will be concentrated on labor-

saving rather than capacity-generating projects, a point echoed by many other European corporate executives."

Business Week gave a more optimistic prognosis for capital spending in the United States in its August 2 issue, but it also warned that "with news this week that growth of real gross national product slackened considerably in the second quarter, it is clear that one of the largest clouds remaining on the economic horizon is sluggish capital spending."

Lack of capital investment can also result in heightened inflationary pressure if capacity is not expanded and shortages of some materials result. This happened in 1973 in the case of fertilizer and paper, for example. And a recent survey by the U.S. Commerce Department reported that American factories were running at 82% of capacity in the first quarter of 1976—only four points below the 1973 peak.

Investors and corporate executives are well aware of the risk if capital investment does not increase, but they all want someone else to do the investing. Ever-rising production costs coupled with the gnawing fear that any recovery will collapse before the new products can be profitably marketed have resulted in a profound reluctance among investors.

The Debt Balloon

In the current situation, this reluctance to invest is increased by the maintenance of high interest rates. The same lack of guarantees facing the industrial investor faces the banks providing the investment capital—and consequently the banks demand higher interest charges for the risk.

At the same time the costs of merely keeping the economy going have inevitably risen. In 1975, when business activity in the U.S. declined by \$24.6 billion as measured by the gross national product, the total of public and private debt soared by a massive \$228.5 billion. This pushed overall debt to a record level of nearly \$3 trillion!

The growing debt itself forces up interest rates. More and more money is owed to the banks relative to the amount of real wealth

being produced. Payment of interest and principal to the banks is threatened by the overextension of credit. The banks respond by raising their rates.

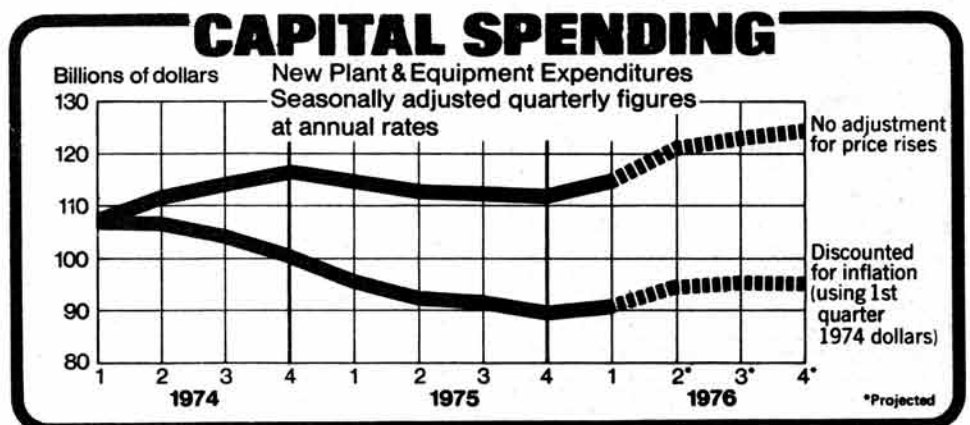
To make matters worse, there are other claimants on the banks whose demands will become all the more insatiable as the world crisis of capitalism deepens: semicolonial countries whose economies will be increasingly devastated by the oscillations of spiraling inflation and deep depression in the world capitalist market; municipalities within the imperialist bastions—like New York—where economic stagnation and racial oppression combine to create a whole new series of "fiscal problems"; and, importantly, as in the case of Britain and Italy, imperialist governments themselves.

The total foreign debt of the semicolonial countries is estimated at \$135 billion, with a growing proportion owed to private banks in a handful of major imperialist powers. These countries must continually borrow more money just to pay the interest on their outstanding debts.

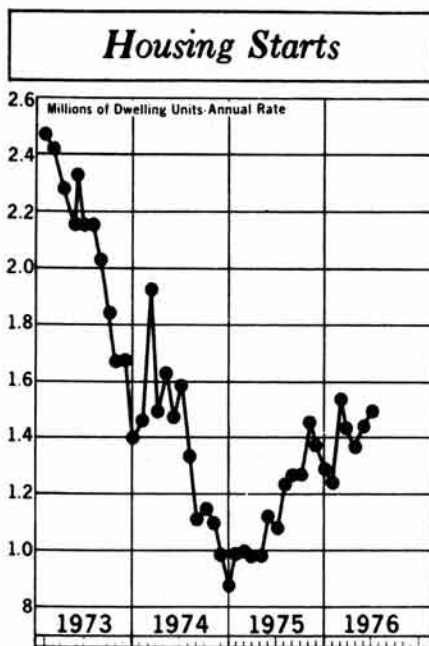
Peru, for example, has a foreign debt of \$3.7 billion. It had a balance-of-payments deficit of \$1.6 billion in 1975, and expects one of \$1.3 billion in 1976. A group of American banks are reportedly negotiating a new loan of \$150 to \$200 million to enable the regime to meet the repayment schedule on its debt.

The same vicious circle of borrowing at high interest to pay back earlier loans was at work in the New York City financial crisis. *Business Week* warned in a July 12 editorial that "... New York City's troubles are harbingers of a broader problem. Every major city in the U.S. is going to have serious financial distress in the next three to five years."

In fact, as the Italian and British capitalists have found out, not even the biggest imperialist governments are immune from the demands of the banks that loan them money. Thus, U.S. Treasury Secretary William Simon told an OECD meeting in Paris June 22 that "lenders will become increasingly reluctant to finance expanding current account deficits unless borrowing nations make



Time



Wall Street Journal

fundamental changes in their domestic economic policies."

One of Simon's underlings added that the British government would have to meet "rigorous conditions" if it wanted further loans.

On July 22 the Labour government in Britain announced that it would cut spending by £1 billion [\$1.78 billion]. Included in the package were cuts in unemployment benefits, in the building and maintenance of hospitals and schools, and in subsidies on housing. The cost of meals for schoolchildren, and charges for dental treatment and eyeglasses through the national health service were also raised. Unemployment in Britain stands at 6.3 percent, and thousands of additional workers will lose their jobs as a result of the cutbacks.

Defending this policy, the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* declared in its July 25 issue that "borrowing more money from anyone after the present stand-by credit runs out in October will be much more difficult if public spending is not cut. . . .

"A package of £1,000 millions cuts may seem devastating. . . . But it is probably not much more than a tenth of the borrowing requirement which the public sector will run next year."

In Britain, as elsewhere around the world, the policies needed to stimulate the economy and pull the country out of depression are coming into conflict with the policies needed to ensure financial stability—that is, the payment of interest to the banks.

The amelioration of the capitalist business cycle by means of a constantly increasing debt cannot indefinitely postpone the specter of a financial crash.

Nevertheless, at this point the American ruling class is feeling flush with the

profitable recovery and it is intensifying the antilabor offensive that has proved so successful up to now. The U.S. Supreme Court, for example, ruled June 24 that state and local governments are not bound by federal laws setting minimum wages and maximum hours. This ruling clears the way for further attacks on public employees in the United States.

Until they are stopped by the resistance of an aroused working class, the capitalists will continue to push wage increases and living standards down. The type of proposals currently gaining a hearing among the employers in the United States is illustrated by an editorial in the July 19 issue of *Business Week*. It took up the parsimonious U.S. Social Security system under the headline of "Promising too much."

"As the number of retirees increases in proportion to the number of workers," *Business Week* said, "the nation may have to rethink the idea of retirement at 65 and find ways to encourage workers to stay on the job."

A gauge of the progress of the antilabor offensive in the United States and around the world is the comparison of the recent major-power summits: Rambouillet, eight months ago, and Puerto Rico, in June.

Making the Workers Pay

At the Rambouillet economic summit conference in November 1975 most of the discussion was shrouded in secrecy. But as *Wall Street Journal* reporter Richard Janssen pointed out at the time, there was "reason to believe that the political leaders, and their economic advisers, have indeed decided to settle for less economic growth in the next few years, to quietly accept chronically higher unemployment in hopes of lower inflation, of avoiding booms-and-busts." (November 24, 1975.)

This policy was made explicit in June with the convocation of the Puerto Rico economic summit conference. There, the heads-of-state of the seven leading imperialist powers declared that their major economic concern was that recovery from the world depression would take place too rapidly.

"The clear implication of this strategy is that the West does not foresee a return to full employment until well into the 1980s," Bernard Nossiter said in the June 23 *Washington Post*.

"Since the end of the war," he added, "high unemployment has been regarded as the greatest danger, to be avoided at all costs. The heavy jobless rolls in France, Germany and Britain during the recent slump provoked fears for stability in these and other nations.

"But nothing has happened. No government appears to have paid a price. Politicians in industrial nations no longer perceive unemployment at the present level as a matter of overriding voter concern."

Special mention should be made of the reformist Social Democratic and Stalinist trade union leaders in this regard. While refusing to mobilize the ranks of the trade unions to fight unemployment, they have collaborated with governments and employers to hold wages down.

The situation in Germany, for example, was taken up in a dispatch by Alfred L. Malabre, Jr., in the May 12 *Wall Street Journal*.

"Germany's recovery is full of zing," says Arnold P. Simkin, a senior economist at Lionel D. Edie & Co., an investment research concern. . . . Corporate profits are particularly buoyant. "This year's profits are likely to jump," the analyst predicts, partly because "German unions accepted comparatively small wage increases this year."

German unions have agreed to a wage ceiling of 5.5%. An article in the July 26 issue of *Business Week* said, "Otmar Emminger, deputy governor of the Deutsche Bundesbank, Germany's central bank, ascribes his country's success largely to the fact that 'the unions take government policy explicitly into account in making their wage demands.'"

In Britain, the Trades Union Congress has agreed to a 4.5% limit on wage gains, even though inflation is running triple that rate. "Another unexpectedly bright spot" is Japan, according to Malabre, who hails "the moderation of the so-called spring labor offensive, in which the year's major wage increases are determined." Wage gains this year should average about 9%, he writes, down from last year's average of more than 13%.

It remains to be seen how long the imperialist rulers can get away with cutting wages and living standards before they provoke major class confrontations. □

47 Prisoners Released in Spain

In the two weeks following the August 4 enactment of an amnesty decree for political prisoners in Spain, forty-seven persons were freed. The decree had been painted up by the bourgeois press as one that would lead to the immediate release of hundreds of political prisoners.

Among those released were Jesús Fernández Naves, Manuel Olavarría, and Juan José Santisteban—three leaders of the two-month strike in Vitoria that ended March 3; Miguel Carret, Guillermo García Pons, and Antonio Caballero Tapia—accused of being members of banned organizations; Txomin Artetxe and Luis Amiano, Basque priests accused of involvement in the kidnapping of an industrialist; and several nationalists accused of activity in Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (Basque Nation and Freedom).

Although the precise number of political prisoners in Spain is not known, recently released labor leader Marcelino Camacho estimates there are at least 700 throughout the country.

OUT NOW!

