

Ernest Mandel

The Fight for Soviet Democracy in the USSR



A victim of police gunfire in Soweto.

Time

Protests Continue Against Apartheid

COLOURED AND AFRICANS MARCH IN CAPE TOWN

FBI Informer Program Unmasked by SWP

Assad Threatens Showdown in Lebanon

WRP Holds Frame-up Style Rallies

The Meaning of the Tien An Men Demonstration

Aumenta la Represión en Argentina

Documentos

Carta Abierta de Jacek Kuron a Enrico Berlinguer

NEWS ANALYSIS

FBI Informer Program Unmasked by SWP

By David Frankel

Clarence Kelley, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), has said more than once that he would resign before revealing the identities of FBI informers. Documents released by the Socialist Workers party (SWP) September 4 indicate that if Kelley keeps his promise, his days as head of the American secret police may be numbered.

As a result of the SWP's legal challenge to government harassment and spying, the FBI has been forced for the first time to release specific figures on its use of informers. The bureau admitted that during the sixteen years since 1960, it has assigned 316 informers to pose as members of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). Sixty-six FBI informers are currently carrying out their odious work in the American Trotskyist movement, according to the newly released FBI documents.

The SWP is now demanding that the government turn over the complete files on an initial group of nineteen informers whose activities are described in the FBI documents made public September 4. Six of the nineteen are currently posing as party members.

In a forty-page legal brief demanding that the use of informers be stopped, the SWP contends that the informers are "offensive weapons" in the government drive to silence those political views it finds objectionable. In fact, the hundreds of FBI informers were unable to discover—or manufacture—evidence of a single criminal act by the SWP, the YSA, or any of their members. On the contrary, it was the FBI and its agents who were busy breaking the law and violating the rights of the American people.

"This is not a question of the FBI running amok," SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes pointed out in a statement released with the documents. "The FBI's

illegal use of informers is a policy and a practice that has been authorized and approved by both ruling parties and by every administration since Franklin Roosevelt. Congress has allocated more than \$7 million in 1976 alone for the FBI's 'domestic intelligence' informers."

In addition to the informers posing as members of the SWP, the files pried out of the FBI revealed that since 1960 the bureau has maintained an army of 1,300 "free-floating" informers who spy on the activities and members of a wide variety of groups, including the SWP and YSA.

The FBI plants have been assigned to steal documents, report on the addresses and employment situation of political activists, carry out burglaries, disrupt party activities, and sow discord. For example, the FBI files show that informers are "advised to continue to question the loyalty of other members at every oppor-

tunity."

Barnes noted in particular in his statement the failure of this objective in the FBI's informer program. "The government failed to get the party to conduct its own internal witch-hunts in what would obviously have been futile attempts to identify the government's informers," he said.

"Other files have shown that the planting of 'disinformation,' often by informers themselves, to cast doubts on the loyalty of members is one of the FBI's favorite disruption techniques. This tactic allows the FBI to generate confusion, fear, and distrust."

As a result of a court order obtained by the SWP following a burglary of its Denver headquarters by an FBI informer July 7, the FBI was forced to turn over new files. These proved that the FBI had been deleting from earlier documents information about illegal acts carried out by its employees. Following this, Federal Judge Thomas P. Griesa ordered the FBI to make available uncensored files on six informers who had operated within the SWP in the past and whose names were known by the party.

The new move by the SWP promises to rip away yet more of the shroud of secrecy without which the FBI cannot function. □

The State of Emergency in Ireland

By Gerry Foley

On September 1, the Fine Gael-Labour party coalition government in Dublin pushed a state of emergency declaration through parliament.

The bill suspending constitutional rights passed by a thin majority of 70 to 65 in the Dáil, the lower house.

The state of emergency was opposed by Fianna Fáil, historically the party of the more nationalist section of the bourgeoisie and supported by a majority of small farmers and workers.

In the past, differences in the Irish bourgeoisie have been sharp. They led to civil war in 1921-22 and to semi-civil war in the mid-1930s, when Fine Gael leaders organized the Blueshirts, a fascist-like movement, to oppose Fianna Fáil's protectionist policies, which were harming the

interests of the large farmers.

The differences between the two bourgeois parties have, however, narrowed to the vanishing point in the last decades. Nonetheless, a difference remains between their base and historic identifications.

Thus, Fine Gael, the continuator of the forces that crushed the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle in the civil war, is better able to mount an all-out assault on the nationalist movement and the nationalist tradition.

Fine Gael, the minority bourgeois party since the 1930s, has been able to rule only in coalition with the Irish Labour party. Until the late 1960s, the Labour party was a grouping of right-wing local cliques, but at that time a large section of the union movement affiliated to it and it gained a significant working-class base.

The Fine Gael-Labour coalition won the 1973 elections on a platform of "peace" and social-welfare reforms. Moreover, Fianna Fáil had become discredited among its traditional supporters.

The Labour party has played a completely subordinate role in the coalition, gaining little for the workers who support it.

The Labour party's association with the repression of this regime can put in question its ability to maintain its working-class base. It is clear that the state of emergency is aimed against the



James Stevenson/Long Island Press

masses. Denis Coghlan commented in the August 24 issue of the *Irish Times*, the country's most prominent capitalist newspaper:

"The answer is not repressive, or emergency, legislation. The emergency is not going to go away. . . .

"Jobs, rather than laws, are needed. There were 112,160 people on the unemployment register last week. Those figures did not include about 50,000 small farmers and unemployed school leavers from last year. Neither did it reflect the fact that about 50,000 students of all levels were dumped on a contracting employment market this summer.

"That there are 200,000 potential 'subversives'—or people with a tendency to overthrow the existing order of things—in the Republic is a sobering thought."

The problem is that all attempts by the bourgeoisie to develop the Irish economy have failed, both the weak tariff-protected industrialization of the first Fianna Fáil governments and the total capitulation to imperialism of today's Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael. Now, because of worldwide unemployment the chronic crisis can no longer be defused by draining Ireland of its youth through emigration.

The slide toward repressive forms of bourgeois rule in Ireland is reminiscent of the trend in other small countries, such as Uruguay, whose fragile economies have been shattered by international forces.

The vote on the state of emergency in the Dáil indicates, however, that powerful historical factors still divide the Irish bourgeoisie as it moves toward repression.

Another obstacle on this path is reflected by the fact that at the very time it was moving to introduce police-state methods, the Dublin government felt obliged to press its case against Britain in the European Human Rights Court for using these very methods in the North.

Thus, an antirepression movement in Ireland can prove exceptionally powerful. At the same time, it is obvious that the stakes in the confrontation over the state of emergency are extremely high, both for the workers movement and for the bourgeoisie. □

Seoul Condemns 18 Dissidents

Eighteen prominent South Korean dissidents, including former President Yun Po Sun and former presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung, were sentenced to harsh jail terms August 28. They were accused of rebellion for issuing a manifesto at an ecumenical mass March 1.

The manifesto called for the repeal of a 1975 decree that bans almost all expression of dissident views. This includes any criticism of the 1972 constitution, which gives president Park Chung Hee dictatorial powers and allows him to stay in office indefinitely.

The defendants—teachers, politicians, and religious figures—received sentences of two to eight years.

In This Issue

Closing News Date: September 6, 1976

FEATURES	1290	Is There Life on Earth? —by Allen Myers
	1297	Out Now!—Chapter 21: The Chicago Democratic Party Convention Demonstrations—by Fred Halstead
SOUTH AFRICA	1284	Coloureds and Africans March in Cape Town—by Tony Thomas
IRAN	1285	Boycott of Art Festival Wins Support —by Majid Namvar
PERU	1285	Student Protest in Lima Crushed by Police
LEBANON	1286	Assad Threatens Showdown —by David Frankel
BRITAIN	1288	WRP Holds Frame-up Style Rallies —by Jim Atkinson and Skip Ball
CHINA	1291	Interview With Peng Shu-tse
SOVIET UNION	1294	The Fight for Soviet Democracy —by Ernest Mandel
NEWS ANALYSIS	1282	FBI Informer Program Unmasked by SWP —by David Frankel
	1282	The State of Emergency in Ireland —by Gerry Foley
SELECTIONS FROM THE LEFT	1300	
AROUND THE WORLD	1302	
DOCUMENTS	1303	The Situation in India Since June 26, 1975
DRAWINGS EN ESPAÑOL:	1284	John Vorster—by Copain
	1308	La Crisis del Capitalismo en Europa Occidental: Entrevista con Ernest Mandel
SUDAFRICA	1306	Huelga General de Obreros Negros —por Tony Thomas
ARGENTINA DOCUMENTOS	1312	Aumenta la Represión—por Judy White
	1310	Carta Abierta de Jacek Kuron a Enrico Berlinguer
	1311	Nueva Acción Represiva contra Kuron

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

Editor: Joseph Hansen.

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

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

Business Manager: Pat Galligan.

Copy Editor: Jon Britton.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

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

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

Intercontinental Press is published by the Intercontinental Press Publishing Association. Copyright © 1976 by Intercontinental Press.

Coloureds and Africans March in Cape Town

By Tony Thomas

One week after the Soweto general strike, thousands of Africans and Coloureds* demonstrated and clashed with police in Cape Town, South Africa's second largest city.

The largest action took place on September 2, when several thousand Coloured youths were attacked by police in downtown Cape Town. This was reported to be the first major clash between demonstrators and police in an area reserved for whites since the current wave of struggles began in June.

A series of smaller actions in segregated Coloured townships and squatter camps around Cape Town had preceded the demonstration.

In mid-August, Coloured students demonstrated at the University of the Western Cape, expressing solidarity with Blacks who had protested against the apartheid regime in their own areas.

New York Times correspondent Michael Kaufman reported September 2 that a number of Coloured students as well as some "white sympathizers" were detained after the university demonstration.

Rev. Alan Hendrikse, the chairman of the Coloured Labour party, an anti-apartheid group, was also detained.

Hendrikse was held under a special law that permits the apartheid regime to hold without trial persons deemed "a menace to state security." More than 850 Blacks have been arrested under this law since the Soweto rebellion this June.

On September 1, club-swinging police attacked a group of several hundred Coloured youths allegedly stoning passing cars in a Coloured township in Cape Town. That evening, four or five hundred African students marched through the main entrance for whites at the Cape Town railroad station.

"The police immediately declared that they would not have this happen again, and that they would enforce a ban on all gatherings in Cape Town with every means, especially in the central city area," Humphrey Tyler reported in the September 3 *Christian Science Monitor*.

The cops' challenge was taken up September 2 by Coloured youth from Athlone, the center of a Coloured area



VORSTER: Bullets for protesters.

housing 300,000. After an attack by police in Athlone, Gerald Shaw reported in the September 3 *London Times*, "large numbers of Coloured youths boarded trains for central Cape Town, carrying their political protest right into the heart of the white community."

Tyler reported in the *Monitor* that "hundreds of Colored students suddenly emerged from the central city station singing freedom songs and waving banners." Kaufman reported that the youths also arrived in buses and cars, and that the crowd swelled to about 3,000.

The police kept out of the way of the marchers until they neared the city's main thoroughfare, Adderley Street. There, the cops tried to cordon off the shopping area.

"However," Kaufman reported in the September 3 *New York Times*, "the young people, some carrying placards attacking apartheid and the 'pass' laws, slipped through to mingle with white shoppers."

At that point the police attacked both whites and the Coloured demonstrators in an effort to clear the streets. Shaw reported in the *London Times* that the Coloured demonstrators "kept forming and reforming in Cape Town throughout the afternoon and convoys of riot lorries toured the city streets, firing tear gas shells at

intervals and breaking up crowds."

The police said that at one intersection a police car was pelted by stones and bricks thrown by Coloured construction workers.

The same day, South African police used shotguns to disperse crowds of Coloured demonstrators at the civic center of Hanover Park, a Coloured suburb. Police reported that one youth was shot dead at Hanover Park.

Shaw reported on September 2 that five persons had been killed by the police since the Coloured demonstrations started.

The Cape Town demonstrations have had a big impact. They have helped to push aside the fantasies of the apartheid regime that South Africa's 2.3 million Coloureds might side with whites in a conflict between Africans and whites.

These illusions were based on the fact that Coloureds have a higher living standard and are allowed a few more political rights (such as the right to participate in legally recognized trade unions) than are Africans.

Over the past few years, however, Coloured militants, particularly among the youth, have increasingly identified with the "Black Consciousness" trend associated with the big struggles in Soweto.

An example of the potential of the unity of South Africa's nonwhite peoples was shown in Durban, the country's fourth largest city. On September 2, African, Coloured, and Indian bus drivers struck, crippling the city's commuter system for hours.

In Soweto, according to a September 5 Reuters dispatch, there were reports that another nationwide Black strike had been called for September 7. There were no reports of extensive leafleting or distribution of pamphlets urging the strike, as was done to build the August 23-25 work boycott.

The dispatch said, "The call is being made by word of mouth, according to Soweto residents, and the organizers reportedly want the stoppage to last three weeks instead of three days." □

CP Leaders Carrillo and Ibaruri Barred From Return to Spain

Santiago Carrillo and Dolores "La Pasionaria" Ibaruri, longtime leaders of the Spanish Communist party who have been in exile since 1939, were refused permission to return to Spain August 26.

The Juan Carlos government claimed they present security problems because of resentments still alive over the roles they played almost forty years ago.

Carrillo and Ibaruri applied for permission to return under the amnesty decree announced in July. The decree was supposed to apply to all political prisoners and exiles not involved in alleged acts of violent subversion.

Of the 484 applications for passports from Spanish exiles since the amnesty, the Ministry of Information reported, 458 have been approved.

*The 2.3 million Coloureds in South Africa are descendants of the early Dutch settlers, Indian slaves, and native Khoi-Khoi, Bushmen, and other African peoples. Most of them live in the Cape, where they originated, and speak Afrikaans, the Dutch-based language of the Afrikaner whites.

Boycott of Iranian Art Festival Wins Support

By Majid Namvar

"Art, Politics and Torture Chambers," a major article by Victor Navasky in the August 15 issue of the *New York Times Magazine*, helped spread the word about the boycott of the Shiraz art festival in Iran. "Eric Bentley, playwright and critic, calls on his colleagues in theater and music to boycott next week's prestigious Shiraz festival as a protest against repression in Iran," Navasky said.

The festival, a public-relations extravaganza sponsored by the shah and Empress Farah, is held at the ruins of the ancient Persian center of Persepolis at the end of each summer. This year a number of prominent artists and performers, responding to boycott appeals, declined invitations to the festival.

Bentley made the initial appeal for the boycott February 26 at a forum against repression in Iran sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).^{*} CAIFI began a campaign to publicize the boycott. It called attention to the strangulation of cultural life under the shah's rule in a statement that said:

This festival and others, such as the Tehran Film Festival, sponsored by the Shah and the Queen—paid for by the Iranian people—are being used as cover-ups for the brutal repression of artists, poets, playwrights, critics, and others in Iran.

... The Shah of Iran extracted a recantation from Mr. Gholamhossein Sa'edi, the country's foremost playwright, under consistent torture, which lasted eleven months Mr. Nasser Rahmani-Nejad, a director, and his whole troupe were arrested and tortured for having rehearsed for performance *The Lower Depths*, Maxim Gorky's famous play. The director and his actors, who are among the prominent writers and poets of Iran, were given 2 to 11 years for the rehearsal of this play.

Response to Bentley's call was prompt and favorable. Among several internationally recognized cultural figures who turned down their invitations were American dancer Merce Cunningham and his entire dance company; British director Peter Brook; American director Robert Wilson; and Polish experimental theater director Jerzy Grotowski.

Several prominent figures in Britain, where the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has been helping to publicize the boycott, also endorsed the campaign. Among them are Albert Hunt, John Berger, Trevor Griffiths, and Margaretta D'Arcy.

In his article, Navasky took up the cases of Iran, South Africa, and Spain, each targeted for various kinds of international boycotts as a protest against their repressive regimes. He offered arguments by those favoring such boycotts and by those opposing this method of protest. For example, he said:

Eric Bentley argues, in the case of Iran, that "the gains are tangible," and he cites, as an example, the poet Reza Baraheni, who spent 102 days in an Iranian prison and was then released, in the opinion of many Iran watchers, primarily because of international clamor. Indeed, it is impossible not to feel a sense of outrage when one hears Baraheni's personal testimony of what it was like in the SAVAK (Iran secret police) torture chamber.

One question raised in Navasky's article was whether cultural boycott, as a means of protest against repressive regimes, would actually be approved by the people living under such regimes. In the case of

Iran, he noted, "if Baraheni is correct, the indigenous intellectual and artistic community welcomes such protest."

Indeed, this is the case. Before it was banned by the regime in 1969, the Iranian writers union, an independent organization of authors and poets, encouraged boycotts of the court-sponsored cultural events. It successfully organized its own poetry-reading sessions, counterposing them to the ones sponsored by Empress Farah. At a previous Shiraz festival, a group of Iranian actors and directors went as far as sending a delegate to the festival to protest against the regime's censorship.

In any case, the poverty-stricken masses of Iran are in no position to attend the glamorous Shiraz festival. Only the rich and their international friends can enjoy such a luxury.

In the pages of the shah's tightly controlled press there was one short reference to the dwindling number of performers at this year's Shiraz festival. In an article titled "Giants Are not Coming to the Art Festival," the Tehran daily *Ayandegan* reported shortly before the event that performers Grotowski, Brook, and Wilson had all turned down their invitations to the festival. The article noted, in a puzzled tone, "as of yet, we don't know why they are not coming." □

Student Protest in Lima Crushed by Police

Demonstrators at the National Engineering University in Lima were the victims of a police assault August 23. The number of those arrested was variously reported as "127" and "hundreds" in different press accounts.

At issue in the protest were the harsh austerity program instituted by the Morales Bermúdez regime June 30, and the sanctions imposed on university workers and students who had participated in earlier demonstrations against the program.

University Rector Jorge Cabrera Tapia said he called the police onto the campus and closed down the university for one week because "indiscipline and lack of respect for authority had reached intolerable proportions," reported the August 25 issue of *La Opinión*.

Cabrera Tapia claimed that "extremist groups" had interfered with final examinations and forcefully occupied several buildings, including the entrance to the main offices.

An August 28 Associated Press dispatch from Lima placed the university crackdown in the broader framework of a step-up of the regime's "efforts to halt subversive activity, increase production and stimulate the revolution it began eight years ago."

Associated Press reported:

- The killing of six persons for curfew

violations in Lima since the beginning of July.

- The employment for the first time in a year of bans on strikes and public meetings.

- Interior Ministry investigations of "extremists and terrorists . . . inside and outside the Government."

- The arrest of forty striking miners leaders.

Other recent "antisubversive" steps taken by the Morales Bermúdez regime include the deportations of revolutionist Hugo Blanco and labor attorney Ricardo Díaz Chávez, the shutdown of twelve independent newsmagazines, and the arrest of scores of members of Vanguardia Revolucionaria—a grouping with Maoist sympathies.

The imposition of the austerity program through the step-up of repression, along with Morales Bermúdez's July 21 announcement that Peru was opening up its oil and fishing industries to foreign investment, has been viewed favorably by the international banking community.

"A group of the largest U.S. banks has decided in principle to approve a new loan of \$240 million for financially pressed Peru," Don Oberdorfer reported in the August 29 issue of the *Washington Post*. The approval was given, he said, "following a conservative swing in that country's economic policies. . . ." □

^{*}853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

Assad Threatens Showdown in Lebanon

By David Frankel

Since the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war, the Palestinian national liberation movement has been a major factor in frustrating the aims of American diplomacy in the Middle East. Now, the developments in the Lebanese civil war have led the imperialists to hope that they can at last eliminate the Palestinian movement as an independent force.

As early as July 23, Joseph C. Harsch flatly declared in the *Christian Science Monitor*, "The Palestinians have been defeated on the battlefield, and their ability to dictate the policies of the Arab states is at an end."

Harsch concluded, "now that the battle has gone decisively in favor of the moderate forces in the Arab world—Mr. Kissinger can get ready to move."

"There is nothing like a decisive military result for reopening the road for diplomacy."

Following the fall of the Tel Zaatar refugee camp in Beirut and the brutal massacre there, the editors of the *New York Times* gave their pronouncement on the situation. "The Palestinian base in exile has been demolished in Lebanon in this summer of 1976 as thoroughly as it was in Jordan in the 'Black September' of 1970," the *Times* said August 16.

These estimates, however, contain an element of wishful thinking. Despite the hopes of the imperialists, the conflict in Lebanon is far from decided. What is the real situation after seventeen months of civil war?

Although the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition remains on the defensive, it continues to control the entire western part of Lebanon south of Beirut. In addition, it holds a small enclave around Tripoli in the north. The fall of Tel Zaatar changed nothing in this picture. Having withstood a savage fifty-two day siege, Tel Zaatar was a symbol of great psychological importance, but militarily it had little significance.

The fact is that nothing less than the defeat of the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition in the main centers of Beirut and Saida will decide the war in favor of the imperialist-backed forces. The bitter resistance put up by the Palestinian fighters in the Tel Zaatar refugee camp is an indication on a small scale of what can be expected in a battle for Beirut.

It is worth recalling the experience of the Syrian army in this regard. After being ordered into Lebanon June 1 by President Hafez al-Assad, Syrian armor and infan-



New York Times

try occupied much of eastern Lebanon with little difficulty. But when the Syrian forces attempted to march into Saida and Beirut, they were thrown back with heavy losses.

This show of weakness led Assad to try different methods. After destroying the oil refinery at Saida, his troops pulled back. In the meantime, a blockade of the leftist-held ports begun by the Syrian navy at the end of March was maintained. An article in the August 28 issue of *The Economist*, the British financial weekly, explained that "the position now seems to be that Syrian ships blockade entry to the northern Moslem port of Tripoli, the Israelis sit outside Tyre and Sidon, and the American navy patrols the area in between."

But despite the naval blockade, the help of Syrian forces on the ground, and infusions of weapons from Israel, the Christian rightists have been no more successful than the Syrians in their attempts to penetrate West Beirut.

