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Lou Howort/Militant

Part of demonstration in New York September 11 in support of freedom struggle in South Africa. For account of protests in Cape Town and Johannesburg, see p. 1348.

SWP Scores Major Victory Against FBI

By David Frankel

Nearly forty years after it was ordered into action against the Socialist Workers party by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has been told to end its "investigation" of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance.

The order by Attorney General Edward Levi, which was disclosed in a September 13 letter from the Justice Department, made front-page headlines across the United States.

Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for president of the United States, called the ruling "a vindication of the rights of all Americans to engage in political activity whatever their views and ideas may be.

"It is a vindication of the struggle by the Socialist Workers party and other organizations against the government's use of informers, burglaries, bugging, wiretapping, kidnapping, physical assaults, and even assassinations."

At a September 15 news conference in Washington, D.C., Camejo told reporters that the new ruling was a victory that would "accelerate the pace, scope, and impact" of the suit by the SWP and YSA against government spying and harassment. The SWP and YSA, Camejo said, are now seeking:

- "A permanent injunction to outlaw all of the techniques of spying and disruption used against us by the FBI and other political police agencies." Such an injunction would mean that no attorney general could reverse this ban without going to court to lift the injunction.

- "The immediate transfer to our hands of all files the government has on the SWP."

- "\$40 million in damages."

In addition, Camejo and his running mate, Willie Mae Reid, announced that they are demanding the immediate withdrawal of all FBI informers from the SWP, the YSA, and from Socialist Workers campaign committees. On September 4, the SWP released documents obtained through its suit in which the FBI admitted having sixty-six informers currently posing as members of the SWP and YSA.

"This is an outrageous situation," Camejo said. "Here we are less than two months from the presidential elections, and the government is operating a ring of informers and dirty-trick artists inside the campaign committees of one of the candidates. This must be stopped and stopped right now!"

Syd Stapleton, the national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, also commented on this issue at the news conference. (The defense fund was established to organize support and raise money for the SWP and YSA's suit against the government.)

"Levi's ruling removes the last shred of legal justification for the use of informers," Stapleton said. "It also completely demolishes the government's labored claims that they don't have to give us the complete, uncensored files on these rats because they are protected by the spurious doctrine of 'informer privilege.'"

"These informers and their activities are now stripped of all legal protection against full disclosure, against civil suits, and against criminal prosecutions."

Some Justice Department officials in Washington, according to reporters, are worried that the simultaneous departure of sixty-six FBI stool pigeons would identify them. They would like to spread out the time period over which the informers would take their leave of the SWP.

"This plan for 'phased withdrawal' is as phony as it was when the U.S. proposed it in Vietnam," Stapleton said. "We say 'Out Now!'"

Stapleton also demanded that the FBI release its eight million pages of files on the SWP and YSA. "Levi's order to the FBI means that the maintenance of those files is now outside the law," he explained. "Those files have been compiled under cover of an 'investigation' that the government now concedes has no legal justification."

The *New York Times* disclosed September 14 that such government files are used routinely by the United States Civil Service Commission in deciding whether to hire job applicants. The SWP and YSA will fight any move by the government to hold on to the FBI files or to destroy them in order to cover up their contents.

"You must remember," Stapleton said, "that the censored files we have already forced out of the FBI archives are only a minute portion—and, we can assume, the least damaging to the government—of what exists. Now we are going to insist that we get immediate possession of all the rest. And without one word deleted!"

"If the FBI doesn't go along, then we can only assume that the FBI's investigation isn't really over. Why else would they retain the files?"

The Justice Department's ruling that there is no justification for the FBI's "investigation" of the SWP and YSA deals a severe blow to the other federal agencies that have been carrying out their own surveillance and disruption programs against the two socialist groups. The Central Intelligence Agency has already admitted in court that it carries out burglaries and electronic surveillance against socialists traveling abroad. However, it refuses to release details of these crimes on the grounds that this would endanger "national security."

The SWP and YSA will now press ahead with the demand that agencies such as the CIA, the Secret Service, Military Intelligence, the Internal Revenue Service's Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division, and the National Security Agency, as well as local police departments, turn over their files and end their illegal activities.

Moreover, the SWP and YSA are urging other victims of the FBI to do the same. As SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid pointed out in her statement on the Levi ruling, this development has special significance for the Black liberation movement, which was singled out by the FBI as a prime target.

"Bureau tactics used against the Black movement," Reid noted, "have included the use of informers to sow discord and try to provoke violence within the movement. There is also a growing body of evidence pointing to FBI complicity in the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X."

In fact, the chief of police in Memphis—the city where Martin Luther King, Jr., was gunned down in April 1968—recently burned political spy files despite a federal court order prohibiting their destruction. Perhaps those files could have shed some light on the mystery surrounding King's death.

Reid expressed hope that "the Justice Department order in the SWP's suit will serve to encourage the leaders of Black organizations throughout the country to take steps to win the same kind of rulings against the FBI, as well as other government agencies."

This is not the type of response that the Ford administration was counting on when it carried out the sharp retreat represented by Levi's order. The government hoped that this concession would enable it to finally halt the damaging disclosures being generated by the socialist suit. As *The Nation*, one of the leading liberal weeklies in the United States, put it in an editorial in its September 18 issue, the SWP has been a "fountain of revelations" about the government assault on democratic rights.

Unfortunately for the American rulers, the SWP has no intention of going along with their plans. SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes made this clear in an interview in the September 24 *Militant*.

"The SWP will do everything in our

power to deepen and continue the exposures and disclosures of the government's attacks on the democratic rights of all Americans," Barnes said.

He added: "The scuttlebutt in Washington is that the administration fervently hoped they could bring us the Levi order, throw in an offer of a big cash settlement on our damage claims, and we would settle the case and forget about those eight million FBI files, as well as the files in the vaults of the CIA, the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division, and all the rest.

"To put it simply, they thought we would grab the millions and run. They are so used to buying princes, kings, and political parties, from the Christian Democrats in Italy to the Liberal Democrats in Japan—not to mention the Democrats and Republicans, who come cheap—that they can't conceive of an organization that doesn't have a price.

"Well, they have finally found one." □

Peking Reassures Washington

Following Mao Tsetung's death, the main concern in imperialist circles was not that the Great Helmsman's policies would be followed by his successors, but that they might be abandoned.

The Peking bureaucracy wasted little time in making its position clear.

On September 14 it rejected the message of condolences from the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Also refused publication in the official Chinese press were the messages from the CPs of Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Mongolia.

According to a Peking spokesman, these messages were rejected because "we have no party-to-party relations with them."

No such obstacle stood in the way of acknowledging, and publishing in the official press service Hsinhua, messages from such luminaries as the butcher of Iran, Shah Reza Pahlavi; Queen Elizabeth II of England; and former British Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath.

A further indication of the Peking bureaucracy's desire to continue lining up with Washington against the Soviet workers state was given in its treatment of James Schlesinger, former American secretary of defense.

Schlesinger, who has in the past commented publicly on possible advantages of a preemptive American nuclear strike against the Soviet Union, was among the first foreign guests permitted to file past Mao's bier.

When asked by *Wall Street Journal* reporter Robert L. Bartley why this "exceptional regard" was being shown for Schlesinger, an official replied: "His views—it is no secret." □

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South African Blacks Tell Kissinger to 'Go Home'

By Ernest Harsch

In face of police clubs and bullets, young Black militants in South Africa demonstrated against Henry Kissinger's arrival in Pretoria September 17, protesting the visit as a further sign of American backing for the hated apartheid regime.

In Soweto, the large Black city fifteen miles from Johannesburg that has been the center of many of the recent demonstrations and strikes, students posted hundreds of placards denouncing Kissinger as a "murderer." Others protested Washington's support to the South African regime or declared, "Kissinger, go home."

One sign pinned to a church fence read, "Dr. Kissinger, get out of Azania—don't bring your disguised American oppression into Azania." Azania is the name given to South Africa by some Black nationalists.

At least four demonstrations against Kissinger's visit were held in Soweto. As during the earlier mass protests, police fired into the crowds of unarmed students and youths. According to the *Rand Daily Mail*, at least six Blacks were killed and thirty-five wounded. Some witnesses reported that police entered high-school classrooms and clubbed students.

G.J. Tabane, the headmaster of Sekano-Ntoane High School, one of six high schools involved in the protests, gave an account of the police assault there. According to Tabane, a crowd of students had gathered in a locked schoolyard and were singing songs when the police arrived. He continued:

The police blasted it [the gate] open before gaining entry. When three vans drove in with heavily armed black and white policemen, the pupils began scattering in different directions.

That's when the firing started. Some of the pupils were wounded by shotgun pellets. There was a great deal of confusion as the pupils screamed in pain. It was ugly. I have never witnessed anything like that before.

While the police were gunning down Black demonstrators, Kissinger was having five hours of "constructive" talks with Prime Minister John Vorster. Whatever the outcome of those negotiations, the mere fact that Kissinger was willing to come to South Africa itself to meet Vorster is a major boost for Pretoria.

The antiapartheid Christian Institute of Southern Africa pointed to this in a statement released September 16. "A foreign statesman visiting the South African Government," it said, "bestows a respectability and approval upon the

apartheid regime, unless he specifically rejects it."

Vorster set the gears of his publicity machine in motion to take full advantage of the Kissinger visit. In a televised interview September 12, he said, "Dr. Kissinger admits that they took the initiative to talk to us about these matters [Namibia and Zimbabwe] because we hold the key, and by implication Dr. Kissinger accepts this, to many aspects of the questions of southern Africa."

The September 17 *Rand Daily Mail* labeled Kissinger as "the most powerful man ever to visit South Africa." Some of the South African newspapers have described Vorster as "the peacemaker of Africa" bearing Kissinger's seal of recognition. While part of this publicity campaign is aimed at shoring up the morale of the white population, its main target is the country's more than twenty million Blacks. Vorster is trying to impress on them the fact that the apartheid regime does not stand alone, that it has powerful allies. Although Vorster claimed shortly before Kissinger's arrival that there was no crisis in South Africa, the apartheid regime sees the American backing as vital to its continued rule in face of the powerful challenge posed by the Black rebellions.

The depth of the mass ferment among South Africa's Blacks was highlighted by the three-day general strike that was held while Kissinger was on his way to South Africa. The strike was the biggest single protest against the apartheid regime since the rebellions first erupted in Soweto in mid-June. It was also among the largest political strikes by Black workers in South Africa's history.

The call for the strike was issued by the Soweto Students Representative Council, an organization that was formed in the wake of the June uprisings. Leaflets in English, Zulu, and Sotho were distributed by students in Soweto and other Black townships. They said that the strike was in protest over the killing of more than 300 Blacks by police (according to official figures), the arrest of many prominent Black leaders, the death in detention of three political prisoners, and the reduction of workers' salaries in retaliation for an earlier general strike in Johannesburg August 23-25.

"More than 150,000 black workers began a three-day strike in South Africa's main financial and industrial center" on September 13 *Washington Post* correspondent

David B. Ottaway reported from Johannesburg.

The strike was as successful in Soweto as the one staged three weeks earlier, with 70-80 percent of Soweto's 250,000 workers staying away from their jobs. But unlike the earlier strike, it was also observed by workers in Alexandra and Thembiza, two other Black townships near Johannesburg.

Johannesburg was brought to a virtual standstill, as many offices, factories, and hotels reported absenteeism rates of up to 70 percent. In some hotels, only about 20 percent of the workers showed up. Trains and buses were severely affected, with nearly all of the Black workers of the Johannesburg Municipal Transport Department on strike.

The strike organizers scored a notable victory in winning the support of the Zulu migrant workers, who are housed separately from the rest of the Soweto population in barracks-like hostels. During the August 23-25 strike, the police were able to turn some of these Zulu workers against the students and strikers.

Ottaway reported in a September 15 dispatch from Johannesburg that, according to African sources, the migrant workers' support to the strike "was the result of a series of secret meetings between hostel inhabitants and strike organizers who had gone to great lengths to explain the purpose of the boycott."

The students' success in gaining the participation of the hostel residents, just three weeks after the bloody police-instigated clashes between Zulu migrants and other Blacks, shows how quickly political lessons are learned during a social upheaval like that under way in South Africa.

The general strike spread to Cape Town, another major industrial center, on September 15. In addition to Africans, the strike was also supported by large numbers of Coloured* workers, who are the backbone of the Black working class in Cape Town.

Ottaway reported September 15, "Many of Cape Town's estimated 200,000 'colored' (the government's designation for mixed race) workers stayed away from their jobs, affecting primarily the docks and build-

*South Africa's Black population is composed of 17.8 million Africans, 2.3 million Coloureds, and 710,000 Indians. The Coloureds are descendants of the early Dutch settlers, Indian and Malay slaves, and native Khoi-Khoi, Bushmen, and other African peoples.

ings industry but also many small downtown businesses."

According to the Cape Chamber of Industries, the strike was 50 percent effective. In some parts of the city, up to 90 percent of the workers struck. According to a report by John Stewart in the September 16 London *Financial Times*, the worst hit was the clothing industry, which employs 50,000 workers, 90 percent of them women.

Nicholas Ashford reported in the September 16 London *Times*:

Cape Town port, the second largest in the country, was particularly badly hit with only 20 per cent of the African stevedores turning up for work.

Coloured schools were officially open but neither teachers nor pupils turned up for classes. One large city bakery stopped bread deliveries when 90 per cent of its Coloured staff stayed away.

The strike in Cape Town was an extremely important development in the Black struggle against white oppression. For decades, Pretoria has sought to divide the Coloureds, as well as the Indians, from the African majority by giving them a few more token privileges. But the apartheid system of white supremacy is as unalterably opposed to giving any real rights to Coloureds or Indians as it is to giving them to Africans.

Coloureds and Indians have thus increasingly identified themselves as part of the same struggle with Africans against the common enemy. It was this growing unity among the three sectors of the Black population that laid the basis for the rise of the Black Consciousness movement in the early 1970s, with the emergence of such groups as the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC).

The Cape Town strike was the first time Coloured workers have risen up against the white regime—or have participated in joint struggles with African workers—on such a broad scale.

The successful general strike in both Johannesburg and Cape Town exhibited a greater degree of organization than many of the earlier protests, despite the arrest of most of the known Black student and youth leaders. The students have played an exemplary role and appear to be providing much of the leadership to the struggle.

The strike also indicated that the Black population of South Africa is beginning to sense its own strength. What the students recognized in calling the strike was the immense social weight of the Black working class—now numbering more than seven million. By simply withholding their labor, the Black workers showed their ability to cripple the white-owned economy.

The increasing understanding of the power and impact of mass action was summed up by two of the slogans on the leaflets distributed by the students: "unity

is strength" and "power is in our hands."

The Vorster regime fears this growing confidence among the Black population. Although it has sought to give the appear-



KISSINGER: Denounced as murderer by South African student demonstrators.

ance of making a few minor concessions, its central approach continues to be the use of massive repression.

In an effort to crush support for the strike, police raided sections of Soweto and Alexandra September 13, arresting hundreds of persons. In Alexandra they conducted a house-to-house search for "agitators" and "intimidators," in other words anyone found not attending work or school. According to the police, 900 persons were arrested in Alexandra alone.

During the strike, police also fired into crowds around the Soweto railway station and at several student demonstrations. According to the *Johannesburg World*, a Black newspaper, at least sixteen Blacks were killed in Soweto during the strike and between fifty and one hundred were wounded.

In other protests, eight Coloureds were killed by police in Cape Town from September 16 to 17. In Port Elizabeth, about 500 Coloured high-school students were arrested September 10 after holding a protest march. After a similar action in Durban, another 200 students were seized.

Following a statement by Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons James T. Kruger that white civilians should "defend" their offices and homes, a number of white vigilante groups have sprung up in different parts of the country. With Kruger's encouragement, at least six Blacks were killed or wounded by white vigilantes

in the Cape Town area in a period of just two days.

More than 260 prominent Black leaders have been arrested so far under the Internal Security Act, which allows the detention of anyone deemed a danger to "public order" for up to one year without bail, court hearings, or access to a lawyer.

Many of those jailed under this law have been leaders of the SASO, the BPC, the South African Students Movement, the Black Parents Association, and other groups. Steve Biko, a founder of the SASO, was recently added to the growing list of political prisoners.

According to varying estimates, several thousand other Blacks have been arrested in connection with their participation in the antigovernment protests and strikes.

Torture of prisoners is known to be widely employed in Vorster's jails. According to the strike leaflets, three of the political prisoners have so far died in detention. The lives of the rest are also in danger.

An international campaign is urgently required to save these prisoners and to demand their immediate release. □

Operation Facelift

Noting that the word "apartheid" has negative connotations abroad, South African Information Minister Connie Mulder suggested September 14 that the term "plural democracy" be used instead.

Colombian Police Crush Protests Against High Cost of Living

Thirty-six persons were injured and 365 arrested in Manizales, Colombia, September 4 when police attacked a demonstration of thousands of students in the center of the city.

The demonstration was one of many that have been sweeping Colombia for the past month. The protests by students, workers, and other sectors of the population have centered on opposition to the austerity policies of the López Michelsen government.

Just days before the Manizales protest, leaders of the Unión de Trabajadores de Colombia (Union of Colombian Workers) and the Confederación de Trabajadores de Colombia (Colombian Workers Federation)—the two biggest labor federations of the country—issued a public statement denouncing "the gradual adjustment in gasoline prices, the raising of public transportation fares, the freeing of prices on basic consumer goods, and the elimination of public transportation subsidies" as "blows to workers' uncertain wages, which have been losing purchasing power at an accelerated rate."

Inflation is officially reported at 17.4 percent for the first eight months of 1976.

1,650 Attend National Convention of American Trotskyists

By Judy White

More than 1,650 observers and delegates attended the Socialist Workers party convention held in Ohio August 7-13. The gathering was the largest in the party's history.

The spirit of the convention was exemplified in the prolonged standing ovation given following the report that the SWP had successfully completed a drive to gather more than 200,000 signatures to put the party's candidates for president, vice-president, and U.S. senator on the ballot in California for the first time.

The convention also responded enthusiastically when, at several points, the proceedings were briefly interrupted to report the latest news in the SWP's \$40-million law suit against government spying and harassment.

The growing influence of the party and the broadening scope of its work were reflected in the messages sent by leading civil liberties attorneys and individuals from the American Indian Movement, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Organization for Women, and the Raza Unida party. In attendance were delegations from two organizations in the United States that are interested in discussing increased collaboration with the SWP—Spark and the Revolutionary Marxist Committee.

At a convention held just a year before, the SWP had examined important changes that were taking place in the American political situation and began to sharply adjust its functioning to meet the new opportunities that had arisen. The pace and scope of these adjustments were such that the 1976 convention was called to assess them. Normally, the next national party gathering would not have been held until 1977.

The political resolution adopted at the 1975 convention pointed out that the long economic boom that followed World War II had ground to a halt early in the 1970s. The combination of rapidly rising prices and high unemployment had begun to shatter workers' expectations of ever-improving living standards.

At the same time, Watergate and revelations of FBI and CIA criminality were undermining the confidence of the American people in the honesty and good intentions of the government.

The thinking of millions of American workers was beginning to change under the impact of these and other events.

These new attitudes emerged in an atmosphere of protest and questioning

already fueled by mass opposition to the Vietnam War; by the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican struggles; and by the women's liberation movement.

The resolution predicted sharpening clashes between working people and the forces at the service of the ruling rich. This year's convention confirmed and elaborated that assessment.

"All of us have had the same strange experience as other American workers the last few months," SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes said at the opening of his report on the political situation. "We've read a lot of news in the paper that's called 'good.' But we seem to have a lot of bad news in our own lives."

He was referring to the fact that profits, war spending, and rent and utility rates are up—good news for the ruling class—while wages, spending for social services, and job opportunities are down—bad news for working people.

Up to now the main force of the capitalists' attacks on the working class has been directed against oppressed nationalities living within the boundaries of the United States, and women—a fact reflected in most of the resolutions, reports, and discussion at the convention.

The report on the Black struggle focused on the fight to win school desegregation and on the work the party has done on this issue.

This struggle has been one of the main issues in American politics for the last two years. Its centrality is indicated, reporter Malik Miah said, "by the simple fact that every single major bourgeois candidate—from Gerald Ford to Ronald Reagan to Jimmy Carter—has made it a point to oppose busing, the only viable means in this racist society to end school desegregation."

Furthermore, Miah said, "The government's offensive against busing as a means to bring educational equality for Black Americans flows from its general offensive against the standard of living and democratic rights of the working class as a whole."