Chapter 20

The First National Student Strike and the Split in SMC

By Fred Halstead

[Last of three parts]

In Chicago a demonstration of 7,000 April 27 was broken up by police without provocation. C. Clark Kissinger was chairman of the ad hoc committee of the Chicago Peace Council and other groups that organized the demonstration. From the beginning the city administration was hostile to the committee when it tried to negotiate permits. These were denied until the last minute when the crowd was gathering in Grant Park. Even so, the march was permitted in the street for only a brief distance and then was forced onto the sidewalks into smaller sections. After the first of these reached the civic center the cops attacked them, throwing some of the demonstrators into a reflecting pool. About eight demonstrators were arrested and many injured.

A detailed analysis of this affair was later published by an independent commission of distinguished citizens unconnected

With this chapter we continue the serialization of **Out Now!—A Participant's Account of the American Antiwar Movement** by Fred Halstead. Copyright © 1976 by the Anchor Foundation, Inc. All rights reserved. Printed by permission. To be published by Monad Press.

with the peace movement. It declared that "the police badly mishandled their task. Brutalizing demonstrators without provocation, they failed to live up to that difficult professionalism which we demand. Yet to place primary blame on the police would, in our view, be inappropriate. The April 27 stage had been prepared by the Mayor's [Richard J. Daley] designated officials weeks before. Administrative actions concerning the April 27 Parade were designed by City officials to communicate that 'these people have no right to demonstrate or express their views.' . . . The police were doing what the Mayor and Superintendent had clearly indicated was expected of them."²¹ It was a portent of things to come.

* * *

Martin Luther King, Jr., had agreed before his death to be the featured speaker at the April 27 demonstration in New York. Though only three weeks from her personal bereavement, Coretta King took her husband's place. She had always been, and would continue to be, a consistent antiwar activist. All the more significant was the view of the immediate future that she expressed that day.

21. *Dissent and Disorder*. A report to the Citizens of Chicago on the April 27 Peace Parade. August 1, 1968, pp. 30-31. The commission was funded by the Roger Baldwin Foundation, but was autonomous. Its members were: Warren Bacon, vice-president of Inland Steel; Dr. Edgar H. Chandler, executive director of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago; Earl B. Dickerson, president of the Supreme Life Insurance Co.; Monsignor John J. Egan, pastor of the Presentation Church; Dr. Joseph P. Evans of the University of Chicago medical school; Professor Harry Kalven, Jr., of the U. of C. law school; Rev. E. Spencer Parsons, dean of the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel; and Rabbi Edgar E. Siskin, president of the Chicago Board of Rabbis.

She pointed out that Martin had made his major address against the war in Vietnam only one year to the day before his death, and how he had been maligned for it. "Now one year later," she continued, "we see almost unbelievable results coming from all of our united efforts. Had we then suggested the possibility of two peace candidates as front-runners for the presidency of the United States, our sanity would certainly have been questioned.

"Yet, I need not trace for you how many of our hopes have been realized, in these twelve short months. Never in the history of this nation have the people been so forceful in reversing the policy of our government in regard to war. We are indeed on the threshold of a new day for the peacemakers. But just as conscientious action has reversed the tide of public opinion and government policy, we must now turn our attention and the soul force of the movement of people of good will to the problems of the poor here at home."²²

I wasn't any better at short-term prophecy than Coretta King was, though I had no confidence whatever in the government, in the "peace candidates," or in the pending negotiations. In my speech to the San Francisco rally I said:

"We are told that we can't get out of there now, that we have to negotiate and that we have to stay there because we've got to somehow shore up the Thieu-Ky regime so they can carry on the war themselves. . . .

"Now, we're supposed to expend GIs' lives to shore up that regime. Let me tell you that that's not exactly why they are expending GIs' lives. They are being expended to save face for some cheap politicians who first got us in there because they were sending the American military around the world to defend big business. And that's a very poor reason to lose 21,000 young men dead, and it's a very poor reason to kill all those Vietnamese.

"We don't own that country. And we never did. And we never will. And we shouldn't. It doesn't belong to us. And the fighting over there is not in our interest and it has absolutely nothing to do with the defense of this country. . . .

"And the way we're going to end this war: We don't have to wait till the election. And we shouldn't quit then either. But we don't have to wait until then necessarily. If we stay in the streets and if the GIs keep coming on demonstrations. And if we get out and talk to them, and if we talk to the young men that are facing the draft. And if we keep building that pressure, then we can stop the war. Not by trusting some other liberal Democratic or Republican politician. . . .

"Don't get fooled. Don't get sucked back into their structure. Stay independent. Stay in the streets. Build black power. Build brown power. Chicano power. Student power. High school student power. Independent political action. Labor power. . . . Keep building that independent power and we'll end this war and make this country a decent place to live in. And if that be revolution, make the most of it."²³

22. *Liberation*, April 1968.

23. The transcript of this speech was published by the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee under the title ". . . If that be revolution make the most of it." (Copy in author's files.) *The Militant* of May 10, 1968 published excerpts, leaving out the part about not necessarily having to wait until the elections for an end to the war. The editors, it seems, were less optimistic than I on that point.

The war was not to end for years and it would yet cost over twice as many lives as it had up to that point. The expectation that it would end soon, however, was widespread at the time, especially among antiwar leaders, and that was part of the basis for the severe crisis that hit the movement immediately after the spring actions.

* * *

The student strike and the April 27 demonstrations, especially in New York, were successful beyond expectations, and for those who favored mass actions the SMC had certainly proved its worth. Yet immediately after the actions, trouble developed within the SMC national office. Kipp Dawson, who was one of the national coordinators and on the national staff, recalls that the first sign of this was immediately after the demonstrations, when she suggested that the SMC hold a press conference the following Monday, to present a summary of the student strike.

"At the time," she says, "I thought of this as obvious and routine. We had always done something like that after a major action. But this time most of the others said no. Linda [Morse] said we couldn't do it because the press would ask what we planned next and we couldn't answer that. When I said we could at least say that another conference would be held in the near future to decide on future action, she said no, we couldn't do that because there was no agreement on what we should do. The SWP and YSA, she said, saw the SMC as a group for just organizing mass demonstrations and conferences to call them, and she said it had to be more than that."²⁴

On May 8, 1968, less than two weeks after the student strike, a meeting of the SMC working committee adopted the following motion:

"The staff shall be composed entirely of independents in order to relieve some major tensions in the office."²⁵

This excluded any member of a radical political organization from the SMC national staff. There were only three persons (out of about a dozen) on the staff at the time who were acknowledged members of radical political groups. Phyllis Kalb, who was a CPer, voted for the motion and immediately resigned from the staff. Syd Stapleton and Kipp Dawson, who were YSAers, voted against the motion, and were considered fired from the staff, though Dawson and Kalb remained SMC coordinators. Neither Dawson nor Stapleton had any prior notice that this motion was going to be raised at this meeting and they were shocked.

It was clear in the discussion that the reason for the motion was to get rid of Stapleton and Dawson. There was no accusation that they hadn't worked hard and efficiently. It was generally agreed that both had played key roles in building the mass actions and the strike. On the contrary, the accusation was that they were too effective, too hard-driving, and that they were carrying out YSA policy, not SMC policy. The two YSAers replied that there was no contradiction between YSA policy and SMC policy as adopted by the SMC conference, that they had never attempted to transform the SMC into a socialist group, or have it adopt or carry out the YSA's multi-issue program.

That, however, was just the problem. A majority of the others present—including the CPers and radical pacifists—thought it was high time the SMC did adopt a general multi-issue radical program, though they weren't too clear on what it should be. Kipp and Syd had opposed that. Considering the differences within the SMC, they felt that any such platform would be too nebulous to be meaningful and would mean abandoning opposition to the war in Vietnam as the SMC's central focus.

Shortly after the May 8 meeting, some informal discussions were held with non-SMCers in an attempt to mediate the dispute. Those present included radical pacifists Dave Dellinger and Eric Weinberger, and SWPers Harry Ring and myself. SMC staffers

Linda Morse, Irwin Gladstone, Brent Garren, and Jane Baum also participated as well as Dawson and Stapleton.

During these discussions it became clear that the blatant exclusionary motion was simply indefensible in a movement which had fought so hard for the principle of nonexclusion. Linda Morse declared that it was their intention to withdraw that motion, but insisted on the dismissal of Dawson and Stapleton. She and the other staffers, backed by Dellinger, insisted that it was a matter of personalities. They said they were not opposed to all YSAers being on the staff, but had to exclude Kipp and Syd because they were too "hard line," too "insensitive" to the feelings of the "independents." In this discussion they kept repeating how important personality and sensitivity were, and saying, now there's no problem with *you* (meaning Harry and me) or with Lew (meaning Lew Jones, who had previously been active in the SMC but was currently YSA national chairman). *Our* personalities, it seemed, were all right, but Kipp and Syd's were not.

Harry and I talked it over during a recess, and in our view what was involved here was a serious political difference which ought to be discussed out on the merits without chewing up people personally in the process. In an attempt to maneuver out of the bind they had gotten themselves into on the question of exclusion, Dellinger and Morse had put Kipp and Syd in the position of having their personalities attacked. Dave and Linda tried to be as gentle as possible about it, but Harry and I knew damn well this whole turn of events hurt Kipp and Syd personally. The problem was to get the dispute off that tack and to make it clear as possible that political differences were at issue.

So Harry and I threw the maneuver back. We told the others that we would suggest to Lew Jones that he seek a leave of absence as chairman of the YSA and, if that were possible, make himself available for the SMC staff.

If the working committee would clearly demonstrate its adherence to nonexclusion by rescinding the exclusionary motion, the resignation, and the firings, Kipp and Syd agreed they would withdraw voluntarily from the staff and be replaced by Lew Jones. It was fairly obvious the others didn't like this but in light of what they had just been saying they initially agreed to it. It was also agreed that Howard Petrick, the YSAer and antiwar GI who had just been kicked out of the army and was then on a speaking tour fighting for an honorable discharge, would also join the staff when he was available.

By the time of the May 16 working committee meeting, however, Morse had caucused with the majority on the working committee and they broke the agreement.

First a motion was put to "rescind last week's staff motion and to reaffirm the principle of non-exclusion and to specify that individual merit rather than political affiliation shall be the basis for hiring and firing of staff."²⁶ This passed unanimously.

Then another motion was put to "accept Phyllis Kalb's resignation from the staff and to dismiss Kipp Dawson and Syd Stapleton from the staff." This passed seventeen to six. Those voting in favor included most of the staff and the representatives from Hunter College, New York University, CCNY (later City University of New York), New York High School SMC, the Resistance, the War Resisters League, the Workshop in Nonviolence, and the Communist Party.

Those opposed were Dawson and Stapleton, Martha Harris of the staff, and the representatives from Columbia University, the SWP, and the YSA.

This vote, essentially reaffirming the exclusionary policy adopted May 8, was the key action of the May 16 meeting. The rest was anticlimax. A motion to hire Lew Jones was defeated, in spite of his impeccable personality, by fourteen to seven, with two abstentions. The essence of the issue, at least, was considerably clarified.