A partition of Lebanon in which a section of the country remains under the control of the Palestinians is something that neither Assad, the U.S. State Department, nor the Israeli regime can accept. Assad, with the approval of Kissinger, is working to restore the old governmental system dominated by the privileged Christian minority. If progress toward this goal is not made by September 15, Assad has

reportedly threatened a renewed military attack against the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition.

As for the Israeli regime, it has seized the opportunity to initiate a creeping annexation of southern Lebanon. Israeli combat forces have stepped up patrols inside Lebanese territory, and Foreign Minister Yigal Allon told reporters in Tel Aviv August 31, "We shall not allow the Syrians, the Muslim extremists or the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] to come to an arrangement with the (Christian) Maronites at Israel's expense—giving the PLO the right to use territory to attack Israel."

Another force influencing the events in Lebanon is the Soviet bureaucracy. The Kremlin has finally taken a stand in favor of Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon, but it has refrained from pushing this view too vigorously.

Edward R.F. Sheehan, an Arabist who served the State Department in Cairo and Beirut, commented in the August 15 *Washington Post* that "despite its public support of the Lebanese left (most verbal, some guns), the Soviet Union itself does not seem to covet a radical republic in Lebanon." Such a republic, Sheehan noted, "might provoke a war with Israel that would produce an American-Russian clash and destroy the conveniences of detente."

While the Moscow bureaucrats attempt to play both sides against the middle in Lebanon, there is no such ambiguity on the part of the rightist forces. Both Assad and the Christian rightists are intent on stabilizing a proimperialist Maronite regime in Lebanon. In order to accomplish this, they will ultimately have to crush the Palestinians and their allies on the left. Thus, although a repeat of the Jordanian "Black September" has not yet occurred in Lebanon, the danger of such a disaster taking place is real.

Right now, the right-wing alliance is attempting to wrest concessions from its opponents by a combination of military pressure and negotiations. Pierre Gemayel, the chief of the rightist Phalangist party, is playing the role of soft cop. He has maintained that a Palestinian withdrawal from three towns in the mountains east of Beirut—Sanin, Ain Tura, and al-Metein—"is the key to peace in Lebanon."

Gemayel was quoted in the Beirut daily *an-Nahar* September 5 as promising that if the Palestinians withdraw from these positions, "they will obtain from us guarantees for their safety in Lebanon and

assurances for the continuation of the struggle for the Palestinian cause."

The Phalangists have also demanded the strict application of the 1969 Cairo agreement restricting the armament of the Palestinian refugee camps, the freedom of movement of the guerrillas, and the areas where they were allowed to operate. But these accords were signed only after the Lebanese army tried to destroy the guerrilla organizations and failed. A return to these agreements now would only signify a temporary pause before new attacks on the position of the Palestinians—and on the mass of Muslim workers and peasants as well.

The PLO's number-two leader, Abu Iyad, said in an interview published September 2 in the Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera* that the guerrillas were prepared to abide by the Cairo agreement and withdraw from the mountain positions in return for a Syrian withdrawal.

"We are ready to lay down our arms and make all the concessions compatible with the survival of [the] Palestinian resistance, but Damascus will not even discuss it," he said.

What the rightists are, really after was indicated recently by Dory Chamoun, secretary general of the National Liberal party, and eldest son of former President Camille Chamoun. A September 4 dispatch from Beirut in the *New York Times* reported that Chamoun has insisted that the Cairo agreement "is now outdated and the only way Lebanon can accept the Palestinians is when they lay down their arms and become refugees again."

Not all the rightists are willing to stop with the demand that the Palestinians give up their struggle to return to their homeland. According to the same September 4 dispatch, "Abu Arz, the commander of a radical [rightist] faction known as Guards of the Cedars, has said that the struggle will not end until 'every Palestinian has been driven out of Lebanon.' At one of his recent news conferences, he said it was the duty of every Lebanese to kill at least one Palestinian."

The Palestinians have taken the brunt of the fighting in Lebanon—one estimate in the August 22 *New York Times* was that half of the dead in the civil war have been Palestinian. Following the fall of Tel Zaatar, checkpoints for the conscription of Palestinian fighters were set up in Saida and Beirut. On August 28 the PLO called for a general mobilization of all Palestinians between the ages of eighteen and thirty.

Will the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition be able to withstand an all-out attack if the Syrian forces are ordered into action by Assad?

Militarily, especially in combination with the Lebanese rightists, Assad's forces clearly have the upper hand. But there are important political factors that can turn

such a confrontation into a dangerous gamble for Assad.

In the first place, there is considerable confusion and mistrust in the ranks of the Syrian army over its role in Lebanon. For example, Reuter correspondent Tim Pearce said in a July 22 dispatch from Saida:

"A local Palestinian military commander claimed that morale among the Syrian troops at Hilaliyah [outside Saida] had been low. Gunners often deliberately fired out to sea to avoid hitting local citizens, he said.

"Much of his information on the plans and movements of the 4,000 Syrian troops had come from villagers who had been tipped off by Syrian officers, he asserted."

Syrian troops have been told that they are in Lebanon to help the Lebanese people, but their use as an army of occupation gives the lie to such propaganda. Recent reports described how Syrian forces responded to an ambush in the Bekaa Valley by rushing in reinforcements "while their artillery pounded villages where the attackers were believed to have been hiding. . . ." (*New York Times*, August 19.)

Following the ambush, Syrian troops "held hundreds for questioning," according to an August 20 dispatch by *Washington Post* correspondent Douglas Watson. Finally, Beirut radio reported that five Lebanese were executed. (*New York Times*, August 25.)

Until now, Assad has apparently been successful in containing any disaffection among his troops in Lebanon. But what will happen if they begin to take heavy casualties in a confrontation with the PLO?

Moreover, opposition to Assad's policies in Lebanon has been reflected closer to home. According to an August 13 dispatch in the *New York Times*, travelers coming to Beirut from Syria "spoke of security problems, with at least one explosion heard in Damascus every night this week."

Economic strains in Syria are also growing as a result of Assad's adventure in Lebanon. The Iraqi regime has cut off the supply of petroleum to the Homs refinery, which provided Syria with all of its gasoline and much of its foreign exchange. The cost of maintaining 20,000 troops and 450 tanks in Lebanon has further weakened the Syrian economy. Shortages of basic goods and inflation are increasing.

Nor has the impact of the civil war in Lebanon been limited to Syria. In Kuwait, sixty-two-year-old Sheik Sabah al-Salem al-Sabah announced August 29 the dissolution of the National Assembly and a new law allowing suspension of dissenting newspapers for two years.

The attack on democratic rights was explained by Watson in the August 31 *Washington Post*. "Recently," he said, "some members of Parliament . . . escalated their criticism of the Kuwaiti government and its Lebanese policy, which has

been more in support of Syria than of the Palestinians."

In Washington, State Department officials told the *New York Times* August 31 that "a growing number of Kuwaitis have been voicing support for radical causes. Part of the Kuwaiti press, as well as some members of the Assembly, also supported Palestinian demands."

The events in Kuwait show once again the powerful support for the Palestinians among the Arab masses. While the outlook in Lebanon is grim, as long as this support exists the situation is not without hope. □

7.5 Million Out of Work in U.S.

Unemployment in the United States rose in August for the third consecutive month, figures released in Washington September 3 showed.

The official figure for unemployment in August was given as 7.9%, representing 7.5 million Americans unable to find work.

Blacks again were hardest hit, with overall Black unemployment rising from 12.9% in July to 13.6% in August. For Black teen-agers the comparable figures were a staggering 34.1% in July and 40.2% in August—an increase of more than six percentage points.

Even these figures do not give a true picture. George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), pointed out that the overall unemployment rate would be 10.5% if the tabulations included those who had given up looking for work and those forced to work only part-time.

Alan Greenspan, head of President Ford's Council of Economic Advisers, blamed the increase in joblessness on an "extremely abnormal" rise in the number of people seeking work, in particular among "women of child-bearing age."

Still Available

Complete Back Files (Unbound) Intercontinental Press

1967	42 issues (1,072 pages)	\$25
1968	44 issues (1,176 pages)	\$25
1969	43 issues (1,152 pages)	\$25
1970	43 issues (1,120 pages)	\$25
1971	45 issues (1,128 pages)	\$25
1972	47 issues (1,448 pages)	\$25
1973	46 issues (1,520 pages)	\$25
1974	47 issues (1,888 pages)	\$25
1975	47 issues (1,888 pages)	\$35

P.O. Box 116
Village Station
New York, N.Y. 10014

WRP Holds Frame-up Style Rallies

By Jim Atkinson and Skip Ball

LONDON—The Workers Revolutionary party, the British ultraleft sect headed by Gerry Healy, has stepped up its slander campaign against the veteran Trotskyists Joseph Hansen and George Novack.

The WRP press has been pouring out vitriolic abuse at Hansen and Novack, two central leaders of the American Socialist Workers party (SWP), accusing them of acting for almost forty years as “accomplices of the GPU,” the Kremlin’s secret police.

Now the WRP leaders have escalated their venomous witch-hunt by scheduling five public rallies on the issue in cities across the country and by attempting to enlist the aid of the bourgeois press in spreading their slanders.

The “Get Hansen and Novack” campaign has evidently become an all-absorbing affair for the sect’s dwindling number of adherents. At the same time, the “Trotskyist” WRP’s campaign is being utilized by the capitalist press to discredit Trotskyism.

On August 16, the WRP leaders held an anti-Hansen press conference at the London Press Centre.

The dead-end factional character of the Healyite slander campaign was what the press played up. The affair, commented columnist Martin Walker in the *Guardian* on August 17, would seem like an “internal witchhunt” among the “eternally squabbling” Trotskyist groups. In like manner, the August 17 issue of the *London Times*, Britain’s leading capitalist daily, commented that “the core of the undertaking is simply another of these interminable factional disputes.”

Matthew Blair wrote in the August 20 issue of the prestigious pro-Labour party weekly *New Statesman* that the WRP’s antics give “some clue to the repeated failures of Trotsky’s movement to develop beyond small groups and factions.”

The August 20 issue of the left Social Democratic weekly *Tribune* went on in the same vein. “Was there anything about Leon Trotsky,” the paper asked, “which would have led one to believe that, 36 years after his most dreadful murder, there would be such a proliferation of sectarian organisations each claiming to be the sole repository of his wisdom? Clearly the battle to the death (literally) which followed his break with Stalin has left an indelible mark on his followers. They fight out their sectarian battles in a fever of accusations about each other’s honesty, loyalty and associations.

“The most frequent charge which is

made between the various groups is that they have been ‘penetrated’ by secret police or other such organisations, or that they involve themselves with shady political characters.”

Referring to Healy’s call for an “international commission of inquiry” into Hansen’s “role” in Trotsky’s assassination in 1940, Blair noted in his *New Statesman* article: “International commissions of inquiry are portentously called for, and some of the witnesses are accused of complicity in the assassination before the membership of the commission has even been announced. Sectarian accusations fly to and fro, with secret spies and agents detected or assumed to be everywhere. Vanessa Redgrave¹ stumbles through a public speech in which she apologises for once having been a sponsor of the revisionist Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.”

Behind all the “farce and bitterness,” suggested Blair, were some interesting implications. “. . . the *New York Times*,” Blair wrote, “recently reported that the FBI has admitted 94 burglaries of the offices of the Socialist Workers Party between 1960 and 1966. Many other violations are being cited in a lawsuit brought by the party—Trotskyism’s largest single group—against the White House, the FBI and the CIA.

“For Vanessa Redgrave and her co-thinkers to accuse the SWP of being penetrated by the Russian secret police is thus, to say the least of it, inopportune for the party and the lawsuit. Her friend Harold Robins² told me that when a crime is committed you should always ask who benefits. This is a crude method of proceeding (though Trotsky himself did employ it in deciding that Stalin ordered the assassination of Kirov). But if we apply it to the latest round of internecine accusations, then it is the FBI who stand to gain. Who is penetrating whom? The point here is not to make accusations, but to illustrate the importance of paranoia.”

The *Tribune* picked up on another aspect of the “Get Hansen” campaign: Healy’s use of Stalinist-type methods, although

implying that these are the methods of Trotskyists.

“Gerry Healy is a walking encyclopaedia of sectarianism,” the *Tribune* columnist wrote, contrasting Healy’s latest anti-Hansen outpourings with an article written by Healy for *Tribune* in the mid-fifties. “It was just after the Khrushchev revelations about Stalin,” *Tribune* explained, “and one of Gerry’s main targets was Harry Pollitt, the leader of the British Communist Party. Gerry Healy had dug up this devastating quote from Pollitt: ‘Now after the Rajk trial (Lazlo Rajk was a former secretary of the Hungarian Communists tried for ‘deviationism’) we know that some of the leading figures around Tito were themselves trained among the Trotskyites and have for many years been agents of British and American imperialism. In fact, Titoism represents the revival of Trotskyism in new and more dangerous form.’

“Healy went on to dismiss Pollitt’s statement for the twaddle that it was. And, some time later, even the British CP fell into line with his view! But what I find surprising is that the Trotskyites who were so persecuted in the past by statements of this sort from the orthodox CP should use exactly the same method as the Stalinists used against them.”

Meanwhile, the WRP is holding a series of public meetings (in London, Glasgow, Newcastle, Sheffield, and Liverpool) devoted almost exclusively to promoting their anti-Hansen smear campaign. The first meeting, held in a London dance-ballroom on August 15, gave a flavour of the hysterical factionalism that is now the sect’s hallmark.

Ostensibly called to commemorate the thirty-sixth anniversary of Trotsky’s death, the five meetings appear to have no purpose other than to help the WRP leaders indoctrinate the sect’s ranks into swallowing Healy’s bizarre frame-up against Hansen. At the London meeting, the Healyite orators pursued this objective with undivided attention—to the virtual exclusion of reference to the class struggle, either in Britain or anywhere else.

“Three thousand trade unionists, housewives and young people,” claimed the *News Line* in its August 16 issue, “packed” the Hammersmith Palais to attend the rally. The *News Line*, which reflects the views of the WRP, is well-known on the British left for its unreliability. In fact, the Palais was far from full. There was a liberal sprinkling of empty seats and, after doing a seat-count, we put the total

1. Vanessa Redgrave, the well-known actress, was recently promoted by Healy to membership of the WRP’s Central Committee.

2. Harold Robins, an old-timer in the American Trotskyist movement, was selected to go to Coyoacan to join the guard in the Trotsky household, primarily as a driver. See “Healy Caught in the Logic of the Big Lie,” by Joseph Hansen, *Intercontinental Press*, August 9, 1976.

attendance at about 900.

This was small by WRP standards and is a reflection of the group's declining strength. The point is the more important insofar as the rally was the central focus of the group's "work" for some weeks.

The audience was overwhelmingly young. Most seemed new to politics and few knew the words of the "Internationale" when it was sung at the rally's conclusion. In this respect they were probably fairly typical of the many radical-minded youth who have been recruited and then rapidly disillusioned by the WRP's "Young Socialists" over the past few years.

The speakers harangued the crowd for about three hours. There seemed to be little enthusiasm among the audience, which sat passively, somewhat mesmerized by the theatrical delivery of the orators. Some were obviously bored (which is not surprising since the speakers scarcely mentioned such burning issues as the Labour government's wage controls or the British occupation of Ireland) while the Palais's bar carried on a flourishing trade at one end of the auditorium.

Only a tiny minority—the top Healyite cadres—are at all familiar with Hansen's detailed rebuttal of Healy's slanders (see *Intercontinental Press*, August 9, 1976), since the WRP ranks are actively discouraged from reading the papers published by other left-wing groups.

The audience was clearly considered to be sufficiently inexperienced, misinformed, or gullible to accept without question a leaflet, bearing the signature of the WRP Political Committee, with the incredible heading "Hansen Admits the Charges!"

The leaflet began: "Joseph Hansen's latest article in *Intercontinental Press* (August 9, 1976) shows that after nearly eight months, he has been forced to confirm the major accusations contained in the indictment of the International Committee of the Fourth International. He has acted as an accomplice of the Stalinist GPU."

From Healy's point of view, there was little risk of his indoctrination session sparking embarrassing questions from the audience. In fact, the fanatical tenor of the meeting—one speaker, Georges Vereeken, warned his listeners that "there's an agent of the KGB in this room now"—was enough to intimidate any critical-minded young socialist into keeping his thoughts to himself until he reached the exit.

Only two people raised their hands against a resolution—erroneously reported by the *Neus Line* as being "unanimous"—which pledged "full support for the call by the International Committee of the Fourth International for a committee of inquiry into the crimes of the GPU in the Trotskyist movement." The inquiry, the resolution stated, "must investigate the conduct of Joseph Hansen and George Novack, leaders of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, who the International

Committee of the Fourth International has indicted as accomplices of the GPU."

Establishment of this "kangaroo court" body is presumably to be the next step in Healy's slander campaign.

Chairing the meeting was Mike Banda, who recently replaced Healy as the WRP's general secretary. In his opening speech, Banda (making a rare reference to the class struggle) launched off with an impassioned plea to "bring down the Labour government." To replace it with what? The WRP? Today, when revolutionary socialists are a small minority in the labour movement, the only real alternative to a Labour government is a Tory administration.

Banda then proceeded to the meeting's main purpose: the WRP's "indictment" against Hansen. This "crushing indictment against the revisionists," the general secretary said, made the meeting "an historic and inspiring occasion." Indeed, the "indictment" was deemed so important that "if the International Committee had done nothing else in its history but publish this testimony, its existence would have been justified," he said.

Banda then introduced the "veteran Belgian Trotskyist" Georges Vereeken.³ Vereeken said that he had been "isolated" from the Trotskyist movement for the past forty years by the leadership of the Fourth International. But New Park Publications, the publishing house of the WRP, had now ended this isolation by deciding to publish his book, *The GPU in the Trotskyist Movement*. Vereeken, who in his rambling speech reduced everything to GPU conspiracies, was presented to the bourgeois media at the WRP's press conference the next day.

Next came Vanessa Redgrave, who gave a fiery performance. "Stalinist and revisionist worms are coming out from under the stone to attack the Workers Revolutionary party," she said. "Every effort is being made to sow dissension and incite people to abandon the WRP."

This revealed the main motives behind Healy's anti-Trotskyist witch-hunt. By denouncing leaders of the Fourth International as "agents" and "spies," Healy hopes that he can stop the disintegration of his "International Committee," which has experienced several major splits in recent years. The point was noted by one of the more astute commentators in the

3. Georges Vereeken, author of *The GPU in the Trotskyist Movement*, is a member of the Tendence Marxiste Révolutionnaire Internationale [TMRI—International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency]. The leading figure in the TMRI is Michel Pablo. The International Secretariat of the TMRI issued a statement March 27-28, 1976, rejecting the "irresponsible accusations launched by the Healy tendency against Comrades Hansen and Novack of the Socialist Workers Party," and disassociated the TMRI from the position taken by Vereeken (*Intercontinental Press*, September 6, 1976).

bourgeois press, Martin Walker. In his August 17 *Guardian* feature, Walker (noting Healy's new bloc with Robins and Vereeken) commented: "the inroads Mr Hansen's SWP has made into the WRP-linked Workers' League in the US, and the stagnant membership and morale of the British WRP suggest that some kind of dramatic recruiting drive is now overdue."

Redgrave had especially harsh words for Ken Coates, a founder of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, who (she explained) had written her several letters to dissuade her from endorsing Healy's campaign. Behind Ken Coates's "tears," she said, "is the knife." Moreover, "what Ken Coates does is just the other side of what the capitalists do; it is an attack from the other side."

Redgrave assured her audience that the "WRP would expose everyone of these scoundrels right through to the end."

Harold Robins, the "veteran American Trotskyist," followed Redgrave to the microphone. Robins dwelt at length on the revolt of the Levellers, a radical movement of artisans and small property-owners, in 1649 during the English revolution. According to Robins, there was a revealing analogy between the "treachery" of the guards at the Levellers' rebel camp in May 1649 (when Oliver Cromwell finally succeeded in crushing the Leveller revolt) and the role of Joseph Hansen at Coyoacan, Trotsky's last place of exile in Mexico. The analogy seemed to be lost on the bulk of the audience.

Ironically, Robins—in a passing reference to the Moscow trials of the thirties—noted that Stalin employed bourgeois methods of "justice": "As we say in America, 'Give them a fair trial and hang them.'" Isn't this the very method now being employed by Healy's "International Committee" to frame up Hansen and Novack?

The evening's star was Healy, introduced by Banda as "in charge of cadre training in the party." The WRP's "indictment," Healy suggested, should be thrashed out in the bourgeois courts. "Let the SWP take me to court for slander and libel," he said. "I say Hansen's an agent."

The issue was important, Healy said, because the bourgeoisie was preparing to assassinate revolutionaries on a scale never before seen. The Tories, through the Privy Council, are planning to stage a Fraser-style coup,⁴ he said. Then, Healy went on, there will be a general election with a Carter-type candidate to win over the middle class. To ensure victory, emergency laws will be passed and revolutionaries will be arrested. This arbitrary

4. This refers to the ousting of the Australian Labor government of Gough Whitlam in November 1975 by Governor General Sir John Kerr after a budget deadlock in the Senate. Conservative Malcolm Fraser was subsequently elected prime minister.

schema was strung together with all seriousness to justify the tissue of lies that constituted the bulk of this "Marxist educator's" speech.

The escalation of Healy's slander campaign brought protests from several left-wing groups here—and indications are that Healy's course will only lead him further into disrepute and contempt on the British left.

The August 19 issue of *Red Weekly*, the paper of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International, noted: "As Healy tries to prop up the crumbling edifice of the WRP with the organisational methods of Stalin, branding every political opponent as conspirators of the Special Branch or CIA, one can only wonder how long this not very amusing farce will continue to run."

In a leaflet entitled "The W.R.P. Leadership's Conspiracy Against Trotskyism"

(handed out to those attending the WRP's London rally), the International Communist League, a grouping which considers itself Trotskyist, said: "Today the WRP is 'celebrating' the 36th anniversary of Trotsky's death—with an exhibition of the same Stalinist methods of slander and falsification against which Trotsky fought. The slander campaign against Joseph Hansen and George Novack waged by the WRP leadership is unparalleled in its vileness and unscrupulousness since the days of the Moscow Trials and the Stalinist campaign against Trotsky."