Even hidebound union bureaucrats like George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations), have come to recognize this fact and continue to publicly back busing.

And "it is no surprise," Miah said, "that the government, its politicians, the media, and police have tolerated and even encouraged racist violence against Blacks—the

most militant sector of the working class. As a result of this government complicity, we have seen the growth of anti-Black, antilabor, racist fanatics and right-wing organizations."

Discussion on the report focused on what Miah indicated as the main task of the SWP in the Black struggle—"to continue to educate on the importance of busing and school desegregation in the fight for Black rights," and to explain that the busing fight can be won only "through a strategy of mass mobilization of the Black community and its allies in Boston and nationally."

Convention delegate Jeff Mackler, organizer of a California local of the 450,000-member American Federation of Teachers, reported on the fight to get the AFT to adopt a stand in support of busing. A resolution presenting such a position was endorsed by some 200 federation officers around the United States and presented to the AFT's recent national convention. Although the resolution was defeated, the debate around it injected this key political question into the center of the teachers' convention.

Olga Rodríguez reported on the resolution on the Chicano struggle. A major component of the capitalists' attack, she said, "is the virulently racist campaign against *mexicanos* and others living and working in the United States without immigration visas or work permits—the so-called illegal aliens."

These "illegal aliens" are blamed by Washington for the unemployment that exists throughout all strata of the American working class.

"The main task before the Chicano movement today is to mount a counteroffensive to this and other assaults on the rights and living standards of Chicanos," Rodríguez said.

The SWP's position on the Chicano struggle and its participation in the Chicano movement have resulted in growing recruitment as well as respect among independent Chicano activists. This was expressed in the remarks made by Juan José Peña at the party's election rally, held at the close of the convention.

Peña is chairman of the New Mexico Raza Unida party, which last May endorsed the Socialist Workers 1976 presidential slate of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

"The Socialist Workers party is a party that in the past several years has helped to further the cause of the Chicanos," Peña

said. "The SWP has recognized the need for Chicanos to organize Chicanos independent of the society that has placed such a crushing burden on us for being different, after having suppressed us and stolen our land and all our means of livelihood."

A document on the struggles of Puerto Ricans living in the United States was the first resolution of the SWP on this emerging movement. It draws on the party's increasing knowledge of the Puerto Rican struggle, stemming from involvement in its battles and recruitment of Puerto Rican activists.

Catarino Garza, a longtime activist in the Puerto Rican struggle, reported on the resolution. He pointed to three recent events that confirmed the document's assessment of the importance of that struggle in the United States—a march of tens of thousands of persons in Philadelphia July 4 demanding independence for the island; a successful struggle to keep open Hostos Community College in New York, the only bilingual college in eastern United States; and a successful fight for union recognition and a city-wide contract by 40,000 New York City hospital workers, who are mainly Black and Puerto Rican.

"In the first two events I mentioned," Garza said, "Puerto Ricans fought for their democratic rights. In the third, they were fighting as part of a broader working-class struggle. But in all three cases, the enemy is the same—the ruling rich of this country."

The resolution explains that Puerto Ricans in the United States suffer a double oppression. They are discriminated against as a national minority and exploited as part of the working class.

Accordingly, the resolution points out, the struggles against both aspects of their oppression "are woven together, and one cannot win without the victory of the other."

The 1975 political resolution of the SWP, along with the Chicano and Puerto Rican resolutions approved at the 1976 convention, all deal with this central aspect of the American class struggle.

In the political report to the convention, Barnes pointed to the profound interrelation between the political struggles of the oppressed in American society as a whole and the fight for a class-struggle left wing in the American labor movement.

He cited the example of the fight for democracy going on inside the steel workers union today. This struggle is already attracting activists among the oppressed nationalities and fighters for women's rights.

"It is also a center of attraction for every rebel group in American labor," Barnes said, "for every group of workers anywhere groping toward union democracy and a class-struggle policy."

Women too have come under heavy attack in the American ruling class's offensive. The struggle of women to protect and extend their rights is now centered in

the campaign for an amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would bar discrimination because of sex. Several delegates to the convention discussed their work in mobilizing support in the unions behind the fight for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Throughout the union movement, Larry Seigle said in his report on party tasks and perspectives, the activities of SWP members revolve "around the expanding opportunities to take the big political questions that confront the working class into the union movement."

Seigle outlined other steps the party would take to meet the new opportunities facing it. He pointed out that the Socialist Workers presidential campaign would be the party's most important tool for popularizing socialist ideas in the coming weeks, and that gaining new support for the party's lawsuit against FBI spying and harassment (see article elsewhere in this issue) would help deepen the crisis of confidence in the American government by cutting through its lies and cover-ups.

In discussing the wide impact the SWP's suit has had, Seigle commented, "We are demonstrating that even a small revolutionary party that knows what it is doing and understands the importance of the struggle for democratic rights can have a big impact."

The party has already taken major organizational steps to meet the new situation. Since the last convention it has expanded into more than fifteen new cities. Its branches, now smaller in size and organized into city-wide structures, have almost tripled in number.

Party membership and leadership also reflect the turn the SWP has made:

- Of the 1,655 persons present at the convention, 293 were attending their first SWP convention.
- Forty-four percent of the delegates were women, up from 38 percent in 1975.
- The National Committee elected at the convention includes twenty members of oppressed nationalities, as compared with fifteen on the outgoing committee.

Two full days of the convention were devoted to discussions and debates on issues on which there are differences in the Fourth International—the policy revolutionists should have followed in the recent elections in Portugal, Italy, and Mexico, and the responsibilities and challenges that lie ahead in building the Fourth International.

There were major educational presentations on China and South Africa, and a special point on political repression in Argentina and the need to build a campaign of solidarity with its victims.

In addition there were workshops on the efforts to free political prisoners in Latin America and Iran and on Soviet and Eastern Europe defense activities, the Arab revolution, the international women's liberation movement, and several

aspects of the Canadian political situation.

In attendance at the convention were 230 international guests from nineteen different countries.

In addition to visitors from parties adhering to the Fourth International, observers from two international Trotskyist currents outside the Fourth International—Lutte Ouvrière (Workers Struggle) and the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International—brought greetings to the convention.

Alan Jones conveyed greetings from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

"At the last SWP convention," he said, "I was able to greet on behalf of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International both a turning point in the world struggle of the working class and a turning point for the Fourth International. That turning point came to its culmination in the entry of the troops of the NLF [National Liberation Front] into Saigon and the victory of the Vietnamese revolution.

"We were able to see in the campaign—which was a real part of bringing about that victory—the Fourth International, perhaps for the first time in its history, able to intervene, if as yet only in a small way, as a real force in world politics. We were part of the victory of that revolution.

"Now we see one year later, clearly the next phase in the world revolution," he said, pointing to the growing ferment for social change in the imperialist countries.

Jones summed up the sentiments of those attending the convention when he said:

"We see, as Trotsky did, that the fight of humanity will be decided on American soil. But that struggle will not be simply a struggle between the American working class and the oppressed nationalities of the United States against the American ruling class.

"That struggle will be a struggle between the working class of the entire world and the oppressed of the entire world against the most powerful ruling class which has existed in history. That is the only way in which that revolution can be successful." □

Pollution Prize

In addition to poisoning the air, American oil refineries overcharged consumers \$1.3 billion in the year ending in January 1976. No refunds are anticipated, according to a report in the September 16 *Wall Street Journal*.

The Federal Energy Administration has ruled that the unfortunate error was ascribable to an incorrect interpretation of "complex" regulations. It proposes that the companies be allowed to keep the money.

The Indian Economy Under Gandhi's 'Emergency'

By Pankaj Roy

NEW DELHI—Through fourteen months of dictatorial rule, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has saved the tottering Indian economy from falling into a precipice. As a class, the bourgeoisie has therefore hailed the Gandhi regime, time and again expressing complete confidence in Gandhi as its unrivalled leader and in the ruling Congress as its main party.

According to a report in the June 25 *Economic Times*, Shriyans Prasad Jain, known as the "elder statesman" of the business community, hailed the emergency for helping the country's economy and generating a new sense of discipline in every section of society. Jain's comments were made while inaugurating the annual general meeting of the All-India Association of Industries.

At a July 27 meeting of the Central Advisory Council of Industries, J.R.D. Tata, doyen of Indian monopolists, congratulated the regime for bringing about the dramatic change in the economy. M.V. Arunachalam, president of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, said that the increase in production and exports had given new confidence to industry.

Gandhi's industries minister, T.A. Pai, reciprocated by saying that now was the time for industry to take advantage of the situation and achieve a growth rate this year of 8 to 10%.

According to figures given by Pai at this meeting, the rate of growth of industrial production during 1975-76 was 5.7%, as against 2.5% the previous year. In the first quarter of 1976, a growth rate of 10.3% was achieved. This is the highest rate for any quarter in the last ten years, with the exception of the first quarter of 1972.

The rate of growth in the manufacturing sector was 8.7% during January-March 1976, compared to 4% in the previous six months and a 1.5% decline in the second quarter of 1975. In the public sector, enterprises producing steel, electricity, aluminum, fertilizers, cement, and commercial vehicles showed substantial gains in production during April-May 1976.

The rate of inflation was brought down, foreign exchange reserves were replenished due to the rise in exports, and the food situation was eased to some extent due to bumper harvests caused by favorable monsoons.

Above all, as pointed out in an earlier article (see *Intercontinental Press*, July 26, p. 1128), the bourgeoisie benefited from the use of dictatorial measures against the working class. Moreover, the government



INDIAN DICTATOR GANDHI

has relaxed the economic restrictions on the bourgeoisie and further shifted the burden of taxation onto the toiling masses.

Import restrictions have been liberalized and the regime has virtually given up the system of industrial licensing which was presented as one of the major instruments for regulating the level and direction of investment and industrial output.

Wealth taxes on urban lands and buildings have been discontinued. From 1974 to 1976 the maximum marginal rate of tax on personal income was reduced from 97.75% to 66%. The wealth tax was reduced from 8% to 2.5%. Also reduced were excise duties on durable consumer goods, which for the vast majority of the population are sheer luxuries.

Two-thirds of all expenditures in the 1976-77 budget have been earmarked for the military and the primary industrial sector. As for the workers, they have been deprived of their dearness allowances [designed to offset inflation], and their bonuses have been cut in half.

An editorial in the Review of Management section of the May 29 Bombay *Economic and Political Weekly* summed up the effect of the budget by saying that the government

has followed a policy of deliberately stimulating demand for goods of upper class consumption by

slashing excise duties on these goods and by reducing income-tax rates and thus increasing disposal incomes in the hands of tax-payers. On the other hand, it seems to fear that the release, even in instalments, of the impounded wages and dearness allowance would revive inflationary pressures. In other words, the demand for wage goods is sought to be curbed and the consumption of luxury goods is encouraged through fiscal concessions.

Basing its expectations on the performance achieved during the first year of Gandhi's rule under the state of emergency, the regime has projected a growth rate of 8 to 10% per year. But the fact is that the bourgeoisie is unsure of whether it can maintain this growth rate, even in the short run.

Apparently high growth rates attained in many industrial sectors must be viewed in light of the poor performance of these industries in earlier years. Big statistical jumps do not mean as much when the base they are measured against is very low.

In fact, despite the rosy picture given by Industries Minister Pai and the relief of the bourgeoisie at having avoided a catastrophe, industrial performance during the first year of the emergency was mixed. Textiles, paper and rubber products, metal products, electrical machinery, appliances, and transport equipment either showed an absolute reduction in output or else a lower growth rate. Pai himself conceded that the growth of production was slow in many areas.

The latest annual report of the Ministry of Industry and Civil Supplies for 1975-76 expresses concern about the outlook for important sectors of industry. Steel, cement, coal, and other basic industries still suffer from lack of demand.

The report points out that against the delivery program of 4,000 to 5,000 megawatts of electrical generating equipment, Bharat Heavy Electricals received orders for only about 800 megawatts during 1974-75. This contrasts with the normal situation when the order book for power generation equipment should be full for at least four years.

S.N. Jain, in the speech referred to above, warned that "barring a few industries many would suffer from slump in demand," and that the trend is "so conspicuous that unless nipped in the bud it might prove disastrous."

K.N. Raj, a noted Indian economist, concedes that the growth in industrial output in 1976-77 may show a significant improvement compared to the period since 1965. But he points out that the growth of industrial output in the last two years taken together has proceeded at about the same rate as over the decade 1965-74. A significant growth rate over one or two years does not necessarily signify the establishment of a trend.

Another worry of the bourgeoisie is inflation. The index of wholesale prices has been rising continuously since the middle of March. In the three months from

March 20 to June 29 the index rose 5%. The increase for food was 6.5%, and prices of industrial raw materials rose 18.3%.

The most recent estimates of wholesale prices released by the Reserve Bank show that prices are rising by nearly 2% a month, or at an annual rate of more than 20%.

In a July 10 radio commentary, V.K.R.V. Rao, noted Indian economist and a former government minister, warned that the economy was "beginning to show some danger signals."

Referring to the problem of inflation, Rao said, "This rise is not just a seasonal phenomenon, as can be seen by the corresponding figures of the last year, and it is even more inexplicable in the light of high buffer stocks of food grains we possess now and the large capacity of import that we have because of our big foreign exchange balances."

The *Economic and Political Weekly* concluded in its July 10 editorial that the decline in prices at the beginning of the emergency had more to do with the favorable monsoons and the big harvests that resulted than with any administrative actions of economic measures carried out by the regime.

The *Times of India* took up the new jump in prices in a July 7 editorial. Arguing that it was no longer possible to dismiss the increase as seasonal, the editorial pointed out that the price rise began in late March when one of the best rabi (winter) harvests in recent years was just beginning to arrive in the market. The editors thought the emergence of an export surplus after two years of heavy trade deficits was the main reason for the increase in prices.

A more sober explanation of the price fluctuations was given by K.N. Raj in the July 3 issue of the *Economic and Political Weekly*. Raj states categorically that the original downward trend in prices was caused by factors other than the emergency. He attributes the decline to a reduction in the proportion of the national output devoted to capital formation, and to reliance on imports to supply needed products. Although such a course can lower prices in the short run by increasing supply, in the long run it undercuts the development of domestic industry and the creation of needed jobs.

According to Raj, the growth in the number of applicants at the employment exchanges has been around ten million. In the rural sector, unemployment among agricultural laborers is acute.

This problem will continue to grow. Projections published by the Planning Commission estimate that the male labor force alone will increase from 152 million in 1974 to 196 million in 1984.

Thus, assurances by the regime on the economic situation must be taken with some scepticism. This is the case with the government's claim at the Central Advisory Council of Industries July 27 that wholesale prices are starting to come down

and that the upward trend has been reversed.

Many of the regime's economic plans depend on help from imperialism. A World Bank report on the Indian economy has remarked favorably on the "significant progress" made in 1975-76, and urged continuing international aid to the Gandhi regime.

While Gandhi woos the imperialist bourgeoisie, she must continue to hold the

masses in check through a high level of unemployment and repression. The aim of revolutionary Marxists is to rouse the working class and organize it around demands for the restoration of basic democratic rights—the right to organize, strike, hold meetings and demonstrations, demand wage increases, etc. This is the task in the period immediately ahead in India.

August 5, 1976

Tightens Muzzle on Critics

Gandhi Moves to Rewrite Constitution

On September 1, the government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi formally introduced amendments to the preamble and fifty-nine articles of the Indian constitution. Gandhi's latest move to consolidate her personal dictatorship was taken in the name of a "socio-economic revolution which would end poverty, ignorance, disease and inequality of opportunity."

The amendments would empower the government to outlaw "antination activities and associations," a category defined as anything that "disclaims, questions, threatens, disrupts or is intended to disrupt the sovereignty and integrity of India or the security of the state or the unity of the nation."

Other amendments bar the Indian courts from issuing writs of habeas corpus or other orders that might delay "a matter of public importance"; take away the power of all courts below the Supreme Court to review the constitutionality of federal laws; and bar the Supreme Court from reviewing the constitutionality of amendments to the constitution.

Moreover, the new legislation would give the president, acting at the prime minister's behest, virtually unlimited power to further amend the constitution by decree.

Since Gandhi's Congress party has a two-thirds majority in both houses of Parliament, passage of the constitutional amendments appears assured.

As a result of the regime's rigid censorship of the press, there has been no opposition to Gandhi's new power-grab voiced from that quarter. "Although the accounts of the Government's move to amend the Constitution were voluminous," a September 2 *New York Times* dispatch from New Delhi reported, "the closest thing to criticism was the conclusion, buried in an editorial in *The Statesmen*, that said a proposal to permit the President to amend the Constitution by executive order was 'extraordinary indeed.'"

The regime is currently attempting to take over the presses of *The Statesman* on the pretext that they had been used to

print a monthly that closed down recently rather than submit to prepublication censorship. According to a dispatch from Calcutta by Henry Kamm in the August 18 *New York Times*, the government has been displeased at *The Statesman's* failure to show adequate enthusiasm for Gandhi's measures. □

Picket and Hunger Strike for Dominican Prisoners

A picket line of 100 persons was held at the Dominican consulate in New York September 4 in solidarity with a hunger strike being waged on behalf of Dominican political prisoners Plinio Matos Moquete, Jorge Puello, Fernando Alcides Encarnación, August Alvarez, and Castillo Pujols.

The picket line was sponsored by the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Dominican Republic and was supported by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), among others.

The hunger strike, initiated by eight women relatives of the prisoners in Santo Domingo in mid-August, was called to demand the transfer of the five prisoners from jails in remote areas of the island to the main prison in the island's capital.

"The women have stated their fear that the 5 . . . face a slow death through starvation and lack of medical care if not transferred," USLA reported September 2. "As in many Latin American countries prisoners are dependent on food brought by relatives to supplement a horrendously inadequate diet. For example, it has been reported that Jorge Puello has lost some 80 pounds during his imprisonment. . . ." Puello has been held for six months.

As the hunger strike in Santo Domingo ended its second week, several of the participants had been hospitalized. The women stated, however, that they would continue the protest until their demand is met.

Gains Scored by Portuguese Workers Under Attack

By Gerry Foley

"The moment of truth has arrived," Portuguese Premier Mário Soares told the country September 9 in a television speech announcing his government's austerity program. The phrase apparently appealed to *Jornal Novo*, a Lisbon daily dominated by the Portuguese Industrialists Confederation, which used this as its headline.

Soares's words no doubt pleased the industrialists because what he meant was that the time had come for the masses to give up their hopes for fundamental changes in their living standards and social conditions. The time had come for them to accept the realities of capitalism.

The Socialist party premier stressed that Portugal was too poor to satisfy the aspirations of the workers and youth: "Portugal has its specific dimensions and potentialities. The wealth of the country cannot be increased by expanding schools or opening new ones. The unemployment and frustration of skilled technicians without jobs is a much greater disadvantage than any advantage to be gained by pointing to percentages on a graph and to a numerous university population."

Pleading Portugal's poverty was an ironic shift for the leader of the SP. His party built its mass following largely by attacking the "third world" nationalist rhetoric of the Communist party and its allies in the MFA (Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement), who claimed the Portuguese masses had to accept low standards of living and hard work in order to achieve "national liberation."

But now Soares has taken over the job of running the government for the bourgeoisie, and the shoe is on the other foot. "Although there has been a lot of talk about national independence in the last two years, our dependence on foreign countries has light-mindedly been allowed to increase. A third of the national product is imported. We import 23 billion escudos (one escudo=\$0.032) worth of food and 17 billion escudos worth of energy. We have gotten used to living far . . . beyond our means. While production has remained stationary overall, consumption has risen enormously."

To convince workers to accept harder work and less pay, Soares continued to use the same "workers control" demagogy as the Gonçalves government he helped to oust at the end of August 1975:

"Productivity can only be increased if the workers really support our plans, knowing that they are working to save democracy and the gains brought by April



MARIO SOARES

25, in particular with respect to the participation of workers in the life of plants and businesses."

The SP premier concentrated on trying to divide the workers who have gained most since April 24, 1974, from those who have lagged behind:

"Without increasing the overall national wealth, you can't improve the lot of certain categories of workers, beyond reasonable limits, without increasing the inequalities among the workers themselves. And that is what has happened. Some 700,000 workers in the industrial belts and in certain service industries have been greatly benefited by the revolution, which, on the other hand, has done little or nothing for millions of others, the bulk of Portuguese workers. . . .