The May 16 meeting also passed a motion to hire Howard Petrick "because of his general ability and his particular

24. Letter from Kipp Dawson to the author, May 15, 1976.

25. Minutes, SMC working committee, May 8, 1968. (Copy in author's files.)

26. Minutes, SMC working committee, May 16, 1968. (Copy in author's files.)

experience in organizing GIs." But he wasn't immediately available anyway. In a letter to Linda Morse, Petrick commented:

"How could you expect me to function as window-dressing for a grouping that has introduced political discrimination and exclusionism into the antiwar movement? . . .

"I wasn't in New York and frankly don't know all the details about the charges and counter-charges. But I *did* read the *Mobilizer* that Syd edited and used it to get support in the army. I *did* read the correspondence that Kipp sent out to build the strike, and I *did* see the results of this work and the effect of the strike on GIs! I also know that if witch-hunting and exclusion are brought back into the movement it will kill it—and this a hell of a time to do that.

"The war, as every GI knows, is still going on. During the last two weeks, despite the 'negotiations,' there have been more deaths in Vietnam than in any two previous weeks of the war. . . ."27

* * *

The national SMC structure at this time consisted of biannual conferences, a continuations committee authorized to meet between conferences, and a working committee which met every week or so in New York. The continuations committee hadn't actually met, but theoretically it was composed of one person from each local or campus antiwar group that supported the SMC and sent a representative, plus representatives of each national group, and a few prominent individuals. The working committee was a more or less accidental body composed of staff, the six national coordinators, and the members of the continuations committee who resided in New York and attended meetings. The working committee usually consisted of from a dozen to thirty youth and was supposed to operate on consensus, referring disputed issues of substance to one of the other bodies.

After the May 16 meeting it was obvious that the majority of the working committee was no longer willing to operate on consensus on major questions. This contained an inexorable logic. The coalition of forces that made up the national SMC had very limited agreement. Even the current majority of the working committee was not a homogenous grouping. It was a bloc united temporarily by a common irritation with the YSA, and an abstract agreement on going multi-issue. Even this point was extremely nebulous. Perhaps some of the majority had a clear idea in mind of what the specifics of the new multi-issue program should be, but others were simply expressing a mood of frustration rather than a thought-out perspective. Any serious attempt to specify in action a particular multi-issue program would bring out the substantial differences in the current majority and would in turn have had to be settled by the domination of one multi-issue tendency over the others. The losers would inevitably drop out or become disinterested.

The YSA was accused of "dominating" the organization, even though it was a small minority within it. And in a sense the so-called YSA line had, until then, tended to dominate. But this had come about, not because of the YSA's alleged hardness or insensitivity, or even its notorious efficiency and caucus discipline. The reason was that the "YSA line" consisted precisely in sticking to the central point of agreement, the point that everyone in the SMC at least paid lip service to—mass action for immediate withdrawal from the war in Vietnam.

If allowed to stand, the new direction would mean the end of the SMC as a group capable of broad mobilizations, whether the YSA stayed around to be outvoted or not. The YSA was now faced with two hard choices: bow out gracefully, or fight back. To fight was not a pleasant prospect. Normal people at peace with themselves—even those with a fighting instinct—do not relish faction fights, any more than physical ones. Kipp Dawson recalls that she had a "sinking feeling in the pit of my stomach" at the

prospect.²⁸ But the war was still going on, and the YSAers were convinced that they were faced with a tendency to liquidate the SMC as an antiwar mobilizing group, so they chose to fight.

Dawson and Stapleton demanded that a full conference be called in a central part of the country so the character and future activity of the SMC could be argued out and decided by the ranks. The majority of the working committee refused to call a full conference, but did call a continuations committee meeting for June 29 in New York City. The struggle, then, turned around that meeting.

The first problem was getting the issues out to the ranks. At the May 16 meeting a motion had been made to send out the minutes with two cover letters, one approved by the five coordinators in the majority, and one by Kipp Dawson, the minority coordinator. This was defeated and a motion passed to send only the majority cover letter.

Shortly thereafter, Dawson, who had compiled the SMC mailing lists in the first place and felt no obligation to exclude herself from them, made copies, and sent out an open letter from herself and Stapleton giving their interpretation of the dispute.

The letter urged SMC supporters in each area to call meetings to discuss the decisions of the May 16 working committee meeting, to protest to the SMC national office, and to demand a full conference. It declared:

"We feel the differences over staff and its functions reflect deeper policy differences over what path the antiwar movement should take. . . . We are for organizing other international student antiwar actions, even larger and more extensive than the spectacularly successful international student strike of April 26.

"Others on the Working Committee do not agree with this perspective. They would either junk the SMC by crippling it with the policy of exclusionism and witch-hunting . . . or dilute its character as an antiwar organization. If they succeed, the fight against the war will be set back at the very time it has become imperative to step up the pressure on Washington."²⁹

The letter was printed in the *East Village Other*, one of the so-called underground papers in New York.

Some of the those in the working committee majority reacted in anger. "YSA has been screaming," said a letter signed by Art Goldberg and others from the "Independent Caucus" and printed in the next issue of the same paper, "that Miss Dawson and Mr. Stapleton were 'excluded' from the staff because they were Socialists. That is horseshit. They were kicked off the staff because they were SCUMBAGS. . . ."³⁰

Whatever else it was, this letter was not written in the traditional style of the antiwar movement. It should be noted that none of the SMC coordinators supporting the Independent Caucus signed it. It would have been out of character for any of them. But it was indicative of a degeneration in the character of argument by some within their group to a nonpolitical, emotional level. For another example, they put out a button that said: "Sour Grapes is Not Exclusion."

The statement sent out by the majority of the coordinators characterized previous SMC activity as follows:

"Our focus has been almost completely on the war, and very little on the draft, racial oppression, and university complicity. . . . Major national or international actions are of vital importance and almost no one has suggested that we stop organizing them. However, it is equally important for SMC to help groups increase their campus base and effectiveness on a continuing basis, around all *four* issues. . . ."³¹

28. Letter from Dawson.

29. *East Village Other*, May 31, 1968, letters column.

30. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1968.

31. SMC mailing, May 20, 1968. Signed by Linda Morse, executive secretary, and four national coordinators: Clark Lobenstine, Phyllis Kalb, Gwen Patton, and Leslie Cagan. (Copy in author's files.)

27. Letter from Howard Petrick to Linda Morse, May 27, 1968. (Copy in author's files.)

Note that even the draft is considered a separate issue from the war. This was in line with the theoretical approach then shared by SDS, the Du Bois Clubs, and some of the pacifists, that the draft, in and of itself and even *rather than* the war was a key to radical organizing among youth.

The statement outlined a four-point summer program: working on draft resistance through the SDS Draft Alliance; working with GIs through the "Summer of Support" (a fund-raising project set up by Rennie Davis and others to finance "movement"-style coffeehouses near army bases); working to "Intensify antiwar organizing"; and working to "Organize local projects aimed at combating white racism, and the hysteria that is liable to flow from it this summer."

On antiwar organizing the only things specified were the production of fact sheets each week emphasizing that the war wasn't over, and "an emergency demonstration plan in event of escalation or if the talks are broken off."

This program confirmed the worst fears of the YSAers, not for what it included, which was too vague to have any practical meaning anyway, but for what it left out—mass mobilizations against the Vietnam war.

Meanwhile, the discussions proceeded in antiwar groups across the country, and dozens of letters and resolutions objecting to the actions of the May 16 working committee were coming into New York. From Berkeley came a resolution passed by the official student senate June 3, which did not mention the dispute in the SMC directly, but declared:

"WHEREAS, the war in Vietnam being waged by the United States government is an imperialist war;

"WHEREAS, the war in Vietnam has resulted in more than 150,000 GIs killed and wounded;

"WHEREAS, the war expenditures are needed for humanitarian projects such as the elimination of poverty, sickness and illiteracy;

"WHEREAS, it must be demonstrated in mass street actions that the mass of American people are against the war;

"NOTING, that the antiwar movement has been built through democratic national conventions to call antiwar demonstrations and decide policy questions;

"AND FURTHER NOTING, the antiwar movement has also been built on the basis of non-exclusion;

"BE IT RESOLVED, the Student Senate of the Associated Students of the University of California declares its opposition to the war;

"DEMANDS, the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam;

"DECLARES, its support for mass demonstrations such as those on April 15, 1967; October 21, 1967; April 26, 1968; and April 27, 1968;

"DECLARES, its support for the antiwar coalition responsible for calling and coordinating these actions on the national level, the Student Mobilization Committee;

"DECLARES, its support for the fundamental foundation of the antiwar movement, non-exclusion in membership and democracy in decision making."³²

The YSA itself never presented the "YSA line" on the antiwar movement more clearly. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the YSAers at Berkeley had something to do with this resolution, but no one ever claimed that the YSA dominated the Berkeley Student Senate, least of all the YSA's detractors. Dawson promptly made copies and mailed them around the country.

* * *

The SMC continuations committee meeting on June 29 was held in the ballroom of the old Hotel Diplomat in midtown Manhattan. Some 400 observers and delegates from campus committees across the country attended.

32. Resolution of the Senate of the Associated Students of the University of California at Berkeley, June 3, 1968. (Copy in author's files.)

I was one of the observers, as was Jerry Rubin, who came with a small group of other Yippies.³³ Jerry and I were always friendly to one another but we were rooting for different sides in this arena. I had no idea how it would come out. I knew that Dawson did not expect a resolution of all the issues at this meeting. She was hoping for a reversal of the firings and the calling of a full conference.

From looking around I guessed the two sides were fairly evenly matched in numbers, with the Morse group, which called itself the Independent Caucus, heavily represented by New Yorkers, and the Dawson group, called the Antiwar Action Caucus, perhaps stronger from the outlying areas. But I guessed a large number present were confused and undecided, and these would make the difference. I expected to listen to a full day of serious discussion. But the showdown came quicker than anyone expected.

It started off quietly enough. An impartial chairman, Myron Shapiro of Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam, was agreed to. It was obvious there was going to be some questioning of credentials of voting delegates, so a motion was made and passed to elect a credentials committee by regional caucus, to be convened when the first substantive vote was called.

There followed a couple of hours of discussion on procedural matters, on the firings, and on the principle of nonexclusion. There had not yet been any discussion on the perspectives of the SMC when a vote was called on some point. The chair recessed the meeting for the election of the credentials committee and a recommendation on voting.

The delegates divided into regions and elected one representative for each area. In the New York regional caucus the vote was so close it had to be taken three times. Finally, Maris Cakers of the Workshop in Nonviolence won against Kip Dawson. Then the six members of the credentials committee met while the rest of the meeting killed time.

In the committee it quickly became apparent that Cakers was outnumbered. As a matter of fact, all the others were YSAers. Maris was shocked, and accused the YSA of packing the committee and the conference. Actually, according to a YSA caucus report when the conference was over, about ninety of the delegates were members of the YSA, a substantial bloc but by no means a majority. The fact is, the Independent Caucus was very weak outside of the New York region, and the YSAers tended to be prominent activists in committees around the country. In the regional caucuses they were strong candidates anyway, and the YSAers voted en bloc. It just came out that way. But it didn't look good. One of the YSAers on the committee felt so bad he sided with Cakers on the spot. That made it four to two.