The August 9 issue of *Intercontinental Press* containing Hansen's article "Healy Caught in the Logic of the Big Lie" was sold outside the WRP rally by members of the International Marxist Group and by comrades selling the journal *Marxist Bulletin*. □

the inhabitants of adjoining areas. Moreover, even within groups whose members are identical so far as such artificial distinctions are concerned, there is further discrimination and conflict.

How to account for the behavior of humans? This cannot be explained on the basis of biological inferiority: In terms of brain development, Earthlings are approximately on the same level as ourselves.

Those who have studied the ancient history of our own planet will by now have noted the similarities between Earth today and Mars in the past and will have surmised that perhaps the behavior of humans is to be explained by their system of social organisation. Xxsklk decided to test such a hypothesis, and found it confirmed by all her observations.

Those who wish to know all the details of Earthling social organisation may of course study Xxsklk's full report. Here I will note only the main features. Human social organisation is still based on *ownership*. On Earth, one may own factories, dwellings, raw materials, even sections of the planet itself, in the same way that I own my noses. We know that a similar situation existed in our own past, but on Earth it has been unduly prolonged, with the result that the contradictions have grown far more monstrous there than they did here. It is difficult to conceive, but humans are actually prevented from eating if they do not "own" food. Not even helpless children are exempt from this requirement!

It is easy to understand that those who "own" the tools and materials with which humans supply their needs completely dominate Earth society. It is for the sake of this handful of individuals that Earthlings fight among themselves, breathe polluted air, eat poisoned foods, labor all day without producing any benefit for society, and allow their children to go hungry. And, as one would expect, those who "own" are themselves degraded by their parasitic existence. They use the power which "ownership" bestows on them selfishly, to maintain their privileges, constructing a gigantic governmental apparatus for the purpose of repressing—either by fraud or violence—all aspirations towards a rational social order.

After hearing this brief description of human society, there can be no doubt that we will unanimously agree with Xxsklk's conclusion that there is not yet real life on Earth. She recommends that in 30 or 40 years we consider sending another observer to discover whether or not life has arisen there during the intervening period. It follows, of course, that we should in the meantime conceal our existence from the space vehicles which the Earthlings have sent here. Until there are differing proposals, let us consider Xxsklk's conclusions and recommendation as our own. □

The View From a Distant Planet

Is There Life on Earth?

By Allen Myers

[The following article appeared in the August 5 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in Sydney, Australia.]

* * *

Fellow Martians:

As one of those involved in the launching of our exploratory vehicle to the planet Earth, I wish to report to you the results of our research.

You will recall that a little more than half a year ago, our astronomers observed an object leaving Earth on a trajectory apparently intended to carry it to Mars. Because of this occurrence, it was decided that it would be appropriate to send an observer to determine whether or not there is life on the planet Earth.

Accordingly, the necessary resources and effort were devoted to the construction of a space ship for the journey, which was shortly thereafter undertaken by Xxsklk, whose name was drawn by lot from among the volunteers.

Her journey to Earth was untroubled and permitted her to carry out a number of experiments, which will be reported as soon as they have been completely evaluated. Her experiences on Earth itself, however, were emotionally exhausting, which is why she herself is not delivering this report.

As her vehicle circled Earth, Xxsklk was surprised to discover that the conditions of

its inhabitants vary widely. After careful consideration, she decided to put down on a land mass which seemed to offer a fairly typical cross-section of these conditions. This land mass is in Earth's southern hemisphere and is called Australia by the majority of the most highly developed species inhabiting it.

It was easy for Xxsklk to land without being observed by Earthlings because the latter, although they are quite numerous, do not make full use of the land area available to them. Rather, they prefer to crowd together in badly congested and unhealthy cities; the few who do reside outside the urban areas are no better off, being isolated from most human contact and the benefits of what little civilisation the Earthlings possess.

Unfortunately, this huddling together in cities does not even indicate that human culture puts a high value on social solidarity. On the contrary, Earthlings seem to come together primarily in order to create absurd and artificial distinctions among themselves. They discriminate against each other on the basis of such irrelevant factors as skin color, hair color, gender, age, choice of clothing, etc. arbitrarily decreeing that members of "inferior" groups are not able or not permitted to live in designated areas or perform certain tasks. Humans also discriminate against each other on the basis of the land area which they inhabit, to the point of periodically attempting to kill large numbers of

The Meaning of the Tien An Men Demonstration

[The following interview with the veteran Chinese Trotskyist Peng Shu-tse was obtained July 10.]

* * *

Question. The mass demonstration that took place in Tien An Men Square, April 5, 1976, in Peking was noted throughout the world. Although the media reported the event, the significance of it is not yet clear. Can you describe the Tien An Men Square demonstration and explain its meaning?

Answer. In order to explain the Tien An Men Square incident, I must first describe events that preceded it, that is, Mao's campaign since early February, counterattacking the "rehabilitated rightist" faction.

The death of Premier Chou En-lai on January 8 of this year caused the political apparatus of the Chinese Communist party to lose its equilibrium, which is why Mao launched the antirightist campaign so soon after Chou's death.

At the Fourth People's Congress, held in January 1975, the faction associated with Chou En-lai and Teng Hsiao-p'ing gained control over all areas of the government, including the military. Mao was very disturbed with the situation, but he did not have the forces to challenge the Chou faction at that time. After the congress, Mao prepared to continue the faction struggle in his own way, the background to which I have outlined in my interview with *Intercontinental Press* published January 12, 1976.

Chou En-lai's death left the Chou-Teng faction without a leader capable of maintaining power over Mao's faction. Hence, Mao quickly took advantage of Chou's death to launch a campaign to destroy his faction.

It should be noted that the Chinese masses mourned Chou's death on a mass scale. Millions of people in Peking alone attended a memorial service for Chou. Young workers, soldiers, and students expressed their sorrow visibly, many even wailing and crying, as reported by Chinese and foreign correspondents. This shows that the majority of people in China had a great deal of respect for Chou En-lai.

On the other hand, the masses' response showed anxiety and fear about what effects Chou's death would have on the government. The situation was clearly dangerous for Mao, who quickly moved to restore his personal dictatorship over the party and the government.

Q. Who are the "rehabilitated rightists"?

A. These are the old leaders and cadres who were purged during the Cultural Revolution and rehabilitated at the Tenth Party Congress held in August 1973. Almost all the first secretaries and heads of the Revolutionary Committees who were purged during the Cultural Revolution are supporters of the Chou-Teng faction and were rehabilitated at the congress under the pressure of the Chou-Teng faction, creating a very dangerous situation for the Maoists. After Chou's death, Mao struck at the Chou-Teng faction by attacking Teng as the man responsible for the rehabilitation of these "rightists."

According to the constitution of the People's Republic of China, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who was vice-premier, should have become the successor to Premier Chou En-lai. However, Mao used his post as chairman of the CCP to appoint Hua Kuo-feng as the acting premier.

Q. What are the political arguments against Teng in this struggle?

A. The Maoists say that Teng abandoned the class struggle and attempted to restore capitalism. They identify Teng as the representative of the "capitalist-roaders." In an article published in the *People's Daily* February 17, entitled "The Point Is the Restoration of Capitalism," the "capitalist-roaders" were accused of proposing to use the "Three Directives" as a program opposed to the class struggle. Teng was accused of refusing to accept the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In reality, Mao proposed the Three Directives himself after the Cultural Revolution: stability and unity, development of the national economy, and class struggle. The directives were generally accepted as correct until the current campaign. Now they are counterposed to the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to brand Teng as a capitalist-roader.

On March 1, *Red Flag*, theoretical organ of the CCP, published an article called, "A General Program of Restoration of Capitalism." The article attacks the "Four Modernizations"—agricultural modernization, industrial modernization, defense modernization, and scientific and technological modernization. The Four Modernizations were proposed by Chou En-lai at the Fourth People's Congress as the way China could overcome its backwardness in order to become a strong socialist country

in the next twenty-five years.

Chou is generally correct on these four steps, but overcoming China's backwardness is not simply a question of the economic system but also of the political structure. If the bureaucratic dictatorship continues, modernization of the economy is impossible. However, the masses do not understand this weakness in Chou En-lai's program.

As I said before, the Maoists did not have the strength at the Fourth People's Congress to oppose Chou's faction. They did not openly criticize the Four Modernizations at all. Yet, immediately after Chou's death, throughout February and March, all the newspapers and magazines controlled by the Maoists repeatedly attacked Teng Hsiao-p'ing, just as they had previously attacked Lin Piao as a Confucianist and a capitalist restorationist. They claimed that the Four Modernizations would abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat and establish the dictatorship of the capitalists.

Seeing such violent attacks in the media, the people were naturally confused and afraid. The incident at Tien An Men Square was an attempt by the masses to express their ideas and their fears about the political situation.

Q. What actually happened at Tien An Men Square on April 5?

A. There is a traditional custom in China at the beginning of April called the Ching Ming Festival, where the people pay respects to their ancestors. The people in Peking used the occasion to take wreaths to the Monument of People's Heroes to pay their respects to Chou En-lai.

The first wreaths were brought by workers from three machine factories. Then, soldiers brought wreaths. On the second, third, and fourth of April, the people continued bringing wreaths and some brought pictures of Chou En-lai. On April 4, between forty and fifty thousand people came to Tien An Men Square to pay their respects in this manner.

It is of special significance that many of the wreaths had slogans and poems attached to them. For example, one slogan was, "Respect for Premier Chou En-lai, We Will Always Remember You." Another said, "Long Live Our Respected Premier Chou, We Want to Defend Your Heroic Memory and We Will Finish Your Projected Plan." Another stated, "Beware Conspirators in the Party, Down With the Betrayers of Chou En-lai."

All these slogans not only reveal support for Chou En-lai but take a position against



Gamma/Newsweek

Part of protest at Tien An Men Square.

Mao. Other slogans such as "Down With the Dowager Empress"¹ and "Down With Indira Gandhi" are slogans against Chiang Ch'ing, Mao's wife, who is the real leader of the antirightist campaign.

This activity worried and angered Mao, who ordered the police and the militia to take all the wreaths away from the monument. News of this unwise move spread quickly throughout Peking and aroused the anger and indignation of the people.

Early in the morning of April 5, the masses surged into Tien An Men Square. They came to protest the removal of the wreaths and brought more wreaths to the Monument of People's Heroes. By the middle of the day, more than 100,000 had gathered in the square, a figure acknowledged by the *People's Daily*.

The crowd demanded return of the wreaths. Their demands turned to violence in some instances such as the following:

- When a propaganda car drove near the square, it was surrounded, the occupants were removed, and the car overturned.

- A car driven by party cadres was stopped and set on fire.

- About 3 p.m., three cars driven by secret police were emptied of their occupants and set on fire.

- It was supposed by some of the crowd that the wreaths might have been taken inside the Great Hall of the People, which was guarded by several hundred soldiers, militia, and police. A struggle ensued when the crowd demanded entrance to the building.

- Another section of the crowd supposed some uniformed officers outside a building in a nearby square had ordered the removal of the wreaths. The crowd entered the building, took books and documents, destroyed furniture, and eventually set fire to the building.

By six or seven p.m. the masses were tired and hungry and felt that they had been victorious, as their demonstration had not been suppressed. They jubilantly sang the "Internationale": "Arise ye prisoners of starvation . . . A better world's in birth . . . 'Tis the final conflict, Let each stand in their place, The international party shall be the human race."

Finally, the people sent a wreath on which a poem expressed their defiance of Mao through the following lines:

*China is no longer the China of yore,
And the people are no longer wrapped in
sheer ignorance,
Ch'in Shih-huang's feudal society is
gone and cannot return.²
We believe in Marxism-Leninism.*

1. The Dowager Empress Tz'u Hsi (1835-1908) was the de facto ruler of China from 1862 until her death. She suppressed the reform movement of 1898 led by K'ang Yu-wei and imprisoned the young emperor, Kuang Hsü, her nephew, who had supported the reforms.—IP

*To Hell with those scholars who castrate
Marxism-Leninism.*

*What we want is genuine Marxism-
Leninism.*

*For the sake of genuine Marxism-
Leninism*

*We fear not shedding our blood and
laying down our lives.*

*The day the Four Modernizations in our
fields are realized*

*We will come back to offer libations and
sacrifices.*

It means that the people will no longer accept the arbitrary rule of Mao's party, which they liken to the feudal dictatorship of Ch'in Shih-huang. It calls for genuine Marxism-Leninism as opposed to the castrated version, Mao Tse-tung Thought. Reference to the Four Modernizations clearly shows support to Chou En-lai's economic and social programs as opposed to Mao's so-called proletarian revolutionary line, i.e., Mao's personal dictatorship.

Of course the Maoists were watching the day's events and finally ordered the militia, the police, and even the soldiers to go to the square.

Around 10 p.m., most of the crowd had dispersed, but more than 3,000 of the most determined and brave young people remained. It was then that more than 10,000 police, militia, and soldiers converged on the square from all sides and attacked the people, the militia beating protesters with long wooden clubs.

There are no official casualty figures, but according to some observers several hundred demonstrators were killed or wounded and many more were arrested.³ The demonstration and protest movement of April 5 in Tien An Men Square was suppressed in blood.

This act of suppression by Mao's bureaucratic regime is the first open attack on the people in the twenty-six years of the CCP's rule. The demonstration and its aftermath are a prelude to the political revolution against the bureaucratic dictatorship. It is similar to the situation in Hungary in 1956 when the people revolted against the Stalinist bureaucratic dictatorship in that country.

The *People's Daily* published an article on April 10 stating that the revolt involved only a handful of reactionary and antirevolutionary elements directed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing from behind the scenes. Teng

2. Ch'in Shih-huang (259-210 B.C.) was the first emperor of China and is generally regarded as one of the greatest despots of all time. As a supporter of the harsh Legalist philosophers, he ordered the burying alive of Confucian scholars and the burning of their books. During the campaign against Lin Piao and Confucius over the last two years, Mao has upheld Ch'in Shih-huang's methods for the suppression of dissent as a model for a revolutionary regime.—IP

3. From an eyewitness account in the April 16 issue of *Yellow River*, a Hong Kong magazine published by Chinese radicals and former Red Guards.—IP

was branded as the Chinese Imre Nagy.⁴

Such a description is a total lie by the Maoists, who admit that 100,000 were gathered at the square. The demonstration was clearly spontaneous, from all accounts.

One statement in the *People's Daily* article is true, however—Teng Hsiao-p'ing is like a Chinese Nagy. He is not a real revolutionary leader, but a reformist and a compromiser. He played a certain objective role in the demonstration because he was the focus of Mao's antirightist campaign that precipitated the whole Tien An Men incident.

Q. What was the reaction of the people throughout the country to the Tien An Men incident, and what measures were taken by the Maoists afterwards?

A. Most news reports of the events have been strictly censored by the government. However, some facts have been revealed by foreign and Chinese travelers who witnessed demonstrations in several cities such as Nanking and Cheng-Chou in the province of Honan, and K'un-ming in the province of Yunnan. Of course, these actions were on a smaller scale than in Peking and no details are available.

As for the measures taken by the Maoists after the Tien An Men incident, I can indicate two. First, Teng Hsiao-p'ing was formally removed from all posts inside and outside the party and the government. Second, the Maoists mobilized the police, the militia, and even the street committees⁵ to search for those who had participated in the Tien An Men demonstration, especially the young people.

An unknown number of militants were arrested. Their fate has not been revealed, but a news account in the *People's Daily* reported that a so-called public trial was held in Peking in mid-May. At this trial, five people were supposedly judged by the people. Two were sentenced to death and the other three to thirty years at hard labor.

Q. What attitude has been taken by Mao toward the late Premier Chou En-lai since the Tien An Men incident? Has Mao continued the campaign against the "rehabilitated rightists" of the Chou-Teng faction?

4. Imre Nagy (1896-1958), a long-time leader of the Hungarian Communist party, was elevated to the premiership during the Hungarian revolution of October-November 1956. He represented a wing of the bureaucracy that sought to contain the workers' uprisings through a policy of concessions. After the revolt was crushed by Soviet troops, Nagy was taken to Romania, accused of helping to organize the uprising, secretly tried, and executed.—IP

5. Street committees, or neighborhood Revolutionary Committees as they have been called since the Cultural Revolution, are the governmental apparatus at the block level in major cities.—IP

A. The Maoists clearly understand that the people respect Chou En-lai and support his programs against Mao's. They have not dared to criticize Chou openly for fear of arousing more anti-Maoist sentiment. On the other hand, the Maoists will attempt to criticize Chou En-lai in order to clarify their line and explain their suppression of the Tien An Men demonstration.

This contradiction for them has meant that they only abstractly criticize the Four Modernizations, and are waiting for a better opportunity to make Chou En-lai himself a target.

Of course the Maoists continue the campaign against Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the "rehabilitated rightists." Since Tien An Men Square, there have been numerous articles attacking them and several public meetings have been held. Yet up to now no action has been taken against these so-called rightists. The only one specifically named is still Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

In some localities, such as Hunan Province, the Maoists openly criticized the first secretary of the party, but they took no steps to remove him from office.

The Maoists' attitude toward the army, especially toward the commanders in the outlying areas, is one of caution. Most of these men were rehabilitated by Chou En-lai and support his ideas. No commanders have been removed from their posts, although some have been transferred. This shows that the Maoists do not have the cadres qualified to replace these men and will wait for a better opportunity in the future.

Q. The media in Europe and America call Mao's faction "radical" and Chou's faction "moderate." The Maoists call the Chou-Teng faction "rehabilitated rightists" and "capitalist-roaders." Most people think the word radical means "progressive" and even "revolutionary," whereas "moderate" means "conservative" and even "reactionary." What are the real meanings of these labels?

A. All the factions inside the CCP can be called Stalinist because they all support Stalinism theoretically and politically. In practice, however, certain differences do exist between them. An example from Mao's domestic policy is when he launched the Great Leap Forward and the People's Communes.

Defense Minister P'eng Te-huai and Chief of Staff Huang K'o-ch'eng, supported by Liu Shao-ch'i, disagreed with Mao's adventurist policies. They were purged by Mao and labeled as "rightists."

Another example for the early 1960s is when Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing took some measures in the industrial, agricultural, and cultural fields, including certain concessions to the peasants and intellectuals, in order to correct Mao's adventurist policies. Mao accused Liu and

Teng of being "rightists" and "revisionists." He launched the Cultural Revolution to purge them from the party.

When Khrushchev launched de-Stalinization at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, Liu and Teng welcomed it and took it as an example to be practiced in China. At the Eighth Party Congress of the CCP in 1956, Liu and Teng were responsible for the removal of the following words from the statutes of the party: "The thought of Mao Tse-tung combined with principles derived from practical experiences of the Chinese Revolution, united with Marxism-Leninism, are the guiding principles of all its [the party's] work."

In addition, Teng in his report on changing of the statutes said, "The personality cult is an old historical and social phenomenon. It is to a certain degree reflected in the life of our party and society. Our task is to carry out successfully, consistently, and with determination, the directives of the Central Committee against individual prominence and personal glorification."

The prohibition against Mao's personal cult expressed by Teng at the Eighth Congress is the principal reason for the current campaign against him.

Mao's foreign policy reveals more about his "radical" faction. During the 1960s he called on all the oppressed people throughout the world to unite to destroy American imperialism. Since the early 1970s, however, he has taken the opposite position. He invited Nixon to China, which produced the so-called Shanghai communiqué confirming the principles of peaceful coexistence between the imperialist United States and the People's Republic of China. The Maoists no longer call on the oppressed peoples to unify against imperialism but, on the contrary, call on imperialism to unify to destroy the Soviet Union.

Based on the above examples, one can see the differences between the Mao and the Chou-Teng factions. If we are to call things by their right names, Mao's faction should be labeled the hard-line Stalinists and the Chou-Teng faction, the moderate Stalinists.

The demonstrators at Tien An Men Square showed sympathy for the moderates as against the hard-liners. It is very similar to the Hungarian people's sympathy for Nagy against Rákosi in 1956.

It is certain that the militants who participated in the Tien An Men Square demonstration will draw the lessons from that struggle for the future political revolution in China. They must organize themselves into a new faction, a revolutionary party, to carry out the political revolution to overthrow the bureaucratic dictatorship and establish a system of proletarian socialist democracy. Only under the leadership of a revolutionary party can the masses be mobilized to achieve the "Four Modernizations," creating in China a modern socialist state. □

The Fight for Soviet Democracy in the USSR

By Ernest Mandel

[The West German monthly magazine *Das Da*, published in Hamburg, has run a series of comments on the political views of the Soviet nuclear scientist and political dissident Andrei Sakharov. Among those who have taken part in this debate are a representative of the Soviet writers union; a pro-CP West German novelist; Rudi Dutschke, the well-known radical student leader of the late 1960s; and Heinz Brandt, a left socialist who was a victim of a GPU kidnapping and is now a regular contributor to the West German metalworkers' weekly newspaper *Metall*, as well as others. The editors asked Ernest Mandel to state his views on the same subject. The following article by Mandel appeared in the June 1976 issue of *Das Da*. The translation from the German is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

I completely reject Sakharov's current political position. Under the influence of a one-sided preoccupation with the internal political situation in the USSR, the Soviet scientist has shifted his course away from his socialist convictions toward openly procapitalist views. He has lost his understanding of the decisive responsibility capitalism and imperialism bear for the dreadful conditions in the semicolonies and for the inhuman crimes of the old and new fascist dictatorships.

Sakharov is increasingly blind to the gradual restriction of democratic freedoms in the West that is coming in the train of growing economic difficulties and sharpening class struggles. He fails to notice the newly demonstrated fact that mass unemployment and setbacks in the standard of living and the working conditions of broad strata periodically recur in the capitalist countries.

The Soviet scientist no longer understands that private ownership of the means of production, along with competition, generates a dynamic of capital accumulation and lust for profit that threatens to turn the forces of production into forces of destruction, periodically endangering the existence of material and intellectual culture, and even the physical survival of humanity itself.

As a result of this loss of vision he also cannot comprehend the only possible solution to the world crisis of society—the liberation of human beings from their subordination to reified technology and

alienated commodity production, their transformation from victims of technological "professional deformation" and the "eternal laws of the market" into freely associating producers who determine their own fate in accordance with a plan commonly arrived at. He does not understand that history has brought us up against the dilemma of socialism or barbarism.