"For example, workers in the steel industry earn 9,500 escudos a month, while workers in the postal and telephone system earn 5,500."

Many skilled workers, Soares claimed, got "incredible wages" as a result of overtime pay and bonuses. One reason for a lot of overtime work was alleged to be on-the-job meetings by the unions and workers commissions, which the government now intends to ban.

Soares's tactic is all the more insidious because the Communist party is the

strongest political force in those sections of the population that have benefited most from the fall of the old regime—the workers in heavy industry and on the big estates in Alentejo, where most land seizures have taken place. In particular, the CP controls the main industrial unions as well as the Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Agrícolas (Agricultural Workers Union), on which Soares made an explicit attack:

"The right to jobs must be fully respected in Alentejo as in the rest of the country. The Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Agrícolas must not interfere with this, indicating who can and cannot work on the farms. Still less can it make such decisions according to political preferences."

Under previous MFA governments, the CP tried to build its machine through a patronage system. These practices generated widespread bitterness and suspicion, helping to promote the rise of anti-Communism in the summer of 1975. Soares apparently thinks he can still gain an advantage by exploiting these bureaucratic moves by the CP.

The industrial and agricultural workers unions are the biggest potential obstacles to the government's offensive against the gains of the masses. Thus, Soares has an interest in bringing the maximum political pressure to bear on them and on the Communist party itself.

Soares evidently hopes he can convince the CP that it is too dangerous for it to let even partial struggles develop so as to appear as an opposition party and gain from the workers' discontent. Both the SP and the CP have played this game, and it is apparent the CP intends to continue to do so, although with considerably more caution than before.

In the September 12 issue of *Magyar Nemzet*, one of the main Hungarian dailies, CP leader Alvaro Cunhal was quoted as saying: "The present cabinet does not meet the demands of the moment in that not only does it lack an absolute majority in the parliament but it lacks the necessary base in the working class." The policy of the CP, he said, was to "struggle for the formation of a government left enough for the Communists to participate, since we believe this is the correct alternative after the foreseeable fall of the present government."

The Stalinists, thus, continue the policy they have followed since the fall of the Gonçalves government, to try to convince the bourgeoisie that they alone have the strength in the unions to guarantee industrial peace. However, the CP is taking a more cautious tack, involving, in particular, a less sectarian line toward the SP.

On the other hand, if the CP line toward the SP is less hostile, in the unions the Stalinist leaderships continue to try to meet the challenge of their SP competitors by bureaucratic and antidemocratic methods. Among other things, they still deny

the right of tendencies. These methods not only stand in the way of the workers uniting in defense of their gains, they help extricate SP union leaders from the difficulties they face as a result of having to defend Soares's policies.

Nonetheless, it seems clear that Soares is running into rough water in his own party. The September 9 austerity speech was perhaps as much a "moment of truth" for him as for anyone else. In the first place, it showed that he is not running the government, as the better informed capitalist press recognized, pointing out that he had to delay his speech a day because the president, General Ramalho Eanes, made him write another, tougher one.

The "austerity programme announced by Dr. Mario Soares . . . at the end of last week clearly bears the President's stamp,"

an editorial in the September 14 London *Financial Times* noted.

Soares reportedly had difficulties in getting even his cabinet to accept a sharp offensive against the workers. *Financial Times* correspondent Paul Ellman wrote September 16: "Dr. Soares . . . had to contend with a Left-wing sensitive to charges that the Socialist Party, which competes with the Communists for the mantle of the party of the working class, is acting at the behest of the bosses . . ."

However, the bourgeoisie is going to push Soares to take harsher and harsher measures. The September 14 *Financial Times* editorial pointed out: "Only 10 days ago a report commissioned by the Bank of Portugal from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology concluded that the choice was between cutting wages by 30 per cent

in real terms to stem inflation and holding them at their present level at the cost of 'galloping inflation.' The Bank of Portugal has since refused to initiate any new foreign credit-raising operations unless there is clear evidence that the Government is taking firm action to put the economy in order."

Thus, the SP congress at the end of October is likely to be a focus of strong pressures. There is less and less room for the opportunist maneuvering of both the CP and SP leaderships. Unless the Portuguese workers move forward to socialism, there is no alternative to moving back to capitalist "normalcy," which requires repression.

As Ellman put it September 16: "Few in Lisbon doubt that skulls will have been cracked before the winter is out. . . ." □

Mass Protest and Maoist Repression

An Account of the Tien An Men Incident

By Hua Lin

[The following is the first in-depth report on the April 5 protest demonstration of 100,000 persons in Peking's Tien An Men Square. It first appeared in the May 1, 1976, issue of *Huang Ho* (Yellow River), a Chinese-language magazine published in Hong Kong by former Red Guards. The translation used here is based on the version in the June-July 1976 issue of *Minus 8*, an English-language magazine published in Hong Kong by members of the Seventies Front, a radical youth organization. Obvious errors of grammar or word choice have been corrected. The footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*. A note by the author accompanying the article states that it is based on data obtained from letters of eyewitnesses of the incident, dispatches by foreign correspondents, and the official Peking press. A number of incidents, such as the crushing of the demonstration the evening of April 5 and the subsequent witch-hunt of participants in the protest are reported here for the first time.]

* * *

For many days everyone in Peking had felt that the atmosphere was electrically charged, but no one knew exactly how it all began. Nevertheless, everybody noticed that on March 28 the Shanghai *Wen Wei Pao*¹ published an article that many people

1. The Shanghai daily *Wen Wei Pao* has the

suspected was an attack on Premier Chou En-lai. From then on, people began to feel uneasy. Someone pasted big-character posters on the cars of the trains of the Sin-Pu route in answer to the *Wen Wei Pao*; and although these slogans were immediately removed by the authorities, the news quickly spread around Peking. Anxious and excited, people started discussing this with one another.

But everyone was certain of one thing: the charged atmosphere flowed from deep feelings. For many years people had been longing for a change that would improve their lives and loosen the controls in the political and cultural spheres. When Premier Chou spoke of the "Four Modernizations"² at the Fourth National People's Congress, they felt the day they had been looking forward to had finally arrived. There was a general elation, and Premier Chou came to symbolize the hope for change. Then, not long after Chou En-lai's death, the campaign was launched against

reputation of being a mouthpiece for the most factional and intolerant of the Maoist zealots.

2. The "Four Modernizations" was a slogan put forward by Chou En-lai at the Fourth National People's Congress in January 1975. It proposed industrial development through agricultural, industrial, defense, and scientific-technical modernization. This program was attacked in the March 1, 1976, issue of *Red Flag*, shortly after Chou's death, for allegedly underestimating the need for ideological control.

the "Rightist deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts."³ As part of this campaign, the slogan of the "Four Modernizations" was attacked as a "revisionist plot" and the people were called on to strongly criticize it. As the campaign unfolded, it was not only Teng Hsiao-p'ing who was criticized, but it was also hinted that Chou En-lai was not above question. Wasn't this like telling the people that their last hope for some improvement had to be crushed? The situation became intolerable.

Wreaths for Chou En-lai

A week before the Ching Ming festival,⁴ wreaths commemorating Premier Chou started appearing in front of the Monument of the People's Heroes [in Peking's Tien An Men Square]. These wreaths were sent by some members of the headquarters staff of the Second Artillery, People's Liberation Army; and by cadres of the

3. The campaign against the "Rightist deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts" was aimed primarily at Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Teng, a deputy prime minister, chief of staff of the armed forces, and a deputy chairman of the party, came under veiled attack shortly after Chou's death at the beginning of January. Without being mentioned by name, he was accused of rehabilitating cadres purged in the Cultural Revolution of 1965-69. He was also accused of advocating an

Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Ministries of Machine Building of the State Council. The incident was thus initiated by these people. As for what was the meaning of their action, they would not say. But sending the wreaths so early was itself a very unusual phenomenon. There was immediately a general feeling among the masses that they could use the wreaths to make a public statement.

The wreaths were sacred, undefilable. Who could refuse the aggrieved people this right?

On April 1, more and more wreaths piled up. Messages of condolence on the wreaths said: "Beloved and venerated Premier Chou, we think of you day and night." On the north side of the monument a black banner was hung, on which bold white characters declared: "Eternal glory to our beloved and venerated Premier Chou!"

This was an act in defense both of Chou En-lai and of the people's hopes.

On April 2, Tien An Men was flooded with people. The monument was already crowded with wreaths and with dozens of portraits of Chou En-lai. Messages of condolence inscribed on the wreaths read: "We will protect your heroic image and accomplish your glorious plans."

This was an open declaration of support for Chou's line and, what amounted to the same thing, a demonstration of disapproval of the campaign against the "Rightist deviationist attempts to reverse correct verdicts."

On April 3, wreaths appeared with slogans such as "Beware of conspirators inside the party. Down with all traitors who oppose Premier Chou." Hundreds of thousands of people assembled in front of Tien An Men and the wreaths at the monument piled up to fifteen meters high. This was an assault on the initiators of the campaign against the "Rightist deviationist attempts to reverse correct verdicts."

On April 4, which was the day of the Ching Ming festival, slogans such as "Down with Dowager Empress,"⁵ "Down with Indira Gandhi," and "Down with all reactionaries who want to attack Premier Chou" were prominent. This directed the

spearhead of the attack directly at Chiang Ch'ing, the inspirer of the campaign against the "Rightist deviationist attempts to reverse correct verdicts."

The incident gathered momentum according to its own internal logic, which expressed the feelings of the people. The wreaths became a kind of big-character poster, which people used to express their own views on their country's political life. The wreaths became a focus of popular concern; in turn, people were mobilized by the wreaths. The masses in front of Tien An Men, in a determined mood, copied the slogans from the wreaths and made speeches. People bringing new wreaths continued to stream into the square. For the first time in twenty-six years the people were standing up to speak for themselves.

Consternation in Chungnanhai

Needless to say, all this provoked the most profound unease yet seen at Chungnanhai.⁶ The "dictatorship of the proletariat" must have absolute power and authority.⁷ But the independence of the action in Tien An Men Square was in itself a defiance of the establishment, without even mentioning the boldness of the speeches and slogans. It occurred in the midst of the campaign against the "Rightist deviationist attempts to reverse correct verdicts," and took place on the doorstep of the "headquarters of the proletariat." Of all governments in the world, Chungnanhai is among the few that best understands the power of the masses, because it was the people who brought it to power. For twenty-six years it has never forgotten to claim that it represents the people. Yet today, the people have apparently become a threat to its rule. Could anything be more horrifying than that? It was decided immediately that the action in the square had to be stopped.

When it received this directive, the Peking Public Security Bureau acted swiftly. When the wreaths first appeared the various bureau branches mobilized the "Neighborhood Committees" to maintain law and order.⁸ All those who had previously been denounced as "class enemies" were

kept under strict surveillance and were forbidden to go to Tien An Men Square. Groups of plainclothes policemen were dispatched to keep an eye out for violators.

At first the authorities were quite cautious, but they were overconfident. They thought the people would react the same way as in the past and that they could be silenced with a snap of the fingers. But the crowd grew larger and larger; the wreaths piled up higher and higher; and the speeches and slogans turned more and more radical. The presence of plainclothes police proved completely ineffectual; no one paid any attention to them. Moreover, since known "class enemies" had been officially banned from the area, people felt less inhibited about speaking out.

The authorities were hesitant. Solving the problem was not going to be as easy as it appeared at first. One thing was obvious: immediate suppression would not be a wise move. Persuasion was tried instead of brute force. Hence on the morning of April 3 the Public Security Bureau decided to "persuade" the crowd to disperse. Plainclothes police circulated through the crowd warning people, "Comrades, beware of being used by class enemies!"

What? Was sending wreaths analogous to being used by class enemies? For years people had been angered at the use of those threadbare and hackneyed words to terrorize the masses. Now the police were using them to defile a sacred act of commemoration. And those in the crowd who dared to raise such charges, the plainclothes police, were themselves infamous for their unscrupulous acts. People shook their fists at the police and shouted angrily, "You are the class enemies!"

Many plainclothes police were given bloody noses. One of them even passed out and might have been killed if Yang Min-jui, Wang Pei-chin, and other militawomen from the Western District's Plastic Material Factory had not saved him.

The authorities did not realize that the people, who had been silenced for so many years and who had just now got the chance to speak, would not stand even the slightest bit of provocation.

The cadres of the Chinese Science Academy put up a big-character poster, declaring: "Some people want to stop us from going to Tien An Men to mourn for the premier; but nothing can stop us from doing so!" This was applauded by the crowd: That's a good poster! Nothing can stop us!

The Public Security Bureau would have to use force now. They would have to capture the leaders and disperse the crowd.

On April 4, Tien Jiu-shan, a leading cadre of the Public Security Bureau, was one of several hundred of his colleagues who spread out among the crowd, waiting for an opportune moment to arrest the activists. A youth put up a small character poster on the monument and shouted to the crowd, "Oppose all pseudo-Marxist-Leninists! We will defeat anyone who

economic policy modeled on that of the Soviet Union, stressing individual wage incentives and the meeting of production quotas, to which the Maoists counterposed a policy of mass, unpaid political and labor mobilizations under party control. Teng was never permitted to reply to the accusations and he was stripped of all party and government posts on April 7, following the Tien An Men demonstration.

4. The Ching Ming festival is held traditionally in China at the beginning of April to honor people's ancestors.

5. Critics of Chiang Ch'ing, Mao's wife, refer to her ironically as the "Dowager Empress," comparing her to the reactionary Tz'u Hsi (1835-1908), who was the de facto ruler of China from 1862 until her death.

6. Chungnanhai, just off Tien An Men Square, is the former residence of Mao Tsetung.

7. Last year, following the campaign against Lin Piao and Confucius, the regime opened a campaign to strengthen the "dictatorship of the proletariat" by the suppression of "counterrevolution in the realm of the superstructure," i.e., dissenting ideas.

8. Neighborhood committees, or street committees, are the governmental apparatus at the block level in major cities. Their membership is filled by election, but nominations are generally screened by the local party committee and can be vetoed by the next higher level of party and government units. They function under orders of the government or the police.

opposes Premier Chou!"

The masses, impressed by his bearing, immediately applauded. There were shouts, "Say that again! Say that again!"

Tien Jiu-shan quickly reported this to the bureau offices and received the order: "Arrest him!" "You have made counterrevolutionary speeches and have put up counterrevolutionary posters!" [Tien Jiu-shan announced to the young speaker at the square]. Tien Jiu-shan ran forward to grab at the youth, who managed to get away on his bicycle. Tien shouted: "Stop that scoundrel!"

Such a cry was sure to rally help from the masses in the past. This time just the opposite happened. The crowd surrounded Tien and let the speaker escape. Tien shouted, "I am from the Public Security Bureau. He was making counterrevolutionary speeches!"

"You are the scoundrel," Tien was told. After being punched by the crowd he stood for a moment, teetering back and forth, murmuring, "Arrest . . . arrest . . ." Then he slumped unconscious.

The masses felt united now. The unknown "leader" had become their hero. Moreover, it was one thing when no arrests had been made, but once the authorities started making arrests it became impossible to restore peace. The crowd's anger mounted rapidly and its attitude toward using violence changed too: this became a publicly approved and legitimate means. All the conditions for a riot were on hand, although it had not yet broken out.

Every step taken by the authorities turned out to be wrong. This was an indispensable factor propelling the whole incident forward. Unquestionably the authorities now looked foolish in front of the people. Even then, the government would be better off if it merely looked foolish, because underlying its stupidity was its basic stance of suppressing the people.

Then the authorities made another decision—a decision that propelled the incident to a whole new level.

During the events of April 4 the office of the Public Security Bureau was bustling with activity. The acting secretary of the party committee, Ma Yung-shun, was smoking and waiting beside several hot-line telephones for news of the developments at Tien An Men Square. Ma Yung-shun was responsible for law and order at Tien An Men. He knew that the wreaths there had made some of the leading comrades in the center furious and unhappy. He had been awake for a full thirty-two hours.

For the past several days Ma had been haunted with fear. Means that had proved successful in the past did not work anymore. But now he smiled. There was a simple way to settle this: if the wreaths were removed this would be an immediate indication of the attitude of the party center, and the will of the party center

carried immense power in securing the obedience of the people. He believed that the masses would surely retreat the next day, just as the decisionmakers expected.

"Tomorrow is the crux!" Ma Yung-shun told his staff, and absent-mindedly tore off a sheet from the calendar, uncovering the brand new page of April 5.

The Wreaths Are Removed

This was the brand new page of April 5: the exploding of the Tien An Men incident, which shook the world.

Early in the morning, police guard Yuan Chi-feng, together with a group of policemen and militiamen, stood guard before the monument. Their mission was to protect the solemnity, orderliness, and cleanliness of the monument—and to forbid the placing of any more wreaths. Yuan Chi-feng, watching the approaching crowd, estimated that they already numbered 30,000 or more.

The masses shouted at the guards: "Where are our wreaths?" "Where have they been taken?" "Why are you removing our wreaths?" The guards didn't answer. They couldn't; nobody knew where the wreaths were.

Wasn't this a clear demand for people to denounce Premier Chou? Wasn't this an open demand for people to abandon their last hope? Everything was clear without a word being spoken. It surely couldn't have been some minor official who had ordered the removal of the wreaths. But who could it be? Whoever it had been, the wreaths had symbolized the will of all the people who had gathered there. What could be more important than that?

Give us back our wreaths!

For a brief moment, maybe only a few seconds, a shadow of fear descended over the crowd of thousands, but it quickly dissipated. This new obstruction led to a sudden awakening of the people's pride. This pride, which everyone there felt, made them suddenly aware of their own power and significance: They were not at all inferior to the power holders. They had the right to make decisions and they weren't afraid to do so. They were even prepared to risk their lives in a fight for the right to make decisions. It was a crucial historic moment.

The decisions made by the authorities turned out to be completely wrong. They had lost sight of the fact that the masses were also human beings who should have their own dignity and rights, for which they ultimately were prepared to fight. And the power of the masses was immense. The authorities' decision to remove the wreaths was in fact the fuse that ignited the Tien An Men incident. The riot began!

At 7:30 a.m., a group of people, carrying a huge portrait of Chou En-lai, entered the square from West Cheng-an Street and rushed toward the monument. The crowd, very excited, made way for them, closing

in behind the portrait. A wave of people formed and moved toward the monument.

The defense line of the militiamen was soon broken through. The portrait of Chou En-lai was put up on the north side of the monument, facing the portrait of Mao Tsetung across the square. The masses broke into applause and cheers.

A short while later, students of Peking's Secondary School Number 173 also came forward and presented their wreaths in the morning sun. There were encouraging shouts from the crowd.

The guards in front of the monument were powerless in face of the tens of thousands of angry and high-spirited demonstrators. Yuan Chi-feng received several blows in the commotion.

At this moment, his comrade in the same company, Seong Hai-ping, was standing guard in front of the national flag in Tien An Men Square. Seeing the crowd rushing toward the monument, he was stunned and did not know what to do. The previous day a group of workers had asked him to fly the flag at half-mast, "to mourn the premier." Another group of youths had climbed over the railing around the flag and attempted to fly it at half-mast by force for the same reason. They backed down only after a long, hard argument with Seong Hai-ping and the others. But now the situation was entirely different. It was obvious enough that the masses weren't afraid of anything now, and if they wanted to fly the flag at half-mast, nobody could stop them. Fortunately, the people were busily preoccupied with the war of wreaths.

By 7:45 a.m., more than 50,000 people had gathered on the square and traffic was obstructed on Chang-an Street.

At 8:00 a.m., the Public Security Bureau sent out a propaganda car to ask people to disperse, so as "not to obstruct traffic." The high-pitched voices of Tien Lan-yu and Liu Jsin-fei, two civilian policewomen, amplified by the loudspeaker, formed a rasping sound wave. When the car reached the eastern side of the Great Hall of the People, it was surrounded by the crowd. When they found their shouts and recriminations drowned by the noise of the loudspeaker, people pulled the driver out and climbed onto the car, jumping on it and striking at it. Then someone shouted, "Overturn the car!" And immediately the car was overturned. Tien Lan-yu and the other passengers were also turned upside down, like onions with their heads in the ground, but they could still vaguely feel that someone was jumping up and down on the car. There were shouts of approval from the people in the square.

At 8:30 a.m. a big clash finally started between the masses and the guards at the monument. Seeing that the guards were removing the wreaths under their very noses, the masses surged forward to seize them back, resulting in a fight in which both sides suffered casualties.