The majority of the credentials committee questioned the legitimacy of a host of votes from New York, especially claims by single delegates that they should be able to cast multiple votes they said had been given them by proxy. Unable to resolve this, the majority then decided to propose to the body simply to accept all delegates who were present. Cakers requested a minority report.

No vote was ever taken on the credentials committee reports, and to this day I don't know how it would have come out. In his report Cakers described the composition of the credentials committee as indicating that the YSA had packed the conference. There followed some sharp discussion. Suddenly Linda Morse took the microphone and called for a walkout of the "independents." A sort of march around the room began, gathering forces, with Rubin and the Yippies lighting firecrackers and throwing them here and there. Some of the marchers started chanting: "Up Against the Wall, YSA!" Spontaneously, from the other side, the chant began: "Bring the Troops Home Now!"

For what seemed like a very long moment, "Up Against the Wall" competed with "Bring the Troops Home Now." Then and there, the walkout lost any chance for a majority. It was hardly a

33. Yippies: the Youth International Party, a countercultural group formed by Jerry Rubin, Abbie Hoffman, and others earlier in 1968. It claimed to be running a pig for president of the United States.

reasoned discussion, but the politics were clear enough for most of the undecided.

* * *

At the utmost, perhaps a third of the delegates walked out. Those remaining proceeded with the agenda. Outside the hall Linda Morse passed a sheet around among those who walked out, and she later said that eighty-five had signed. That night the walkout group held a meeting in a church near Washington Square. I dropped by to observe. There were about sixty-five people present. The meeting had already excluded a few YSAers who had also gone there. A motion was made to exclude me from the hall as well, but that was a bit much for the majority of those present and the motion was defeated. After that they stopped excluding people. I said nothing, just observed. They were clearly unsure of themselves, but seemed somehow greatly relieved to be done with the SMC. Nothing was decided that night and they met again the next morning. They made some vague plans for a new multi-issue organization to be established later after a summer of groundwork, and constituted themselves the Radical Organizing Committee (ROC) with an office in Philadelphia.

A delegation from the SMC continuations committee headed by Howard Petrick and Robin Maisel appeared at this meeting to offer cooperation on whatever level possible in antiwar activity. It suggested that whatever multi-issue program ROC adopted for its own activities, it could still affiliate with the SMC and join in mass antiwar activities as well. This delegation was received politely, but coolly. No action was taken on its suggestions.

* * *

The story went around that Linda Morse later described the walkout to Irving Beinin of the *Guardian*, a consistent advocate of the multi-issue perspective for the antiwar coalitions. He shook his head sadly and said: "You have just succeeded in snatching defeat from the jaws of victory."

ROC itself never got off the ground. It set up an office in Philadelphia which closed after a short time. Linda Morse went back on the staff of the New York Parade Committee, and ROC simply disappeared by the end of August.

* * *

Meanwhile, the SMC continuations committee meeting rescinded the firings of Dawson and Stapleton, reaffirmed the principle of political nonexclusion, and the central task of the SMC as mobilizing mass actions against the war. It declared the next main SMC task to be building actions already called around Hiroshima Day in August, and called a national SMC conference for the first weekend in September.

* * *

That night, after the continuations committee meeting was over, there was a YSA caucus meeting, which I also observed, to go over what had happened. The spirits were good and there was a determined mood. But it was hardly a victory celebration. The YSA was now the only major radical youth group supporting the SMC. The accusations of YSA domination could be expected to increase, and the pull of unity would be gone, at least for a while. The pressures of the elections and illusions in the negotiations would make the next period very difficult. Speaker after speaker carefully explained that even though the other radical groups were no longer in, the door should be left wide open, the YSA should not make the mistake of using its weight in the SMC to turn it into a socialist group. In spite of the mood of the so-called new left milieu, the sentiment against the war was still rising among ordinary people, and that's what the SMC should be geared to. Sooner or later, the illusions in the government's tricks would be shattered, and mass response could be expected to calls for action. In the meantime the YSA would have to switch some

people from other assignments to do everything it could to help keep the SMC alive.

It would be guided by the policy resolution adopted by the continuations committee meeting that declared:

"We emphatically reaffirm the basic political position of the antiwar movement—for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. The Vietnamese have the right to determine their own future. American imperialism has no rights in Vietnam. It has absolutely nothing to negotiate there.

"The Paris negotiations are being used by Washington as a screen for further escalation of the war. The negotiations are meant to disorient the antiwar movement in an election year. We will not fall for this ruse. We will retain our independence and continue our mass actions demanding withdrawal of troops.

"The Vietnamese, of course, have every right to use the negotiations as they see fit. But our duty, as Americans committed to self-determination for Vietnam, is to press all the more tenaciously to bring the GIs home.

"We reject any action that would lend credence to the U.S. role in the Paris negotiations. Our job is to expose Washington's war aims, not to try to convince the warmakers that if they were just a little more reasonable their aims could be negotiated. . . ."³⁴

[Next chapter: The Chicago Democratic Party Convention Demonstrations]

34. *Militant*, July 12, 1968.

New Nationalist Organization Formed in Zimbabwe

A new nationalist organization, the Zimbabwe Reformed African National Council, announced its formation August 23 in Salisbury. The group split from the public faction of the African National Council (ANC) led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa. Another public faction of the ANC is led by Joshua Nkomo.

The group chose Reverend Thompson Tirivavi, a former member of the executive council of Muzorewa's faction, as its chairman and named Robert Mugabe, head of the Zimbabwe guerrilla forces based in Mozambique and Zambia, as its leader.

The new group announced that it is prepared to reopen negotiations with the Rhodesian white minority regime, if the whites take the initiative.

Both of the other factions of the ANC broke off talks with the Rhodesians after no progress was made toward Black majority rule in Zimbabwe.

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Jacek Kuron's Open Letter to Enrico Berlinguer

[The following open letter was sent to Enrico Berlinguer, general secretary of the Italian Communist party, by dissident Polish Communist Jacek Kuron. We have taken the text from the July 22 issue of *Rouge*, a revolutionary communist daily published in Paris. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

I appeal to you as a leader of a workers party, a political figure who fights for a socialism compatible with human principles, as a Communist, since the Communists hold exclusive power in my country.

I appeal to you to help the Polish workers who are being buried in filth by the press, the radio, and television, beaten by the police, thrown into prison, brought before the courts on charges of sabotage, and condemned to long prison sentences.

As you no doubt know, on June 24 Polish Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz, who is a member of the Political Bureau of the United Polish Workers party* as well as a secretary of its Central Committee, presented a plan calling for a gigantic hike in the price of foodstuffs. According to this proposal, the cost of food was to be increased by 100 percent. In view of the structure of spending and prices in Poland, this meant reducing living standards below subsistence level for a large proportion of working-class families.

The discussion in parliament was limited to a report from Deputy Edward Babiuch, a member of the Political Bureau and a secretary of the Central Committee. In the name of all the parliamentary groups and clubs, he backed the government's proposal. He also announced that the workers would be consulted. No more than forty-eight hours were allotted to these consultations. This fact is sufficient to show how fictitious they were.

In these conditions, the workers reacted spontaneously, stopping work almost everywhere. In various localities, street demonstrations developed. In the course of these demonstrations, on June 25 at about 9:00 a.m., the workers at the Ursus tractor factory outside Warsaw occupied the Warsaw-Poznan railway line. In the afternoon, they tore up the tracks and derailed a locomotive.

At Radom, clashes between the workers and special police detachments lasted for

*Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza (PZPR), the Polish Communist party. The name comes from a formal fusion between the Polish CP and SP after World War II.—IP.

The Case of Jacek Kuron



KURON

Jacek Kuron was expelled from the Polish CP youth organization in 1964 for writing a study of conditions in

Poland in collaboration with Karol Modzelewski, who was expelled from the Communist party for the same reason.

In response to these expulsions, Kuron and Modzelewski wrote their *Open Letter to the Polish Communist Party*, giving a Marxist analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracy's rule in Poland and a program for overthrowing the bureaucracy and eliminating the obstacles to building a socialist society.

Following the publication of the *Open Letter*, Kuron and Modzelewski were sentenced to prison, Kuron for three years. He was released in early 1968. However, after mass student demonstrations against bureaucratic repression developed in March 1968, Kuron was jailed again and not released until late 1971. He continued to take part in protests against bureaucratic rule. In 1975, he was one of the fifty-nine Polish intellectuals who signed a letter protesting openly repressive amendments to the Polish constitution.

After the accompanying open letter was published in Italy, Kuron, who is forty years old, was called up for a three-month tour of military duty on Poland's eastern frontier.

several hours. During these confrontations, the offices of the Województwo (Provincial) Committee of the PZPR were burned and barricades were erected in the streets.

Under the pressure of the workers' demonstrations, the authorities abandoned the price-increase proposal within twenty-four hours after it was introduced. The July 14 communiqué from the Political Bureau of the PZPR announcing changes in the price-increase bill indirectly acknowledged the justness of the demonstrators' protests.

The June events were a symptom of a grave sickness in the life of our society. The entire responsibility for this state of affairs falls on the authorities who have expropriated the working class and the entire society, depriving the population of any means to express their opinions and defend their interests.

History was repeated and not for the first time. In June 1956 in Poznan and in December 1970 on the Baltic coast, the

Polish workers paid the price in blood for the errors of those holding power. No lesson was drawn from these experiences. Once again, the authorities are not accepting responsibility, but rather responding by direct repression against the workers.

The guilty should be punished, but it is inadmissible to punish the demonstrators who defended themselves against the police when those responsible for the slaughter of the Baltic coast workers have been allowed to go scot-free. Putting all the moral and legal responsibility on the demonstrators for the damage done because they could not organize their demonstration in decent conditions has nothing to do with law. This is simply vengeance-seeking by men who in the entire thirty years they have held power have learned nothing and understood nothing.

In the press and over the radio and television, the demonstrations that forced the state authorities to modify their wrong positions have been described as the actions of "hooligans," as acts of banditry

and vandalism. In the cities and in the regions, a massive repression has started up against those who participated in the demonstrations and strikes. Since these actions were of a spontaneous nature, the authorities and the police lost their grip on the situation, and the repression has been directed essentially against persons who just happened to be in places where incidents occurred. Everywhere thousands of workers are being fired from their jobs. In Radom and Ursus, many workers have been arrested, and those returning from the police stations still show the effects of mistreatment, effects that sometimes are very serious.

On July 16 and 17, seven workers at the Ursus factories were tried before the Warsaw tribunal for sabotage (article 220 of the Polish Penal Code). According to the indictment, this sabotage consisted of a group of persons derailing a forty-ton locomotive. The accused were not allowed to see their families, and a court attorney was appointed to represent one of them. The trial was not formally closed, but neither the public nor journalists were admitted, except for selected individuals. The only evidence against the accused was a picture taken by the police. One of the defendants tried on two occasions to say that he was beaten during questioning, but the presiding judge did not allow him to make a statement to this effect.