However, while I reject Sakharov's political position, I unconditionally support his right to advocate these views freely and openly in the Soviet Union. I support his courageous campaign in defense of the human and civil rights of all Soviet citizens. I maintain, along with him, that there can be no real soviet democracy as long as dissident views cannot be openly printed and propagated. As Rosa Luxemburg put it so cogently, *democracy is always freedom for dissenters*.

So, I think the paragraphs in the Soviet penal code that make "antisoviet agitation" or "slander against the soviet regime" punishable by imprisonment are unconstitutional, and as such should be stricken as soon as possible. These sections are an attempt to decisively restrict the freedoms of expression, speech, assembly, and the right to demonstrate that are granted by the constitution. Moreover, they reintroduce the antiquated and reactionary category of "crimes of opinion" harking back to the era of absolutism, like the reactionary blacklisting laws in the German Federal Republic that degrade persons to the status of second-class citizens not because of any criminal acts but solely because of their political convictions.

The fact that in the USSR working people can be sentenced to long years in labor camps for nothing more than criticizing the political decisions of their government stands in clear contradiction to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a *type of state modeled on the Paris Commune*, without political police, without a standing repressive apparatus, a type of state in which *regardless of their political convictions or party allegiances* working people must enjoy more freedom of thought and speech, more freedom to organize and demonstrate, than in the freest bourgeois republic.

In the USSR, there is no free access to printing presses and meeting halls for every group of workers that wants it in order to criticize the general line (in economic, domestic, foreign, cultural, or

nationalities policy) of the regime in power. To the contrary, any attempt to exercise the rights guaranteed in the constitution for such a purpose would immediately result in imprisonment.

The paragraphs in the penal code that make "antisoviet agitation" punishable by terms in forced labor camps enable the government and the government party to assure unchallenged their unconstitutional monopoly in administering the state and the economy. Any criticism of the general line of the party leadership is immediately punished as "antisoviet agitation."

Sometimes this leads to absurd results. If convinced advocates of the power of workers councils and democracy based on workers councils called for immediately transferring state power in the USSR to a congress of workers councils elected directly in the factories, in which more than one party could be represented (including of course the Communist party of the Soviet Union), they would be sentenced as "antisoviet agitators." But the word "workers councils" means the same thing as "soviets." Agitation for workers councils is thus considered antisoviet agitation, that is, agitation *against* workers councils! Thus, the bureaucracy arbitrarily decrees that white is really black.

Freedom of opinion and speech, freedom to conduct agitation, do not harm the construction of socialism but rather benefit it. Since there are no all-knowing general secretaries or Central Committees (CCs), since governments and CCs can err and have clearly done so in innumerable cases, free public discussion makes it possible to more rapidly formulate alternative solutions that may be more correct than those of the majority (only practical experience can demonstrate who is right) and to more rapidly correct errors.

Can anyone seriously maintain that the grave crisis that has marked the Soviet economy for decades could not have been more easily and rapidly overcome if there were a free and open discussion of alternative economic and agricultural policies? At every congress of the CPSU for the last twenty-five years, there has been a denunciation of abuses in the factories—vast unutilized reserves, investment plans frozen for years, irregular supply of raw materials.

Who can deny that these abuses could not have been decisively reduced if the work force were able to denounce them openly in the press without having to check first with the party committees, or if



Canadian Labour

Czechoslovak demonstration against 1968 Soviet invasion. Soviet Communists have been sentenced to long prison terms for

criticizing the invasion, despite fact that West European Communist parties have often denounced it in even stronger terms.

they had the right in fact to themselves eliminate them by introducing a system of factory management through elected factory councils subject to recall at any time? Why can't there be an open discussion in the Soviet Union in the press and in factory assemblies about democratically centralized workers self-management as an alternative to the "one-man rule" of factory directors? Does workers self-management equal "capitalist restoration"? Does agitating for workers self-management constitute "antisoviet agitation"?

Still worse: Why as soon as they make the mildest criticism of the Soviet government do communists and socialists in the Soviet Union have less freedom than they enjoy in many capitalist countries? Why can the French and Italian Communists attack their bourgeois governments without having their statements censored, while *Pravda* censored the French CP representative's speech at the Twenty-Fifth Congress of the CPSU, as Jean Kanapa complained in his last report to the CC of the French party?

Why have Soviet Communists been sentenced to long prison terms if they criticized the military intervention of the Warsaw Pact powers in Czechoslovakia, when the strongest Communist parties in West Europe (the Italian, French, Spanish, British, Swedish, and Belgian) have often

denounced this intervention in still stronger terms? Are the majority of West European Communists perhaps only disguised anti-Communists?

Citizen Gerasimov of the Soviet writers union ended his contribution to the discussion in *Das Da* on the "Sakharov case" with the following sentences:

"After the bourgeois revolutions in Europe, there were more than a few people—either conservative or just feeble-minded—who wanted to go back to feudalism. It should be remembered that at that time such people were also called 'dissidents'" (*Das Da*, May 1976, p. 23).

I have to round out Citizen Gerasimov's memory in two respects. First, fifty years after the bourgeois revolution these profederal conservatives were not being imprisoned or locked up in insane asylums. They were allowed to speak and write freely. Why fifty years after the victory of the October revolution does the Soviet government feel so threatened by "feeble-minded" individuals that it does not let them speak and write freely but rather frequently condemns them to forced labor for crimes of opinion?

How could the exploitative capitalist societies of England and Switzerland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, societies deeply riven by class antagonisms, allow Karl Marx and V.I. Lenin to

agitate openly against the established social order, while Soviet society, which is supposed to be so united, feels gravely threatened by agitation against the established order and resorts to repression to stamp it out? Is Soviet society today perhaps more divided than the capitalist England of 1865 with its mass poverty?

Secondly, not only procapitalist opinions are suppressed in the Soviet Union but also Marxist, revolutionary-socialist, and communist ones that differ from the official party line. As is shown by the "Open Letter to the European and American CPs,"¹ there are more than a few people sitting in Soviet forced labor camps who openly, both during and after the trials where they were sentenced, proclaim their allegiance to the teachings of Marx and Lenin, and whose only "crime" consists of printing and distributing texts expressing their interpretations of Marxism-Leninism.

I myself wrote, among other things, a book on Marxist economic theory and a Marxist analysis of "late capitalism," which stimulated vigorous discussion in

1. This document was printed in the July 3, 1975, issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly magazine published in Brussels by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. It was also printed in the September 12, 1975, issue of the *Militant*, a socialist weekly newspaper published in New York.—IP

broad circles in the international workers movement (including the Communist parties), as well as among scholars. The Western governments regard me as an irreconcilable opponent of capitalism. Four of them, including the United States, the German Federal Republic, and France, have banned me from their territories. Why can't my books be freely printed and distributed in the Soviet Union? Why is it that this article of mine, which despite its sharp criticism of capitalism can be published in capitalist Germany, cannot appear in the "socialist" Soviet Union?

Why is it that the works of L.D. Trotsky, the organizer of the October insurrection, the creator of the Red Army, the man designated in Lenin's last testament as the CPSU's most capable leader, are not freely available in the USSR? Why is it that they no longer print the works of such outstanding Communists as Gregory Zinoviev, the first chairman of the Communist International; Nikolai Bukharin, Zinoviev's successor in this post; Evgeny Preobrazhensky, the first general secretary (preceeding Stalin) of the CC of the CPSU; Christian Rakovsky, the first chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic; and of many other members of Lenin's Central Committee, whose names, despite Stalin's crimes against them, remain inseparably bound up with the history of the socialist October revolution and the founding of the Soviet state?

Suppression of freedom of opinion, thought, and the press in the USSR only assists capitalism in its attempt to present itself to people both in the East and West as a "freer" system than socialist society. It is an obstacle to the consolidation of genuine socialist consciousness in the minds of Soviet citizens. Ideologies (even reactionary ones) can only be effectively combated on the level of ideas. If you try to suppress them by force, in the long run you only give them more force.

It was not without reason that the great Soviet scholar Kapitza said on the fiftieth anniversary of the October revolution that the present generation of Soviet youth no longer knows how to argue. Only in a climate of sharp, public, wide-ranging debate, can Marxism (which has been withering in the role of a state religion) bloom again, can new Plekhanovs, new Lenins, new Trotskys, flourish in the USSR. But this is probably precisely the main reason why the Soviet bureaucracy suppresses freedom of debate. There is nothing it fears more than a politically active, conscious working class.

Marxism is a science, which like any science, can only develop in a climate of unrestricted, free confrontation of opinions. We should note what the old Friedrich Engels wrote to August Bebel on May 1, 1891:²

2. Marx's criticism of the Gotha program of the German Social Democratic party in a letter

"Since you tried to prevent publication of the article by force and *Neue Zeit* has been warned that the next time this happens it may be expropriated by the party and placed under censorship, the seizure of your entire press by the party must necessarily appear to me in a peculiar light. How are you any different than Puttkammer,³ if you introduce an 'antisocialist law'⁴ into our own ranks? No party in any country can impose silence on me if I am determined to speak out. But I should like you to consider if you would not do better to be less touchy—less Prussian—in your dealings. You—the party—need socialist scholarship, and the latter cannot live without freedom of movement."

These words breathe the whole spirit of genuine Marxism. They haunt the conscience of the present rulers of the USSR.

Repression of dissidents for mere crimes of opinion, the brutal suppression of freedom of the press and freedom to organize for political oppositionists, an "antisocialist law" and censorship "in our own ranks"—all these things are by no means just "blemishes" that "with time" can be removed from the lovely face of "socialism" in the USSR. As Marxists we have to find the *social explanation* for the continuing absence of soviet democracy in the USSR, more than twenty years after the Twentieth Party Congress, more than twenty-five years since the victory of the Chinese revolution broke the encirclement of the Soviet Union, when the USSR has already become the world's second-largest industrial power. To *continue* to attribute this political deformation today to backwardness and relative poverty is insufficient; ascribing it to "the cult of the personality" is simply laughable.

The explanation of the abuses in the Soviet Union lies in the fact that Lenin already described in 1921: The Soviet Union is not a pure workers state but a

known under the title "Marginal Comments" was long suppressed by the party leadership. It attacked formulations in the program reflecting concessions to the concepts of Lassalle. (The Gotha program was drafted as a basis for fusion between the Lassalleans and the Marxists.) Although the letter was written in 1875, it did not become generally known until 1891, when Engels got it published in the party journal *Neue Zeit* without the approval of the party officials. The leadership raised the question of discipline and procedures. It was in response to this that Engels made these remarks in his May 1 letter to Bebel. For the text, see *Marx Engels Werke*, Berlin 1968, vol. 38, p. 89.—IP

3. Robert Victor von Puttkamer, German minister of the interior from 1881 to 1888, during much of the period when repressive legislation was in force against the Social Democratic party.—IP

4. The Antisocialist Law was in force in the German Empire from 1878 to 1890. It denied legal rights to the Social Democratic party and its mass organizations.—IP

bureaucratically deformed one. The direct exercise of state power gradually slipped out of the hands of the working class, out of the hands of its freely elected councils, out of the hands of its vanguard. It was monopolized by the state, economic, and party bureaucracy.

On the basis of that monopoly of administration and authority, this social layer holds enormous material privileges, which it seeks by every means to defend. Soviet democracy with unrestricted civil rights for everyone; workers leaders freely elected in votes where various parties and groupings could present slates; workers control over the entire economy and state; unrestricted public debate on all questions of interest to the society, including those of "high policy"; democratically centralized workers self-management in the factories—all this would mean the end of these privileges. And so the bureaucracy clings to its monopoly of power and to the one-party system that covers it up and legitimizes it. For this reason it stubbornly opposes any genuine soviet democracy, even though this could only help in building socialism.

The bureaucracy is not a new class. Capitalism has not been restored in the Soviet Union. The Soviet working class feels instinctively what a gigantic step backward such a restoration would bring and is vigorously resisting the first steps in this direction, such as, for example, giving factory directors the right to dismiss workers. I stand completely on the side of these workers in their defense of the gains of the October revolution, against the procapitalist machinations of their oppressors, as well as against the proposals of a Sakharov.

The best guarantee against such a restoration is an independently acting, self-managing, politically mobilized working class. Such a force will once again come onto the stage in the Soviet Union, to the terror not only of the present rulers but also of imperialism and of Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov. The struggle of the international working class, especially the West European workers, for a democratic system of workers councils in the highly industrialized countries, will, once it wins a decisive victory, make an important contribution to this new rise of the Soviet working class. □

Thousands of Uruguayans Deprived of Political Rights

The political rights of thousands of Uruguayans were suspended September 1 under a decree signed as the first official act by the country's new president, Aparicio Méndez.

The suspension of the right to be elected or to hold public office is to remain in effect for fifteen years. It applies to the leading members of all existing political parties, including former President Juan María Bordaberry.

OUT NOW!

Chapter 21

The Chicago Democratic Party Convention Demonstrations

By Fred Halstead

[First of two parts]

The California primary on June 6, 1968, resulted in a victory for Robert F. Kennedy, which would have given him an excellent chance at winning the Democratic Party nomination for president. But he was assassinated the night of the primary. It soon became apparent that Vice-President Hubert Humphrey was the choice of the major elements of the Democratic Party machine. McCarthy was still a candidate but considered to have little chance. The major ambiguity that had faced the Lake Villa conference, then, was pretty well cleared up by mid-June. Nevertheless, there was no widespread agreement among the antiwar forces about demonstrating at the Democratic Party convention.

Dellinger, Bob Greenblatt, Rennie Davis, and Tom Hayden, who were actually running the National Mobilization Committee at the time, were still very anxious for a series of multi-issue demonstrations at the convention.

The SWP and the YSA were now opposed to demonstrating at the Democratic Party convention. What had changed their attitude was the declination of Johnson. In their view the whole

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.

idea had been to take advantage of the appearance of Johnson who was a major symbol of the war. But after Johnson's withdrawal there would be no such clear focus and any demonstrations by the antiwar movement at the convention would be seen as support to the doves within the Democratic Party, in particular as pro-McCarthy demonstrations. On principle the SWP and the YSA wanted nothing to do with supporting any Democrat or Republican for public office, and they opposed the antiwar movement being co-opted to reform of the Democratic Party.

It would be better, said the YSA, for the antiwar movement to concentrate on organizing demonstrations around Hiroshima Day and in the fall. This position was presented at the SMC continuations committee meeting on June 29 and it passed. (It is anybody's guess whether it would have carried if there had been a full SMC conference and no walkout.)

The moderate forces, like Women Strike for Peace and the local SANE chapters, were generally heavily involved in the McCarthy campaign. They were not necessarily against demonstrations at the Democratic Party convention, but they viewed them precisely as pro-McCarthy efforts and attempts to influence the platform of the Democratic Party. To be effective in that sense, however, the demonstrations would have to be orderly.

This approach was in some respects in sharp contrast to that of Jerry Rubin, Abbie Hoffman, the rest of the Yippies, and other ultraleft and anarchist-type forces attracted to the Chicago

actions. For months Rubin had been going around speaking publicly in deliberately outrageous terms about what might happen in Chicago. For example, in a public debate with me, before Johnson declined, Rubin presented a scenario as follows.

"The time: August, 1968. The place: Chicago. Chicago is in panic. The American Youth Festival has brought 500,000 young people to Chicago to camp out, smoke pot, dance to wild music, burn draft cards and roar like wild bands through the streets, forcing the President to bring troops back from Vietnam to keep order in the city while he is nominated under the protection of tear gas and bayonets."¹

My reply was, if the leaders of the demonstrations talked like that, there would be no chance of getting a half-million demonstrators to Chicago, or anything more than a few thousand.

Rubin also frequently articulated the theory of provoked repression—which was not unique to him. In the same debate he told the audience: "Repression turns demonstration protests into wars. Actors into heroes. Masses of individuals into a community. Repression eliminates the bystander, the neutral observer, the theorist. It forces everyone to pick a side. A movement cannot grow without repression. The Left needs an attack from the Right and the Center. Life is theater, and we are the guerrillas attacking the shrines of authority, from the priests and the holy dollar to the two-party system. Zapping people's minds and putting them through changes in actions in which everyone is emotionally involved. The street is the stage. You are the star of the show. And everything you were once taught is up for grabs."

Though the motivations of Dellinger and Rubin were not identical, their approaches had a lot in common, and neither one changed his mind in the least regarding Chicago after Johnson's declination. For them the tactics dominated over the politics, or rather the tactics had *become* the politics. The same was more or less true of Rennie Davis. Davis, however, had practical organizational talent and much of the detail rested on his shoulders.

Tom Hayden stood between the moderate, pro-McCarthy forces and those bent on confrontation, or, to be more accurate, he viewed the one approach as complementary to the other.

(It was later revealed that, as the demonstrations came near, he sought an arrangement with McCarthy's campaign. The nomination of the presidential candidate was scheduled for Wednesday, August 28. According to Sam Brown, who was on McCarthy's staff, "Hayden suggested . . . that if McCarthy appeared to have a good chance by Monday or Tuesday—and if that chance might be hampered by public activity [the demonstrations]—then we could meet to decide whether to go ahead with the public activity.")²

Hayden personified the betrayed liberal turned enraged ultra-left, a not uncommon phenomenon in those days. Such people, for all their inflamed rhetoric, never became revolutionary in the

1. *Militant*, January 8, 1968.

2. *Washington Post*, January 22, 1970.

sense of seeking to build a new power that could effectively challenge the old, but looked throughout to the establishment liberals, and the Democratic Party in particular, as the real source of power for change. Their object seemed to be to shock, or threaten, or frighten the ruling circles—particularly in the Democratic Party—into changing their ways. They were therefore inclined to advocate superficially shocking acts. Occasionally I would lose my temper in movement discussions and refer to this approach as the “spoiled brat syndrome of politics,” like children creating a mess so their parents would pay attention to them. Those in this frenzied frame of mind had broad common political ground with the moderate groups in the antiwar movement but were often at odds with them on the level of tactics. (The relationship between the SWP and the moderate groups was generally the other way around.)

In all probability it would have been impossible to reconcile the differences that existed at a large conference, even among those who favored demonstrations at the Democratic Party convention. As it turned out there never was a conference which decided upon, and called, those demonstrations. Dellinger, Greenblatt, and Hayden simply held a steering committee meeting and authorized themselves to hold press conferences calling the demonstrations in the name of the National Mobilization Committee.

The only record I have found of this meeting is a coordinator's report by Bob Greenblatt which describes the actions taken, but not those in attendance beyond Greenblatt, Dellinger, and Hayden. According to this document, both the meeting and the public announcements—by Rennie Davis in Chicago and Dellinger and Hayden in New York—took place on the same day, June 29. (Perhaps coincidentally, perhaps not, this was the same day as the walkout from the SMC.)

The same steering committee meeting also set July 20 “as the time for a full meeting of the Administrative Committee in order to make further decisions about the political and strategic nature of the Chicago demonstrations.”³ But the administrative committee was presented with a *fait accompli* as far as the initial public announcement of the demonstrations was concerned.

The July 20 meeting, held in Cleveland and attended by about seventy-five people, was fairly broad as administrative committee meetings went. Representatives of the major elements of the coalition were there. Lew Jones debated Tom Hayden, but the YSA objections to the demonstrations were brushed aside. The SWP and the YSA were badly isolated at this meeting, and all they could do was make the record. For one thing, they found themselves in the uncomfortable position of opposing an action. But more important, the majority simply didn't agree with their objections. The moderates favored the demonstrations precisely because they would be seen as pro-McCarthy. Many of the others were either not really against being seen as pro-McCarthy, or considered that an unimportant consideration, which could be overcome by simply declaring that the demonstrations were in support of issues, not candidates.

While Dellinger insisted on such a declaration, he tended to straddle the McCarthy question, considering the chance for a confrontation to be the important thing. For example, in a public statement printed in the *Chicago Tribune* he wrote:

“In relation to the McCarthy candidacy, it is doubtful that McCarthy would have adopted his mildly antiwar position, would have entered the New Hampshire primaries or would have received sufficient support to have kept his candidacy somewhat viable, except for the turmoil and pressures created by the teach-ins, street demonstrations and active resistance. To abandon these tactics now would cut down the Movement's leverage and weaken McCarthy's bargaining power. . . . The Movement's power comes from those who refuse to be drafted, refuse to pay war taxes, desert or refuse orders in the Army, fill the streets, occupy buildings at Columbia, etc. Any candidate who is worthy

of our support had better have plenty of such ‘troops’ visible if he is to be taken seriously before or after election. Given the history of previous peace candidates, we shall need *more* troops. The future will determine whether we need them to support a McCarthy, to keep him honest or to combat him.”⁴

The July 20 meeting approved the plans as outlined by Hayden and Davis for the Chicago demonstration. But these were fairly vague and did not resolve the tensions between the moderate groups and the ultralefts. What is more, there was little countervailing influence in the mobilization staff, since neither the SWP nor the moderate groups had been represented there for several months. The Rubinesque rhetoric had far freer play than before the Pentagon march.

As the demonstrations appeared, the moderate groups, as well as some of the pacifists, took their distance from the actions. What is more, the McCarthy campaign canceled most of its own plans for activities outside the convention, and McCarthy himself appealed for his followers not to come to Chicago for demonstrations.

One reason for this may have been that the McCarthy campaign had gotten wind of how Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley—a key figure in the Democratic Party and a strong Humphrey backer—intended to deal with the demonstrators.

Consequently, the turnout for the demonstrations was far smaller than anyone had predicted, perhaps 15,000 all told, and only some 10,000 on hand for the largest single gathering. This was in the face of the fact that beforehand the Mobe announced it was making housing arrangements for 50,000 and printing up 100,000 copies of a demonstrators' guide, while the Mobe applications for permits had estimated 150,000.

On Sunday, August 25, the day before the convention opened, a rally of 5,000 youthful supporters welcomed McCarthy to town. This rally was not sponsored by the Mobe and the only mention of opposition to the war at this affair was in several thousand leaflets distributed by the SMC, advertising one of its meetings. The same day there was the first of a series of workshops and movement centers around town called by National Mobe, in which different groups discussed whatever they wanted and made plans for various street actions. Several of the largest of these workshops took place at Lincoln Park near the Old Town section of the near north side.