Finally, someone in the crowd called out,

"Workers, don't fight against workers!" and the fight gradually petered out. A discussion started in the crowd, and it was decided that they should try to find out who had ordered the removal of the wreaths. There was a big movement toward the Great Hall of the People, where it was thought those responsible for removing the wreaths would be found.

"Open the door!" "Come out! The officer-in-charge!" The Great Hall of the People was caught in a whirlpool.

The confrontation, now reaching its climax, continued to develop rapidly. Wu Yuan-fu, a deputy to the Fourth National People's Congress and a militia cadre, together with some other militiamen from Peking's Sixth Construction Company, was responsible for safeguarding the Great Hall of the People. They had turned up to stand guard on April 4.

When the masses reached the eastern gate, Wu Yuan-fu had already told the militiamen to have the gate firmly locked. The crowd began shouting outside the gate. Not bothering to listen, Wu Yuan-fu ordered the militiamen to double-lock the gate. Outside the glass door, some of the enraged people knocked and kicked, gathering strength to try to force open the door. It was 9:00 in the morning.

At this very moment, the commander of the militia for Chiu Yang District and of one unit of Peking's Guard District received an order from the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee: "Enter the square at once empty-handed, to safeguard the Great Hall of the People."

Several hundred members of the armed forces from the Guard District were the first to enter the square. They laid down a line of defense in front of the flight of steps leading to the Great Hall, separating the masses at the gate from those on the square.

This immediately convinced the masses in the square that the wreaths were inside the Great Hall of the People. Shouting Chou En-lai's name, the crowd rushed toward the Great Hall, only to be halted by the army. People seized the soldiers' caps and insignia and threw them in the air. Soldier Hze Hsu-wua got into a fight with the crowd. He was dragged to the monument and was ordered to kneel down and confess his crime to the premier.

A short time after the army had entered the square, Liu Tsin-lung, the vice-commander of the Chiu Yang District militia, led 600 militiamen to the rescue. They wanted to open an ambush in front of the Great Hall, but before they reached the main gate, they were broken up into sections. Another chaotic skirmish started, in which a hundred or more militiamen were injured, twelve of them seriously. There was no way to estimate the casualties among the demonstrators.

At 10:00 a.m., the crowd surrounding the Great Hall of the People numbered nearly 100,000. They demanded that the wreaths be returned to them and that they be given

the right to commemorate Chou En-lai.

One man who called himself a student of Tsinghua University stood up and made a speech attacking Chou En-lai,⁹ claiming that Chou was the backstage supporter of the "right deviationist wind." The angry crowd called out for the man to be beaten and forced to kneel down and beg for forgiveness. Several plainclothes police in the crowd were also beaten.

At 11:00 a.m., thinking that those responsible for removing the wreaths might be in the Museum of Chinese History or in the army barracks at the southeastern corner of the square, the crowd divided and rushed both of these buildings.

The Museum of Chinese History was already packed with soldiers, so that the masses could not get close to it. The crowd did succeed, however, in breaking into the barracks of the PLA's Ninth Company at the eastern corner of the square. Several young people with crew cuts shouted in turn through a transistor megaphone (probably seized from the barracks): "The people have the right to commemorate the premier. It is right for them to claim back their wreaths!"

At noon, a group of people inaugurated the "Committee of the People of the Capital for Commemorating the Premier." This committee issued a decree, insisting that the authorities replace the wreaths. One youth, who wore glasses, announced that if the Public Security Bureau did not reply in ten minutes, the crowd would smash the bureau.

At 12:30 p.m., a large troop of PLA soldiers filed in to help guard the barracks. The masses shouted, "The People's Army should stand on the side of the people!" Paying no heed to the call of the people, the army started driving the crowd out of the barracks.

The masses, unable to find their wreaths and with their demands rejected without a word, became angrier and angrier. They overturned a cadre's car and set it on fire.

At 12:40 p.m., a fire engine that was driving from the front gate toward the site was stopped halfway by the crowd. Several youths pulled out the driver, while others slashed the tires with their knives and cut off the hose. Fireman Wang Ai-hsiu was dragged a considerable distance from the fire engine by the crowd, and when he was released he was warned, "Don't ever suppress the people!"

At 12:45 p.m., the police set out to put out the fire, only to be blocked by the demonstrators, who grabbed the policemen's caps and threw them on the ground.

The flames of the burning car symbol-

9. All Chinese universities were closed during the Cultural Revolution and did not reopen until 1972. Their much-reduced student bodies have since been made up of handpicked political loyalists of the Maoist regime. Tsinghua and Peking universities in the capital are notorious as strongholds of ultra-Maoist forces.

ized the people's anger. No one could put it out. It continued to burn until the small sedan was reduced to ashes.

While the militiamen and the army had their attention focussed on the fire, some people took the opportunity to carry more wreaths to the monument. On the wreaths were the words: "Our beloved Premier Chou, we are very sorry to disturb you with this confusion at Tien An Men," and "We will smash those who want to emasculate genuine Marxism-Leninism."

Tien An Men Square had long been the place where the Chinese people demonstrated their steel-like discipline,¹⁰ but now, driven by a profound inner force, they were to erupt.

Watching the rolling black clouds of smoke, one could imagine the situation at Chungnanhai. Removing the wreaths had been thought a wise act, but instead it ignited a riot at Tien An Men Square. The authorities were both shocked and infuriated. This was the biggest "counterrevolutionary incident" in the regime's twenty-six-year history. No wonder it had to be suppressed.

But there were so many people, all seething with anger. And it was still daytime, a whole afternoon before sunset.

Immediate suppression? No, that was impossible. The crowd had to cool down. It was necessary to wait for an opportune moment. The authorities had great repressive power, and the fact that the masses had been united for only the space of a morning gave the regime time to employ the art of struggle.

But during this period it must not show any sign of weakness, or an intolerable situation would be created. The protesters would be inspired by their victory and would sweep away the government's authority.

The wreaths would have to be removed again!

A Test of Wills

At noon, because many people had gone home for lunch, the crowd in the square grew smaller and smaller. At the same time, the number of militiamen continued to grow, and they even set up a provisional militia command post.

Ma Hsiao-lu, vice-chief commander of the capital's militia battalion, along with Jang Si-jung and Sao Lien-shung, two PLA officers-in-charge, kept watch from the barracks building where the provisional militia command post was located. The building was three stories high and had an area of 1,300 or more square meters. From here one could see at a glance the whole situation at Tien An Men. It had been briefly occupied by the masses in the morning, but no one expected that this would be repeated.

10. Tien An Men Square, like Moscow's Red Square, is a favored site for official government demonstrations.

Just as Ma Hsiao-lu went upstairs in the barracks building there was a small commotion in Tien An Men Square. Several youths who were identified as students of Tsinghua and Peking universities tried to take advantage of the decline in the size of the crowd to remove the wreaths that had been placed during the morning. When the crowd discovered the attempt to remove the wreaths, it gave chase and tried to seize them back. The PLA guards at the monument were also warned by the crowd that they must carry out the people's orders and not permit anyone to remove the wreaths.

But finally, at 2:30 p.m., when the crowd was smallest, the militiamen removed the wreaths and portraits.

Then the situation underwent a sharp turn! The news that "they've taken the wreaths away again" spread at astonishing speed throughout Peking. The masses, who had been talking enthusiastically about their action of the morning, at once became dismayed. The fact that the authorities had repeatedly ignored the people's rights forced them to become "dangerous." They needed no summons to converge once again on Tien An Men Square.

Several youths who had stayed at the site all day told the assembling crowd the whole story about the removal of the wreaths. While talking, they grew more and more indignant and finally burst into tears. There were shouts that those who had removed the wreaths would be forever branded with their guilt. Suddenly the long smoldering anger of the crowd exploded against the militiamen and the police.

At 3:00 p.m., three motor vehicles bringing water and food to the militiamen, and one police car, were burnt. The afternoon opened with a riot. Crowds of people were running to one place or another trying to find out who was responsible for removing the wreaths.

At 4:40 p.m., the masses surrounded the barracks, after discovering that the officer-in-charge of the militia was inside. At 5:00 p.m., the guards in front of the barracks were split up by the masses. The crowd besieged the barracks building, broke inside, and demanded a meeting with the officer-in-charge. Ma Hsiao-lu and the others did not dare show themselves. The crowd started smashing the militiamen's bicycles, using the broken parts to knock down the barracks' doors and windows.

At 5:05 p.m., Ma Hsiao-lu still insisted that he would not meet with the masses. The crowd had by then managed to knock down the doors and windows of the ground floor and had built a fire outside with the bed sheets and books. Ma Hsiao-lu was hiding when the crowd set the barracks on fire. One youth wearing glasses shouted, "Let's see if that brings them down!"

The first to arrive to try to put out the fire was the "Chin Hsin Teng Township

Heroic Company," which was then on duty at Tien An Men Square. Wu Jiu-hsoi, a fire fighter from this company, broke into the building with a hose in his hands, but he was immediately surrounded by the crowd and his hose was snatched away by a youth.

The fire was engulfing the first floor. Ma Hsiao-lu and the others, although they were choked to tears, were still unwilling to meet the masses. When they were on the verge of being burnt to death in the barracks, a woman cook, Liu Yi-wa, luckily appeared from the Peking Post Office, which is next door to the barracks. She had a three-meter-long wooden pole, which she sent upstairs and which Ma Hsiao-lu used to make a bridge to escape from the building and from the crowd.

At 6:00 p.m. a large group of soldiers arrived to help put out the fire. The people who had set the fire were forced to retreat, some to the rooftop opposite the barracks where they threw tiles and stones at the soldiers.

Chungnanhai did not want to show its weakness. Neither did the people. They had retaliated for the removal of the wreaths by setting a big fire. Both sides were stalemated in the afternoon, although the fire was burning the authority of Chungnanhai.

Nevertheless the situation was quietly changing with time. The militia guards at the monument were gradually discharged and the area around the monument was thus left empty. At the time, the masses were still in the area around the barracks, so no one took notice of this change, nor of its significance.

Chungnanhai Mobilizes Its Forces

At sunset, faint rays of sunlight still lingered, as though reluctant to depart, over the angry masses and the rolling clouds of black smoke.

At about 6:00 p.m., there were still 50,000 to 60,000 persons in the square watching the fire. Let it burn! It was furious and violent, but what other way was there to express their protest? Still, it was getting dark and it was time for dinner; many began to think of leaving.

The long-awaited opportunity had arrived at last!

At 6:15 p.m., Chungnanhai's order finally came down. The capital's militia headquarters was in telephone communication with the dozens of local units: "Bring your weapons and assemble to wait for further instructions."

At 6:30 p.m., Wu Te¹¹ broadcast a speech directed to those in the square: "Today, there are bad elements carrying out disruption and disturbances and engaging in counterrevolutionary sabotage at Tien An Men Square. Revolutionary masses

must leave the square at once and not be duped by them." The speech stressed that the Central Committee thought that the incident was overtly rallying support for Teng Hsiao-p'ing and that its spearhead was directed at Chairman Mao.

By now, after a day's struggle, the masses could plainly see that they would not be given the right to present wreaths to commemorate Premier Chou and to express their opinions. The authorities had made it clear that they would mobilize great repressive forces which the masses could not successfully resist. A feeling of utter helplessness spread among the crowd and many began to leave.

But at 8:00 p.m. there were still 3,000 persons or more who insisted on staying, who gathered around the monument. They did not realize that the place was being set up for them by the authorities. They knew only that they were safeguarding the remaining wreaths. And for the sake of the struggle they were willing to make a momentous decision: they were willing to face whatever was to come. The night wind blew over them. Together they sang the *Internationale*, a song their revolutionary forebears had sung while fighting to the death for justice. "Tis the final conflict, let each stand in their place. . . ." The singers had the future in their minds. They had in mind also the long night they must go through before arriving at the tomorrow they hoped for. Their singing, loud and melancholy, deep and strong, could be heard for a great distance over the silent ground.

Amidst the singing, they presented the last batch of wreaths and posted up their poems, one of which read:

*Devils howl as we pour out our grief,
We weep but the wolves laugh,
We spill our blood in memory of the hero,
Raising our heads, we unsheathe our
swords.
China is no longer the China of yore
And the people are no longer wrapped in
sheer ignorance.
Gone for good is Ch'in Shih-huang's
feudal society.¹²
We believe in Marxism-Leninism!
What we want is genuine Marxism-
Leninism.
To hell with those scholars who emasculate
Marxism-Leninism!
For the sake of genuine Marxism-
Leninism
We fear not shedding our blood and
laying down our lives.*

12. 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 upheld Ch'in Shih-huang's methods for the suppression of dissent as a model for a revolutionary regime.

11. Wu Te is the acting mayor of Peking, a member of the CCP's Central Committee, and a reputed supporter of the "Chou-Teng faction."

*The day modernization in four fields is realized,
We will come back to offer
Libations and sacrifices.*

This poem, though unpolished, had an air of naturalness and grandeur in it. Fraught with resolute intent and accomplished at a single stroke, this was a style befitting a critical life-and-death moment. The poem was a very good portrait of present-day China, of the Chinese people, and of the day, April 5. Its author may remain forever anonymous, but his spirit will find an echo in the hearts of the awakening Chinese people.

The Massacre

After the Militia Command had ascertained the number of people around the monument, tens of thousands of militiamen were dispatched to the area around Tien An Men Square. They assembled at ten different spots and were preparing to launch a major attack at 9:30 p.m. The time was well chosen, for in the dark there would be no witnesses to the bloodshed.

The appointed time grew nearer and nearer. The 5,000 militiamen of Peking's Twenty-sixth Machine Car Factory, who had been waiting in ambush outside the square, scanned their target attentively. The people remaining were nearly hidden by the darkness, but they continued their singing, a sound that touched the heart. Some of the militiamen were moved. Everyone in Peking knew that what these people were fighting for, even at the risk of their lives, was what the whole Chinese people hoped for.

At 9:30 p.m., Ma Yung-shun and Ma Hsiao-lu issued the order to the militia leaders at the various assembly points: GO!

Tens of thousands of militiamen, carrying long clubs, approached Tien An Men Square from ten different directions. They were followed by PLA soldiers with loaded guns, the police, and, finally, the prison vans of the Public Security Bureau.

The end was at hand. The dark shadows of the militiamen were getting closer and closer. The crowd raised their voices and sang louder and louder. In the last few seconds it was like the beginning of some great natural cataclysm.

The first to enter the square were the forty militiamen of Peking's Second Factory. As they came they lashed out at people's heads with their clubs, causing a lot of bloodshed. A youth writhed on the ground, unable to get up again. A second large group of militiamen arrived and in a moment the area around the monument was filled with the sound of clubs striking, of bodies falling, and of people groaning.

For each unarmed person there were ten club-wielding militiamen and armed soldiers. In the beginning the crowd joined hands, but soon they were split apart in the fight.

They were quickly driven back to the Old Palace by the clubs. Some youths in face of the clubs, took out their knives to resist. They were beaten to death under the blows of the clubs.

Another group who refused to enter the Old Palace were pushed into the prison vans. "Are you going or not? If not, you are transforming the contradiction!"¹³ Those who refused to enter the prison vans were also beaten to death by the militiamen and the police.

As to how many were beaten to death, the *Renmin Ribao* [People's Daily] has given no truthful account. It has even avoided using the word "death," using instead a beautiful phrase, "duly punished." How hypocritical and fearful it was to have people beaten to death and then to fuss over the word! The weapons that they so luridly described turned out to be just small knives among the long clubs. And some who were beaten to death did not even have knives.

That was a day when people went to the Monument of People's Heroes to lay down their lives. It was also a day when people were killed at Tien An Men for its defense. Wreaths and blood. With these the Chinese people wrote their page on April 5.

Mass Arrests

After the April 5 suppression, the *Renmin Ribao* also published some "revolutionary poems." One of them read:

*April fifth,
Let us
Lock it in our heart strings!
Remember this day,
We have to take up the carver
And engrave every stone at the square.*

These poems, written by poor-blooded people, were much outshone by those profound and energetic poems poured out from the hearts of the long repressed people during the preceding few days. Nevertheless, these poems do show the authorities' abhorrence for those days. They would not rest in peace until every suspected opponent was completely crushed.

Ma Yung-shun was awake for a full seventy-two hours. After directing the suppression, he then studied the piles of data. His red eyes seemed to be saying, "I have to find and arrest them, even if I work my eyes blind."

In these few days many more were arrested in addition to those detained on the night of April 5. For several days in early April, neighborhood police headquarters issued orders to the cadres of the "Residents' Committees" and members of

13. This refers to the distinction Mao made, in his pamphlet *On Contradiction*, between "non-antagonistic" contradictions among the people which can be settled by discussion and "antagonistic" contradictions between hostile classes which must be settled by force.

the "Xiang-yang Yuan Managing Committee," instructing them to keep watch on the activities on their own street and report to the police immediately anyone who was discovered to have been at Tien An Men Square.

One day, when the neighborhood cadres of New Street were patrolling the street, they discovered that a young worker who lived in their street had gone to Tien An Men, and that he had taken wreaths with him. They immediately reported to police headquarters and mobilized ten or more active people to surround the worker's apartment and wait for him. At 7:00 p.m., the young worker was arrested just as he stepped into his apartment.

Many more were arrested in similar ways. The police were very efficient in carrying out their roundup. During those few days virtually all of the twenty-six policemen from the Tien An Men Police Station spent their time searching among the population, leaving behind only three or four to staff the station.

When the barracks were on fire, they had seen a youth wearing glasses speaking through a loudspeaker. They immediately wrote down a description of him, searched for him, found out his work unit, and had him arrested.

A worker who had participated in overturning the sedan was tracked by the police, who had taken down his bike number. He did not manage to escape the malignant control of the dictatorship.

Several speakers had their addresses discovered and were then arrested. In only a few day's time, the Tien An Men Police Station submitted hundreds of pages of reports to the Public Security Bureau, winning a public commendation from the Bureau which read: "[The Tien An Men Square police] have grasped the new tendency of class struggles in a timely way and have made an important contribution in smashing the counterrevolutionary incident at Tien An Men Square."

The Tien An Men Police Station was only one among the hundreds of police stations in Peking.

At noon on April 5, just as a Route No. 5 People's Bus was about to leave from a midway station, a middle-aged man of about forty showed his identification to the driver: "Peking Public Security Bureau, First Patrol, Mou Tsin-shan." He commanded coldly: "Drive to police headquarters."

At the door of the police station a youth was dragged off the bus. Later the driver heard that the youth had jumped on the overturned propaganda car at the square.

During the evening of the fifth, policeman Jia Jin-hsi spotted a youth who had helped set fire to the barracks. When the youth left Tien An Men Square and walked to a place with fewer people around, Jia Jin-hsi ran forward and had this youth arrested.

Five days later, the situation was even more tumultuous.

When the Mass United Security Team of Eastern Fourth North Street was patrolling, they suddenly caught sight of a youth who had broken into the Great Hall [on April 5]. The United Security Team members surrounded him, beat him, and then carried him bleeding to the police station.

The militia patrol team in Jong Shu District, observing several youths talking in low voices in the street, sent somebody over to eavesdrop. When they found out that the youths were talking about what they heard and saw at Tien An Men Square, they ran over and had them arrested.

When a worker was talking about the Tien An Men incident with his family at home, his impulsive voice leaked out the door. Very quickly, his door was surrounded by the Street Residents' Committee and worker-militiamen.

But the authorities were not yet content. These were only individual arrests. They had to dig out the whole 100,000 people who had been at Tien An Men.

The various factories, hospitals, shops, sections of the PLA, departments, and streets received an order from the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee: "Depend on the masses. Mobilize the masses. Take advantage of the present victory to proceed farther. Thoroughly investigate the counterrevolution, disclose the conspiracy of counterrevolutionary elements and drag out the backstage director of the counterrevolutionary incident."

More than 100,000 persons carried out the interrogation. Those who had presented wreaths had to explain their motives clearly.

During this period, numerous criticism meetings were called. Everyone had to show unambiguously his or her attitude toward the "counterrevolutionary" incident. Mass processions were called all over the country. Not only were "counterrevolutionary elements" in Peking to be arrested, but in other places too—they had already been emerging in Cheng-chou, Kunming, Nanking, etc.

"Depend on the masses. Mobilize the masses." The regime was still bragging by using such slogans. The 100,000 people who depended on themselves and mobilized themselves were the real masses. The suppression before and after April 5 had exposed the regime's braggadocio in front of those 100,000 people and in front of the masses all over the country!