Sentence has not yet been pronounced. The public prosecutor is asking six years in prison for one of the defendants, five years for two others, four years for three others, and three years for the remaining defendant.

This is the first trial connected to the June events that has been held in Warsaw. Many workers are being held in prison under suspicion of committing the same acts as these defendants. However, they are charged with "counterrevolutionary sabotage," a crime for which the law provides penalties going from five years in prison to death. For the time being, it is impossible to say what sort of trials have been held in Radom and in other localities, but there is no reason to think that the situation there is any better than in Warsaw.

Disorganized and deprived of information, the workers are completely disarmed in the face of this repression. The reaction of the authorities is poisoning the atmosphere with hate and despair. The next explosion may become a tragedy for the Polish nation and mark the political failure of the entire European left.

In the case of the smaller towns, we have no way to monitor the pretrial investigations and the procedures of courts that are completely subordinate to the political power.

Only a general amnesty for all participants in the June demonstrations can put an end to the terror against the workers. In

countries where there is an independent public opinion, the public can take up the struggle for such an amnesty.

I know that your voice carries weight

both for public opinion in Western Europe and for the Polish authorities.

I appeal to your conscience. Do not turn a deaf ear to our cause. □

An Appeal by Elzbieta Boeuckla-Kuron

[The following letter was sent to the "Complaints Bureau" of the Polish Ministry of Defense by Jacek Kuron's wife, Elzbieta Boeuckla-Kuron, to protest her husband's being called to active duty in the army despite serious illness. The letter was sent to the Paris daily *Libération* by the Polish Youth Committee for Implementing the Helsinki Accords.

[According to the committee, Kuron is in a military security unit isolated from the rest of the soldiers. He is quartered with two noncommissioned officers. The unit medical officer has released him from participating in the military exercises, but an ad hoc military board has ruled that he is to stay in the army. The following letter has been translated by *Intercontinental Press* from the August 19 *Rouge*.]

* * *

I beg you to reconsider the case of my husband Jacek Kuron (birthdate, March 30, 1934; address, Apartment 64, 27 Mickiewicz Street, Warsaw). The matter is urgent. My husband was summoned in early July to the Warsaw Region Military Headquarters, where he was advised that he would be called up for a period of three months. After his physical examination, the doctor in charge declared him unfit for service.

On July 7, my husband was called before the garrison medical board. During the examinations, a house doctor (Dr. Jerzywygodzki) pointed out the need for supplementary tests (an electrocardiogram, heart X ray, etc.).

In view of the highly disturbing results

of these examinations, the doctor proposed consulting a heart specialist. This proposal was not accepted. Instead they put a new doctor in charge of the case. His diagnosis indicated coronary neurosis and hypertension. My husband was informed that he was fit for restricted active duty, and he was given orders to report for exercises in Bialystok lasting from July 19 to October 17.

Worried by my husband's poor health and by the fact that, despite the recommendation of the examining physician, there was no heart specialist on the military board, we went to Lodz. After consulting doctors there, we were informed that my husband was suffering from a heart condition and needed to live as quietly as possible. The relevant medical documents were submitted by my husband on July 15 to the Warsaw Military Region Headquarters. On July 16, he was informed that his appeal and the documents had been transmitted to the authorities in charge. On July 18, since my husband had received no countermanding order, he was obliged to leave for the exercises.

The lack of consideration shown for my husband's case so far is disturbing. A sick man subject to a heart attack at any moment has been called up for military exercises. My husband's health requires peace and quiet and the proper surroundings. Does the high command intend to stick to its decision despite the possibility of tragic results? Is a man supposed to give up his life for the sake of military exercises? □

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El Nuevo Peligro de Dominación Imperialista

Por Ernest Harsch

[El siguiente artículo es la segunda parte del que publicamos en nuestro número anterior, "Tras la Máscara 'Socialista' del MPLA." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Angola era la "piedra preciosa" del imperio colonial portugués. Tiene importantes yacimientos de petróleo, hierro, manganeso, fosfatos y otros minerales. Antes de que estallara la guerra civil en 1975, producía el 8% de los diamantes del mundo y era el tercer exportador mundial de café "robusta." Se estima, que con excepción de Sudáfrica, Angola tiene el mayor potencial económico de los países africanos al sur del Sahara.

El deseo de las principales potencias imperialistas de mantener y expandir su explotación de esta gran riqueza natural fue la principal amenaza para la independencia de Angola después del colapso del colonialismo portugués y fue un factor importante que alimentó la guerra fraccional entre los tres grupos nacionalistas angoleños.

Desde que ganó la guerra civil en febrero, el MPLA ha invitado a las empresas extranjeras a invertir en Angola. Aunque el MPLA confía fuertemente en la demagogia antimperialista de sus declaraciones públicas, la invitación a los inversores imperialistas ha sido un rasgo constante de su programa económico desde principios de 1975.

Sin embargo, durante la guerra civil, muchas empresas extranjeras, principalmente las de los imperialistas o colonos portugueses, o bien abandonaron sus intereses en Angola, o bien despidieron temporalmente a todo el personal. Las inciertas perspectivas económicas de un país atormentado por la guerra civil y la inquietud laboral fueron las principales razones para ello. Quizás también algunas compañías extranjeras pudieron sentirse preocupadas de que el compromiso del MPLA de construir el "socialismo" en Angola fuese serio, o de que no conseguirían refrenar el movimiento obrero.

Las acciones del MPLA durante los últimos meses han contribuido a disipar sus preocupaciones. Sus esfuerzos para estabilizar el régimen neocolonial arrojando a disidentes de izquierda y a activistas obreros, y fortaleciendo su control sobre las masas, parece que ya han convencido a algunos imperialistas de que sus inversiones pueden estar relativamente seguras en Angola.

"Representantes de muchas empresas occidentales han visitado Luanda para discutir con el gobierno del MPLA sobre la reactivación económica," informaba el semanario de Londres *West Africa* el 31 de mayo.

La Gulf Oil Corporation norteamericana es con diferencia la empresa más importante que ha reanudado sus operaciones en Angola hasta ahora.

A finales de mayo, la producción de sus 125 pozos en la costa del enclave de Cabinda ha vuelto a ser de 100,000 barriles diarios, alrededor de dos tercios de su nivel normal de producción. Antes de reanudar sus operaciones, la Gulf pagó al régimen del MPLA 102 millones de dólares en impuestos y derechos atrasados que habían estado suspendidos desde diciembre.³ Con el presente acuerdo sobre los derechos, los pagos de la Gulf al gobierno del MPLA serán de alrededor de 500 millones de dólares anuales cuando la producción vuelva a su nivel anterior.

Los pozos petrolíferos de Cabinda son una parte importante de las operaciones de ultramar de la Gulf. Según un portavoz de la Gulf, la producción de los pozos de Cabinda contribuye normalmente en alrededor del 10% a los ingresos procedentes de las operaciones petrolíferas en el extranjero de la casa matriz, es decir, alrededor de 20 millones de dólares al año.

El petróleo de Cabinda continúa siendo explotado bajo el acuerdo de la Gulf con los colonialistas portugueses. Pero el régimen de Luanda ha declarado su intención de adquirir control estatal sobre las industrias esenciales, incluyendo el petróleo. Siguiendo esta política, el primer ministro Lopo do Nascimento anunció el 13 de mayo que comenzarían las negociaciones con la Gulf para un nuevo contrato "bajo nuevas condiciones."

Según el *Economist* de Londres del 6 de marzo, los cargos de la Gulf no se oponen a ceder un 55 por ciento de las acciones de su subsidiaria angoleña al régimen del MPLA. De hecho, antes de que Angola consiguiese la independencia, la Gulf ya había negociado un contrato con las autoridades portuguesas que daba a Luanda la mitad de las acciones en las empre-

3. Texaco, que tiene el 25% de las acciones en otra operación petrolífera angoleña que se cerró en enero, también ha reanudado sus pagos de impuestos y derechos, dando al MPLA cerca de un millón de dólares.

sas de la Gulf. Pero este acuerdo nunca se llevó a cabo.

Los ingresos provenientes de las operaciones de la Gulf son vitales para los planes económicos del MPLA. Con la crisis en otras industrias como resultado de la guerra civil, el petróleo ahora le da a Angola el 80 por ciento de sus divisas. Antes, le daba solamente el 40 por ciento.

Para proteger esta fuente de ingresos, el régimen de Luanda ha llevado a miles de soldados cubanos y del MPLA a Cabinda para reprimir a los separatistas cabindanos. "Todavía hay entre 3,000 y 4,000 soldados cubanos luchando en Cabinda," informaba Ottaway en el *Washington Post* del 26 de mayo, "donde el frente ha aumentado sus actividades en los últimos dos meses, especialmente contra los cubanos. Los reactores Mig proporcionados por la Unión Soviética están siendo utilizados para bombardear escondites en la selva, donde los cubanos dudan en ir. . . ."

El antiguo grupo separatista de Cabinda, el Frente de Libertação do Enclave de Cabinda (FLEC) fue disuelto en marzo. Pero se formó rápidamente otro grupo, llamado el Movimento de Libertação de Cabinda (Molica). En un comunicado del 22 de abril, el Molica protestó contra el acuerdo entre la Gulf y el MPLA para reanudar la explotación del petróleo de Cabinda.

Es perfectamente posible que el aumento de las actividades del Molica sea el resultado de los esfuerzos de algunas compañías francesas por apropiarse de una parte de la riqueza petrolífera de Angola. El antiguo grupo separatista, FLEC tenía lazos con la inteligencia e intereses franceses en el petróleo. Y muchas de las fuerzas del FLEC están ahora en el Molica, incluyendo a João da Costa, dirigente de ambos grupos.

Washington Aprieta las Tuercas

En diciembre de 1975, cuando Washington estaba proporcionando armas y dinero al FNLA y a la UNITA, presionó a la Gulf para que se retirara de Angola y suspendiera sus pagos al MPLA (por entonces, la Gulf ya había pagado al MPLA 116 millones de dólares en 1975). Como resultado del fracaso de la intervención norteamericana en Angola y la derrota del FNLA y la UNITA por el MPLA, Washington ha dado un giro táctico y busca una acomodación con Luanda.

La decisión del Departamento de Estado

en febrero de permitir que la Gulf reanudara sus operaciones señaló la primera apertura significativa por parte de Washington hacia el régimen del MPLA.

A pesar de este giro táctico, su finalidad continúa siendo la misma. La estrategia básica del imperialismo norteamericano hacia Angola—como para el resto del África negra independiente—es asegurar que continúe siendo parte del mundo capitalista y que las compañías norteamericanas tengan el mayor acceso posible a sus recursos naturales. Simplemente, el resultado de la guerra civil ha forzado a Washington a intentar realizar su estrategia neocolonialista en Angola a través del régimen actual.