The Yippies had previously announced a camp-in in Lincoln Park as part of their “Festival of Life,” but the authorities had refused a permit. At 11:00 p.m. police announced over bullhorns the closing of the park. Some 1,500 persons had gathered there by shortly after midnight when the cops moved in. The police used tear gas and clubs, and threw people in the park pond. A number of newsmen were targets of police attack. Gas wafted over into Old Town, an area of cafes and shops frequented by student-aged youth, while the police moved through the area roughing up people who looked like hippies or demonstrators. Taunted by shouts of “pig” and greeted with occasional missiles, they responded by indiscriminate clubbings. This scene was repeated Monday night, and that pretty much set the tone for the rest of the week. According to a later report drawn up by a team of investigators under the direction of Daniel Walker, then president of the Chicago Crime Commission, “To read dispassionately the hundreds of statements describing at first hand the events of Sunday and Monday nights is to become convinced of the presence of what can only be called a police riot.”⁵

During the daylight hours of Monday and Tuesday there were several marches, ranging from a few hundred to 1,500 persons or so. Some were peaceful and some involved scuffles and a few arrests. But they were followed by general police thumping of youths, including bystanders, in the Old Town area after dark, as well as sweeps of the park after closing hour. On Monday and Tuesday night the demonstrators built makeshift barricades in

4. *Chicago Tribune*, August 9, 1968.

5. *Rights in Conflict*, a study directed by Daniel Walker. Quoted from *Life*, December 6, 1968.

3. National Mobilization Committee Coordinator's Report, by Robert Greenblatt, undated. (Copy in author's files.)

the park and tried to hold their ground at least for a time.

None of the demonstrations got anywhere near the Amphitheatre where the convention was being held, which was about four miles southwest of the Loop at Halsted and Forty-third streets. A thirty-block area around the Amphitheatre was sealed off by chain-link fence and police checkpoints. National guardsmen were encamped in several parks nearby. The city administration had refused all permits to march to the Amphitheatre. Prefabricated plywood walls were set up along some approaching routes, apparently so the delegates coming from the Loop hotels to the convention couldn't see parts of Chicago's slums.

On Wednesday, August 28, the day of the nomination, some 10,000 demonstrators gathered at a National Mobe rally in the bandshell area of Grant Park, a mile or so south of the center of the Loop. The rally was orderly until a young man lowered the American flag from a flagpole. Some cops moved to arrest him and were heckled by members of the crowd seated in that area. Seizing on this incident, a phalanx of about forty cops waded into that part of the crowd, clubbing freely. People scrambled out of the way, desperately climbing over overturned benches. Some were hurt. Another part of the crowd began to face off at the police.

Rennie Davis, who unlike Rubin was inclined to be in the thick of things even after they got sticky, moved with a line of marshals between the crowd and the cops, facing the crowd and trying to get people back in their seats. Some of the cops charged again and Davis was clubbed from behind and knocked unconscious.

At this point it is necessary to set the geographical scene. Grant Park lies between Lake Michigan on the east and Michigan Avenue on the west. Across Michigan Avenue from the park are hotels where many delegates were staying and where convention caucusing was going on. The strip of park directly on Michigan Avenue is separated from the rest—including the bandshell area—by a deep railroad channel which must be crossed by bridges.

Dellinger wanted to lead a nonviolent march from the rally across the nearest bridges, then south on Michigan Avenue toward the Amphitheatre. This route would not have taken the marchers directly in front of the convention hotels, since they would have emerged onto Michigan Avenue somewhat south of the hotel area.

He proposed that the crowd divide into two parts: those who were willing to face arrest would march to the Amphitheatre, and those who did not could either go north through the park or

disperse. As the march to the Amphitheatre moved west it found the bridges blocked by police and National Guard units, including military vehicles with racks of barbed wire attached to their fronts. Dellinger then started a sit-down.

Tom Hayden, however, had delivered an impassioned speech to the rally after Davis was knocked out, which was not entirely in line with Dellinger's plan. According to the *Chicago Daily News*, Hayden said:

"This city and the military machinery it has aimed at us won't permit us to protest in an organized fashion.

"Therefore we must move out of this park in groups throughout this city and turn this excited, overheated military machine against itself.

"Let us make sure that if blood flows, it flows all over the city; if they use gas against us, let's make sure they use gas against their own citizens.

"If the police run wild, let them run wild all over Chicago—not just over us sitting in the park. If they are going to disrupt us and our march, let them disrupt the whole city."⁶

Part of the crowd following Dellinger did not sit down. Some of them simply dispersed, especially after tear gas was used. But part of them swung around and joined the group moving north, making about 3,000.

They found each bridge blocked until they reached Monroe Drive, about a mile north, where they swarmed across. By coincidence at just that time a parade of about a hundred Blacks and a mule wagon, led by the Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was coming south on Michigan Avenue. This group had a parade permit and a police escort. The crowd from Grant Park joined in and moved south along with the mule wagon toward the hotels on Michigan Avenue.

Then the police made what would appear later as a first-class blunder. Instead of letting the march continue south on Michigan Avenue, at least as far as some more isolated spot, they halted it in front of the Conrad Hilton, one of the main convention hotels, where a lot of McCarthy delegates were staying. Meanwhile another couple of thousand people, not all of them demonstrators, had gathered in the general area of the Hilton. Speakers in the crowd shouted to move on with the march. While TV cameras rolled, the cops waded in with clubs swinging.

6. *Chicago Daily News*, August 29, 1968.

[To be continued]

定期購読で

インターコンティネンタル・プレスを!

"Regularly buy and read the periodical
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS!"

That's the handwritten advice from one of our
supporters in Tokyo.

Right on!

We can only add that the easiest way to "regularly
buy and read" is to subscribe.

So fill out the blank and mail it in.

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

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

() Enclosed is \$12 for six months.

() Enclosed is \$24 for one year.

Selections From the Left



"Banner," monthly organ of the Finnish Social Democratic Youth League.

In the August issue, Jukka Paastela, the paper's main writer on international affairs, argues that those who want to rejuvenate the Social Democratic parties by giving them a more left image should keep their eyes on the Japanese Socialist party.

The contradictions of Japanese capitalism are extreme and seem to be reaching a point of crisis.

"The rate of capital accumulation is very high, and this leads, among other things, to a kind of government regulation of 'economic life' that defends a high rate of exploitation. According to some estimates, 90 percent of government activity is devoted to assisting the capitalists. The taxes on the workers are very severe, but there are few social services."

As a result of an unusually close intertwining of government and capitalist enterprise, Paastela explained, "Japan's economy is based more on heavy industry than that of any other country. It has been established that in 1955-63, heavy industry predominated more over light industry in Japan than it did in the USSR in Stalin's heyday from 1928 to 1940!"

Now, "Japan has been hard hit by the world depression. While in the past there was hardly any unemployment, today millions are without jobs. Many branches of industry, actually sectors of labor, are being shifted to Taiwan or Indonesia, where there is no possibility of labor conflict or political opposition."

In Japan itself the union movement is weak. Total union membership is only between seven and eight million, out of a population of 110 million.

The Japanese SP has only 15,000 members, Paastela notes, citing a study by Lucien Simon, a writer close to the French SP. Moreover: "The party is split between two main currents. About 40% of the members support the left current of Sasaki and Narita and the Trotskyist factions. The right wing is led by Saburo Eda and has the support of 30 percent of the members. In addition, there are numerous small factions, such as the friends of the Soviet Union, China, and the West German SP.

"The rightist faction is seeking a coalition with the main Japanese bourgeois party, the Liberal Democrats. Eda thinks the example to follow is the German SP,

that is, gaining a large share of the state power through allying with the bourgeoisie."

However, "the Lockheed scandal has also touched Japan and is offering new opportunities to the workers parties. Cooperation between the SP and the CP is needed to increase the forces of the left as a whole."

The objection that Japanese SP leaders raise to the perspective of joint work with the CP is that such alliances at the local level have always resulted in the SP losing votes to the Stalinists.

Paastela rejects this argument: "The reason the SP hasn't been able to maintain its support in such cases is its ideological weakness and divisions." The party needs to reinforce its political arguments against the CP and develop the kind of organization that could compete with the Stalinists.

"Everything points to the conclusion that the key to advancing to socialism in Japan is renovating the Japanese SP. The general conditions are such that only a turn like the one the French SP made in 1971 can open up new possibilities. Will a 'French' turn develop in the Japanese SP?"

COMBAT OUVRIER

"Workers Struggle," revolutionary communist (Trotskyist) monthly for the construction of a revolutionary workers party in Martinique and Guadeloupe, for the emancipation of the peoples of Martinique and Guadeloupe, for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

The July 28 issue reports that more than a hundred tons of bananas exported from Guadeloupe to France are being fed to animals rather than being put on the market.

The bananas were bought up as part of the French agricultural price support program and sold to farmers for less than the cost of fodder.

"How has such a situation come about? Quite simply because the consumption of bananas has dropped in France because of the heat wave, and so the price has gone down. The Antillean exporters prefer to dump their bananas rather than sell them at low prices. This is the law of profit. For the capitalists it is better to destroy commodities than sell them at a reduced profit.

"After shedding tears for years about inadequate production that was supposed to be due to the drought in the Antilles, the capitalists who own the banana plantations are complaining about a surplus

caused this time by the drought in France.

"However, in both cases these gentlemen lose nothing because the government is ready to help them out. Their moaning and groaning is only an act to justify the big subsidies they get to compensate them for the cut in their profits. And while these bananas are being given to animals for fodder, we are continuing to import fruit and vegetables produced in France because the best land in the Antilles is devoted to producing these same bananas."



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

An editorial in the June 24 issue describes a new development in the crisis of the Liberal Democratic party, the main Japanese capitalist party, which has been hard hit by the Lockheed bribe scandals.

"On June 14, six LDP Diet members belonging to the 'Kono Group' around Yohei Kono announced their intention to split from the party and establish a new conservative party. It has been arranged that they will go through the formalities of secession on June 22.

"What they stand for is a conservative two-party system. The purpose of our move envisions that the combined conservative forces must lead Japan. We aim to revive conservatism, to halt the exodus from the right." (Kono's speech reported in the June 15 *Yomiuri Shimbum*.) As this shows, the intent is to break out of the impasse in which the efforts to 'modernize' the LDP have been stalled by forming a new conservative party.

"The formation of the new party is an extension of the movement to drop the 'seniority system' that we heard about when Tanaka's 'money politics' were exposed. . . .

"These moves are receiving open as well as covert support within the LDP, especially from younger Diet members. Here we see the double crisis of the LDP. We note that this development has brought a temporary halt to the operation designed to push the 'overly mischievous' Miki into retirement. [Miki, the present premier, is under fire in the LDP for allowing the Lockheed investigation to go "too far."] . . .

"The present acuteness of the LDP's historic crisis coincides with the process of shifting from high economic growth to so-called 'stable growth.' Likewise, it goes

hand in hand with the upsurge of the Asian revolution, in which the Vietnam/Indochina revolution has been central. This has made it impossible for the LDP to continue its former strategy.

"Moreover, this historic crisis—the programmatic crisis of the Japanese bourgeoisie—has been multiplied by the direct blow dealt by the exposure of Tanaka's money politics and the Lockheed scandals; it is extremely deep. We have been presenting our analysis that this deepening crisis would make it fundamentally impossible for the LDP to rule alone, that a restructuring of this party was inevitable. . . .

"In this political crisis, moves are still going on beneath the surface over who will convene the Special Diet session in September, or who will take the initiative in the general elections. In this period leading up to the elections, while seizing upon and exposing all the concrete expressions of the crisis of the LDP and its government and at the same time clearly exposing the impotence of the opposition parties—mainly the SP and CP—we must form a front of struggle to intervene boldly and massively in the coming situation of political fluidity. Let's build June 20 [an anti-Lockheed demonstration at the Diet Building] and the Asian Youth Conference as the first steps in this struggle!"

rouge

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

The back pages of the August 19 and 20 issues are devoted to the Socialist Workers party suit against the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

In the first article, J.T. summed up what has been revealed by the documents the SWP has forced the FBI to release: "They expose hundreds of illegal acts committed by the so-called defenders of law and order. . . . A whole gamut of sabotage and political spying is laid out; it runs from vandalism to plotting to get activists fired from their jobs, and includes bombing and setting fire to the headquarters of the left organizations.

"These documents also indicate that the government may have been deeply implicated in the murders of Black leaders such as Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, and Fred Hampton."

J.T. pointed out that SWP members made up 10 percent of the U.S. government's list of those to be arrested immediately in the event of a "national emergency."

Rouge's reporter described how the SWP suit was built and what it accomplished:

"In order to wage its campaign successfully, the SWP helped set up the Political Rights Defense Fund, whose aim is to collect money and focus maximum attention on the revelations. Well-known leaders

of the Black, trade-union, and antiwar movements gave their backing. Press conferences were called and local rallies organized. After at first maintaining a cautious silence, the press soon began to take up the case, and the names of the guilty persons appeared on the front pages of newspapers across the U.S.

"The illegal acts exposed by this case, however, are only a few among many. In the wake of the Watergate scandal, some of the murders and manipulations carried on by the U.S. intelligence services have come to light, showing how the bourgeoisie interprets democracy in the U.S.

"The SWP's campaign has already made it possible to raise a tip of the veil the U.S. bourgeoisie has shamefacedly cast over its activities. Most of all, the SWP presents these revelations in a new light, and for tens of thousands of Americans breaking away from the bourgeois parties it is giving new meaning to terms that gradually have been deprived of reality—freedom, the rule of law, democracy."

was tun

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

The front page of the August 26 issue is devoted to the outcry over shootings by East German border guards, which coincides with the thirteenth anniversary of the Berlin wall.

On August 5, an Italian truck driver, Benito Corghi, was shot on the East German frontier. He turned out to be a member of the Communist party in his country. The Italian CP issued a protest, saying that there was "no justification" for the action taken by the border guards. But so far it has done nothing to press the matter.

Was Tun comments: "We condemn the murder of Corghi—not because he was a member of the CPI. We condemn all murders on the border of the German Democratic Republic [GDR] and East Berlin, when defenseless persons are shot down, be they refugees from the GDR or those who out of ignorance or foolishness wander into the frontier zone. . . .

"Is this necessary to defend the workers state? We reject the mechanical alternative posed by the German CP and the GDR, that you have to be for or against the 'workers and farmers state,' just as we reject the alternative posed by the Christian Democrats and the West German government, that you have to choose between murder and 'humanitarianism.' . . .

"The GDR is not just a workers state, it is a bureaucratically deformed workers state. The society is on an objectively higher level than the West German one, with a planned economy and nationalization of the means of production. We defend

these gains against the bourgeoisie, if they shed crocodile tears over the wall and the shootings.

"The other side of the GDR is that the workers are excluded from political decision-making. In their stead, a privileged bureaucracy rules. . . .

"The wall is the expression of the character of this state. In its deformed mold . . . the workers state could not develop any attractive power for the mass of workers. In 1961 [when the wall was built] thousands of people voted with their feet every day and came into the capitalist West (where they were often disillusioned)."

Was Tun rejects the Social Democrats' strategy of trying to force the East German bureaucracy to make reforms by appealing to Moscow to put the heat on Berlin.

"We say that only the working class itself, only a government controlled by the workers themselves, based on workers councils, can establish 'sensible relationships' in Germany. In the West this requires a revolution ending the domination of the capitalists. In the East, a political revolution sweeping away the bureaucratic caste. Then the best wall against bourgeois anti-Communism will be the working class itself, the example of the workers state."

Internationalen

"The International," central organ of the Communist Workers League (Swedish section of the Fourth International). Published weekly in Stockholm.

The August 24 issue takes up the position of the Swedish Communist party (renamed the Left party of Communists) on the victimization of workers arrested during the June strikes and demonstrations in Poland.

The Swedish pro-Moscow Stalinist party is one of the West European CPs that has gone furthest in its efforts to dissociate itself from bureaucratic dictatorship in the Soviet bloc in the attempt to gain respectability as a parliamentary party.

Internationalen quotes Lars Werner, writing in the CP paper Ny Dag: "Freedom to strike and demonstrate are inalienable rights that our party has always fought for. The demands raised in Poland at the end of June in strikes and demonstrations have been largely granted.

"So, I am surprised that reprisals are now being taken against participants. Like the Italian Communist party, for example, I think there should be an amnesty."

After making these general statements, however, Werner endorses the Polish government's main argument for repression: "In connection with the disturbances in Poland, there were outright acts of violence, which are not acceptable in any circumstances. Those responsible for burning party headquarters, of course, cannot be pardoned."

AROUND THE WORLD



Nazi Tracts Common in Argentina

The bombing of synagogues and other buildings associated with Argentina's 300,000-member Jewish community has been accompanied by a growing distribution of Nazi literature in recent weeks.

Among the literature circulating widely in Argentina are Spanish translations of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and *The Ritual Crimes of the Jews*, two poisonous anti-Semitic classics. Enjoying brisk sales are paperback editions of Joseph Goebbels's speeches and Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

'New Details' Disclosed on Korean Incident

Information belatedly released by the Ford administration confirms that the original "tree-cutting" incident in the Korean demilitarized zone was a deliberate White House provocation.

Testifying before two House subcommittees September 1, Assistant Secretary of State Arthur W. Hummel, Jr., and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Morton I. Abramowitz made public "many new details," the *Washington Post* reported September 2.

In particular, they "reported for the first time . . . that the United States had been

concerned in advance that the tree-trimming would cause an incident."

In fact, the *Post* report said, "North Korean guards twice warned a United Nations Command team against cutting the celebrated poplar tree in the Korean demilitarized zone. . . .

"The first warning was 12 days before two U.S. officers were killed near the tree and the second came minutes before the fatal attack."

Campaign Launched for Repatriation of Bolivian Mine Union Leaders

Amnesty International has begun a campaign to win the right of fifty Bolivian mine union leaders to return to their native land.

The exiles are leaders of the Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia (FSTMB—Trade-Union Federation of Mine Workers of Bolivia). They were forced into exile in Chile in June as part of an attempt by the Banzer regime to break the Bolivian labor movement.

In Chile they remain virtual prisoners in small towns in the south. They are not permitted to leave the towns to seek medical attention or work unless they are accompanied by a member of the security forces and have permission of the town's military authorities. They are not allowed

to visit Santiago, where they could try to arrange asylum in another country. They must report to military authorities three times a day and have been forced to take low-paying jobs.

The exiles—all of whom are veterans of fifteen to twenty-five years' work in the mines—suffer from silicosis and other respiratory ailments. These conditions have been severely aggravated by being forced to live in the low altitude and harsh climate of southern Chile.

Narmin Baraheni Sentenced in Iran

Narmin Baraheni, a twenty-one-year-old medical student at the University of Azarabadegan, has been sentenced to seven years in prison by the Iranian dictatorship.

Baraheni is the niece of Iranian poet Reza Baraheni, a former political prisoner who is one of the shah's most outspoken opponents. She was kidnapped from her home in Tabriz by SAVAK, the shah's secret police, in January 1975, and then brought to Tehran. There she was tortured for several weeks and held for "trial" by a military tribunal.

Although Baraheni has now been sentenced, Iranian authorities have never revealed what she was accused of.

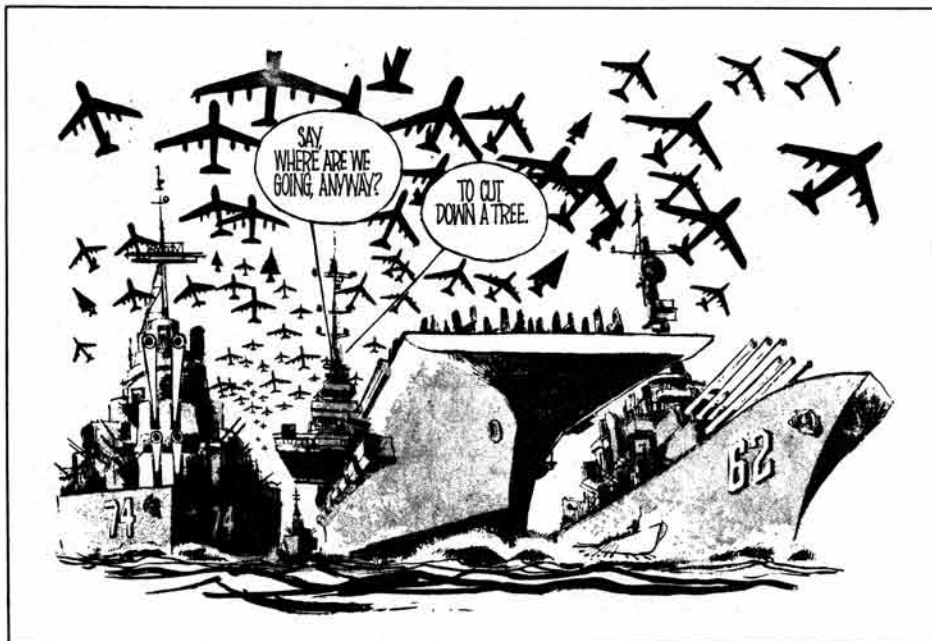
The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran asks that world opinion "be mobilized to win the release of this innocent woman whose only possible crime is her close relation to a celebrated exile who has been active in the campaign for the release of all political prisoners in Iran."

CAIFI calls for messages of protest to be sent to the Shah of Iran, Niavaran Palace, Tehran, Iran. Copies of the messages should be sent to CAIFI, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Only Millionaires Need Apply

"Presidential candidates of both major parties . . . spent about \$70 million on their preconvention campaigns this year, an increase of one-third over estimates for the 1972 election. . . .

"Reports filed with the Federal Election Commission show that 12 Democratic candidates spent \$40.4 million in quest of the nomination while the two Republican contenders, President Ford and Ronald Reagan, the former California Governor, together spent \$29.3 million."—*New York Times*, August 29.



Wright/Miami News

The Situation in India Since June 26, 1975

[The following resolution was recently adopted by the Communist League, Indian section of the Fourth International.]

The June 26, 1975, Declaration of Emergency throughout India and the consequent suspension of democratic rights and civil liberties constitute a throttling of normal bourgeois-democratic rule in India.