In fact both sides sensed that the situation in China had entered an unprecedented epoch. The society was quietly polarizing, and the rule of the present government could be maintained only by intensifying the dictatorship.

The ground was dark. The red walls of Tien An Men were dyed purple. The Monument of the People's Heroes was pointing directly to the deep blue sky. Militiamen carrying long clubs were pa-

trolling the square, which now appeared quite deserted.

Once in a while there were some passersby, who could not resist a glance at Tien An Men. All that had been so familiar now seemed so strange. Changed.

The change actually happened long ago. April 5 only made it more explicit to the people.

For twenty-six years, Mao Tsetung has been saying that the people enjoy the greatest freedom, a genuine freedom that is far better than that of capitalism. The dictatorship is only directed against class enemies.

Surely people were once very contented with that freedom, for which some even gratefully shed their tears. But especially in the ten years since the "Cultural Revolution," from the innumerable hypocritical, ludicrous, and farcical pronouncements which could be refuted simply with common sense, and from the unending repressive situation which was intolerable even in the eyes of those with only modest demands, the people gradually discovered what that freedom has finally brought them to. What sort of freedom is it? It is a sort of freedom that requires the people to accept totally a certain lot in life and that gives one person the right to exercise power without any constraint. Moreover, if they continue to accept it, this unbearable way of life will only deteriorate, and if they do not express their own opinions, there is in fact no freedom at all. What a fine poem that is! The people are no longer wrapped in sheer ignorance! Twenty-six years have gone by and the people have finally grown up. They are beginning to learn how to criticize and how to imagine. They must give voice to their own choices for the future.

"What Does the Tien An Men Counterrevolutionary Incident Show?"¹⁴ Here is what it shows:

At first, the dictatorship looked as if it really was directed against some past enemies. But since power was monopolized by a minority, it inevitably corrupted. Finally, it became a one-man dictatorship after a long internal power struggle, which is what the ten years following the "Cultural Revolution" have shown. More powerful than even the ancient emperors, this man thinks that he is almighty. He wants to "remould" the total social life of the entire 800 million people in accordance with his own will and his limited understanding, and at the same time he hopes to use this kind of "revolution" to consolidate his supreme position. The lust for maintaining absolute power and the arrogance that has resulted from possession of such absolute power make it possible for him to regard anyone as an enemy.

What a fine poem that is! It pinpoints the emergence of this new Ch'in Shih-huang! Today, when the people have

14. This is the title of a *Renmin Ribao* editorial shortly after the demonstration.

finally transcended his realm of "Doing things as you are told," he immediately tears off his mask of proletarian dictatorship and openly exercises his "feudalistic-fascist dictatorship!"¹⁵

April 5 marks the awakening of the consciousness of the Chinese people with regard to socialist democracy and the total bankruptcy of Mao Tsetung's "dictatorship of the proletariat." This is a revolutionary change for China's future fate. Although the April 5 action is now suppressed and slandered, it is indisputably the most important starting point for the process of struggle for the realization of a genuine socialism that is really democratic and free.

After such a confrontation, the dictatorship has its iron claws gripped even tighter on the people. Yet, can this save anything? Let me quote a paragraph from one of the letters we have received:

"Our unit called a meeting to criticize the 'Tien An Men counterrevolutionary incident,' but except for a few cadres, nobody was willing to speak out on his own initiative. A kind of formidable silence overcast the meeting. Even when people raised their hands and shouted slogans, they did it expressionlessly. At present, even the private conversations among the people in Peking are full of irony and the popular saying is: 'The bandits hold the power!'"

Such a "respectful" proverb renders all analysis superfluous. The people are now certain of their own demand. What's more, they are now more determined, to the degree that they no longer expect anything from that man [Mao] or retain any love for him. He has, in fact, met his decisive failure. It is only a matter of time before it will be possible for the people to announce this publicly.

* * *

The night grows darker. Tien An Men looks like a purple monster. Its purple is a form of the most extreme red, a red painted over with black, and which will ultimately turn into black, as Tien An Men descends into darkness.

Yet, tomorrow is coming. A tomorrow which has been perpetually sought after for so many long nights and which has been gradually approaching nearer over these twenty years or so, a tomorrow first manifested by April 5 and which embraces a free and democratic form of genuine socialism.

Then the people will offer new wreaths at the Monument of the People's Heroes to commemorate you in silence—Bravo April 5!

15. This last phrase appears to be in quotation marks because it is one of the standard accusations leveled by the Maoist regime against all prominent CCP leaders who are purged. It was claimed alike to be the goal of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao, and most recently, Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

Selections From the Left

[The entire column this week is devoted to reactions in the left press to the death of Mao Tsetung.]

* * *



The paper of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.

The September 16 issue carries an article by Shan Shuang, entitled "China After Mao." An accompanying editorial note says: "The effect of Mao's death on China and the Chinese Communist Party [CCP] could be compared with the situation in the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin. On the most basic issues there are no principled differences between the two factions now competing for power—as there were none between the Malenkov and Khrushchevite factions after Stalin's death.

"Although in terms of method and policies there are many differences between the so-called 'radical' and 'moderate' factions in the top layers of the CCP, there is absolute agreement on basic orientation and long-term strategy. Both factions resolutely support the theory of socialism in one country; both equate the dictatorship of the proletariat with the dictatorship of the bureaucracy, and proletarian democracy with anarchism."

Shan Shuang writes: "Having abandoned internationalism, and in this wake the strategic orientation of linking socialist reconstruction in China to the world revolution, the leaders of the various factions in the CCP concentrate instead on how most effectively to manipulate the workers and peasants—so that they produce more, consume less, and don't complain."

No specific assessment is offered of Mao Tsetung as an individual, but the growing mass opposition to his regime in his last months is weighed:

"The most striking manifestation of the new mood was the struggle of the Hangchow workers and students in the early summer of 1975. According to the 'Resolution of the Central Committee of the CCP and the State Council on the Problems in Chekiang Province' of 4 July 1975, the strikers 'cut off water and electricity supplies, sabotaged communications, ambushed the army, attacked public security institutions (and) stole materials belonging to the state.'

"Clearly the events in Hangchow acquired the dimensions of an armed insurrection. Even though the uprising was

soon crushed by tens of thousands of troops, the wave of unrest has spread through much of China. The riots in Tien-an-men Square in April of this year show that the hatred of the masses for the bureaucracy has not yet abated, but has positively grown in intensity and become increasingly politicised (it should be noted that wage demands were to the fore in the Hangchow disturbances). . . .

"The changes occasioned in the leadership by Mao's death could well create an expectancy of change in the psychology of the Chinese masses. The effect of this will be to increase popular dissatisfaction and heighten the struggle."

rouge

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

The September 10 issue devotes eight of its sixteen pages to the death of Mao Tsetung. In the lead article, Ernest Mandel writes: "The third Chinese revolution was able to triumph because, despite erroneous texts such as 'On New Democracy,' in practice Mao refused to subordinate the People's Liberation Army, born in the anti-Japanese guerrilla war, to the army of Chiang Kai-shek. He refused to sacrifice the peasant uprisings on the altar of a coalition government with the bourgeoisie. The third Chinese revolution resulted in the creation of the People's Republic of China, a workers state, through which the Chinese people have become a great independent nation in the world, torn free from stagnation and famine. Nothing that happened after this can take from Mao the historic credit for his key role in the victory of the socialist revolution in China."

After the revolution, Mandel continues, the new regime had "traits in common with the Stalinist regime in the USSR." This was a result not only of the inheritance of backwardness but of the role of the party. "It is here that the truly tragic dimension of the aging Mao appears. He was concerned about the consequences of the bureaucratization of the party and of the country on the depoliticization of the masses, in the image of what had developed in the USSR. Placed in a minority in the party leadership after the failure of the 'Great Leap Forward,' he appealed to the masses over the head of the party apparatus. That was the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, which had similar features to the youth radicalization in the rest of the world. It was unleashed under the banner of the slogan: 'In the last analysis, the lessons of history can be reduced to

this: Revolution is justified.' But when the mass mobilizations escaped more and more from the control of the Maoist faction, when they led to the appearance of left oppositional tendencies, when they began to draw in the workers and set them on the road of strikes, Mao reversed course and reunified with the majority of the apparatus."

D.R., in an article entitled "Mao Tsetung in the Chinese Revolution," traces the outline of Mao's career and assesses his relations with Stalin and Stalinism. He writes:

"It was in the defeat of 1927 that Maoism was born. Mao was not capable of producing an overall analysis of Stalinism and of its repercussions in China, and he remained loyal to the theory of the revolution by stages. But he learned a number of lessons from 1927 that he never forgot. He understood that it was necessary to distrust the treacherous Kuomintang, that it was necessary to preserve the political and organizational autonomy of the Communist party, and that it was necessary to construct a political and military relationship of forces that would assure the CCP the leadership of the revolutionary process. He also understood that it was necessary to oppose the directives of the Comintern whenever these were in contradiction with the interests of the Chinese revolution."

Mao, D.R. writes, "led the Chinese revolution against Stalin, and that from 1927."

". . . in practicing a policy of class alliance without subordination to the national bourgeoisie, Mao returned to the policy elaborated by Lenin in 1920 for the colonial countries, not the 'Menshevism' of Stalin. But it was a debased Leninism, because Mao did not avoid the opportunist 'excesses' (in theory and practice) already mentioned."

In his later years, D.R. writes, Mao became concerned with the bureaucratization of the Chinese state. "It was to counterbalance the social and political effects of the 'moderate' line [of Liu Shao-ch'i] as much as to 'retake the power' in the party and the state that Mao continually launched political campaigns of various amplitude, before and after the most risky of his efforts to reimpose his political line, the Cultural Revolution. (These social effects included a social differentiation between city and countryside and within the working class, the creation of a 'bureaucracy' of the 'Stalinist' type completely cut off from the masses, etc.)."

Mao "was moved by an undeniable desire to halt the 'natural' development of the bureaucracy, but because he had never envisaged the development of organs of a

genuine proletarian democracy, his efforts fell short and were reduced to a permanent concern about mobilizing the masses for the reasons given above, without ever giving them the means to take the leadership of the Chinese state into their own hands."

Frédéric Carlier, in an article on "The Struggle for Power" in China after Mao's death, suggests that a key issue among the contenders within the party leadership will be whether to continue a distinctively Maoist economic policy or to return to the "Soviet model" of the mid-1950s. The Maoist policy, he writes, "implies a genuine decentralization of decision making, confidence in a certain degree of initiative from below, as well as the genuine and uncoerced participation of the Chinese workers, as contrasted to the Soviet 'model' based solely on repression."

The rest of *Rouge's* coverage includes lengthy quotations from Mao in favor of women's liberation, against bureaucratism, for free speech for workers, for placing decision-making power in the hands of the masses and not the party cadres, as well as his telegram of condolence on the death of Stalin. One page was devoted to Mao's poems.



"*Ergatike Pale*" (*Workers Struggle*), weekly paper serving the interests of the working people. Published in Athens.

The article on the Chinese Communist party leader's death in the September 11 issue poses the question, "What was Mao?"

"Was he a great revolutionist, a great theoretician? Was he a 'great red sun'? Or was he a counterrevolutionist, an agent of imperialism? . . .

"This question may have been made more difficult because of China's foreign policy in recent years, although it seems that this has made it easier to answer for those who measure everything by the practical interests of the countries they support. But this is not the way to proceed. What Stalin and the Soviet Union were was not defined by the Stalin-Hitler Pact. Thus, obviously Mao and the Chinese regime cannot be defined by the aid they have given to Pinochet, the butcher of the Chilean proletariat. By this, we don't mean to minimize the significance of certain developments, which are *indicative*. The essence of the question lies precisely in the fact that while they indicate an aspect of what we are faced with, they do not define it.

"The Chinese revolution was unquestionably a big plus for the world revolution. However, it contributed only by extending the world revolution in a broad sense, that is by abolishing private property relations in another large part of the world, further weakening imperialism, and improving the preconditions for the world

revolution. In that sense, Mao was a great revolutionist.

"With respect to the October revolution, on the other hand, the Chinese revolution was a big *minus*. Not only did it fail even to approach the October revolution in its contributions; in certain respects, it was the negation of the October revolution. This flowed from Stalinism, which negated Bolshevism, the crowning achievement of Marxist thought.

"The Chinese revolution did not offer the theoretical richness of the October revolution, the soviets or workers democracy. From the start, it did not stand in contradiction to the degenerated Soviet Union and was if anything worse. . . .

"China never experienced soviets, workers democracy, or Bolshevism. Monolithism and the cult of the personality dominated from the beginning. Mao was always the great red sun. And with such an outlook, he represented a minus with respect to Marxist thought and criticism."

INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES 753

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"*Workers News*," open forum for the class struggle. Published weekly in Paris.

The comment on Mao in the September 15 issue begins on a critical note.

"The death of Mao Tsetung has led people to try to outdo each other in offering funeral eulogies, to a unanimous chorus of praise that is no doubt without precedent. One of the common denominators in this posthumous homage is the exclusion of the masses of Chinese workers and peasants from any decisive role in the great upheavals and profound social transformations China has experienced and with which Mao's name is certainly bound up. Mao's activity is supposed to explain everything. . . .

"However, if only yesterday China was prey to all the imperialist powers who divided it up among themselves, and today it is a sovereign and united nation, if hunger is no longer the lot of the overwhelming majority of its population, if the domination of the landlords and the moneylenders has been broken, along with that of imperialism, this is the result of a revolutionary process that developed over many years, involving the struggle of tens of millions of human beings. Not even the most idolatrous could reduce this process simply to the actions of the 'great helmsman.' . . .

"So, at the risk of striking a jarring note in the midst of the funeral eulogies, we prefer to assess the political role played by the leadership of the Chinese Communist party and Mao Tsetung at the crucial moments in this revolutionary process, rather than repeat a gilded legend as others do." Moreover, the article states, it is in this history that the explanation must be sought for the power struggle that had begun even before Mao departed from the scene.

"It seems necessary to remind many commentators—including those who claim to stand for 'proletarian revolution,' or even for the Fourth International—that in 1925-1927 the Chinese proletariat, which was beginning to draw the peasant masses behind it, took up a revolutionary struggle against the imperialists and the Chinese bourgeoisie, a revolutionary struggle in which it formed unions and also tried to build soviets, like those that appeared in Russia in 1917. The young Chinese Communist party (formed in July 1921) played an essential role in this mobilization, but was itself directed by the leadership of the Communist International, then controlled by the Stalin faction. It was this leadership that ordered them . . . to follow a line of subordination to the 'national bourgeoisie,' that is, to Chiang Kai-shek, a line that led to disaster and to the massacre of many working-class cadres.

"The founder of the Chinese Communist party, not Mao Tsetung, but Ch'en Tu-hsiu, at first blindly followed this policy, denouncing 'Trotskyist adventurism.' Later he had the rare courage to recognize his error and to point to Stalin's responsibility. He joined the Left Opposition. For this crime he is still banned from 'official' history. It requires a great deal of intellectual cowardice to fail even to note his existence today while singing the praises of Mao."

The 1927 defeat left a profound imprint on the Chinese CP: "The party reconstituted itself in the countryside, primarily as a military and administrative apparatus based on the local discontent in peasant areas that were in a chronic state of rebellion against the central power.

"In the CCP leadership, the questions raised by the defeat and by the 'official' version, which put all the blame on Ch'en Tu-hsiu, were not settled. Mao Tsetung himself experienced these problems. The role he played in 1927 as organizer of the peasant unions led to an attempt to oust him from the leadership.

"However, the CCP maintained itself as a section of the Stalinized Communist International, and it was in this framework that its leadership consolidated itself."

The CCP followed the zigzags of the Kremlin bureaucracy's opportunist policy. However, class collaboration proved impossible with an exceptionally weak bourgeoisie, whose feeble underpinnings were shattered by the forces unleashed by World War II and the Japanese invasion.

"The decayed regime of Chiang could not stand up against the mass mobilization. However, guided by the needs of the Kremlin bureaucracy, the CCP leadership tried desperately to find room for compromise. The advance of the class struggle, however, undermined all such possibilities.

"The peasants began to mobilize, the cities were swept by ferment, strikes broke out. The regime disintegrated, leaving a void that was filled by the Chinese CP."

Mao had to choose between subordination to the desperate Chiang regime, which would have meant suicide, and taking the head of the revolution that had already begun. He chose to seize his opportunity.

"In January 1949, Peking was taken. Chiang's government disintegrated before the onslaught of the agrarian revolution, just as the Thieu government in Vietnam did twenty-five years later."

Informations Ouvrières explained that Trotsky had pointed to the possibility of such a development in the Transitional Program of the Fourth International, which it quoted: "... under the influence of completely exceptional circumstances (war, defeat, financial crash, mass revolutionary pressure, etc.), the petty-bourgeois parties including the Stalinists may go further than they themselves wish along the road to a break with the bourgeoisie."

Mao and the Chinese CP did not, however, lead the revolution in a conscious way: "Strict respect for the historical truth leads to recognizing that it was not on the basis of the policy put forward by the CCP leadership but rather in opposition to it, sweeping away all Mao's theoretical justifications for this policy ... that the working masses of China put an end to Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship."

Moreover, the article continues, the CCP did not change from what it became after the 1927 defeat:

"Chiang Kai-shek's defeat took the form primarily of the victory of a peasant army led by the CCP, a workers party, over a collapsing regime. As the cities were conquered, the CCP apparatus that was set up opposed (including by repression) every expression of working-class independence."

From the beginning of the new regime, the bureaucracy has held absolute power. "What characterizes the Chinese bureaucracy primarily is that it alone exercises political power. This is a typical case of a workers state bureaucratic from its inception, unlike the workers state in the USSR, which was founded on the dictatorship of the proletariat exercised by the soviets, soviets the bureaucracy had to destroy in order to usurp political power."

"It was as a part of the world proletarian revolution that the Chinese revolution triumphed in 1949. This success was in fact a new victory of the October revolution."

"But if the existence of the Russian workers state ... posed problems insoluble in the limits of Russia, the regime that arose in 1949 and in which the proletariat had no means of exercising political power, was quickly to run up against greater domestic and international problems."

Lutte Ouvrière

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

The editorial on Mao's death in the September 11 issue begins with the following assessment:

"Despite his own statements, despite the label that his party has kept to the present day, despite the claims of his followers throughout the world that they are Marxist-Leninists, the man who has just died at the age of eighty-three was not a communist. He was a nationalist, a Jacobin, a radical. He was able on several occasions to mobilize the poor masses, who were essentially petty-bourgeois, above all peasants, but also students. He was not a communist in the sense that Marx and Marxists have given to this term—that is, an activist who, basing himself on the international working class and on its enormous power, seeks to change the world and to end forever all class exploitation and all forms of oppression."

The editorial, signed by Arlette Laguiller, former presidential candidate and most well-known personality of the "Lutte Ouvrière" group, argues that Mao and other Chinese CP leaders drew the following conclusion from the defeat of the revolutionary workers upsurge in 1927: "A new social force had to be sought to work for the Chinese revolution."

"They believed they found this force in the countryside. One reason for this, no doubt, is that when they were being hunted, they found refuge there. But the primary reason was that in a country where there had not been time for militants to become steeped in proletarian revolutionary traditions, not even those militants who wanted to be communists, these revolutionists lost confidence in the working class."

"Mao did not propose a simple tactical shift, regardless of how he may have viewed it at the time. What he proposed was in fact to build a new party which, while keeping the same label as the Chinese CP, would be based on another social class, the peasants, and would have new objectives that corresponded to the aspirations of the petty bourgeoisie."

"From that time on, the aim of Mao's party was not the seizure of power by the proletariat, although it still made allusions to this once in a while. Its aim was the national liberation of China."

The editorial maintains that all of the tactics of the Chinese CP from the 1930s on flowed from its defense of China's national interests. Moreover, Mao followed the same policy in power. "Whether they divided the land or concentrated it in people's communes, whether they concentrated on developing agriculture or threw themselves into superindustrialization,

whether they faced up to the threats of American imperialism or accepted Nixon's overtures, whether they hailed Stalin or attacked the USSR as a superimperialist power, Mao and his supporters always acted in defense of the national interests of China."

The Cultural Revolution, the editorial said, was in fact anti-working-class in character: "The masses that were mobilized were not the Chinese workers, they were students and petty-bourgeois. ... In fact one of the jobs assigned to these petty bourgeois mobilized in the streets was to exercise a strong enough pressure to get the workers to stay quiet and accept the sacrifices the regime considered necessary."