Los amplios pagos de derechos e impuestos por parte de la Gulf al régimen del MPLA le dan a Washington una potente palanca para negociar con Luanda. Indudablemente la Casa Blanca desea utilizar esta palanca para obtener mayores concesiones de parte del MPLA.

Por su parte, el MPLA ha dejado claro que sus puertas diplomáticas están abiertas para Washington. El 25 de mayo devolvió la residencia oficial del consulado norteamericano en Luanda, junto con una nota de excusa por la toma temporal del edificio por tropas cubanas y angoleñas.

Al mismo tiempo la Casa Blanca continúa presionando al MPLA para que retire las tropas cubanas. El 23 de junio, el representante de Estados Unidos en las Naciones Unidas, vetó la petición de Luanda de formar parte del organismo internacional. "La continua presencia y aparente influencia de las tropas cubanas, masivas en número en el contexto angoleño, es la base de nuestro punto de vista," explicó el delegado de los Estados Unidos, Albert W. Sherer, hijo.

También es posible que Washington esté intentando presionar al MPLA desde otra dirección. Durante la guerra civil, proporcionó armas y dinero al FNLA y a la UNITA a través de estados vecinos como Zaire, Zambia y Sudáfrica. Es posible que los suministros y el dinero norteamericanos continúen encontrando un camino hasta las guerrillas de la UNITA, que han aumentado sus actividades en los dos últimos meses.

Como parte de sus esfuerzos para reforzar a los regímenes neocoloniales negros aliados con Washington, la Casa Blanca ha pedido al Congreso la aprobación de un paquete de ayuda económica de 27.5 millones de dólares para el régimen de Kenneth Kaunda en Zambia. También ha indicado que pedirá un aumento en la ayuda militar de Estados Unidos al régimen de Mobutu Sese Seko en Zaire. Durante la guerra civil, algunos de los fondos destinados al FNLA y a la UNITA estaban escondidos en paquetes de ayuda similares, particularmente para el régimen de Mobutu.

Ya que es una práctica corriente de los imperialistas norteamericanos el conservar el máximo de opciones posible, puede que Washington esté a la vez con los ojos abiertos hacia figuras del MPLA que sean todavía más favorables hacia occidente que la dirección actual.

La Carrera por las Ganancias

En la competición entre imperialistas para explotar los valiosos recursos minerales de Angola, los intereses norteamericanos en el petróleo están a la cabeza. Pero otras firmas imperialistas no están muy retrasadas.

En 1972, Angola produjo más de dos millones de quilates en diamantes, valorados en alrededor de 110 millones de dólares. La compañía que explota los campos de diamantes en el nordeste de Angola es la Companhia de Diamantes de Angola (Diamang), controlada por capitales portugués, sudafricano, norteamericano, francés y belga.

Desde el golpe de abril de 1974 en Lisboa, la producción de las minas de Diamang ha caído hasta el 15 por ciento más o menos de su nivel anterior. Esto fue debido a la salida de más de dos tercios de los 20,000 obreros negros de la compañía y por una brusca alza del contrabando.

Diamang ha comenzado negociaciones con el régimen del MPLA con el fin de renunciar a sus derechos de concesión. Quizás la compañía espera que el MPLA tome la responsabilidad de detener el contrabando y de hacer que la productividad vuelva a sus niveles "normales." (Las tropas del MPLA ya han tomado la tarea de ser la policía de la zona después de la disolución de las fuerzas de seguridad privadas de 500 hombres de la Diamang.)

Diamang todavía planea permanecer en Angola como el principal explotador de diamantes, sin embargo. El régimen del MPLA, que en la actualidad posee el 11.6 por ciento de las acciones de Diamang parece estar de acuerdo en ello. Según el número del 5 de marzo de la revista francesa *Marchés Tropicaux*, "Las negociaciones con el gobierno angoleño comenzaron en Luanda a finales de enero. El MPLA parece extremadamente interesado en no dar la impresión de que quiere nacionalizar la empresa, según el presidente de Diamang."

Los diamantes de Angola, además, todavía son comercializados a través de la Organización Central de Ventas de la De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd., controlada por el conglomerado sudafricano, la Anglo American Corporation.

El principal interés sudafricano en Angola es el gigantesco proyecto hidroeléctrico del río Cunene en el sur de Angola, en que Pretoria ha invertido más de 200 millones de dólares. Según el ministro sudafricano para Asuntos Económicos, J.C. Heunis, las obras en la presa del Cunene se reanudaron a principios de abril

después de que el MPLA garantizó la protección de los obreros y el equipo.

Se prevé que el proyecto del Cunene, que está cerca de la frontera con Namibia, suministre agua a Ovamboland, en el norte de Namibia, y la mayor parte de la electricidad para las minas de propiedad sudafricana, norteamericana e inglesa en el territorio. El proyecto es la piedra de toque del plan de Pretoria para aumentar su explotación económica sobre Namibia, a la que domina como una colonia directa.

La South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO—Organización del Pueblo del Suroeste de Africa), que está luchando por la independencia de Namibia, había declarado anteriormente que el proyecto del Cunene sería un blanco para sus guerrillas. Pero todavía está por ver si llevará a cabo acciones contra la presa, dada la "garantía" del MPLA.

En el número de junio de la revista mensual británica *African Development*, el corresponsal Roger Murray comentaba, "El MPLA ha llegado al acuerdo de dar asistencia material y facilidades para el uso de los campos de entrenamiento en Angola meridional al SWAPO, y en compensación, el SWAPO puede estar dispuesto a renunciar a los ataques en el mismo Cunene."

Sin embargo, el MPLA ha manifestado que no ha hecho ninguna negociación con Pretoria respecto del proyecto de la presa.

Entre las otras empresas con gran interés en coger el tren está Grängestäte National Mining, una empresa sueca. Según un informe de Bernard D. Nossiter en el *Washington Post* del 3 de junio, los empresarios suecos fueron invitados por el MPLA a estudiar la reapertura de las minas de hierro de Cassinga, que se cerraron cuando el propietario anterior fue a la quiebra.

Nossiter informaba, "La invitación a estos empresarios, aseguran las fuentes aquí [Estocolmo], refleja una política deliberada del [presidente] Neto para favorecer los lazos con occidente."

Cambian las Reglas del Juego

Como muchos regímenes nacionalistas parecidos, la capitulación del MPLA al imperialismo no es completamente abyecta. Ni tampoco su postura antimperialista es exclusivamente para la galería. En el marco de la subordinación neocolonial, los nuevos gobernantes de Angola están interesados en fortalecer lo más posible su posición en las negociaciones con los imperialistas.

Para ganar un cierto control sobre las posesiones imperialistas en Angola, y para forzar a las empresas extranjeras a realizar tratos económicos más favorables, el régimen de Luanda aprobó una ley el 28 de febrero que regula los términos de la intervención del Estado en la economía.

Esta ley capacita al Consejo Revolucionario para nacionalizar cualquier empresa

extranjera o angoleña, tanto parcial como totalmente. Bajo las cláusulas de la ley, el régimen indicó su intención de tomar el control de industrias "estratégicas." También puede confiscar empresas y propiedades abandonadas por sus propietarios.

A principios de mayo, el régimen del MPLA comenzó a nacionalizar gran número de industrias y plantaciones de propiedad portuguesa que habían sido abandonadas, incluyendo las obras de acero de Champalimand, una fábrica de cemento, empresas textiles y del azúcar, y doce complejos agrícolas. El hecho de que todas las firmas nacionalizadas habían sido abandonadas por sus propietarios reveló "la cauta aplicación del esquema de nacionalizaciones por parte del régimen del MPLA," comentaba un corresponsal en *West Africa* del 17 de mayo.

Las nacionalizaciones de las empresas portuguesas se produjeron durante una desavenencia diplomática entre Luanda y Lisboa. El régimen de Luanda ordenó el 18 de mayo que Lisboa retirase todos sus representantes diplomáticos de Angola. El MPLA culpó a Lisboa de ser un "centro de fuerzas reaccionarias" porque la prensa portuguesa publicó una gira de un representante del FNLA y porque refugiados portugueses procedentes de Angola habían bombardeado una oficina del MPLA en Lisboa.

Otro factor en la disputa fue la resistencia de Lisboa para entregar depósitos bancarios angoleños en Portugal, o para respaldar al escudo angoleño. Algunos de los dirigentes actuales de la junta militar en el gobierno de Lisboa han expresado públicamente su hostilidad hacia el MPLA en los últimos meses.

Como parte de su programa de reforma agraria, el MPLA nacionalizó un gran número de plantaciones, también mayoritariamente de propiedad portuguesa. Las que habían sido abandonadas fueron confiscadas de una sola vez. Según una emisión radiada el 29 de abril por la agencia de noticias yugoslava Tanjug, "El puñado de propietarios de plantaciones privadas que no había huído del país cuando Angola fue liberada [serán] indemnizados por sus propiedades y autorizados a permanecer y trabajar en las plantaciones como expertos."

Hasta ahora, el MPLA ha tenido cuidado de no tocar ningún interés no portugués.⁴ El corresponsal del *Financial Times* de Londres, Jane Bergerol informaba en un comunicado del 6 de mayo desde Luanda que en las últimas nacionalizaciones, "Las acciones de propiedad extranjera no portu-

guesa están exentas del control estatal o confiscación, como quedó ejemplificado en el caso de una de las empresas textiles confiscadas, de la que los propietarios de acciones holandeses han sido declarados



NETO

específicamente fuera del campo de la acción gubernamental."

A la vez que el régimen del MPLA se ha reservado un papel en la economía angoleña, también ha dejado claro que habrá amplias posibilidades para la inversión privada, tanto nacional como extranjera. De hecho, la misma ley que daba al régimen el poder de nacionalizar las empresas estipulaba también que el sector privado "debe ser impulsado y apoyado por el Estado en tanto que respete la política general económica y obrera definida por el MPLA."

Según el número de julio-agosto de la revista bimensual *Africa Report* de New York, "Los cargos angoleños reconocen que grandes sumas de ayuda financiera e inversiones son necesarias para continuar el desarrollo de los principales bienes de comercio exterior—petróleo, café y diamantes."

¿Un 'Estado Socialista Modelo'?

En el discurso de cierre de la Feria Internacional de Comercio de mayo en Luanda, el primer ministro Nascimento dijo que el régimen de Luanda emprendería un plan de desarrollo en tres años, al que seguiría un plan quinquenal en 1980. Declaró que el MPLA estaba totalmente comprometido con el "socialismo" y que aspiraba a construir "un estado socialista modelo en el continente africano."

A la luz de la política real del MPLA,

especialmente durante los últimos meses, el "socialismo" que profesan los altos cargos como Nascimento no es más que una máscara demagógica para los esfuerzos del régimen de Luanda por construir una Angola formalmente independiente, que continuará basada en las relaciones de propiedad capitalistas y en la subordinación al imperialismo mundial.