Though even in normal times it was considerably restricted, bourgeois democracy had functioned in India for almost three decades. It had enabled the toiling people to engage in varied political activities such as unionization, strikes and struggles, holding of demonstrations and publication of their own literature legally, and to gain access to accurate information in the press. Such activities, understandably, would not have been possible to the same extent under a military or civilian dictatorship. The institutionalization of democratic rights in India had been achieved by the Indian people during their long struggle for independence from Britain. It thus signified a precious conquest won by the masses after hard-fought struggles.

Indira Gandhi's coup, carried out within the legal constitutional framework, swept away all these gains. Even if there will be some relaxation here and there or even if ultimately the present emergency is lifted, it is now crystal clear that there will be no return to pre-June 26, 1975, bourgeois-democratic rule in India. In this sense, the political physiognomy of pre-June 26, 1975, bourgeois-democratic rule has been completely altered beyond any recognition.

From a broad historical standpoint and also from the viewpoint of the development of the class struggle in India, the Gandhi regime's suppression of democratic rights marks a decisive watershed in the political history of India. Momentarily it has dealt a veritable deathblow to the current class struggles of the working class. It has decisively tilted the class correlation of forces in favor of the bourgeoisie and against the workers. And since June 26, 1975, the class correlation of forces has continued to operate against the working-class struggles.

For the protagonists of bourgeois democracy all the world over, Indian bourgeois democracy was a means to be extolled as a capitalist showcase—"The largest democracy in the world." This showcase was contrasted to so-called totalitarian China. The Gandhi coup demolished this theme. Suppression of bourgeois-democratic institutions and rights in India on June 26, 1975, provided one more proof, if there ever needed to be one, of the general trend that

has become more and more pronounced since the advent of the 20th Century: the growing incompatibility of capitalism and democracy on a world scale.

Revolutionary Marxists in India had already pointed out various factors that accounted for an ever-increasing trend to authoritarianism in Indian polity. This trend was considerably reinforced after the brutal suppression of the railway strike in May 1974. Nevertheless we have to provide an in-depth analysis of the socio-economic crisis which compelled the Indian bourgeoisie to adopt this course. Only on the basis of such an analysis can the party orient itself on the question of its immediate future short-term tasks.

In the last analysis, the severe economic crisis confronting the Indian bourgeoisie must be regarded as the main reason prompting the ruling class to opt for imposition of the State of Emergency in June 1975.

This crisis was most potently described as "the gravest crisis of the Indian economy since Independence."

Since 1965, the growth rates of industrial output, industrial investment, and employment were consistently low. The underutilization of productive capacity had assumed crucial significance in several key industries. The Annual Report on Currency and Finance of the Reserve Bank of India for 1974 listed inflation as the main characteristic of the economic crisis. It warned about recession by citing the slackening demand for iron and steel, construction materials, machinery, transport equipment, cotton textiles, and durable consumer goods.

The unemployment situation was becoming grim.

The food problem was increasingly becoming more and more acute in its price, distribution, and procurement aspects.

This economic crisis was structural in character.

The Indian bourgeoisie and its spokesmen were quite clearly aware of the gravity and the magnitude of this crisis. A December 6, 1974, *Economic Times* editorial was representative of this awareness when it warned: "Whoever analyses the state of economy today will find some of these ugly features posing a grave threat to the country's economic stability. Such crisis conditions, if continued too long, would provide ideal stamping ground to political adventurists."

The Indian bourgeoisie's policy was to rely more and more on the private sector to tide over the crisis both on the agrarian as well as the industrial front. At the same time, it attempted to pass the burden of

this unbearable economic crisis onto the shoulders of the masses. The partial wage freeze was part of this strategy.

Meanwhile, impelled by the intolerable conditions of their living, above all inflation, the masses had begun to rise. Throughout 1974 and the first quarter of 1975 mass discontent was seething. In 1974, mass struggles on a gigantic scale and beyond the established political bounds were launched in several states, most notably Gujarat and Bihar. Nineteen seventy-four also witnessed a decisive class confrontation between the ruling class and the working class in the May railway strike, which resulted in a grave defeat for the latter due to a divided and weak union leadership and the firm determination of the bourgeoisie.

Thus while mass struggles were developing, they were, nevertheless, sporadic and uncoordinated. Except in the railway strike, the working class did not participate in these struggles as a class. The Stalinist parties and left-centrist formations failed to provide a genuine class orientation or leadership for these growing mass upheavals. Consequently the leadership fell more and more into the hands of right parties headed personally by Jayaprakash Narayan, who tried to extend the base of the Bihar opposition movement to the other states, with the aim of building a viable political bloc capable of opposing the Congress party at the federal level.

On March 6, 1974, in New Delhi, a massive demonstration called by a conglomeration of several rightist parties and reformist socialist parties and left-centrist formations was the first significant step in this direction.

The Charter of Demands presented to the Parliament March 6 by this demonstration included: a minimum wage for all; controlled prices of basic necessities; full employment; land reforms; full political and trade-union rights for workers in commercial and industrial enterprises in the public sector; an end to corrupt electoral practices; lowering of the voting age to eighteen years; educational reform; an end to draconian repressive laws.

The rightist parties tried to blunt the radical thrust of these demands by presenting them in Gandhian terminology.

By then, corruption had also become the central theme of the agitation by these parties both in and outside the Parliament.

The participation by rightist parties on a large scale in these spontaneously developing mass struggles provided a pretext to Gandhi, the Ruling Congress party, and its fellow travellers like the CPI [Communist party of India] (pro-Moscow) to brand these movements as "reactionary" in an attempt to divert attention from the regime's policies.

There were two most important aspects of these mass struggles. First of all, their mass character due to unbearable econom-

ic conditions. Secondly, their spontaneous character.

These struggles, especially in Gujarat and Bihar, were not the brainchildren of any particular party. In default of the Stalinist parties, the right and reformist parties appropriated these struggles. And in the process they were compelled to raise these demands in a demagogical manner, talk of "total revolution," etc., at the risk of losing their political influence over these movements.

In themselves, these demands were either economic or democratic in character, affecting workers, peasants, and the petty bourgeoisie.

While Jayaprakash Narayan and the political parties spearheading these struggles did receive some support from a section of the Indian bourgeoisie, the Indian bourgeoisie, as a class, in the main, continued to support the Ruling Congress and Gandhi, who had considerably regained its confidence after her handling of the railway strike and the wage freeze. The Indian bourgeoisie, in its majority, was not sure whether Narayan and his allies from the right and the left would be able to contain the potentially explosive danger that such demands and such struggles posed. Because even if raised by thoroughly reactionary leadership and organizations, such demands, in the then-prevailing surcharged political and socio-economic climate, had a dynamic of their own to inspire the masses in other parts of India to imitate Gujarat and Bihar. The verdict in the June 1975 elections in Gujarat¹ and the tension over the Allahabad verdict in Gandhi's election case² were sufficient pointers to even those vacillating strata of the Indian bourgeoisie which were supporting Narayan and these parties.

On the economic front, by June 1975 the economy was nearing a precipice. The pre-budget economic survey for 1974-75, which the regime had presented to the Parliament in late February 1975, had described 1975 as the year of the most "unprecedented economic challenge since Independence" and discounted any possibility of "dramatic changes in the short run."

Prices had climbed to an all-time high.

1. In the June 13, 1975, state elections in Gujarat, the number of seats held by the Ruling Congress party fell from 140 to 75, while a bloc of three right-wing parties won 87 of the 182 seats. A five-party front of non-Communist opposition parties formed a government in the state.—*IP*

2. On June 11, 1975, a court in Gandhi's hometown of Allahabad declared her election to Parliament invalid, and found her guilty of corrupt practices in the 1971 election campaign. The judge's decision prohibited her from running in any election for six years. Had her appeal been unsuccessful, she would have had to resign her office. In November 1975, the Supreme Court reversed the decision in light of retroactive amendments to the election law, passed after the State of Emergency was declared.—*IP*

The purchasing power of hard-pressed consumers was steadily being eroded, leading to a growing decline in demand for a wide range of goods.

The credibility of the Gandhi regime both on the political and the economic level was rapidly evaporating. The situation demanded drastic action on a political level.

Gandhi's swift but firm and stunning action on June 26 clinched the issue. The bourgeoisie as a whole rallied round her. The events, since then, have not belied their faith in her.

The imposition of the emergency has temporarily checked the economic crisis. Prices were stabilized to a certain extent. Raids, searches, demonstrative curbing of smuggling, and the arrests of some economic and social offenders have reduced to a certain extent speculative activities of certain strata of the bourgeoisie in land and in the building industry.

But the major achievement of the emergency from the class point of view is that it clamped the lid on working-class struggles. As early as September 16, 1975, the editorial of the *Economic Times* noted with satisfaction that the climate for production had improved with the restoration of "industrial peace." The Union Labor Minister, Mr. Reddy, was quite justified in his recently made claim that the climate of industrial relations has "changed beyond recognition." There has been a steep fall in mandays lost in both public- and private-sector enterprises in the last few months. Nineteen seventy-four registered the peak of industrial unrest, a loss of 40.25 million mandays, a nearly 100% rise over 1973. In 1975 it came down to 19.24 million mandays, and between July 1975 and January 1976 the loss of mandays was only 5.4 million, as compared to the loss of 18.1 million mandays during the seven-month period preceding the declaration of emergency. The number of mandays lost was higher in the private sector than in the public sector.

Working-class struggles have almost come to a standstill. A complete industrial truce has been promised and practised by the leadership of the major trade unions. The emergency measures have greatly slashed over-time payments to employees and cut the minimum bonus of the workers in the organized sector from 8.33% to 4%. In fact, the test for accreditation of trade unions is whether or not they resort to agitational methods for redressal of their grievances. The Indian Labor Conference and the tripartite machinery have been dismantled. These measures obviously have their impact on the creation of surplus value and on the valorization of capital.

As against these anti-working-class and antidemocratic measures—such as promulgation of Three Ordinances on December 5, 1975, to prevent publication of "objectionable matters," etc.; prolongation of the tenure of the present parliament by

a year, etc.—the Gandhi regime had already offered a New Deal to the bourgeoisie to induce it to revive the sagging economy.

1. This deal centred round: (1) relaxation of the conditions for issuing bonus shares; (2) stepping up of construction activity; (3) augmentation of urban transport; (4) diversification of controlled cloth distribution schemes to clear accumulated stocks.

2. The 1976-77 budgetary proposals of the Gandhi regime have further continued this trend. The *Economic Times* estimate of budget concessions calculated that the corporate sector will benefit to the tune of Rs. 96 crores [960 million rupees] a year from the various concessions and modifications in these budgetary proposals.

3. The direct tax rate of 77% has been lowered to 66%.

4. Personal income tax and wealth tax have been lowered at all levels.

5. A scheme of investment allowances has also been introduced to save industries from obsolescence.

6. On April 14, the regime announced a considerably liberalized import policy under which eighty-eight items have been taken off the list and procedures have been streamlined. The *Economic Times* survey of reactions to this policy showed that the entire bourgeoisie and trade and commercial circles have hailed this policy.

7. A voluntary disclosure scheme for tax evaders.

The results have not been long in coming. The *Economic Times* Research Bureau study of the top 101 industrial giants in the private sector that suffered from sluggishness in 1972-73 showed that they had improved their performance in 1974-75. Their total assets went up substantially by 21.1% in 1974-75, against 11.4% in 1973-74 and 7.7% in 1972-73. This list includes forty public-sector undertakings. The rest belong to the private sector. Nine new entrants have been included in this study which were not there in previous similar studies. The combined gross profits of these giants in 1974-75 recorded a substantial rise of 43.7%—Rs.615.2 crores [6.152 billion rupees]. Net profits registered a spectacular increase of 41.4%. Because of restrictions on dividend payments, the retained profits of these giants show a record rise of 90.0% in 1974-75.

The politico-economic implications of the emergency are very clear. They are certainly anti-working-class in nature. These measures have been directed against the working class in favor of the bourgeoisie.

Hence there is hardly anything surprising in the findings of a Commonwealth Interchange Study Group which recently visited India. This group remarked that the emergency was widely welcomed by the business community. The report said that the business community agreed that the emergency had four effects: (1) an end to industrial unrest and a new sense of discipline instilled into labor; (2) a new

sense of urgency in government departments; (3) a new determination to implement policies and projects; (4) a decline in corruption.

Hence revolutionary Marxists cannot support the emergency nor its aftermath on the ground that it fought right reaction. Such an approach overlooks its anti-working-class implications and involves a superficial analysis viewing the emergency as the result of a conflict between two wings of the bourgeoisie. In addition, such an approach merely tends to provide a left cover for the classically antidemocratic and anti-working-class thrust of the bourgeois regime in India. Hence the party condemns the emergency and all consequent antidemocratic and anti-working-class measures.

We also cannot support the 20-point programme.³ Here the stand taken by our party Central Committee at its last meeting was, to say the least, unprincipled. We cannot adopt a positive attitude to measures like workers participation in managements of private and public-sector undertakings. We are for workers control of industries. On this question the position adopted by the last Central Committee meeting was politically disorienting.

The 20-point programme is nothing more than a rehash of earlier Congress party programmes. Even if implemented, it is unlikely to broaden the base of capitalist economic development. In any case, the 20-point programme cannot be viewed in isolation. Promulgated as a by-product of Gandhi's antidemocratic thrust, as a part of her overall pseudo-socialist demagoguery, this programme essentially provided a left cover for her crucial curbing of the democratic rights of the people and shift towards the right. The party cannot support piecemeal some of the "progressive" items of the 20-point programme critically. In its pedagogic work the party must explain to the masses the real nature and the overall context of this programme, and expose its class limitations.

Despite our political standpoint and our political exposure of the 20-point programme as a demagogic cover, when the masses are propelled by their conditions to take the path of struggle, we will be with them. We will try to mobilize them independently for the granting of these demands. Even if these items of the 20-point programme are implemented due to mass pressure, which is very unlikely, we shall urge the masses to press for more concessions. In the process, we shall be able to convince the masses to rely on their own

3. Gandhi demagogically announced a twenty-point economic program shortly after the declaration of the State of Emergency in order to give her dictatorial coup a "progressive" cover. The program included promises that surplus land would be distributed, bonded labor would be abolished, income tax reforms would be sought, and efforts would be made to bring down prices.—IP

strength, on their own independent street mobilizations, and not to place any political confidence in this regime for the implementation of the 20-point programme.

The emergency has considerably changed the political landscape of India.

The popular-frontist orientations of all types of Stalinist parties in India have disoriented the struggling masses in India. None have the perspective of mobilizing the Indian masses against the bourgeoisie or organizing politically independent working-class struggles. The CPI (pro-Moscow) has gone the furthest in providing left cover for Gandhi's suppression of democratic rights.

Left-centrist formations have also failed to provide an independent working-class political orientation.

Rightist parties like Congress (O), Jan Sangh,⁴ and BLD (Bhartiya Lok Dal)⁵ have been more or less routed by Gandhi. As a result, the Ruling Congress party has once more become the main political party of the Indian bourgeoisie.

The utter inability of the opposition parties to expose and explain the Gandhi regime's "progressive" facade renders considerable assistance to her regime in perpetuating confusion and thereby obstructing the organization of a working-class response to her regime's anti-working-class thrust. The political developments prior to and since June 26, 1975, have exposed the class limitations of bourgeois opposition politics.

In fact, in an underdeveloped capitalist country like India, bourgeois opposition parties cannot transcend the class limitations of a parliamentary polity whose rules are set by the bourgeoisie. Even Stalinist parties and left-centrist formations have been caught in the mire of the popular-frontist, class-collaborationist politics of the Indian bourgeois parliamentary polity. The emergency and its continuance have increasingly rendered parliamentarism and parliamentary institutions politically obsolescent, in the present context. While reckoning with this fact, revolutionary Marxists have nevertheless an obligation to make use of such institutions as tribunes for revolutionary agitation and propaganda.

Though Gandhi's coup is very broad-based and she has still been able to keep the military at bay, the forced suppression of class tensions through a constitutional dictatorship which is not strictly bonapartist will only make the future social upheavals more powerful and on a broader scale than hitherto.

In these circumstances, a transitional programme of economic and democratic demands assumes great significance for

4. A reactionary, Hindu communalist party.—IP

5. People's party of India, a right-wing party. Its formal launching on August 29, 1974, represented a merger of seven parties.—IP

building a sizeable nucleus of Trotskyist cadres of the party in India.

This programme must be premised around the central axis of an imperative need for absolutely independent working-class politics in India. This need to provide a revolutionary-Marxist alternative leadership of the working class cannot be fulfilled by the formation of a "Janata Morcha"⁶ or a "Lok Paksh" or any other brand essentially involving class collaboration with any of the wings of the bourgeoisie or its parties on a lasting basis. No. The need of the hour is to liberate completely the Indian working class from the political spell and influence of the bourgeoisie and its reformist agents in the working-class movements.

The Indian working class has been considerably debilitated politically, disoriented and atomized by the consistent and persistent betrayals of the traditional working-class or left parties. It is therefore essential to pose the task of an audacious united-front policy to defend the working class against the onslaught of the bourgeoisie. All the transitional demands must aim at forging real united-front organs of the toilers in actual class struggles.

Democratic demands must centre around: (1) lifting of the emergency; (2) restoration of bourgeois-democratic rights; (3) release of all political prisoners; (4) lifting of the ban on all political parties; (5) repeal of all draconian laws; (6) repeal of press censorship or precensorship.

The economic demands must have the central axis of protecting and preserving the gains of past working-class struggles and extending them. More especially they must include: (1) full trade-union rights for all central trade unions irrespective of whether they support or oppose the emergency, including representation at all levels of negotiations and bargaining, etc.; (2) repeal of the wage freeze; (3) repeal of the bonus cut; (4) promulgation and strict enforcement of suitable legislation to ban all types of layoffs, retrenchments, and closures; (5) reopening of all such closed establishments or units and reinstatement of retrenched or laid-off workers; (6) formation of factory committees to fight for these demands.

In the immediate period ahead, such demands assume immediate importance in the party's pedagogic and propaganda work, and in orienting cadres in the task of building a Trotskyist party in India. □

6. Janata Morcha (People's Front) was a coalition of parties in the state government of Gujarat, including several right-wing opposition parties and the Socialist party. The coalition opposed the imposition of the State of Emergency, and organized demonstrations against the loss of democratic rights. This coalition collapsed following a loss of a state assembly vote, and many of its leaders were arrested when Gandhi imposed direct presidential rule over Gujarat.—IP

Huelga General de Obreros Negros Sacude Sudáfrica

Por Tony Thomas

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "General Strike by Black Workers Shakes South Africa," que apareció en el número del 6 de septiembre de nuestra revista. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Del 23 al 25 de agosto, Johannesburgo, el principal centro industrial de Sudáfrica, fue sacudido por una huelga general de decenas de miles de trabajadores negros. Una de las principales reivindicaciones de la huelga era la libertad de los presos políticos negros que han sido arrestados por el gobierno sudafricano a partir de la rebelión de Soweto en junio.

La mayor parte de los huelguistas eran de Soweto, la ciudad negra segregada más grande de Sudáfrica, que tiene una población de más de un millón de personas. El corresponsal del *Times* de Londres Nicholas Ashford, calculaba que el primer día de la huelga dejaron de asistir al trabajo entre 150,000 y 200,000 de los 250,000 negros que residen en Soweto y trabajan en Johannesburgo.

El día siguiente, la Cámara Industrial de Transvaal informó que sólo el 10 por ciento de los trabajadores de Soweto se habían presentado a trabajar.

En la ciudad se sentía "una calma aterradora," como la calificó un reportero. Casi todas las 300 fábricas textiles de la ciudad permanecieron cerradas, al igual que la mayor parte de los sitios donde hay obras en construcción.

En el número del 25 de agosto de *Le Monde*, Christiane Chombeau describía la situación de la siguiente manera: "Fábricas, tiendas, servicios de entrega, oficinas, casi todos los negocios de Johannesburgo han sido seriamente afectados por el primero de los tres días que durará la operación 'Azikwelwao' (no ir al trabajo). Decenas de fábricas han resentido el absentismo de un 70 o incluso un 100 por ciento de los trabajadores y empleados negros, por lo que hoy tuvieron que permanecer cerradas."

La operación *Azikwelwao* surgió a partir de varias manifestaciones y paros anteriores. El 4 y el 5 de agosto, muchos trabajadores de Soweto atendieron el llamado de los estudiantes negros y no fueron a trabajar. Como continuaron los arrestos de dirigentes de la comunidad negra, los organizadores comenzaron a planear la huelga general de tres días.

Un comunicado publicado el 25 de agosto en el *Christian Science Monitor*

informaba que los representantes de los negros de Soweto pudieron viajar por el país con "relativa libertad," buscando apoyo para la huelga. Durante el fin de semana anterior a la huelga, se distribuyeron en Soweto miles de volantes y folletos.

En los volantes se llamaba a los trabajadores a que permanecieran en sus casas, como una manera de apoyar a los estudiantes y jóvenes que estaban siendo víctimas de la represión que se desató a raíz de la rebelión de junio.

"Si vas a trabajar," decía uno de los volantes, "estarás invitando a Vorster [primer ministro de Sudáfrica] a que nos asesine, a que asesine a tus hijos, como ya lo ha hecho."

Se describía a los estudiantes como "soldados de la liberación que prefieren caer abatidos por una bala que tragarse la educación envenenada que los relega a ellos y a sus padres a una posición de subordinación perpetua."

Los volantes citaban el ejemplo de las concesiones que dió el gobierno sobre el idioma y la vivienda, que fueron resultado de anteriores luchas de los jóvenes. Un volante decía: "Ahora vamos hacia las victorias mayores: el desmantelamiento de la educación bantú, la libertad de los presos que fueron arrestados durante las manifestaciones, y el derrocamiento de la opresión." (La educación bantú es el sistema educativo inferior y segregado de los negros, que es una de las piezas fundamentales del sistema del *apartheid*.)

John F. Burns, en un artículo publicado el 23 de agosto en el *New York Times*, informaba que *Rapport*, un periódico de Johannesburgo, afirmaba que los objetivos de la huelga eran más limitados.

"Rapport," escribió Burns, "dijo que quienes estaban detrás de la campaña—no precisó de quién se trataba—, la estaban utilizando para tratar de obligar al Primer Ministro John Vorster y al Ministro de Justicia James T. Kruger a reunirse con ellos."