Those who had illusions about Mao being on the side of the world working class and the oppressed were "cruelly disillusioned" by such policies as support for the Bandaranaike regime in Sri Lanka against the insurgent peasants and "support for the creatures of American imperialism in Angola."

Lutte Ouvrière's concluding judgment on Mao was that "he has won a place in history, but this place is alongside the great bourgeois nationalist figures, alongside Washington and Robespierre, not Marx or Lenin."

Guardian

An independent radical newsweekly, published in New York.

Nine pages of the September 22 issue are devoted to the death of Mao, under the headline, "The greatest revolutionary leader of our times: Chairman Mao Tse-tung is dead." An editorial declares: "Chairman Mao Tse-tung strode through history like a man who had invented it. In many respects he did." Mao's most important theoretical contribution to Marxism, the editorial states, which "proved to be the key to the revolution's success," was his concept that "the Chinese revolution was bound to be based upon a two-stage strategy, with the 'national democratic revolution' as its initial stage and 'socialist revolution' as the later stage."

Irwin Silber, the *Guardian's* executive editor, offers a three-page assessment of Mao's life and work. The first page is devoted to Mao's early youth up to his participation in founding the Chinese Communist party in 1921. The narrative then turns to Mao's experiences and theories after 1927 (there is no mention of the revolution of 1925-27).

Mao's most original theoretical views, according to Silber, were his "conception that China's revolution had to be based on the peasantry ... rather than on an infinitesimally tiny industrial proletariat," and his "advocacy of guerrilla war." The revolution of 1945-49 is given somewhat more space than the previous one: "When the war [with Japan] was over, it was only

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a matter of a few years before Chiang had been routed and driven from the mainland, an ignominious loser making futile gestures of revenge from a Taiwan placed under the 'protection' of the U.S. 7th fleet."

Silber gives this summary of Mao's internal policies after 1949:

"As the Soviet Union, under the sway of revisionism, abandoned the socialist path, Mao increasingly began to explore the sources of counter-revolution in a socialist society. Eventually, his enunciation of the thesis that class struggle remains as a key feature of socialist society—and that socialism can only be built if the working class continues to exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat against the tendency of an intellectual and bureaucratic elite to install itself as a new bourgeoisie—became a decisive internal ideological dividing line."

No mention is made of Mao's foreign policy, which had been criticized by the *Guardian* in recent months.

HAYTH

"*Aughe*" (*Dawn*), the morning paper of the left. Published daily in Athens. Reflects the views of the Greek Communist party ("interior").

The entire front page of the September 10 issue is devoted to Mao. The Greek CP ("interior") daily's comments were both respectful and sympathetic to the Chinese CP leader, whom it described as "one of the world's greatest revolutionary figures, one of its most influential governmental, political, and military figures, one of the greatest minds of our age."

The "interior" CP is the liberalizing Stalinist faction in Greece, which, among other things, opposed the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Moscow backed a split in the Greek CP in the late 1960s in an attempt to crush the liberalizing faction. It continues to support the "orthodox" CP ("exterior") and to consider it the Greek CP. However, since the "interior" faction is supported by the Italian CP and the Yugoslav and Rumanian governments and parties, the Kremlin has not been able to exclude it entirely from international Stalinist circles.

Given its situation, the "interior" CP is a strong supporter of more independence of national Communist parties from the Kremlin. Its newspaper polemicizes openly and frequently against Soviet "hegemonism" in the world Stalinist circles. Accordingly, its assessment of Mao's political career did not fail to take up the Sino-Soviet conflict.

The major lesson *Aughe* drew from the conflict was that it showed the evils of "hegemonism," which apparently means attempts by ruling CPs in large countries to dominate CPs with a weaker power base.

"It is no accident that the leadership of the great Chinese revolution with Mao at its head, a revolution that had such an

original character, sought new paths for building socialism. Nor was it accidental that in seeking such paths in the course of the revolution Mao came into conflict with Stalin and the leadership of the Communist International and that he continued to come into conflict with it after the victory of the revolution. In seeking new roads for building socialism in China, he came into conflict with the Soviet leadership, which even after the dissolution of the Comintern claimed the role of an international guiding center.

"But as regards the theoretical conflict between the CCP and the CPSU, there is another factor that seems to have played an important role in the development of the line and philosophy of the Communist parties. It seems that parties that have won power have a tendency to elevate their own experiences and their own paths into general laws. It also seems that neither the Chinese leadership nor Mao Tsetung was exempt from this tendency.

"In the duel between the CCP and the CPSU, between the two biggest powers in the socialist world—a duel that generates more general problems not only for the world revolutionary movement but for the entire modern world—there are numerous and complex factors. One such factor, and not a secondary one, has been the element of hegemonism that has appeared in connection with giving primacy to the state interests of socialist countries over the interests of developing the people's movements. It is in this predominance of state interests, within the context of a very sharp conflict between the People's Republic of China and the USSR, that the explanation is to be sought for many of the dubious aspects of China's current foreign policy."

THE News Line

Successor to *Workers Press*, the daily newspaper of the Central Committee of the *Workers Revolutionary party*. Published in London.

The September 10 issue devoted a page to the death of Mao under the head "Mao—Revolutionary leader to friend of Nixon—Dies: The long struggle begins for succession." Tom Kemp argues that "Mao did not break from the Stalinist policies based on the fundamental revisionist theory of socialism in one country, but adapted them to Chinese conditions."

At the same time, "Stalin had not wanted or bargained for the victory of the Chinese Communist Party," and "In taking power, therefore, Mao acted in complete defiance of the Soviet bureaucracy and its interests." Mao's defiance led to the withdrawal of Soviet aid (this took place in 1960), after which Mao pursued various narrowly nationalist strategies of industrial development.

"The Cultural Revolution was Mao's last

and greatest effort to transform Chinese society and cut away the dead wood in the bureaucracy itself."

Pointing to the "increasingly reactionary" foreign policy of Peking in recent years, Kemp concludes:

"Despite Mao's great revolutionary past, Stalinism in all its forms remains counter-revolutionary on a world scale."

Bulletin

Twice-weekly organ of the Central Committee of the *Workers League*. Published in New York.

Fred Mazelis, writing in the September 14 issue, traces Mao's career, which "was one of enormous contradictions."

"Mao, coming from a peasant family, became a young intellectual who then broke decisively and irrevocably with this milieu and devoted himself entirely to the workers' movement."

During the 1930s and 1940s, according to Mazelis, Mao's bitterest foe after Chiang Kai-shek was Stalin. "During the whole period leading up to the 1949 victory, Mao clashed with Moscow bitterly and repeatedly, but refused to probe the theoretical roots of the conflict. The Chinese Revolution achieved victory in spite of and against the legacy of Stalinism."

Mazelis maintains that Stalin supported Chiang Kai-shek right up to the proclamation of the People's Republic in October 1949.

"From the 1950s until his death, Mao repeatedly recoiled from the consequences of the Stalinist theory and practice of socialism in one country. This policy worked to deepen the isolation of the revolution and increase the pressure of imperialism via the better-off peasants, small sections of backward workers, and the party and government bureaucracy."

In recoiling from his own theory, Mao launched an attack on the capitalist roaders in his party:

"Mao's fear of the restorationist elements in the bureaucracy led him to mobilize millions of youth in the Red Guards. This represented an attempt to defend the conquests of the revolution."

According to Mazelis, "The Trotskyist movement unhesitatingly took sides in the struggles which began in 1966, critically supporting Mao and the Red Guards against the right wing." (This refers to the "International Committee of the Fourth International" headed by G. Healy in London.)

Despite the International Committee's critical support, Mao "ended his life as the friend of Richard Nixon and every reactionary imperialist and even fascist elements. . . ." Mazelis concludes:

"Without the history of Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism, contained in and carried forward in the International Committee of the Fourth International, it is impossible to defend and understand the Chinese Revolution."

The Arabs in Israel

Reviewed by David Frankel

It is impossible for anyone with a sense of human solidarity to read *The Arabs in Israel* without anger and indignation. It is not that Sabri Jiryis attempts to play on the emotions of his readers. On the contrary, as Sol Stern acknowledged in his discussion of the book in the July 25 *New York Times Book Review*, Jiryis presents "a coolly argued case, relying primarily on official Israeli sources, Knesset debates and court records."

No, what provokes the response to this book is the sheer weight of the injustice and racism that it documents. Detail after detail, repression after repression, discrimination after discrimination, the whole edifice of the Zionist state is presented in the words of its own institutions and leaders.

It is an ugly picture.

Jiryis divides his material into four main areas—the repressive political regime under which the Palestinians in Israel live; the process through which the bulk of Arab land in Israel was confiscated; the record of actual massacres carried out by the colonialists against the Palestinian population; and the pervasive discrimination against Arabs in Israeli society.

Until 1966, Palestinians in Israel lived under direct military rule. Although the military government inside Israel was formally abolished that year—only to be reestablished eight months later in the Arab territories occupied by Israel in June 1967—the totalitarian laws that formed the basis of the military regime remain in effect and are used to this day.

These laws were originally decreed by the British colonial regime to stamp out the Palestinian rebellion of 1936-39. Known as the emergency regulations, they were further codified in the British Mandatory Defense (Emergency) Regulations, 1945, and the Israeli Emergency (Security Zones) Regulations of 1949.

When the Zionist groups came into conflict with the British regime after World War II, they minced no words in describing the character of these laws. Dr. Moshe Dunkelblum, later a judge on the Israeli Supreme Court, declared at a lawyers conference in February 1946, "It is true that these laws threaten every Jewish settler, but, as lawyers, we are especially concerned because they violate the basic

principles of law, justice, and jurisprudence."

Yaacov Shimshon Shapira was even stronger in his condemnation. He said:

The established order in Palestine since the defense regulations is unparalleled in any civilized country. Even in Nazi Germany there were no such laws. . . . Only in an occupied country do you find a system resembling ours. . . .

It is our duty to tell the whole world that the defense regulations passed by the government in Palestine destroy the very foundations of justice in this land.

Shapira, however, who headed the ministry of justice when the Zionists took over

The Arabs in Israel, by Sabri Jiryis. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976. xviii + 314 pp. \$12.50.

in Palestine, was willing to go along with the application of these same regulations against the Palestinians. Among the provisions of the emergency regulations are the following:

Article 142 states that "any person who endeavors, whether orally or otherwise, to influence public opinion in a manner likely to be prejudicial to public safety, defense or the maintenance of public order" shall be considered as having committed a crime.

Article 109(I)(d) says that restrictions can be imposed on any person "in respect of his association or communications with other persons, and in respect to his activities in relation to the dissemination of news or the propagation of opinions."

In addition, "no notice, illustration, placard, advertisement, proclamation, pamphlet or other like document containing matter of political significance . . . shall be printed or published in Israel" without first obtaining a permit. The district commissioner can grant or refuse the permit "without assigning any reason therefore" (Articles 94 and 96).

The emergency regulations give the authorities the power to detain persons without charge or trial for a period of one year. Such orders are subject to renewal. Moreover, the regulations allow the authorities to confiscate "any house, building, or piece of land" if they are "con-

vinced that the inhabitants . . . have committed, attempted, or aided and abetted a crime or were accessories after the fact to a crime."

Originally, victims of these laws—invariably Palestinians—had no recourse to appeal. In 1963, an amendment allowing appeals to the Supreme Court was passed, but in practice the Israeli judiciary has chosen to turn down all appeals on the grounds of refusing to meddle in matters of the "security" of the state. To this day, the military commanders of the northern, central, and southern regions in Israel are empowered to invoke the emergency regulations any time they consider it necessary "for securing the public safety, the defense of Israel, the maintenance of public order, or the suppression of mutiny, rebellion, or riot."

The police can also use the regulations. Jiryis explains that after the formal abolition of the military government, "a new body was created with the power to enforce them [the emergency regulations] at any moment—a special duties department of the Israeli police in charge of counterespionage, aliens, and the Arab population."

When Palestinians inside Israel called a protest strike March 30 of this year to demand an end to the continuing confiscation of Arab land by the Zionist regime, the government invoked the emergency regulations. Curfews were declared in a number of Arab towns and villages in northern Israel, and six Palestinians were gunned down by police and soldiers in a calculated action designed to "teach the Arabs a lesson."

The forms of oppression that the Palestinians are subject to on a day-to-day basis inside Israel also include cultural and economic discrimination. For instance, more than half of the Arab villages in Israel are still without electricity.

A study of higher education among the Arabs in Israel, prepared for the prime minister's adviser for Arab affairs, showed that from 1950 to 1960, less than 100 Arabs received university degrees. From 1961 to 1971, the number of Arab university graduates was only 300. All told, there were fewer than 500 Arabs holding university degrees in the entire country in 1971. At that time the Arab population of Israel was officially recorded as 382,300.



In contrast, it was estimated that there were 50,000 Palestinian university graduates throughout the world in 1969. Roughly one-seventh of all Palestinians live inside Israel (not counting those in the occupied territories). Thus, the 14 percent of the Palestinians living inside Israel accounted for only 1 percent of the total number of university graduates.

Jiryis relates one incident—reported in the Israeli daily *Yediot Aharonot* December 8, 1972—in which Jabr Ma'di, one of the government's showcase Arab officials, sought to boast of the progress made by his people under Israeli rule. Ma'di, a member of the Druze community, which at that time numbered 35,000, said, "It was with great pleasure that I learned that there are ten doctors from our sect . . . some lawyers and engineers and other professionals."

Because Jiryis relies mainly on official Israeli sources and Israeli newspapers to document his case, the full extent of the human suffering inflicted on the Palestinian people by the Zionist colonizers is muted. Jiryis tells the reader, for instance, that ". . . 374 Arab towns and villages, or 45 percent of all Arab settlements in Palestine, disappeared after the creation of Israel. They were demolished and their land given to Jewish settlers to farm."

Each of those towns and villages, and each of the families who once lived in them, have their own story. One such story—that of the village of Kfar Kassim—is told in *The Arabs in Israel* through the testimony of an Israeli military court.

Kfar Kassim was one of the "lucky" Palestinian villages that managed to survive the establishment of the state of Israel. At 4:30 p.m. on October 29, 1956, on the eve of the Israeli invasion of Egypt, the village chief was informed that a curfew was being imposed on his village and that the inhabitants had one-half hour to get into their houses.

The mukhtar (village head) explained that "there were four hundred villagers who worked outside the village, some of them in the neighborhood or in nearby places, while the remainder were in more distant places . . . so that he could not inform them all of the curfew in time."

But the unit of the Israeli Frontier Guard assigned to enforce the curfew had already been given specific orders. Major Shmuel Melinki, relaying the instructions from his battalion commander, told his men "that there were to be no arrests, and that if a number of people were killed in the night this would facilitate the imposition of the curfew during succeeding nights."

The account of the military court continued:

The first to be shot at the western entrance to the village were four quarrymen returning on bicycles from the places where they worked near Petah Tikva and Ras al Ayin. A short time after the curfew began these four workmen came round the bend in the road pushing their bicycles. When they had gone some ten to fifteen

meters . . . they were shot from behind at close range or from the left. . . .

Three more persons accompanying a mule cart were then mowed down.

A short time after this killing a shepherd and his twelve-year-old son came back from the pasture with their flock. They approached the bend . . . the shepherd throwing stones at sheep that had strayed to turn them back onto the road. Two or three soldiers, standing by the bend, opened fire at close range on the shepherd and his son and killed them. . . .

Two more men in a lorry were killed, and then a third lorry arrived, carrying four men and fourteen women, aged twelve to sixty-six years, on their way to Kfar Kassim. . . .

The lorry stopped in the road that passes near the school, whereupon the first soldier ordered the driver and the passengers to get out. . . . As soon as the fourteen women and four men had got down from the lorry he ordered the other soldiers, who had by then joined him, to fire. They obeyed and continued firing until seventeen of the total of eighteen persons were killed. The sole survivor was a girl of fourteen, Hannah Suleiman Amer, who was seriously wounded in the head and leg and appeared to be dead. . . .

Two of the girls who were killed were twelve years old, and two others fourteen.

So it went until a total of forty-nine persons had been butchered. The whole operation took less than one hour.

Although the bloody events at Kfar Kassim were an exception in the sense that such methods have generally been reserved for Arabs in neighboring countries—at least since the end of the 1948-49 war—in another sense they were absolutely typical. The massacre at Kfar Kassim and the reaction in Israel that followed it revealed more clearly than anything else the basic attitude of the Zionist colonizers to the people they have displaced and victimized.

When the government found that it was unable to cover up the killing spree at Kfar Kassim, it brought eleven of the participants in the massacre to trial. Eight were

convicted, but by the beginning of 1960—about three and a half years after the massacre—the last of those convicted had already been freed.

Like the Nazis who were tried for war crimes at Nuremberg after World War II, and the American officers guilty of the Mylai atrocity in Vietnam, the Israeli murderers pleaded that they were only following orders. The battalion commander who ordered the massacre, Brigadier Yshishkar Shadmi, was found guilty of a "technical error" and sentenced to a reprimand and a fine of one Israeli piaster.

The regime chose to close the case there rather than continue the trail to the top command. The climate created around the affair was described by journalist Boaz Evron in the following terms:

With two or three exceptions, the press has been party to a conspiracy of silence, throwing a veil over the incident. It wrote of condemned men instead of killers; instead of a killing or a crime in Kfar Kassim it wrote of a "misfortune" and a "mistake" and a "regrettable incident." When it mentioned the victims of the calamity, it was difficult to tell whom it meant, the dead or the killers. When the sentences were handed down, a cowardly campaign against the judge was begun. . . .

In September 1960, Jiryis notes, "the municipality of Ramle engaged Gabriel Dahan, convicted of killing forty-three Arabs in one hour, as officer for Arab affairs." □

Best Plaster Money Can Buy

In May 1974, the Pentagon awarded a \$65,000 contract for repairs to a ceiling at the National War College. According to the October issue of the *Progressive*, the House Government Operations Committee now reports that the current cost of the project, after seven upward revisions, is \$1.9 million.

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Aumenta la Solidaridad entre Negros y Gente de Color

Por Tony Thomas

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Demonstrations Spread Across South Africa's Cape Province," que apareció en el número del 20 de septiembre de nuestra revista. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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A principios de septiembre, las manifestaciones de personas de color (mestizos descendientes de africanos, asiáticos y europeos) se extendieron por toda la provincia sudafricana de El Cabo. El gobierno las reprimió masivamente. Cientos de manifestantes han sido arrestados y, tan sólo entre el 9 y el 10 de septiembre, la policía antidisturbios mató veinticuatro personas.

El 7 de septiembre, la policía de Ciudad del Cabo atacó a miles de manifestantes de color en el centro de la ciudad. Mató cuando menos cuatro personas e hirió a muchas otras.

Una nota publicada el 8 de septiembre en el *Financial Times* de Londres describía la escena de la siguiente manera:

Los disparos de la policía y las explosiones de los cuetes que lanzaban las escuadras antidisturbios para hacer retroceder a la multitud, se escuchaban por toda el área de los distritos financiero y comercial de Ciudad del Cabo, que estaban completamente cubiertos por el gas lacrimógeno.

Hubo un momento en que aproximadamente 1,000 personas de color se encontraban en el Parade, que es una gran plaza cerca del ayuntamiento. Un alto funcionario de la policía leyó a los manifestantes el acta sobre disturbios, y les dio cinco minutos para que se dispersaran. La multitud gritó obscenidades a los policías y se negó a moverse.

Poco después, unos veinte policías antidisturbios camuflados salieron de cuatro camiones, y cargaron contra los manifestantes, que se dispersaron . . . hasta que se reagruparon de nuevo.

El 8 de septiembre, la policía abrió fuego, después de haber utilizado gases lacrimógenos y cachiporras, para dispersar a grupos de manifestantes en ciudades segregadas de la gente de color cerca de Ciudad del Cabo.

En el centro de Ciudad del Cabo, la policía disparó contra manifestantes que protestaban por la decisión del régimen de cerrar las escuelas medias para la gente de color que hay en el área de Ciudad del Cabo. La policía utilizó rifles y gases lacrimógenos, después de que los garrotes no pudieron hacer retroceder a los cientos de manifestantes de color.

La policía antidisturbios también atacó

a 500 estudiantes de la universidad para personas de color de Cabo Occidental.

Los negros realizaron manifestaciones en Stellenbosch, una ciudad veinte millas al Este de Ciudad del Cabo. La policía sitió las ciudades segregadas para personas de color de Valle de Ida y Cloetesville, después de que supuestamente ocurrieron allí incidentes violentos la noche del 7 de septiembre.