A este respecto, el régimen neocolonial del MPLA muestra rasgos similares a los de otros estados "socialistas africanos," como los de Tanzania, la República del Congo y Guinea, donde el movimiento obrero está también atado de forma directa al Estado, y las masas están controladas por organismos "populares" burocráticos de un tipo u otro. Todos estos tres países "socialistas" han estado libres de la dominación colonial durante quince años o más y en la actualidad continúan sometidos a la dominación económica imperialista.

Aunque en la actualidad no se puede hablar de ninguna burguesía angoleña, hay capas pequeñoburguesas que están peleando por tomar las posiciones previamente ocupadas por los portugueses, y que aspiran a transformarse con el tiempo en capitalistas principiantes. Ya ha tenido lugar un proceso parecido en muchos otros países africanos, donde débiles sectores de una burguesía nacional pudieron surgir en los sectores de la economía neocolonial no directamente controlados por el imperialismo.

Ya hay algunas señales de que este proceso está comenzando en Angola. En un informe en el *Le Monde* del 28 de febrero, el corresponsal René Lefort resumía una descripción de un comandante del MPLA sobre la formación de "un nuevo grupo de mercaderes, transportistas y funcionarios que siempre han pensado que sus carnets de afiliación al MPLA les daban el derecho de ocupar los puestos dejados por los portugueses."

En el número del 12 de marzo, Lefort señalaba que "el nacimiento de una casta de *nouveaux riches* es por completo evidente. . . ."

"Durante varios meses, decenas de miles de angoleños que eran empleados de oficinas o cargos menores, se han convertido en mercaderes con casas propias o en cabezas de departamento."

Como parte de la retórica "socialista" general en el MPLA, ha proclamado que se opone a la "transformación de la pequeña burguesía colonial angoleña en una burguesía nacional." Pero al mismo tiempo, la dirección del MPLA ha mantenido sus brazos abiertos hacia la "burguesía patriótica" a la que proclama cálidamente como "parte de nuestra nación angoleña."

Sin embargo, el peligro principal para las masas angoleñas continúa viniendo de las potencias imperialistas. Bajo el imperio portugués, Angola estaba sujeta a la dominación colonial directa; durante la guerra civil, su libertad estaba amenazada

4. La única excepción son las Tanganika Concessions, una firma anglosudafricana propietaria del ferrocarril de Benguela. Se planea que sea nacionalizada después de que pague su deuda de 40 millones de dólares. Mientras tanto, se dice que el régimen de Luanda está pagando los salarios de los empleados del ferrocarril, con gastos superiores a un millón de dólares al mes.

por la intervención militar de Pretoria, Washington y las demás potencias imperialistas. Pero en la actualidad, el peligro de la dominación imperialista toma una nueva forma, más indirecta.

En un país de la riqueza de Angola, los capitalistas de los Estados Unidos, Europa y Sudáfrica utilizarán toda grieta posible para continuar y extender su saqueo de esta riqueza. En tanto que el capitalismo sobreviva en Angola, la fuerza política y económica de los inversores extranjeros y

las fuertes presiones del mercado mundial capitalista asegurarán que el país permanezca subdesarrollado, o que se desarrolle sólo en los sectores que sean útiles a las necesidades del imperialismo.

No importa cuántos planes trienales o quinquenales instituya el MPLA, no será capaz de aliviar apreciablemente la pobreza de las masas angoleñas en esas condiciones. Aún más, también existe el peligro de que la amplia presa que los imperialistas tienen en la actualidad les dé más

tarde la oportunidad de anular incluso las parciales medidas económicas que el régimen de Luanda ha tomado contra ellos.

Solamente la movilización de las masas de los obreros y campesinos angoleños bajo una dirección socialista revolucionaria puede derribar el capitalismo, alcanzar la verdadera independencia nacional y comenzar la construcción de un futuro socialista. El MPLA está en completa oposición a esta trayectoria. □

Más de 3000 Arrestados por el Régimen del Apartheid

Se Extiende la Protesta Negra en Sudáfrica

Por Ernest Harsch

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 30 de agosto de 1976, bajo el título "Black Protests Spread in South Africa." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Desde que a mediados de junio los negros comenzaron a realizar actos de protesta masivos en Soweto, la policía y los funcionarios del gobierno sudafricano han insistido en que los levantamientos ocurridos en las ciudades segregadas donde viven los negros estaban "bajo control." En realidad, sin embargo, los enfrentamientos masivos siguen extendiéndose a otras ciudades y abarcan a un sector cada vez más amplio de la población negra.

La nueva ola de protestas masivas comenzó el 4 de agosto, cuando los estudiantes negros se reunieron en el Estadio Orlando, en Soweto, para protestar por el arresto de varios dirigentes estudiantiles de esa ciudad segregada, que fueron detenidos después de la rebelión de junio. La multitud había alcanzado ya la cifra de 20,000 personas cuando comenzó a avanzar hacia Johannesburgo, donde tenía la intención de realizar un acto frente a la prisión central para exigir la libertad de los presos políticos. Llevaban carteles que decían "Libertad para nuestros hermanos," y "Nacimos libres pero en todas partes estamos encadenados."

Sin embargo, antes de que llegara a donde se encontraban las barricadas que había puesto la policía en las afueras de Soweto, la manifestación fue atacada por ella. Los jóvenes se reagruparon dos veces, para tratar de continuar la marcha. Cuando se disipó el gas lacrimógeno y dejaron de escucharse los disparos de arma de fuego, tres jóvenes negros yacían en el pavimento.

A pesar de la terrible represión, y desafiando una prohibición del gobierno

contra todo acto público, los estudiantes y otros jóvenes se reunieron al día siguiente en la Escuela Media Morris Isaacson de Soweto para planear otra marcha hacia la prisión central.

En una nota enviada desde Johannesburgo el 5 de agosto por John F. Burns, corresponsal del *New York Times*, se informaba lo siguiente: "Siguiendo la norma establecida ayer, cuando la policía disparó contra grupos de manifestantes que desbordaron un cordón de seguridad tendido en torno a la ciudad segregada, cientos de adultos se unieron a la marcha de los estudiantes. Cuando llegaron a la barricada de la policía, en un cruce de caminos, había cuando menos 5,000 personas en la columna." Los manifestantes hacían el saludo del Poder Negro con el puño cerrado, y entonaban canciones nacionalistas negras.

Por primera vez desde que comenzaron los levantamientos, los estudiantes llamaron directamente a los trabajadores negros a que realizaran huelgas de protesta. Johannesburgo es uno de los mayores centros industriales de Sudáfrica, a donde diariamente llegan a trabajar 220,000 trabajadores negros que residen en Soweto. El llamado de los estudiantes tuvo éxito. La misma nota de Burns informa:

Para el segundo día, muchos residentes no asistieron al trabajo en respuesta al llamado estudiantil de realizar un boicot. Desde la madrugada, jóvenes que llevaban pañuelos cubriéndoles la cara, al parecer para protegerse del gas lacrimógeno, estaban bloqueando los caminos y organizando piquetes de vigilancia en las estaciones de trenes de la ciudad segregada, instando a quienes iban a viajar a que regresaran a sus casas.

El absentismo que se produjo en las fábricas de Johannesburgo, que dependen de la mano de obra de los negros, varió desde una cuarta parte de la fuerza de trabajo hasta las tres cuartas partes de ésta. Los dirigentes estudiantiles dijeron que esto era una muestra del potencial

que tienen los obreros negros para paralizar la economía.

El nuevo espíritu de combatividad que existe entre los jóvenes negros ha sido recogido en "Soweto, Donde Pasan las Cosas," una composición del pianista de jazz Dollar Brand. La cantaban muchos de los manifestantes:

*Aquí es donde pasan las cosas,
En Soweto, amigo.
Y los blancos van a escuchar lo que pasa
Desde Soweto, amigo.
Porque los jóvenes están gritando
Los jóvenes están diciendo
Basta, basta
En Soweto, amigo.*

Según un informe publicado el 16 de agosto en *Newsweek*, "estas palabras hicieron que un escalofrío recorriera la población blanca de Sudáfrica."

Por primera vez desde principios de la década de los sesenta, el descontento masivo de los negros se extendió también al área de Ciudad del Cabo. La mañana del 11 de agosto, varios cientos de estudiantes organizaron una marcha que salió de una escuela media de Langa, una ciudad negra segregada de las afueras de Ciudad del Cabo, coreando "Poder Negro." Por la tarde se les unieron los trabajadores que regresaban del trabajo. Acciones similares, en las que también participaron cientos de negros, tuvieron lugar en las ciudades negras segregadas de Guguletu y Nyaga.

El día siguiente cerca de 1,000 estudiantes y trabajadores marcharon hacia la estación de policía de Langa, cantando y llevando pancartas que decían: "No estamos peleando. No dispáren. Sólo liberen a nuestros compañeros estudiantes." La policía rompió la marcha con gas lacrimógeno.

Otras manifestaciones fueron dispersadas de manera todavía más brutal. La policía lanzó a sus perros contra los

jóvenes negros, y en algunos casos la policía disparó directamente contra la multitud con armas automáticas. Según cifras oficiales, cuando menos treinta negros fueron asesinados durante las protestas en Ciudad del Cabo. Sin embargo, la verdadera cifra de muertos puede ser mucho más elevada. Los residentes de las ciudades negras segregadas informaron que la policía sacó los cuerpos de las víctimas en camiones, para enterrarlos secretamente.

Los estudiantes de color* de la Universidad de Cabo Occidental iniciaron un boicot de las clases como muestra de solidaridad con los manifestantes africanos. El 16 de agosto, cerca de 700 estudiantes de color marcharon hacia una corte de justicia que se encuentra en un suburbio blanco de Ciudad del Cabo para protestar por el arresto de dirigentes estudiantiles. También ellos fueron atacados por la policía, que iba armada con cachiporras.

Varios cientos de estudiantes blancos de la Universidad de Ciudad del Cabo realizaron también una acción de solidaridad: trataron de organizar una manifestación hacia las ciudades negras segregadas para unirse a los manifestantes negros. Como el régimen del *apartheid* trata de aparentar que cuenta con el apoyo de toda la población blanca—que es de cuatro millones—, siempre ha reaccionado muy duramente contra cualquier signo de solidaridad de los blancos con la lucha de los negros. En junio fueron golpeadas varias personas blancas que organizaron una manifestación en Johannesburgo. Durante la reciente marcha en Ciudad del Cabo, 100 estudiantes blancos fueron arrestados.

A partir de Ciudad del Cabo, la rebelión se extendió hacia el Oeste, hacia la ciudad industrial de Puerto Elizabeth, donde el 17 de agosto 500 estudiantes de la escuela media de la ciudad negra segregada de Kwazakele realizaron un acto para recordar a las víctimas de la policía y para exigir la libertad de los militantes negros detenidos. La multitud alcanzó la cifra de 4,000 jóvenes, que atacaron símbolos de la autoridad blanca tales como un banco, una oficina de correos, un edificio de oficinas, y una oficina para atender a los desempleados. Para el 19 de agosto, cuando menos treinta y tres negros habían sido asesinados por la policía en la zona de Puerto Elizabeth.