Al parecer, el régimen de Vorster confiaba en que las detenciones masivas evitarían el éxito de la huelga general. Durante las semanas que antecedieron a la huelga, más de 170 activistas negros, muchos de ellos dirigentes de organizaciones de los negros, fueron detenidos sin que hubiera ninguna acusación en su contra.

El número del 21 de agosto del semanario de Johannesburgo *Star* informaba que "aproximadamente 60 personas han sido detenidas en los últimos tres días."

El Black Parents Council [Consejo de

Padres de Familia Negros] es una coalición amplia que incluye grupos políticos nacionalistas negros como la South African Students Organization [Organización de Estudiantes Sudafricanos—SASO], y el Black Peoples Convention [Congreso de los Negros—BPC], además de dirigentes de la comunidad, y organizaciones "no políticas" como la Young Women's Christian Association [Asociación de Jóvenes Cristianas.]

Muchos de los activistas dirigentes de BPC y SASO se encuentran presos desde la anterior ola de detenciones. Según la revista *Africa*, más de 3,000 personas han sido detenidas a partir de la primera rebelión de junio.

De hecho, la respuesta de Kruger a la petición de que él y Vorster se reunieran con los dirigentes negros fue que "la mayoría de ellos han sido detenidos." Por lo tanto, dijo, "No hay nadie con quien pueda reunirme."

El gobierno también envió muchos policías y soldados a las áreas donde viven los negros, con el objetivo de intimidar a los huelguistas.

Chombeau informaba en el número del 25 de agosto de *Le Monde*: "las fuerzas del orden estaban en pie de guerra la tarde del domingo [22 de agosto]. Pequeños carros blindados patrullaban ciertas calles de Soweto. Brigadas de choque con uniformes camuflados, equipadas con armas automáticas, montaban guardia en los principales cruces de caminos y en todas las entradas y salidas de las ciudades negras segregadas, así como en las estaciones. En la ciudad [Johannesburgo], también estaban vigiladas las salidas de las estaciones reservadas para los negros y las principales estaciones de autobuses."

Cuando comenzó la huelga el 23 de agosto, esta fuerza policíaca fue utilizada para atacar a la comunidad negra. Chombeau informó que la policía disparó sobre grupos de negros en el distrito Orlando de Soweto. También lanzó gas lacrimógeno contra los negros en la zona de Phefeni. Las víctimas de los ataques eran en su mayoría jóvenes e incluso niños.

El 24 de agosto, "la policía lanzó gas lacrimógeno contra una casa de Soweto donde cinco niños, entre ellos un niño pequeño, se habían encerrado cuando vieron que se acercaba la policía," informaba el *Financial Times* de Londres el 25 de agosto.

El régimen sudafricano trató de dividir a la comunidad negra y de romper la huelga por medio de bandas organizadas de

rompehuelgas negros que actuaban violentamente. La publicidad que se ha dado a los choques entre rompehuelgas zulúes y los demás negros, ha sido utilizada por el régimen del *apartheid* para desviar la atención del impacto que tuvo la huelga general.

Ya desde la rebelión de junio en Soweto, el gobierno de Vorster trató de minimizar la importancia de la lucha, diciendo que todo era obra de "tsotsis" (palabra zulú para delincuente) y agitadores, y que los negros "responsables" deberían formar piquetes para pararlos.

Conforme se acercaba la huelga general, la policía instigó a los residentes de Soweto a que formaran ese tipo de bandas. Los jefes de la policía anunciaron que no se perseguiría a ningún negro que utilizara garrotes contra quienes apoyaran la huelga.

El régimen también trató de argumentar que jóvenes radicales habían "intimidado" a los trabajadores negros para que se unieran a la huelga.

Ha habido casos que indican que hubo provocaciones deliberadas del gobierno para impulsar este tipo de tácticas. Ashford, del *Times* de Londres informó que en Johannesburgo se habían visto volantes en los que se amenazaba a los rompehuelgas.

A diferencia de todos los demás volantes y folletos que llamaban a la huelga, que eran anónimos, Ashford afirmaba que los volantes amenazadores "parecían venir del African National Council [Consejo Nacional Africano—ANC]."

ANC es un grupo nacionalista que fue ilegalizado a principios de la década del sesenta. La prensa no ha informado de ninguna otra declaración de ANC, ni dentro de Sudáfrica ni por parte de su dirección en el exilio, en la cual se atribuyen alguna acción durante el presente ascenso de la lucha.

En realidad, es muy extraño que una organización que ha sido ilegalizada tome ese tipo de medidas en su propio nombre, teniendo en cuenta la naturaleza represiva de las leyes sudafricanas.

Ashford añadía: "Había pocas señales de intimidación abierta, y muchos negros no habían visto los volantes amenazadores."

La mayoría de los informes provenientes de Soweto indican que las historias sobre la intimidación eran falsas o exageradas. En el número del 25 de agosto del *Washington Post*, David Ottawa informaba que un periodista negro "que vive en Soweto, negó que se hubiera recurrido a la intimidación para hacer que los negros no fueran a sus trabajos, y en cambio habló de 'la intimidación de la policía blanca.'"

Los periódicos de los blancos que se publican en inglés en Sudáfrica decían que la huelga era una "campana intimidatoria de absentismo," mientras que *The World*, un periódico publicado por negros en Johannesburgo, decía que la huelga "con-

sistía en quedarse en sus casas y no era violenta."

"En conjunto," comentaba Ashford en el número del 25 de agosto del *Times* de Londres, "la protesta masiva ha sido notablemente pacífica . . ."

Durante el primer día de huelga, informaba, "un periodista negro que pasó la mañana y parte de la tarde en Soweto, no vió que se tratara de persuadir a la gente de que no fuera a trabajar. A diferencia del anterior estallido de descontento que se produjo a principios de este mismo mes, esta vez no se pusieron barricadas en los caminos y no se podía encontrar a los estudiantes que en la anterior ocasión llenaban las calles."

Graham Hatton, del *Financial Times* de Londres, hablaba sobre la amplitud de la "intimidación" durante el primer día de huelga: "En las estaciones del ferrocarril, grupos de niños se dirigían a grupos aislados de personas que iban a las estaciones y les decían que no abordaran los trenes."

La policía consiguió que más de mil trabajadores participaran en los ataques contra los manifestantes. Eran obreros emigrantes, procedentes del bantustán zulú y que están albergados en "hoteles" para hombres solteros que son como cuarteles.

El régimen del *apartheid* ha tratado de dividir a las diferentes nacionalidades africanas entre sí, para aumentar las fricciones "tribales." Los obreros procedentes de los bantustáns viven en barracas separadas, no sólo para aislarlos de los trabajadores de otros pueblos africanos, sino también para separarlos de la población negra permanente de zonas como Soweto, que generalmente tienen mayor conciencia política.

A pesar de que el régimen sudafricano ha tratado de dar la impresión de que la lucha fue entre zulúes y otros negros, en realidad los enfrentamientos fueron entre un número relativamente pequeño de trabajadores zulúes y la población general de Soweto, gran parte de la cual es de origen zulú.

La lucha comenzó por la tarde del 24 de agosto, cuando una multitud de manifestantes furiosos rodeó a las bandas que escoltaban a los rompehuelgas que regresaban a Soweto. John F. Burns informaba el 25 de agosto en el *New York Times* que después de ese incidente, los trabajadores zulúes regresaron a sus barracas, donde "tomaron armas, después de lo cual salieron a perseguir a los manifestantes, matando cuando menos cuatro y quizás siete" esa tarde.

Si bien el gobierno y la prensa trataron de presentar las cosas como si esas bandas hubieran sido organizadas como una respuesta espontánea porque la barraca donde viven había sido quemada (incidente que ocurrió después de los primeros asesinatos), pronto quedó claro que habían sido organizadas e instigadas por la policía sudafricana. □

Un reportero dice que escuchó cuando un policía negro decía a un grupo de esos trabajadores que comieran y bebieran bien, para que pudieran "matar con el estómago lleno," según una nota aparecida el 27 de agosto en el *Christian Science Monitor*.

Nat Serache, reportero del *Rand Daily Mail* de Johannesburgo, se escondió en la carbonera de una barraca zulú y escuchó como un policía daba las siguientes órdenes a los rompehuelgas: "Si dañan las casas nos veremos obligados a actuar y pararlos . . . Se les ha ordenado que maten sólo a los revoltosos."

Por sus acciones, las bandas organizadas por la policía demostraron que los llamados "revoltosos" eran las masas trabajadoras de Soweto. Las bandas lanzaron un ataque general contra la población de las ciudades negras segregadas.

Un comunicado publicado el 26 de agosto en el *Daily News* de Nueva York, informaba que según testigos negros, "los zulúes se lanzaron por las polvorientas calles de Soweto; derribaron la puerta de varias casas particulares, acuchillaron a quienes vivían o se encontraban en ellas y, en algunos casos, se llevaron a las mujeres jóvenes a sus barracas."

John Burns informaba en el *New York Times* del 25 de agosto: "Se dice que un residente de la zona, Moffat Mokaga, afirmó que vió cómo madres que llevaban cargando niños pequeños eran derribadas cuando huían de sus casas tratando de escapar de los atacantes zulúes."

Los zulúes se comportaron tan violentamente que para el final de la huelga la policía sudafricana tuvo que frenarlos. Esto fue después de que, según cifras oficiales, murieran veintiún personas en las luchas entre los zulúes y los demás negros.

De la misma manera que durante la rebelión de junio, lo único que ha ofrecido el régimen de Vorster es reunirse con un pequeño grupo de dirigentes a quienes considera "responsables," porque ocupan cargos en los "consejos bantús," que son parte del sistema del *apartheid*. El gobierno rechazó incluso la petición de estos negros "responsables" de que se incluyera en las pláticas a dirigentes negros que están presos, como el dirigente de ANC Nelson Mandela, que se encuentra en la cárcel desde principios de la década del sesenta.

El régimen puede dar algunas concesiones, como lo hizo después de la primera rebelión. También puede intentar minimizar el problema diciendo que todo es culpa de un puñado de "revoltosos." Pero la huelga de Soweto ha sido un gran paso adelante para la mayoría negra oprimida de Sudáfrica.

El poder que el proletariado negro mostró en la huelga general de Soweto, utilizado a nivel de toda Sudáfrica, puede ser un arma para derribar el sistema del *apartheid*. □

La Crisis del Capitalismo en Europa Occidental

[La siguiente entrevista apareció publicada en la revista semanal inglesa *Time Out*, correspondiente al 11-17 de junio, con una introducción de la misma revista. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Ernest Mandel nació en Bélgica en 1923 y se educó en la universidad de Bruselas y en París; en 1940 se unió al ala izquierda de la resistencia belga, y más o menos al mismo tiempo comenzó a apoyar a León Trotsky (asesinado por un agente de Stalin el mismo año) y a la IV Internacional comunista. Fue capturado por la Gestapo tres veces, dos de las cuales huyó, pero sólo para ser capturado de nuevo; estuvo preso en varios campos de concentración alemanes hasta el fin de la guerra. Después de la guerra trabajó como periodista para el semanario belga *La Gauche* y en 1956 llegó a ser su director. También estuvo trabajando durante siete años en la comisión de investigación económica de la [Federación General de los Trabajadores de Bélgica].

En 1968, Mandel participó activamente en los acontecimientos del mayo francés, y desde entonces se le ha prohibido la entrada en Francia, Estados Unidos, Suiza y Alemania Occidental, "no por llevar pistolas o por poner bombas, sino por defender mis ideas." Más de sesenta miembros de parlamentos europeos han protestado por la exclusión de Mandel de estas dos naciones del Mercado Común.

Actualmente es profesor de economía en la universidad de Bruselas, aunque también continúa siendo un dirigente destacado de la IV Internacional trotskista. Después de la publicación de su magnum opus sobre las fuerzas que dan forma a la actual crisis económica, *El Capitalismo Tardío*, la facultad de economía de la universidad de Cambridge le designó para el siguiente Alfred Marshall Fellow. En 1977 tendrá a su cargo el puesto más prestigioso en economía de Inglaterra—si por entonces no se le ha prohibido también la entrada en este país. . . .

¿Cuál diría usted que es la naturaleza de la actual crisis mundial?

Es una crisis que se produce a varios niveles. Evidentemente, es una crisis económica. En los países industrializados occidentales tenemos diecisiete millones de desempleados, lo que significa que el largo período de rápido crecimiento económico y grandes expectativas, que hemos conocido desde la Segunda Guerra Mundial, ha

terminado. Es una crisis social—una crisis de todas las relaciones sociales. Y es una crisis política, porque bajo estas nuevas circunstancias, todo el período en que las cosas se organizaban políticamente por medio del parlamento—gobiernos de la llamada izquierda de centro o derecha de centro—ha llegado a su fin.

También podemos decir que la gran expansión de nuevas industrias—especialmente automóviles, plásticos, química, electrónica—se ha detenido. Se han dado muchos avances en la tecnología, muchas nuevas invenciones y descubrimientos, que significaron grandes ganancias. Ahora, todavía hay muchos inventos y descubrimientos, pero cada vez son más costosos, cada vez el riesgo es mayor. Veamos el caso de los aviones supersónicos Concorde. Ninguna firma privada está dispuesta a correr ese tipo de riesgo, y los aviones cada vez tienen menos demanda. Así, podemos decir en un sentido más general que todas las fuerzas que empujaron hacia la expansión durante un largo período se han agotado.

También durante muchos años la fuerza de la clase obrera ha impedido a los empresarios que descarguen todo el peso de la inflación sobre los obreros. Subían los precios; subían los salarios. Los trabajadores no permitían que los salarios subieran menos que los precios. En este sentido, se produjo una crisis de ganancias; como resultado, menos inversión, y como resultado, aumento del desempleo. Y, sin hablar de conspiraciones, diría que la actual crisis económica es un intento por parte de los empresarios a escala internacional para debilitar a la clase obrera, a través del desempleo masivo, y así poner la mayor parte del peso de la inflación sobre las espaldas obreras—reduciendo sus salarios.

En Inglaterra, Alemania y los Estados Unidos han tenido éxitos iniciales con esta política—pero no tanto en Japón, y absolutamente ningún éxito en los países europeos meridionales—España, Italia, Francia—donde los trabajadores han luchado fuerte y violentamente, y también en algunos pequeños países europeos, como Bélgica y Suecia. Esto significa que tenemos ante nosotros una época difícil; una época difícil para el capitalismo y una época difícil para los trabajadores. Los buenos tiempos, los días de "nunca estuvimos mejor," los tiempos de las grandes expectativas, esos días, han pasado. Así, si puedo usar el argot marxista, significa que tenemos una intensificación de la lucha y el conflicto entre clases.

Esto puede tener varios resultados. Puede tener buenos resultados, o puede

tener malos resultados—depende de la relación de fuerzas y depende de la dirección. Pienso que hay grandes posibilidades de que en alguno de los países de Europa Meridional, tenga muy buenos resultados. Los trabajadores se defenderán, se moverán hacia la ofensiva, harán tambalearse a la actual sociedad, intentarán resolver los problemas de esta crisis por medio de un cambio en la organización de la sociedad, una ruptura hacia el socialismo. Existe el peligro de que, si esto no sucede, el movimiento de la clase obrera perderá su ímpetu después de muchos años de esfuerzos, y vendría la ofensiva de la derecha, o incluso de la extrema derecha.

Los empresarios no pueden tolerar durante la crisis muchas de las condiciones que podían tolerar cuando había prosperidad. En muchos países tradicionalmente parlamentarios de Europa Occidental, se están produciendo en la actualidad claras amenazas de medidas represivas contra la libertad de prensa, la libertad de pensamiento, de libre acción de los sindicatos y las organizaciones de la clase obrera. Estas feas amenazas pueden extenderse gravemente—incluso en Inglaterra, uno no está protegido contra estas amenazas por la llamada tradición parlamentaria. Algunas de las cosas que a menudo han sucedido en el pasado en las colonias, actualmente con frecuencia en Irlanda, pueden ser reintroducidas en la misma Inglaterra contra los obreros y el movimiento ingleses, si la actual ofensiva de los empresarios tiene éxito.

¿Cree usted que el tamaño relativamente pequeño y el estado de fragmentación de la izquierda es peligroso, o que podría ser potencialmente positivo?

En primer lugar querría decir que la izquierda revolucionaria es pequeña, pero es mucho mayor de como era en el pasado—probablemente diez veces mayor del tamaño que tenía hace diez años—en los países principales de Europa Occidental. Pero niego con toda fuerza que el avance hacia el socialismo—un desarrollo revolucionario en Europa Occidental—dependa esencialmente de las iniciativas de pequeños grupos de extrema izquierda. No creo que se pueda hacer una revolución socialista sólo por una minoría en países industrializados como los de Europa Occidental. Pero lo que más interesa no es la fuerza o la debilidad de los grupos revolucionarios, sino qué tipo de iniciativas revolucionarias, o, digamos, anticapitalistas, está dispuesta a tomar la masa de los trabajadores, y aquí el cambio es tremendo. En Francia todo el mundo habla de la

larga ocupación de la fábrica Lip de Besançon, donde los trabajadores se opusieron a la decisión de los empresarios de cerrar la fábrica. Tomaron la fábrica y empezaron a vender los relojes que producían allí. El hecho es que se han dado 200 situaciones como la de Lip en Europa durante los últimos 15 o 16 meses.

Lo que han hecho cientos de miles, si no millones de trabajadores en Europa—esto es lo que nos indica qué acontecimientos nos esperan. Después de todo, la huelga general de mayo 1968 en Francia arrastró a diez millones de personas. Pienso que presenciaremos en los próximos meses, en un par de años en España, Portugal, Francia o Italia, huelgas generales mayores que la de mayo 1968—demandas más radicales, y sobre todo, formas más avanzadas de autoorganización—comités de fábrica, comités de huelga, consejos obreros, etc. Así es como veo la posibilidad del desarrollo de situaciones revolucionarias en Europa Occidental.

¿Qué conclusiones saca, particularmente en Inglaterra, sobre la atracción de la juventud hacia ideas antirracionalistas—ocultismo, astrología, misticismo, etc?

Pienso que tiene un significado bastante amenazador. En la segunda mitad de los años sesenta, culminando en 1968, se produjo una enorme ola de optimismo, de un sentimiento de que la juventud—jóvenes estudiantes, jóvenes obreros—podrían cambiar el mundo, podrían hacerlo rápidamente. Esto fue muy positivo, pero tenía un fuerte elemento de ilusión. Positivo, porque mostraba que el punto de vista establecido por largo tiempo de que la prosperidad había matado el interés político de la juventud, era falso. Vimos decenas de centenares de personas manifestándose en apoyo de la revolución vietnamita en Berlín, París, Londres, Roma, Milán y muchas otras ciudades europeas. Pudimos ver un verdadero renacimiento de la conciencia política, del entusiasmo político en la juventud de Europa Occidental.

Sin embargo, los estudiantes, la juventud sólo, tienen demasiado poco peso político y socioeconómico para poder cambiar el mundo por sí mismos. La falta de comprensión de este punto condujo a una gran desmoralización. Y desde principios de los setenta, se ha producido una cierta retirada de la política entre la juventud, y con esta retirada se ha producido un sentimiento creciente de frustración. La juventud hace grandes esfuerzos para cambiar las cosas, y cuando cambian, como dicen los franceses, todavía todo sigue más igual que antes. El escenario político en un país como Inglaterra y algunos otros países europeos, fortalece su frustración. No hay mucha diferencia entre lo que hace el actual gobierno laborista y lo que, por ejemplo, habría hecho el gobierno de Heath en circunstancias similares. Sienten que no hay ninguna alternativa en la vida política—no ven o

no pueden ver a los pequeños grupos de extrema izquierda como una alternativa inmediata confiable. Por lo tanto, pierden sus esperanzas, sintiendo que uno *no puede* cambiar la sociedad.

Y este es el suelo donde se incuban el irracionalismo, el misticismo y el escapismo individual o colectivo. Porque desde luego, la sociedad no es tan agradable y la vida tampoco. No solamente están contaminados el aire y el agua, sino también la sociedad. Si uno no puede realizar un cambio colectivo y revolucionario, por lo menos uno desea encontrar un escape individual, y eso es lo que constituye ese misticismo e irracionalismo.

Ahora, cuando miramos la historia de las tendencias políticas durante el siglo XX, podemos ver lo que yo llamo el "capitalismo tardío" en que existe una fea doble corriente. Por una parte, existe la ingenua confianza en la tecnología, la ciencia, la capacidad de los expertos para resolverlo todo. Por otra parte, existe este terreno de cultivo básico del irracionalismo, rechazo del humanismo, rechazo de la confianza en el futuro del hombre, rechazo de la confianza en un cambio social constructivo. Yo digo que esta es una tendencia fea, porque evidentemente bajo ciertas circunstancias, puede contribuir a la reaparición de tendencias fascistas o de extrema derecha, que incuban estas creencias.

Hay elementos adicionales que favorecen este giro. Vivimos en el momento en que las grandes expectativas creadas por los mismos capitalistas—expectativas de pleno empleo, aumento del nivel de vida, continuo crecimiento económico, continuo progreso tecnológico, han sido dura y radicalmente desmentidas por los acontecimientos. La gente ya no cree, como ocurría a principios de los sesenta, que las cosas simplemente se volverán mayores y mejores. Incluso hay una gran ofensiva científica. El informe Meadows, el informe del Club de Roma, dicen que si las cosas continúan como están, llegaremos a la catástrofe; habrá gran escasez de materias primas, contaminación de todo el medio ambiente humano—hay que parar el crecimiento.

No estoy de acuerdo con eso. Encuentro que es una idea muy retrasada y reaccionaria que sea necesario detener el crecimiento. Hay que detener el crecimiento anárquico, el crecimiento desorganizado, el crecimiento del desperdicio, lo que no es un fin en sí mismo, sino que está subordinado a la felicidad humana. Detener el crecimiento significa condenar a dos tercios de la humanidad a una vida de miseria increíble. Es muy fácil decir que hay que detener el crecimiento cuando se tienen dos automóviles y dos aparatos de televisión en el apartamento. Si uno vive del subsidio de desempleo, no es tan agradable.