El 8 de septiembre, se unieron a las protestas los negros de Kimberly, el centro de la industria de diamantes de Sudáfrica.

Dieciséis jóvenes fueron asesinados en Manenberg, una sección de Athlone, una ciudad segregada para la gente de color que se encuentra a menos de diez millas de Ciudad del Cabo. Según informaba John Burns en el *New York Times* el 10 de septiembre, todos ellos murieron a causa de los balazos que recibieron de los rifles y pistolas de la policía. La policía dijo que los jóvenes estaban saqueando tiendas que antes habían sido quemadas por los manifestantes de color.

En Paarl, una ciudad a treinta millas de Ciudad del Cabo, cientos de jóvenes apedrearon tiendas y automóviles, según Burns. Se informó que un joven resultó muerto.

También se informó de muertes en Eisiesriver, una ciudad segregada en la orilla oriental de Ciudad del Cabo, y en Grassy Park, una ciudad segregada al Sur de la ciudad. En Kimberly, la policía chocó con una multitud de aproximadamente 700 estudiantes negros.

El 10 de septiembre, la policía arrestó cientos de estudiantes de color en Puerto Elizabeth, una ciudad 420 millas al Este de Ciudad del Cabo, tras de romper un acto pacífico en las canchas de rugby de las escuelas medias St. Thomas y Paterson.

La policía de Puerto Elizabeth informó que 350 personas habían sido arrestadas. Algunas personas de color que presenciaron los acontecimientos dicen que los detenidos fueron 550.

Este ascenso de la lucha ha sacudido al régimen sudafricano, que había tratado de dividir a las personas de color de los africanos e hindúes.

"Ustedes deben comprender que dentro del marco del desarrollo separado [es decir, *apartheid*], las personas de color han sido tradicionalmente más favorecidas," dijo un periodista sudafricano al corresponsal del *New York Times* Michael Kaufman.

Las recientes manifestaciones han quebrantado las ilusiones de los blancos de que las personas de color no se unirían a los africanos. "Lo que más nos sorprende,"

dijo el periodista a Kaufman, "ha sido ver juntos a los jóvenes de color y a los negros, diciendo exactamente la misma cosa."

Un intelectual de color le dijo a Kaufman que la nueva generación de jóvenes de color "no sólo rechaza todo el sistema de desarrollo separado, sino que también rechaza a nuestros dirigentes tradicionales."

Una joven de color dijo al corresponsal del *New York Times*: "Hace algunos años, creo, la mayor parte de las personas de color querían ser como los blancos. Nuestro pueblo tenía pequeñas ventajas sobre los negros, y fácilmente éramos llevados a rechazar nuestro patrimonio negro."

Ahora hay un sentimiento de solidaridad con los africanos. La mujer dijo: "Sabemos que todos somos víctimas de un sistema que debe cambiar, y ésa es nuestra única demanda, que se acabe inmediatamente la desigualdad."

Kaufman describía así las ideas políticas de los estudiantes de color a quienes entrevistó:

Algunos de los estudiantes hablaban de una ola continua de protestas. Algunos pensaban que se desarrollarían acciones obreras como huelgas, que son ilegales en este país. Ninguno habló abiertamente de lucha armada. Algunos dijeron ser socialistas, pero de una manera más parecida al movimiento por los derechos civiles de los Estados Unidos que a cualquier lucha africana de liberación nacional.

Cuando les preguntaba cuáles eran los personajes revolucionarios que más admiraban, la mayor parte mencionaba a Malcolm X y a Martín Luther King. Ninguno mencionó a Samora Machel o a Kwame Nkrumah. Bastantes señalaron la influencia de Adam Small, un poeta moderado de color . . . cuyas obras en afrikaans y en inglés llaman a los estudiantes a encontrar sus raíces africanas. Algunos estudiantes han comenzado a usar peinados afro.

El 10 de septiembre, Marais Viljoen, presidente del Senado sudafricano, anunció una serie de concesiones, en una reunión con el Coloured Representative Council [Consejo de Representantes de Color]* en Ciudad del Cabo. Esas concesiones permitirían que las personas de color y los asiáticos establecieran negocios fuera de sus zonas segregadas, y que pudieran

*El Consejo de Representantes de Color es un organismo sin ningún poder, compuesto por delegados electos y delegados designados por el gobierno. Supuestamente tiene el poder de gobernar la comunidad de color. En realidad, las decisiones del consejo pueden ser anuladas, como sucede frecuentemente, por el ministro de asuntos de la gente de color, que es blanco.

ser funcionarios sindicales. Además, las personas de color ya no tendrían que usar baños ni salas de espera separadas en los edificios públicos.

Una nota de Reuters desde Ciudad del Cabo informaba: "Fuentes de la comunidad de color dijeron que las medidas son un paso en la dirección correcta, pero consideran que se quedan muy lejos de la reivindicación de derechos civiles plenos."

El régimen del *apartheid* nunca va a dar derechos civiles completos a los 2.3 millones de personas de color ni a los 18 millones de africanos. Esto significaría el fin de la mano de obra no blanca, barata y altamente disciplinada, que ha creado grandes ganancias para los imperialistas del *apartheid* y sus amigos de países como Gran Bretaña, Alemania Occidental, Estados Unidos y Japón.

Los derechos civiles de los negros y las personas de color abrirían la puerta para que las masas lanzaran una lucha aún más masiva contra la opresión nacional y la explotación económica.

En un acto del Partido Nacionalista, que está en el gobierno, realizado el 8 de septiembre en Bloemfontein, capital de la provincia de Orange Free State, el Primer Ministro John Vorster reiteró la completa oposición del gobierno a dar derechos democráticos totales a las personas de color. Al mismo tiempo que la policía asesinaba a jóvenes de color, Vorster desató los aplausos de su partido al prometer que las personas de color nunca estarían representadas en el parlamento sudafricano.

En lugar de eso, Vorster ofreció crear un "consejo del gabinete" compuesto por blancos, personas de color e hindúes, según informa John Burns en el *New York Times* el 10 de septiembre.

Vorster dijo que el consejo "consideraría puntos de interés común, pero no decidiría sobre ellos," informaba Burns. En el mejor de los casos, esta proposición no es más que una versión retocada del Consejo de Representantes de Color.

El régimen también dejó claras sus intenciones a través de los arrestos de activistas africanos, de color e hindúes, que han continuado. El *Times* de Londres informaba el 9 de septiembre que más de 260 personas se encuentran en la cárcel bajo una ley especial sobre "detenciones preventivas," y se calcula que otras 600 están presas bajo acusaciones específicas derivadas de las protestas. Otros informes dicen que el número de arrestados desde la rebelión de Soweto en junio es de varios miles.

Uno de los blancos de la represión del régimen sudafricano han sido los periodistas negros que han informado la verdad sobre la lucha actual.

El 3 de septiembre, fue arrestado Nat Serache, un reportero negro del *Rand Daily Mail* y corresponsal de la British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Serache

denunció el papel que jugó la policía sudafricana en la violencia de las bandas de rompehuelgas zulúes durante la huelga general de Soweto en agosto.

Anteriormente, Joe Thlolde, presidente de la Unión de Periodistas Negros de Sudáfrica, había sido detenido por la policía de seguridad bajo una ley que permite que una persona sea arrestada indefinidamente sin ningún cargo.

La 'Operación Cobra' de Sudáfrica

Testigo Relata Torturas en Namibia

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 20 de septiembre, con el título "Eyewitness Account of Torture in Namibia." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Desde junio, las tropas sudafricanas han erradicado entre 40,000 y 50,000 aldeanos en Namibia, usando métodos adaptados de la "pacificación" de Washington en Vietnam del Sur.

La finalidad es aterrorizar a la población, creando una zona de "fuego libre" de un kilómetro a lo largo de la frontera con Angola.

Los medios que se emplean son la detención indiscriminada, la tortura y el asesinato.

La principal operación, con el nombre clave de "Cobra," se realizó en junio con la participación de cinco batallones de infantería, helicópteros y paracaidistas.

Aunque la censura sudafricana normalmente impide que los detalles de este tipo de atrocidades lleguen a la opinión pública mundial, la carnicería de la "Operación Cobra" fue descrita en detalle por el soldado de infantería sudafricano Bill Anderson, en una declaración jurada que publicó el *Manchester Guardian Weekly* el 5 de septiembre.

Anderson, un recluta, estaba estacionado con un batallón que llevaba a cabo sus operaciones fuera de Ondongwa, la principal base de operaciones militares en el Norte de Namibia.

"La tortura comenzó casi inmediatamente después de que los sospechosos llegaron," dijo. "Los primeros fueron interrogados por una sección de diez policías sudafricanos dentro de la tienda que era el cuartel general del batallón. Vi a los soldados golpeando a los sospechosos con los rifles, los puños y los pies durante dos horas antes de que los llevaran dentro de la tienda. Se animaba a todos los soldados para que se unieran a la paliza.

La libertad de estos presos políticos, junto con el fin del *apartheid*, ha sido una de las demandas más importantes de la actual lucha en Sudáfrica. Se necesita urgentemente la solidaridad internacional de todos los que apoyan la lucha por la libertad en Sudáfrica, particularmente de los ciudadanos de los países que tienen vínculos estrechos con el régimen del *apartheid*. □

"Cuando se estaba realizando una tortura, ya fuera en el cuartel general del batallón o en el terreno que había detrás, se reunía una multitud para mirar. Yo no fui a mirar, pero oía los gritos todas las noches."

Anderson dijo que se había instalado un bar para los soldados regulares exclusivamente, principalmente oficiales y suboficiales. Se cerraba alrededor de las 9 p.m.

"Las torturas comenzaban después de que se cerrase el bar," dijo. "Los gritos continuaban hasta bien pasada la medianoche. Varios oficiales se jactaron delante de mí de usar teléfonos de campaña para realizar torturas por shock eléctrico en los genitales, los pezones y las orejas. Era del conocimiento común que esto se hacía."

Anderson vio a dos "sospechosos" a quienes se torturaba simulando ahogarles en un campo militar cerca de Inahna, una pequeña aldea a doce kilómetros de la frontera con Angola.

"Les metían la cabeza dentro de un cubo corriente lleno de agua, y les sujetaban hasta que dejaban de luchar. Duraba como un minuto. . . ."

"A menudo vi a niños que eran maltratados y pisoteados. Tenían los ojos vendados. Algunos tenían como trece años, algunos eran un poco mayores."

Anderson dijo que las condiciones en que se mantenía a los "sospechosos" eran espantosas.

"Durante la noche los esposaban a los árboles. A algunos los metían en pozos. Era invierno y hacía mucho frío, por la noche la temperatura se acercaba a los cero grados (centígrados). Los sospechosos eran atados a los árboles sólo con el taparrabos, y empapados en agua fría."

Anderson deja claro que para el régimen sudafricano, el enemigo es toda la población negra de Namibia.

Anderson dijo que durante la operación de junio "todos los hombres que hubieran pasado la pubertad eran capturados. Las órdenes eran de matar a los que huyeran y arrestar a los que no huyeran. Todos los arrestados eran golpeados, torturados e interrogados sin excepción." □

Red de Espías de SAVAK Descubierta en Ginebra

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 20 de septiembre, con el título "SAVAK Spy Network Exposed in Geneva." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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A finales de agosto, el gobierno suizo se vio obligado a deportar a Ahmad Malek Mahdavi, primer secretario de la delegación diplomática iraní en la oficina de las Naciones Unidas de Ginebra. La mala gana con que el gobierno suizo recurrió a esta acción se puede juzgar por la lenta respuesta de las autoridades suizas a la evidencia de que la delegación en Ginebra era el centro de la red de la policía secreta del shah en Europa.

Sin embargo, a largo plazo, el gobierno suizo no podía ignorar la evidencia de las operaciones que se llevaban a cabo en esta delegación diplomática. Además de perseguir a estudiantes iraníes y a opositores de la dictadura coronada persa, estos agentes secretos amenazaron a defensores de las libertades civiles en Europa, e incluso a miembros del parlamento británico.

El gobierno suizo no fue el único que sólo de mala gana acusó conocimiento del caso Mahdavi. Los principales órganos de la prensa internacional han mantenido silencio. Sin embargo, una excepción a esta regla es la revista semanal alemana de circulación masiva, *Der Spiegel*, que en su número del 6 de septiembre publicó un informe de cuatro páginas sobre las revelaciones. Los hechos fueron reportados por primera vez el 14 de junio en el periódico trotskista suizo *La Brèche*, que aparece quincenalmente.

El 1 de junio, un grupo de trece estudiantes y abogados iraníes ocuparon las oficinas del Consulado General de Irán en Ginebra. Allí, se apoderaron de varios documentos que mostraban la estrecha colusión que se había mantenido durante muchos años entre la policía de "la más antigua democracia europea" y la policía secreta del "más antiguo imperio del mundo."

Por ejemplo, entre los extractos de estos documentos que publicó *La Brèche* el 14 de junio, se encontraba una conversación entre representantes de SAVAK, la policía secreta de Irán; el Jefe de Protocolo suizo, Robert Vieux; y el Jefe de la Policía de Ginebra y del Servicio de Seguridad, André Gagnebin:

Representante de Irán. "Durante la visita de Su Majestad, no se debe autorizar ninguna manifestación de grupos o individuos extremistas."

Representante de Ginebra. "No concederemos ninguna autorización para manifestaciones, pero si algunos grupos se reúnen en las calles, será difícil dispersarlos."

Representante de Irán. "En cualquier caso, le pedimos que evite se produzca cualquier manifestación en cualquier ruta que pudiera tomar Su Majestad. Los representantes del Cantón de Ginebra han prometido hacer lo que puedan. . . ."

"En febrero de 1972, el embajador del Shah-in-Shah, el Sol de los arios, dio a las autoridades cantonales una lista de iraníes a los que no se debe permitir entrar al país durante la estancia del Shah-in-Shah. Le pedimos que prohíba la entrada de esas personas a Suiza durante la visita. Además, le daremos una nueva lista."

Representante de Ginebra. "Si tiene una nueva lista, le pedimos que nos la dé, para que podamos tomar las medidas necesarias. . . ."

Representante de Ginebra. "Le pedimos que no se produzcan ejecuciones antes de la llegada del shah, para que los extremistas no se puedan enterar a través de los medios de información, cosa que dificultaría nuestro trabajo, en particular en lo que se refiere a prohibir las manifestaciones."

La actitud de los jefes de la policía de Ginebra fue, evidentemente, apreciada. Los extractos de los documentos que publicó *Der Spiegel* incluían el siguiente memorándum secreto. Se titulaba "Respecto a los Regalos de Mansur [el shah] a la Policía de Ginebra." El texto era como sigue:

Se sostuvieron discusiones con el Sr. Esfandiari, embajador del Shah-in-Shah, el Sol de los arios, concernientes a la elaboración de una lista de personas a quienes los jefes de estado pueden enviar regalos durante su visita a Ginebra. Se le pidió que hiciera arreglos con el ministro del exterior [suizo]. . . . El jefe de protocolo del Ministerio del Exterior explicó que . . . en 1935 el Emperador de Etiopía hizo muchos regalos a los oficiales. . . . En 1927, un representante de la Unión Soviética que asistió a una conferencia económica en Ginebra regaló a los oficiales cigarreras de plata. En 1969, el Papa Paulo VI regaló a la policía cuarenta cruces de oro. Ultimamente, el presidente de Alemania Occidental distribuyó monedas de oro entre los oficiales.

Los representantes del shah estaban también en excelentes términos con las autoridades alemanas. Esto queda muy claro en un memorándum secreto iraní del 30 de diciembre de 1974 publicado por *Der Spiegel*:

La policía negó la entrada en Alemania a alrededor de cuarenta estudiantes iraníes engañados. Estos estudiantes iraníes engañados se reunieron frente al consulado alemán en Florencia. A la vez que distribuían volantes, enviaron una protesta al cónsul alemán y la petición de una compensación de dos millones de liras italianas.

El mismo día, tres estudiantes iraníes residentes en Roma aparecieron en la embajada alemana de allí, entregaron una nota de protesta, y pidieron una respuesta por escrito. Como resultado de nuestras actividades, el consulado alemán en Florencia y la embajada alemana en Roma se han negado hasta ahora a responder por escrito a estos estudiantes engañados.

SAVAK no limitó su interés a impedir que se produjeran manifestaciones durante las visitas del shah, o a la vigilancia de los ciudadanos iraníes residentes en el extranjero. *Der Spiegel* señalaba:

Uno de los documentos se refiere a la vigilancia de dos miembros del parlamento británico. Por orden de Teherán, al parecer directamente procedente del General Nematollah Nasiri, jefe de SAVAK, los miembros laboristas del parlamento Stan Newens y William Wilson debían ser sometidos a una investigación para averiguar posibles relaciones con disidentes iraníes.

Newens se manifestó públicamente en diversas ocasiones en contra de las actividades de servicios secretos extranjeros en Inglaterra. Wilson llamó la atención de los iraníes como observador crítico de un juicio contra siete oponentes del shah. Posteriormente, los acusados en este proceso fueron "muertos mientras huían."

Según la orden de Teherán, los resultados de estas investigaciones se debían "transmitir inmediatamente al cuartel general para que se puedan tomar las decisiones correspondientes."

Mientras tanto, las "Habichuelas" (oficinas de SAVAK) fueron advertidas de que los "Dedos Limpios" (agentes) debían "mantener la más estricta cautela en sus investigaciones y sobre todo tener cuidado en que no se les viese durante largos periodos enfrente de las casas de los miembros del parlamento."

Otros documentos daban una imagen de la vida en el servicio del shah, como esta circular del Ministerio del Exterior iraní publicada por *Der Spiegel*:

Ultimamente ha habido un cierto número de casos en que las embajadas de Su Majestad han extendido la fecha de caducidad de pasaportes de personas cuya documentación, según una orden del ministro del exterior, basada en el consejo del servicio secreto, no debía ser renovada. Los servicios secretos han informado a Su Majestad de esto. Su Majestad ha ordenado: "Esta es una orden militar y tiene que cumplirse incondicionalmente. ¡Que esto se sepa!"

No hace falta decir que el no cumplimiento de esta orden tendrá las más graves consecuencias. Por favor, acuse recibo de esta circular.

Otra circular del Ministerio del Exterior iraní confirmaba la presencia de agentes de SAVAK por lo menos en cierto número de embajadas:

Le enviamos una lista de cincuenta y ocho páginas de estudiantes iraníes residentes en Italia, Turquía, Estados Unidos, Austria, Alema-

nia Occidental, Francia e Inglaterra. Si cualquiera de estas personas se presenta en sus oficinas, se debe seguir el siguiente procedimiento:

En las oficinas diplomáticas donde haya representantes de SAVAK, cuando estas personas lleguen para cuestiones consulares, debe ponerse en contacto con los agentes de SAVAK. Si el agente de SAVAK coincide en que sus problemas deben ser tratados con ustedes, no es necesario que consulten con el Ministro del Exterior.

La Confederación de Estudiantes Iranios (Unión Nacional) apoyó al grupo de estudiantes y abogados que ocupó el consulado iraní en Ginebra. Tras la intervención de la policía, éstos fueron encarcelados hasta el 4 de junio. El fiscal pidió a la corte que estableciera fianzas de 5,000 francos suizos (aproximadamente 2,150 dólares) por cada uno. Finalmente, el grupo fue puesto en libertad sin fianza.

Las autoridades suizas querían deportar inmediatamente a los que ocuparon el consulado, según informó *Der Spiegel*, pero se tuvieron que detener los procedimientos cuando la embajada iraní presentó cargos contra ellos. Esto dio a los estudiantes la oportunidad de hacer públicos los documentos.

Los representantes del shah se dieron cuenta rápidamente de su error. Retiraron los cargos inmediatamente. Sin embargo, según la legislación suiza, cualquiera a quien se le acuse de un crimen tiene el derecho de oponerse a que se retiren los cargos. Los estudiantes se movieron para forzar la realización de un juicio donde se pudiera debatir públicamente la colusión entre la policía suiza y SAVAK.

La prensa capitalista suiza, sin embargo, ha mostrado muy poco interés en publicar este caso, señalaba *Der Spiegel*. De hecho, la *Schweizerische Handelszeitung* se quejaba de que las complicaciones entre las relaciones diplomáticas entre Suiza e Irán podrían "incluso conducir al cancelamiento de pedidos a las empresas suizas."