Según un informe publicado el 20 de agosto en el *New York Times*, hasta ahora han estallado protestas en más de setenta

ciudades negras segregadas. También ha habido acciones en algunos Bantustans, las paupérrimas reservas creadas para las tribus africanas por el régimen del *apartheid*.



VORSTER

El 8 de agosto, en la reserva Bophuthatswana, estudiantes que coreaban consignas de Poder Negro quemaron el principal edificio gubernamental de Mafeking. En la reserva Transkei, la policía arrestó a 266 estudiantes que habían realizado un acto en Lady Frere, para solidarizarse con la lucha de las masas negras.

En un intento por extender la huelga de Soweto a todo el país, el 20 de agosto los estudiantes comenzaron a distribuir volantes en las ciudades negras segregadas llamando a realizar un *azikwelwao*—huelga durante la cual los trabajadores permanecen en sus casas—que comenzaría el 23 de agosto. El Gral. Michael Geldenhuys, jefe de la policía de seguridad, advirtió que la policía tomaría medidas para evitar la huelga.

La creciente participación de gente de color en los actos contra el gobierno es importante. Pretoria siempre ha tratado de dividir a la población negra concediendo algunos derechos más a los 2.3 millones de gente de color y a los 710,000 hindúes que hay en el país, que a los 17.7 millones de africanos. En Cabo Occidental, por ejemplo, la gente de color tiene preferencia sobre los africanos en lo que se refiere a contratación en los empleos. Pretoria también ha sugerido la creación de un Consejo del Gabinete con carácter consultivo que estaría compuesto por funcionarios blancos, de color, e hindúes.

La participación de cientos de estudiantes de color en las manifestaciones de Ciudad del Cabo reflejó el creciente resentimiento que existe entre la población de color contra la política racial del régimen. Este resentimiento ha aumentado considerablemente a partir de junio, cuando

Pretoria rechazó un informe de una comisión que proponía “drásticos cambios constitucionales” y que se acabarían las restricciones de empleo y educación para la gente de color.

Las acciones estudiantiles en Ciudad del Cabo hicieron que diecisiete ministros de la Iglesia Holandesa Reformada de la Gente de Color firmaran una declaración el 16 de agosto, en la que rechazaban “de la manera más enérgica posible, la pecaminosa estructura del *apartheid*.” En la declaración se decía: “. . . nos negamos a aceptar privilegios que no son dados al resto de la comunidad negra y nos negamos a seguir siendo utilizados por la política de ‘divide y vencerás’ del gobierno blanco.”

En un intento por contener las protestas que se generalizan cada vez más, el régimen de Vorster ha acompañado la represión con unas cuantas concesiones de menor importancia.

El 7 de agosto, el ministro de Administración y Desarrollo Bantú Michiel C. Botha, que está encargado de hacer cumplir la política de *apartheid* del régimen, declaró que se daría a las ciudades negras segregadas la oportunidad de ejercer un mayor control sobre sus asuntos internos, como parte del “nuevo trato” para los negros de las ciudades.

Pocos días más tarde anunció que los negros de las zonas urbanas, con excepción de los que viven en la Provincia del Cabo, podrían comprar y construir sus propias casas sin tener que hacerse primero “ciudadanos” de los Bantustans, como Pretoria había mantenido antes. El 20 de agosto, el régimen decretó que los negros que fueran dueños de casas recibirían título de propiedad sobre la tierra.

El 19 de agosto, la Cámara Industrial de Transvaal, que representa muchas de las mayores compañías de Sudáfrica, envió un memorándum al gobierno en el que se pedían algunas reformas, incluyendo un aumento en los míseros salarios que ganan los negros. “El maduro y familiar negro de las ciudades está más interesado en lo que gana que en la política,” decía el memorándum.

Cualquier concesión aislada que el régimen se vea obligado a hacer para tratar de parar las protestas, no cambiará los aspectos esenciales del sistema del *apartheid*. Connie P. Mulder, ministro de información, uno de los funcionarios más importantes del gabinete de Vorster, dijo en un acto público organizado por el Partido Nacionalista—que está en el gobierno—celebrado a principios de agosto, que cualquier concesión que diera Pretoria tendría que estar “dentro del marco de la política gubernamental.”

El eje principal de la respuesta del régimen a la rebelión ha sido la intensificación de la represión. Según informa el número de agosto de la revista mensual inglesa *Africa*, cerca de 3,000 personas han

*Los 2.3 millones de gente de color que hay en Sudáfrica son descendientes de los primeros colonos holandeses, de los esclavos hindúes, los nativos Khoi-Khoin, los bosquimanos, y de otros pueblos africanos. La mayoría viven en Ciudad del Cabo, de donde son originarios, y hablan afrikaans, el idioma de origen holandés que hablan los blancos afrikaners.

sido arrestadas a partir de los levantamientos de junio. Hasta ahora no se ha presentado ningún cargo formal en su contra.

Desde el momento en que comenzó la ola de protestas a principios de agosto, la draconiana Acta de Seguridad Interna, que había sido aplicada únicamente en Transvaal, ha sido extendida a todo el país. Permite que cualquier persona sea arrestada y permanezca sin juicio durante un año.

Además de los manifestantes que han sido arrestados durante la lucha, el régimen de Vorster ha detenido a un número no precisado de dirigentes políticos negros. El Ministro de Justicia, Policía y Prisiones James T. Kruger, ha señalado como blanco particular para la represión a grupos negros como la South African Students Organisation (Organización de Estudiantes Sudafricanos—SASO), el South African Student Movement (Movimiento Estudiantil de Sudáfrica—SASM), y el Black People's Convention (Congreso de los Negros—BPC), que forman parte de lo que se conoce como el movimiento de Conciencia de los Negros.

Según afirma Burns en el número del 15 de agosto del *New York Times*, Kruger condenó al movimiento de Conciencia de los Negros "como una ideología absolutamente destructiva y negativa, y citó como ejemplo del caos que puede producir, el descontento que existía entre los negros de las zonas urbanas de los Estados Unidos en la década de los sesenta." Kruger dijo que el hecho de que los manifestantes usaran el saludo del Poder Negro era "prueba" de que SASO, SASM, y PBC estaban instigando a la rebelión.

Según el periódico *Star* de Johannesburgo, casi todos los principales dirigentes del movimiento de Conciencia de los Negros han sido arrestados. Entre quienes se sabe que se encuentran detenidos están: Jairus Kgotong, Steve Biko, Silumko Sokupa, y Barney Pityana de SASO; Nxolisi Movov, Rhomas Manthatha, y Kenneth Rachidi de PBC. Se sabe que también algunos dirigentes de SASM han sido arrestados.

Entre otras personalidades negras que han sido aprehendidas por la policía se encuentran: Winnie Mandela, dirigente de la Black Parents Association (Asociación de Padres de Familia Negros—BPA) y esposa del dirigente nacionalista Nelson Mandela, que actualmente se encuentra preso; Harrison Motlana, ejecutivo de BPA; los Rev. Mangaliso Mkatswa y Dan Mokwena de la Conferencia de Obispos Católicos; Rashid Meer, dirigente estudiantil de Durban e hijo de la conocida socióloga hindú Fatima Meer; y Leonardo Appies, presidente del Consejo de Representantes Estudiantiles de la Universidad de Cabo Occidental.

Muchos de estos presos políticos negros se encuentran en confinamiento solitario. Mapetla Mohapi, que anteriormente ocupaba un cargo importante en SASO,

fue arrestado el 15 de julio bajo las disposiciones del Acta sobre Terrorismo. Murió en prisión el 5 de agosto. Según la policía, Mohapi se suicidó. Sin embargo, a las autoridades blancas nunca les gusta admitir que un preso político muere al ser "interrogado." La sospecha de que fue torturado hasta la muerte se reforzó por el posterior arresto del Dr. Mamphele Ramphele, director de la clínica para negros de Kingwilliamstown, que era el único observador independiente que asistió a la autopsia de Mohapi.

Repetiendo el argumento del régimen de que la rebelión negra fue causada por un puñado de "agitadores," Kruger predijo el 20 de agosto que los arrestos harían que las protestas terminaran rápidamente. El régimen blanco niega que las verdaderas causas del descontento de las masas negras sean el sistema del *apartheid* y la explotación racial.

A pesar de la terrible represión, la combatividad de los jóvenes negros—y de la población negra en general—se está profundizando rápidamente.

En una nota enviada desde Johannesburgo el 5 de agosto, el reportero del *Washington Post* Robin Wright citaba las palabras de un profesor negro que se refería a los estudiantes: "La situación es más explosiva que nunca. Su combatividad ha aumentado apreciablemente y, con organización, realmente podrían crear el caos, algo como nunca hemos visto. Las promesas sobre pláticas no los van a detener ya; tampoco las balas."

La participación de muchos trabajadores negros en la huelga de Soweto es otro indicador de cómo el ejemplo dado por los estudiantiles está llegando a capas más amplias de la población negra.

Burns comentaba esto en el número del 21 de agosto del *New York Times*:

Mucha gente piensa que la mayor amenaza que pende sobre la minoría blanca no es la violencia, sino las huelgas con motivación política, que podrían dañar severamente la

economía. Los obreros negros, que no tienen sindicatos reconocidos legalmente, ya han realizado huelgas en las minas y en las fábricas. Si se organizan nacionalmente, las huelgas podrían ser una fuerza mucho más poderosa para el cambio que los disturbios de las ciudades negras segregadas, que hasta ahora han podido ser controlados por el gobierno.

A diferencia de las rebeliones de junio, que fueron explosiones espontáneas de coraje y frustración acumulados, en algunas de las más recientes protestas ocurridas en Soweto se vieron señales de una organización incipiente. Los intentos de marchas hacia Johannesburgo fueron precedidos de actos masivos de los estudiantes, donde se discutían y planeaban las acciones. Los estudiantes crearon piquetes de coordinación y levantaron barricadas en los límites de Soweto para instar a los trabajadores negros a unirse a la huelga.

También se han formado nuevas organizaciones. La Asociación de Padres de Familia Negros, una organización amplia que incluye a grupos como SASO y BPC, fue formada durante la rebelión de junio en Soweto. A pesar de que cuatro de las cinco personas que componen su dirección han sido arrestadas, está tratando de construir filiales en otras partes del país. BPA ha formado ya filiales en Pretoria y Durban, y ha comenzado a organizar una más en Ciudad del Cabo.

Otro grupo de reciente creación es el Consejo de Representantes Estudiantiles de Soweto, que ayudó a organizar algunas de las últimas marchas de protesta. Su dirigente es Tsietsie Mashinini, estudiante de escuela media de diecinueve años.

Un aspecto importante de las protestas masivas es que la población negra está comenzando a tener sentido de su propia fuerza. Refiriéndose a la retirada del régimen en el problema del uso obligatorio del afrikaans en las escuelas para negros, Mashinini dijo: "Ya ganamos la lucha contra el afrikaans. Podemos ganar otras luchas." □

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