Tenemos que comprender los peligros de todo esto para el futuro, y tenemos que tener una confianza absolutamente incon-

movible en la capacidad del hombre para cambiar su propia naturaleza y su propio medio, en su capacidad de crear una sociedad mejor.

La cuestión clave es cambiar la estructura de la sociedad. Mientras tengamos esta sociedad demente, donde todo está subordinado al enriquecimiento individual, o la competición individual—no al desarrollo de la felicidad, al aumento de la riqueza humana real, aumento de las relaciones humanas, al amor—sino al crecimiento exclusivo de las fortunas privadas, de la ganancia individual, tendremos fuerzas terriblemente destructivas: económica, psicológica y militarmente destructivas, que nos amenazan con la aniquilación total. No es fácil para la inteligencia aceptar este tipo de cosa. Es más fácil cerrar los ojos o creer en un espíritu superior que nos libere.

No es fácil de decir: sí, la humanidad puede ser destruída. Porque esa es la verdad. Puede que ocurra, y no en un futuro tan distante. Nuestra libertad puede ser destruída, o puede que tengamos en todo el mundo gobiernos que empleen la tortura como la forma normal de dominación—esto es perfectamente posible. La tendencia permanece allí. Así, el escapismo es también una negativa a aceptar la realidad. También, es una actitud infantil, desde luego—si esos peligros están ahí, hay que luchar contra ellos, no simplemente capitular ante ellos, huyendo a algún sueño privado o a algún retiro particular.

Como persona que ha estado en la izquierda mucho tiempo, ¿qué piensa de una nueva formación que en algunos aspectos se identifica con la izquierda revolucionaria—el movimiento de liberación de la mujer?

Las mujeres son más de la mitad de la raza humana, y son una mitad que ha estado explotada y oprimida social y económicamente por miles y miles de años. Es mucho más antiguo que el capitalismo y se remonta a los orígenes de la sociedad de clases. Desde luego, bajo estas circunstancias, existe en el movimiento de liberación de la mujer un tremendo potencial para la liberación humana, de emancipación y reorganización revolucionaria de la sociedad, que va mucho más lejos de la reorganización de las relaciones sexuales.

Actualmente es difícil para nosotros predecir cómo vivirán en libertad las mujeres en la sociedad socialista—pero una cosa que podemos predecir con gran confianza es que será completamente diferente a la forma en que viven en esta sociedad. Será un cambio mucho más radical que los cambios en las formas de propiedad o la reorganización de las cadenas de montaje. Todo intento de comenzar a organizar esta liberación debe ser apoyado, pero sin crear la ilusión de que es esencialmente un problema de

individuos. Es un problema social, lo que significa que los puentes entre el movimiento de la mujer y el movimiento obrero, la emancipación de la mujer de la clase obrera, deben ser multiplicados.

Si logramos integrar en el movimiento por el socialismo el tremendo potencial explosivo del movimiento por la liberación de la mujer, pienso que habremos dado un paso tremendo hacia la consecución de nuestro fin.

¿Y acerca de mayo 1968 en Francia? Tiene que haber sido una tremenda auto-reivindicación para los marxistas revolucionarios después de veinticinco años de aislamiento y 'paz de clases.'

Estaba muy contento—ciertamente fueron de los días más felices de mi vida, pero confío plenamente en que veré días aún más felices muy pronto en España, ya que

el movimiento revolucionario español llegará a unas condiciones muy similares a las de mayo 1968 con una fuerza organizada mucho mayor, diez veces mayor. Esto hace que la gente como yo se sienta todavía más feliz, cuando no solamente se ven levantamientos espontáneos sino también la posibilidad de intervenir eficazmente y evitar que se pierdan y sean traicionados por falsificadores reformistas de todas clases. □

DOCUMENTOS

Carta Abierta de Jacek Kuron a Enrico Berlinguer

[La carta abierta que reproducimos a continuación fue enviada por el disidente comunista polaco Jacek Kuron a Enrico Berlinguer, secretario general del Partido Comunista Italiano. Tomamos el texto del número del 22 de julio de *Rouge*, diario comunista revolucionario que se publica en París. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Me dirijo a usted por su calidad de dirigente de un partido obrero, de hombre político que lucha por un socialismo compatible con las leyes humanas, y de comunista, puesto que los comunistas tienen en mi país un poder sin límites.

Me dirijo a usted para pedirle que ayude a los obreros polacos que han sido despreciados por la prensa, por la radio, por la televisión, golpeados por la policía, encarcelados, procesados por el cargo de sabotaje, condenados a largas penas de cárcel.

Como sin duda usted sabe, el 24 de junio último, el Primer Ministro Polaco Piotr Jaroszewicz, miembro del Buró Político y secretario del Comité Central del Partido Obrero Unificado de Polonia (POUP), presentó un proyecto para aumentar masivamente los precios de los productos alimenticios. Según este proyecto, los nuevos precios de varios alimentos aumentarían aproximadamente un 100 por ciento con relación al precio anterior. Para la gran mayoría de las familias obreras esto significaría, dada la estructura de lo que se gasta y los precios en Polonia, un descenso del nivel de vida por debajo del mínimo vital.

La discusión en el parlamento se limitó a un informe del diputado Edward Babiuch, miembro del Buró Político y secretario del Comité Central del Partido Obrero Unificado de Polonia, en el cual, a nombre de todos los grupos y clubes del parlamento, apoyó el proyecto del gobierno. Al mismo tiempo anunció que posteriormente se consultaría a los obreros. A esa consulta se

El Caso de Jacek Kuron

Jacek Kuron fue expulsado de la organización juvenil del Partido Comunista de Polonia en 1964, por haber escrito un estudio sobre las condiciones que privan en su país. Kuron escribió ese libro en colaboración con Karol Modzelewski, que fue expulsado del Partido Comunista por la misma razón.

En respuesta a estas expulsiones, Kuron y Modzelewski escribieron una *Carta Abierta al Partido Comunista de Polonia*, donde hacían un análisis marxista de la burocracia estalinista que domina el país y presentaban un programa para derrocarla y eliminar los obstáculos que impiden la construcción de una sociedad socialista.

Después de la publicación de la *Carta Abierta*, Kuron y Modzelewski fueron sentenciados a prisión, Kuron recibió una pena de tres años. Fue liberado a

principios de 1968. Sin embargo, después de las manifestaciones estudiantiles masivas en contra de la represión burocrática que tuvieron lugar en marzo de 1968, Kuron fue encarcelado una vez más y no fue liberado sino hasta fines de 1971. Entonces siguió participando en las protestas contra la dominación de la burocracia. En 1975 fue uno de los cincuenta y nueve intelectuales polacos que firmaron una carta para protestar por las enmiendas abiertamente represivas que se hicieron a la Constitución polaca.

Después de que la carta abierta que reproducimos a continuación fue publicada en Italia, Kuron—que ahora tiene ya cuarenta años de edad—fue llamado a cumplir un período de tres meses en el ejército en la frontera oriental de Polonia.

le dedicaron menos de 48 horas. Esto basta para demostrar la falacia que fueron esas consultas.

En esas condiciones, los obreros reaccionaron espontáneamente, absteniéndose de ir al trabajo en casi todas partes, y en varias ciudades se realizaron manifestaciones. Durante una de estas manifestaciones—aproximadamente a las nueve de la mañana del 25 de junio—los obreros de la fábrica de tractores URSUS, de las afueras de Varsovia, ocuparon la vía del ferrocarril que va de esa ciudad a Poznan, interrumpiendo el tráfico. Por la tarde levantaron las vías y una locomotora se descarriló.

En Radom hubo enfrentamientos entre los obreros y los destacamentos especiales de la policía durante varias horas. Durante estos enfrentamientos fue incendiado el local del Comité (Provincial) del POUP en

Województwo, y se levantaron barricadas en las calles.

Ante la presión de las manifestaciones obreras, las autoridades retiraron el proyecto de aumento de precios tan sólo 24 horas después de haberlo presentado. El comunicado del Buró Político del POUP que fue publicado el 14 de julio y que se refería a las modificaciones al proyecto de aumento de precios, indirectamente daba la razón a los manifestantes.

Los sucesos de junio son un síntoma de la grave enfermedad que aqueja a nuestra vida social. Toda la culpa de que exista este estado de cosas recae en las autoridades que expropiaron a la clase obrera y a toda la sociedad, evitándole el acceso a cualquier medio para expresar sus opiniones y defender sus intereses.

La historia se repite, y no por primera vez. En junio de 1956 en Poznan y en diciembre de 1970 en la costa báltica, los

obreros polacos pagaron con sangre los errores de quienes detentan el poder. No se ha sacado ninguna lección de esas experiencias. Una vez más, las autoridades no aceptan su responsabilidad y responden, en cambio, con la represión directa contra los obreros.

Los responsables deben ser castigados; pero es inadmisibles que se castigue a los manifestantes que resistieron a la policía mientras que los autores de la sangrienta masacre de obreros en la costa báltica han quedado sin castigo. No tiene nada que ver con la legalidad el hacer recaer sobre quienes participaron en las manifestaciones obreras la responsabilidad moral y jurídica por los daños que resultaron del hecho de que los trabajadores no puedan organizar sus manifestaciones en mejores condiciones. Se trata solamente de la venganza de los hombres que durante los treinta años que han tenido el poder no han aprendido nada, no han comprendido nada.

En la prensa, en la radio y en la televisión, las manifestaciones que obligaron a las autoridades del Estado a modificar sus posiciones erróneas, han sido definidas como acciones de "pandilleros," actos de bandoleros y vándalos. En las ciudades y en las regiones ha comenzado una represión masiva contra los manifestantes y los huelguistas. Como estas manifestaciones tuvieron un carácter espontáneo, las autoridades y la policía perdieron el control de la situación, y la represión se dirigió esencialmente contra quienes por casualidad se encontraban en el lugar de los acontecimientos. En todas partes se está despidiendo a miles de trabajadores. En Radom y en URSUS muchas personas han sido arrestadas, y los que regresan de la comisaría de policía traen muestras de los malos tratos recibidos, que a veces tienen consecuencias graves.

El 16 y 17 de julio, el tribunal de Varsovia conoció de un proceso contra siete obreros de la fábrica URSUS que están acusados de sabotaje (artículo 220 del código penal polaco). El sabotaje consistía, según la acusación, en que un grupo de personas había hecho que se descarrilara una locomotora de 40 toneladas. A los acusados no se les permitió ver a sus familiares, y a uno de ellos se le nombró un defensor de oficio. Al juicio (que formalmente no era a puerta cerrada) no se permitió la entrada del público ni de los periodistas, con excepción de dos que habían sido designados. Las pruebas de la culpabilidad de los acusados se establecieron únicamente en base a fotografías tomadas por la policía. Uno de los acusados trató, en dos ocasiones, de decir que había sido golpeado durante los interrogatorios; pero el presidente de la corte no le permitió declarar.

Aún no se dicta sentencia. El ministerio público pide seis años de prisión para uno de los acusados, cinco para otros dos,

cuatro para otros tres, y tres años para el último.

Este es el primer juicio en relación a los acontecimientos de junio que se desarrolla en Varsovia. En las prisiones se encuentran muchos obreros de quienes se sospecha que hicieron las mismas cosas, y están acusados de "sabotaje contrarrevolucionario," delito para el cual la ley prevee penas que van desde cinco años de cárcel hasta la pena de muerte. Hasta ahora no se sabe qué juicios se han realizado en Radom y en otras ciudades, pero no hay razón para creer que la situación sea mejor que en Varsovia.

Los obreros, desorganizados y sin información, se encuentran completamente desarmados ante la represión. La reacción de las autoridades está envenenando la atmósfera con odio y desesperación. La próxima explosión podría convertirse en

una tragedia para la nación polaca y marcar el fracaso político de toda la izquierda europea.

En lo que se refiere a las localidades pequeñas, no tenemos ninguna posibilidad de control sobre los métodos de instrucción de los procesos ni sobre los tribunales, que son completamente dependientes del poder político.

Sólo una amnistía general para todos los que participaron en las manifestaciones de junio puede parar el terrorismo que se ha lanzado contra los obreros. La opinión pública de los países donde ésta es realmente independiente es la que puede emprender la lucha por esa amnistía.

Yo sé que la voz de usted tiene peso en los países de Europa Occidental, así como ante las autoridades polacas. Me dirijo a su conciencia. No se comporte con indiferencia ante esta causa. □

Nueva Acción Represiva contra Kuron

[La siguiente carta fue enviada a la "Oficina de Quejas" del Ministerio de Defensa polaco por la esposa de Jacek Kuron, Elzbieta Boeuckla-Kuron, en protesta por el hecho de que su marido fuese llamado al servicio activo en el ejército a pesar de sufrir una seria enfermedad. El Comité de la Juventud de Polonia para la Realización de los Acuerdos de Helsinki envió esta carta al diario de París *Libération*.

[Según este comité, Kuron se encuentra en una unidad militar aislado del resto de los soldados. Está acuartelado con dos suboficiales. El oficial médico de la unidad le ha relevado de la participación en los ejercicios militares, pero un comité militar *ad hoc* ha determinado que tiene que permanecer en el ejército. La traducción de la carta por *Intercontinental Press* se hizo del número de *Rouge* del 19 de agosto.]

* * *

Les pido reconsideren con toda urgencia la causa de mi marido, Jacek Kuron, nacido el 30-3-34, domiciliado en Varsovia, calle Mickiewicz 27, apartamento 64. Mi marido fue convocado a primeros de julio a la oficina de la Región Militar de Varsovia, donde se le previno que sería llamado a filas por un período de tres meses. Después de una visita a la enfermería, el médico de turno le declaró no apto para el servicio.

El 7 de julio, mi marido fue convocado ante la comisión médica de la guarnición. Durante los exámenes, uno de los médicos (el doctor Jerzywygodzki) indicó la necesidad de exámenes suplementarios (electrocardiograma, radiografías del corazón, etc.).

Ante los inquietantes resultados, el médico propuso consultar con un cardiólogo. Esta proposición fue rechazada, y se ha cambiado al médico encargado del caso. El

diagnóstico del nuevo médico indicaba neurosis coronaria e hipertensión. Se le comunicó a mi marido su estado de aptitud para el servicio militar con restricciones y se le convocó para un período de ejercicios en Bialystok del 19 de julio al 17 de octubre.

Preocupados por la mala salud de mi marido, y por la ausencia de un cardiólogo en la comisión médica militar a pesar de la recomendación del médico que realizó el examen, fuimos a Lodz. Tras la consulta, se confirmó la enfermedad del corazón y la necesidad de llevar una vida muy tranquila. Toda la documentación médica ha sido entregada por mi marido el 15 de julio en la Región Militar de Varsovia. El 16 de julio, fue informado de que su apelación se había remitido a las autoridades correspondientes junto con toda la documentación. El 18 de julio, mi marido, al no haber recibido la revocación de la convocatoria se vio obligado a salir para los ejercicios. Hasta ahora, la falta de consideración hacia el caso de mi marido es inquietante. Se ha enviado a hacer ejercicios a un enfermo amenazado por un ataque cardíaco en cualquier momento. La salud de mi marido exige tranquilidad, silencio y un ambiente adecuado. ¿Quiere el Alto Mando mantener su decisión a pesar de la posibilidad de un desenlace trágico? ¿Debe ser la vida de un hombre el precio de unos ejercicios militares? □

Si te Cambias de Casa . . .

¡No cuentes con la oficina de Correos para que continúe enviándote *Intercontinental Press*! Está contra sus reglas.

Envíanos tu nueva dirección. Y con tiempo suficiente, por favor.

Aumenta la Represión en Argentina

Por Judy White

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 6 de septiembre, con el título "Growing Repression in Argentina." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

El 20 de agosto, cuarenta y siete prisioneros políticos de la región de Buenos Aires fueron asesinados en una ejecución masiva. Cinco "extremistas" más fueron muertos a balazos el mismo día en Córdoba, en lo que las fuerzas de seguridad reportaron como "enfrentamientos armados."

Las víctimas de Buenos Aires fueron trasladadas desde la cárcel a zonas suburbanas donde fueron asesinadas con armas automáticas y después dinamitadas. La mayoría de ellas estaban atadas. Algunos cuerpos estaban mutilados de tal forma que era imposible determinar su sexo.

Estos son los últimos sucesos de la continua ola de secuestros y asesinatos de incluso los más moderados críticos de la dictadura militar argentina.

El uso gubernamental de bandas extralegales para asesinar a activistas sindicales y políticos comenzó con la vuelta del exilio del general Juan Domingo Perón en 1973. Pero se produjo un cambio cualitativo en la represión después del golpe militar del 24 de marzo de 1976. Desde entonces, el uso de bandas derechistas asesinas ha aumentado significativamente y se ha complementado con la represión "oficial."

De cara al exterior, estas bandas asesinas son muy útiles para los gobernantes burgueses de Argentina. Las bandas llevan a cabo el trabajo más sucio, y su situación "no oficial" permite que sus promotores y organizadores nieguen cualquier conocimiento o responsabilidad por sus acciones.

Desde mediados de agosto, la junta ha repetido cada vez más a menudo su argumento de que las bandas están "fuera de control." El Ministerio del Interior describió los asesinatos masivos del 20 de agosto como "la locura de grupos irracionales."

Pero las bandas asesinas no son precisamente "irracionales" en la elección de sus víctimas. Comenzaron centrándose en dirigentes sindicales de base. Después, ampliaron su objetivo para incluir familiares y otras personas relacionadas con supuestos elementos subversivos, las decenas de miles de exiliados políticos que viven en Argentina, la comunidad judía, y cualquier persona de la que se sospeche que tenga incluso simpatías liberales.

Aún más, la evidencia nunca ha mostrado que las bandas estén "fuera de control." Todo lo contrario.

- A pesar de las promesas oficiales de no escatimar esfuerzos para castigar a los responsables, *no se ha producido una sola detención*—por no hablar de procesamiento—de ningún responsable del terror derechista que ha venido siendo parte regular de la vida argentina desde hace más de tres años.

- Las personas que realizan los secuestros muestran invariablemente credenciales de la policía o de las fuerzas armadas.

- Hay evidencia creciente de que el régimen de Videla coopera directamente con las fuerzas de seguridad de otras dictaduras latinoamericanas en los casos de secuestro de los exiliados políticos.

Fuentes de los refugiados uruguayos informaron que Hugo Gatti, dirigente obrero exiliado que estaba entre los secuestrados durante el mes de julio, había sido visto en el cuartel central de la policía de Buenos Aires. Perdió un ojo en las torturas realizadas por personal de la inteligencia uruguaya trabajando en cooperación con los agentes de seguridad argentinos.

- El corresponsal del *New York Times* Juan de Onís ha confirmado informaciones de presos políticos argentinos de que (en el caso de las ejecuciones masivas del 20 de agosto) las víctimas parecían haber sido llevadas al lugar en que fueron asesinadas desde centros de detención."

Aún más, la campaña oficial del régimen de Videla para "aniquilar la subversión" alienta las acciones de estas bandas, tanto como los decretos represivos de Videla. Junto con los asesinatos indiscriminados de supuestos extremistas y las detenciones masivas de "guerrilleros fabriles,"* Videla ha reinstaurado la pena de muerte, ha prohibido el uso de armas de fuego, ha decretado ilegal toda actividad política y sindical, y ha prohibido la literatura marxista.

A los exiliados políticos se les niega el reconocimiento oficial de su situación de refugiados, y se refieren a ellos como participantes en una conspiración terrorista internacional.

El 16 de agosto, se les concedieron poderes totales a los fiscales. Esta rama del gobierno tiene ahora el derecho de realizar detenciones, controlar teléfonos,

*Así se llama a los activistas sindicales o políticos que trabajan en las fábricas.

interceptar el correo, requisar cualquier documento o material que quiera, mantener incomunicados a los prisioneros, pedir la ayuda de la policía y las fuerzas armadas, y la colaboración de todos los servicios de inteligencia.

El régimen llevó a cabo una gran acción "antisubversiva" en la esfera académica a principios de agosto. Diecisiete profesores de la Universidad de Bahía Blanca fueron detenidos, y se publicó una lista de otros treinta y uno reclamados por la justicia, en un esfuerzo para "limpiar el campo de la enseñanza" de la "subversión." Los profesores detenidos fueron acusados de adoctrinar a los estudiantes en ideas marxistas revolucionarias que conducían a la organización de fuerzas guerrilleras.

Se piensa que hay aproximadamente 20,000 personas en la cárcel. Videla se niega a publicar listas de los prisioneros, facilitando así su "desaparición" o haciendo posible que las autoridades declaren que "nunca fueron detenidos."

Entre los prisioneros hay aproximadamente 100 miembros del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST), incluyendo al dirigente de este partido José Francisco Páez.

Páez fue uno de los principales dirigentes de los obreros del automóvil en Córdoba, que fueron la vanguardia de las grandes movilizaciones obreras de esta ciudad durante los años 1969 y 1971.

En 1973, Páez apoyó la llamada del PST por una candidatura independiente de la clase obrera en las elecciones federales argentinas. Se presentó como candidato a gobernador de Córdoba en las elecciones de marzo, y fue candidato a la vicepresidencia en la candidatura del PST en septiembre. Después de la campaña, fue responsable sindical del partido, y una de sus figuras públicas hasta su detención en enero de 1976.

En la actualidad, Páez está internado en el penal de Córdoba, donde todos los presos han estado incomunicados desde el 24 de marzo y donde por lo menos diecisiete prisioneros han sido trasladados de sus celdas, para que más tarde se informase de su muerte en "enfrentamientos con las fuerzas de seguridad."

El régimen justifica el mantenimiento de la situación de incomunicados a estos prisioneros en base a que el Tercer Cuerpo del Ejército en Córdoba está llevando a cabo una investigación de seguridad que podría verse entorpecida si se diera a los prisioneros el derecho de ver a su familia y a sus abogados, o de enviar y recibir correo.

Si Videla se queja ahora de que las fuerzas represivas están fuera de control, es debido a que las atrocidades de su régimen han recibido una publicidad cada vez más desfavorable en la prensa mundial. Esto, a su vez, ha generado una protesta y condena internacionales de estas prácticas por parte de amplios sectores. □