Sin embargo, un bloqueo total de la prensa se ha hecho más difícil por el comportamiento truculento del shah. El 31 de agosto, el gobierno iraní anunció que había respondido con la expulsión de un diplomático suizo, y la prensa controlada por el shah recibió órdenes de emprender una campaña contra Suiza. Así, un artículo en el *Washington Post* del 4 de septiembre informaba: "... los periódicos de Teherán acusaban a Suiza de ser, entre otras cosas, un país de simpatizantes comunistas y un 'cazador de espías' paranoico." □

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La Muerte de Mao Tsetung

Por Les Evans



MAO TSETUNG

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 20 de septiembre de 1976, bajo el título "The Death of Mao Tsetung." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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La muerte de Mao Tsetung, aunque no haya sido un acontecimiento inesperado, ha levantado la consternación en las altas esferas mundiales. En Pekín, por supuesto, Mao era la encarnación simbólica del poder monolítico de su partido. No permitió la existencia de figuras de talla remotamente parecida a la suya en el interior de su aparato. Esto solamente puede haber legado una cierta incomodidad a sus sucesores burocráticos, que tendrán que intentar llenar un lugar por encima de su medida.

Fuera de las fronteras chinas, Mao fue el arquitecto del papel jugado por China en el principal realineamiento de la política mundial de los últimos cinco años, conocido con el nombre de distensión. Este giro desde la denuncia verbal del imperialismo occidental a la alianza con él contra la Unión Soviética, le ganó a Mao la abierta gratitud de los ministerios del exterior y los departamentos de estado desde Tokio a Washington y desde Bonn a Londres. Al mismo tiempo, sorprendió y desorientó a miles o incluso millones de personas en el mundo capitalista que se habían vuelto hacia Pekín en busca de ayuda para su

lucha por la liberación nacional y el socialismo.

A Mao le gustaba verse retratado como un intransigente revolucionario comunista y como campeón de los trabajadores. En la propaganda de la guerra fría de los años cincuenta y principios de los sesenta, parecía que Washington compartía en gran medida esta opinión. Pero en el momento de su muerte, los cabecillas del imperialismo casi han elogiado a Mao como a uno de los suyos.

Gerald Ford calificó a Mao como "un hombre notable y grande," añadiendo que el presidente "tuvo la visión y la imaginación para abrir las puertas a los Estados Unidos." En efecto, fue esta política de abrir las puertas por parte de Mao lo que le conquistó el corazón de sus antiguos enemigos.

Henry Kissinger le alabó por haber "creado una relación duradera" entre Pekín y Washington, "basada en la confianza mutua y en la comprensión de los intereses comunes."

El Secretario General de las Naciones Unidas, Kurt Waldheim, declaró en su tributo a Mao que éste había realizado "una búsqueda incansable por la consecución de la comprensión internacional y la paz mundial."

El Primer Ministro del Japón, Takeo Miki, envió un mensaje de condolencia, diciendo que estaba "conmovido y golpeado por el dolor."

Parecía que el principal temor en los círculos imperialistas no era que la política de Mao continuase después de su muerte, sino que pudiese ser abandonada por sus sucesores. James Reston escribía en el *New York Times* el 10 de septiembre, día siguiente al de la muerte de Mao, preguntándose:

"¿Seguirá Pekín, según la línea del Comunicado de Shanghai, su cooperación con Washington? . . . ¿O bien, [y aquí está la ansiedad] intentarán los nuevos dirigentes chinos reconstruir la alianza chino-soviética, enfrentándose al mundo libre con un sólido bloque comunista en el continente eurasiático, desde Vladivostok hasta Berlín?"

Portavoces del "mundo libre" capitalista, a pesar de su enemistad siempre viva hacia las conquistas sociales de la revolución china, pasan por alto de buena gana la dominación autocrática de Mao sobre las masas chinas, y le describen como una especie de demócrata. Daniel Southerland, escribiendo en el *Christian Science Monitor* del 10 de septiembre, bajo el título "Mao dio a China el respeto de sí misma," decía lo siguiente:

"Mucho más que Lenin, Mao estuvo dispuesto a integrar a la gente ordinaria en el proceso político y a llevarla a la

acción contra la administración y los funcionarios para comprobar los abusos de autoridad."

En realidad, no sería sorprendente que los sabihondos de la burguesía viesen algo familiar y cómodo en la "realista" política extranjera de Mao, y en su manipulada "democracia" de arriba a abajo. Ni tampoco que sientan instintivamente que la democracia proletaria de Lenin y su internacionalismo revolucionario son algo diferente, algo con lo que nunca podrán firmar la paz.

La colaboración de Mao con las potencias capitalistas mundiales define su lugar en la historia y disipa sus pretensiones de representar una corriente revolucionaria o proletaria. Este no fue un giro accidental, sino que surgió del carácter social pequeño burgués de la casta burocrática de China representada por Mao, y fue la finalidad de la política exterior del PC chino desde el día en que Mao Tsetung llegó a ser presidente del partido en 1935.

La "apertura al Occidente" que causó tantos problemas a muchos seguidores de Mao, no surgió de ninguna evolución por parte de Mao, sino de la adopción de una táctica más flexible por el imperialismo norteamericano. Joseph Hansen, editor de *Intercontinental Press*, ya señaló esto en el momento en que se produjo el primer paso abierto hacia la nueva alineación en 1968. En el momento del punto álgido de la agresión asesina del capitalismo estadounidense sobre Vietnam, Pekín envió un mensaje a Nixon el 26 de noviembre ofreciéndole la "coexistencia pacífica," la política de colaboración de clase perfeccionada por Stalin. Hansen comentaba en *Intercontinental Press* del 16 de diciembre de 1968:

"Parecería que sería una gran ventaja mutua para Pekín y Moscú cerrar filas y establecer un frente común contra el común enemigo imperialista. Ninguna de las burocracias lo ve de esta forma, sin embargo, y cada una de ellas culpa a la otra de la situación. Lo peor de todo es que en su rivalidad, cada una busca un acuerdo con el imperialismo a expensas de la otra. . . .

"Si las diligencias encuentran una respuesta favorable, no puede haber duda de que el régimen de Mao se moverá sobre esta línea con una rapidez que asombraría a no pocos observadores."

Dos años y medio más tarde, con el anuncio de la visita de Nixon a Pekín, la trayectoria oportunista de Mao quedó al descubierto para todo el mundo. Informando sobre esta reunión en *Intercontinental Press* del 26 de julio de 1971, Joseph Hansen resumía la carrera de Mao y su capítulo final. Merece la pena recordar hoy sus palabras como obituario por Mao Tsetung:

"... por qué el cambio en este momento particular? . . . La razón es clara. El régimen de Mao ha indicado a Nixon que quiere ayudarlo en Vietnam. En resumen, Pekín se está ocupando de traicionar

revoluciones en la tradición del maestro en traiciones a quien alaban como su guía y ejemplo: Stalin.

"Las pruebas no pueden ser más palpables. Pekín se puso abiertamente en contra del pueblo de Bangla Desh cuando se levantó casi unánimemente contra la dictadura de Yahya Khan. Pekín proporcionó armas y dinero al dictador para que aplastase la rebelión, y denunció abiertamente al pueblo de Bangla Desh por luchar por su libertad.

"Pekín siguió exactamente la misma conducta en el caso de la rebelión en Ceilán. El mismo Chou llegó al colmo del descaro al asociar a Pekín con el régimen de Bandaranaike contra los rebeldes. Facilitó dinero en forma de un préstamo generosísimo; ofreció armas para ser utilizadas en contra de los rebeldes; y denunció a los rebeldes.

"Ni siquiera Nixon podría malinterpretar este lenguaje, en caso de que no hubiese apreciado el significado de la coherente política de Mao durante años de buscar alianzas con los sectores 'progresivos' de las burguesías coloniales, una política que allanó el camino en Indonesia para el desastre de 1965 y el asesinato de un millón de comunistas indonesios. . . .

"Los más asombrados por la diplomacia actual del régimen de Mao son las corrientes de la izquierda favorablemente dispuestas hacia el maoísmo. La posición ultraizquierdista del régimen de Mao fue falsamente interpretada por ellos como genuinamente revolucionaria. Se engañaron con la disposición de Pekín de ofrecer entrenamiento a guerrilleros y a proporcionarles armamento ligero en ciertos países. El lenguaje ultraizquierdista del 'pensamiento Mao Tsetung' reforzó esta falsa interpretación. . . .

"Uno de los aspectos más irónicos de la decisión de Mao de llegar a un acuerdo con el imperialismo norteamericano es que éste había sido uno de los principales cargos que esgrimió contra sus opositores durante la Gran Revolución Cultural Proletaria. Mao está haciendo ahora precisamente lo que eran las intenciones de que se acusó a Liu Shao-chi.

"Para encontrar un paralelo, es necesario volver a la Unión Soviética en los años treinta, en que Stalin asesinó a una generación de revolucionarios y oponentes políticos en potencia, con falsos cargos de conspirar para llegar a un acuerdo con el imperialismo alemán, simplemente para terminar él mismo firmando un pacto con Hitler.

"Como Stalin, Mao es representante de una casta burocrática. Esta formación en China no es idéntica en todos sus aspectos a la de la Unión Soviética, pero es básicamente similar. Su principal característica es que coloca sus propios estrechos intereses nacionalistas por encima de los intereses de la revolución mundial, incluyendo los intereses de la revolución china.

"Esto no lo vio ningún analista, principalmente debido a la persistencia con que

el imperialismo norteamericano rechazaba los tratos incluso con esta casta conservadora. La negativa de Washington a reconocer a China contribuyó a mantener un aura revolucionaria para el régimen de Mao.

"El gobierno de Pekín tomó medidas defensivas que a veces tuvieron consecuencias revolucionarias, siendo ejemplos destacados de ello la defensa militar de China en el momento de la guerra de Corea y la expropiación simultánea de la propiedad capitalista en China.

"Es de notar, sin embargo, que en el interior de China, Mao bloqueó concienzudamente y erradicó cualquier tendencia hacia la democracia proletaria; a la vez, en el extranjero, confiaba principalmente en las alianzas con la traidora burguesía colonial. . . .

"Esta trayectoria estaba en conformidad con la naturaleza de la formación social representada por Mao.

"La vena de ultraizquierdismo no estaba en contradicción con ello; era una parte necesaria en esas circunstancias."

Durante el año anterior a su muerte, se produjeron crecientes indicaciones de que las masas chinas no estaban satisfechas con la dominación de su presidente, y de que se sentían ansiosas por hacer oír su voz en el gobierno de China. La huelga de Hangchow en el verano de 1975, informaciones de la resistencia entre los millones de jóvenes de la ciudad que son enviados arbitrariamente al campo y, finalmente, la manifestación masiva de protesta que reunió a 100,000 personas en la plaza Tien An Men de Pekín en abril, son los ejemplos más conocidos. Son los primeros signos de una revolución política venidera en China, en que los obreros, campesinos e intelectuales revolucionarios derrocarán a los herederos de Mao y tomarán las riendas del poder en sus propias manos. □

Teléfonos de Puerto Rico Violan la Constitución

Según declaraciones de la Comisión de Derechos Civiles (CDC) de Puerto Rico, aparecidas en el diario puertorriqueño *El Mundo* del 14 de septiembre, son inconstitucionales las grabaciones que ha venido realizando la compañía de teléfonos de Puerto Rico de conversaciones privadas; anteriormente, miembros del Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (PSP) habían protestado por la persecución del gobierno y por la grabación de conversaciones telefónicas entre ellos. El presidente de la CDC, Muñoz Franco, declaró que había "base legal" para emprender un juicio contra la compañía.

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Aún Hay Grandes Problemas

Por David Frankel

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "The New Economic Upturn," que apareció en el número del 6 de septiembre de nuestra revista. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Desde el punto de vista de la producción industrial y las ganancias de las empresas, el estancamiento económico mundial de 1974-75 ha quedado atrás, cuando menos para los principales países imperialistas. Para mayo de este año, según un estudio de la Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, la producción de las principales economías imperialistas era la misma que antes de la crisis económica de 1974.

Clyde H. Farnsworth, en el número del 23 de julio del *New York Times*, hace un resumen de la situación económica de Europa Occidental. "En los ministerios de economía de toda Europa Occidental, las gráficas de producción muestran una reconfortante curva ascendente," afirmaba. "Los banqueros y los hombres de negocios se sienten un poco más optimistas sobre el futuro de las ganancias."

En mayo, la producción industrial de Gran Bretaña ascendió un 4% con respecto al año anterior. En Francia y Alemania Occidental el aumento anual fue de 7.8%, y de 2% durante el primer trimestre, mientras que en abril la producción industrial italiana aumentó 6% con respecto al año anterior.

En Japón, el índice del gobierno sobre la minería y las manufacturas marcaba aumentos de 8.5% en enero, 12.2% en febrero, y de 15.9% en marzo, todos comparados con el año anterior. Tracy Dahlby informaba en el número del 25 de junio de *Far Eastern Economic Review*: "Las 500 mayores empresas de Japón informaron que triplicaron sus ganancias en los seis meses que se cumplieron en marzo, presentándose el mayor aumento entre enero y marzo, según informó el Banco Sumitomo. Sumitomo predice también que durante el período que va de abril a septiembre las empresas tendrán una ganancia de 30%. . . ."

En los Estados Unidos la recuperación comenzó unos seis meses antes que en la mayoría de los países, pues el producto nacional bruto real ha aumentado en cada uno de los últimos cinco trimestres. A finales de junio, el PNB real era de 1 billón, 260 mil millones de dólares (medidos en dólares de 1972), siendo éste el punto más alto de la historia, y aumentó 8.5% en los últimos quince meses. La

producción industrial aumentó a un ritmo anual de 12% durante el primer trimestre de 1976, y de 7.5% durante el segundo trimestre.

La economía de los Estados Unidos no sólo fue la primera en comenzar a salir del estancamiento, sino que también era, por lo menos durante el primer trimestre, la economía imperialista que se estaba recuperando más rápidamente. Las siguientes cifras muestran la tasa de crecimiento de la economía de los Estados Unidos en 1976 comparada con la de algunos de sus rivales, según la Organización para la Cooperación y el Desarrollo Económico (OCDE) y la Argus Research Corporation:

	Argus	OCDE
Estados Unidos	7.4%	7.0%
Alemania Occidental	5.7%	6.0%
Gran Bretaña	1.5%	2.5%
Francia	6.7%	5.5%
Italia	2.5%	2.0%
Japón	6.0%	5.5%

En relación a sus rivales extranjeros, el imperialismo norteamericano ha contado con la ventaja que representa el tener una tasa de inflación más baja. Recientemente la OCDE calculaba que de sus veinticuatro miembros—entre los que están todos los países imperialistas del mundo—los Estados Unidos tenían la tercera tasa más baja de inflación, después de Alemania Occidental y Suiza. Esto ayuda a los capitalistas norteamericanos en la competencia por una porción mayor del mercado mundial, puesto que en última instancia la inflación se tiene que reflejar en los precios de las exportaciones.

El gobierno de Ford ha tratado de regular la inflación frenando el ritmo de la recuperación y manteniendo, por lo tanto, niveles muy altos de desempleo. En junio, el desempleo en los Estados Unidos era de 7.5%, según las cifras del gobierno, y en julio ascendió a 7.8%. Actualmente el desempleo ha superado el nivel de 7.6% que se registró en febrero, a pesar del crecimiento que ha tenido la economía norteamericana desde entonces.

Incluso guiándose por las cifras oficiales—que no toman en cuenta a millones de trabajadores que ya han dejado de buscar trabajo—los trabajadores desempleados en los Estados Unidos representan más de la mitad de los catorce millones de personas sin trabajo que hay en los veinticuatro países miembros de la OCDE.

La capacidad del imperialismo norte-

americano para mantener altas tasas de desempleo está íntimamente vinculada a la opresión de los negros y latinos en los Estados Unidos. El desempleo entre los negros es dos veces mayor que entre los blancos, y en junio se calculaba oficialmente que el desempleo entre los jóvenes negros era de 40.3%. Según la Urban League [Liga Urbana], un grupo que defiende los derechos civiles de los negros y tiene vínculos con la comunidad empresarial norteamericana, en realidad el desempleo entre los jóvenes negros es superior al 60%.

La fuerza de la recuperación de la economía norteamericana en comparación con la de otras potencias imperialistas, tiene sus raíces en la "Nueva Política Económica" de Nixon, que comenzó a implementarse en agosto de 1971. A partir de entonces se lanzó un ataque frontal contra el salario de los trabajadores norteamericanos, simultáneamente a una ofensiva en el comercio y las finanzas internacionales.

El *Wall Street Journal* informaba el 26 de julio que los contratos de los sindicatos más importantes que se negociaron en el segundo trimestre de 1976 "planteaban, como promedio, un aumento de salarios de 8.2% para el primer año, bajando el 8.8% que se pidió en las negociaciones realizadas durante el primer trimestre y el 10.2% que alcanzaron los contratos en 1975.

"Según los contratos que se negociaron el segundo trimestre, los salarios aumentarán a un promedio anual de 6.6%, en comparación al 7.4% del primer trimestre y el 7.8% de 1975."

Los salarios y prestaciones que reciben los trabajadores norteamericanos, medidos en dólares inflados, aumentaron un 48% entre 1970 y mediados de 1975. Esto hay que compararlo con el 162% que aumentaron en Francia, el 116% en Gran Bretaña, el 213% en Japón, y el 167% en Alemania Occidental. Otro indicador del éxito que ha tenido la ofensiva patronal es el hecho de que en los Estados Unidos los salarios reales siguen siendo más bajos que en 1965.

Las ganancias que obtuvieron durante el segundo trimestre la American Telegraph and Telephone Company y la General Motors pusieron en evidencia el contraste que existe entre los salarios cada vez más bajos y las ganancias que aumentan vertiginosamente. Estas empresas obtuvieron las ganancias trimestrales más altas de la historia de las empresas norteamericanas. A.T.&T. alcanzó los 939.7 millones de dólares; mientras que G.M. logró un

aumento del 173% en las ganancias durante el segundo trimestre de 1975, equivalente a 909 millones de dólares.

Un indicador del éxito que ha tenido el imperialismo norteamericano para debilitar la posición de los trabajadores estadounidenses es el acelerado flujo de inversiones extranjeras hacia Estados Unidos. Entre 1972 y 1976 estas inversiones aumentaron más de 200%.

La revista *Newsweek* informaba el 12 de julio:

Para algunas compañías los Estados Unidos resultan ahora un mercado de mano de obra barata. BASF [una firma alemana occidental de productos químicos] dice que paga 10 dólares por hora como compensación total por la mano de obra en las plantas que tiene en Alemania Occidental, y sólo 8.63 dólares en sus instalaciones en los Estados Unidos. Sobre el mismo tema agrega un alto representante de Hoechst: "Resulta más barato producir una fibra química en Carolina del Sur que en la región alemana que tenga los costos más bajos."

A las compañías extranjeras también les gustan algunas de las prácticas laborales de los Estados Unidos: durante períodos de estancamiento económico pueden despedir a los trabajadores más fácilmente que en sus países. Muchas firmas se sienten especialmente atraídas por el Sur de los Estados Unidos, donde las leyes laborales y la poca actividad sindical hacen que baje el precio global de la mano de obra. Es bien conocido en Francia, por ejemplo, que François Michelin—que se las ha arreglado para mantener a los sindicatos fuera de sus plantas de neumáticos en ese país—decidió poner una nueva fábrica en Carolina del Sur, porque ahí también podía funcionar sin la presencia de un sindicato.

La recuperación económica norteamericana tiene más fuerza que las de otras potencias imperialistas, lo que se ha reflejado en la renovada confianza que se tiene en el dólar norteamericano y en la rentabilidad de la industria estadounidense. Esto va aparejado con la aguda baja en el precio del oro, desde casi 200 dólares la onza en diciembre de 1974 hasta los linderos de los 110 dólares la onza en julio. Los inversionistas quieren convertir en dinero contante y sonante las crecientes ganancias que ha generado la recuperación.

"De hecho," señalaba *Business Week* en su número del 19 de abril, "el reciente comportamiento del oro sugiere una nueva regla de inversión para quienes estén interesados: vendan oro cuando el poder económico norteamericano va en ascenso y cómprenlo cuando la economía de los Estados Unidos decae."

De manera similar, las agudas fluctuaciones monetarias han sido causadas por el diferente ritmo que ha seguido la recuperación en los distintos países imperialistas. La caída de la libra esterlina ha sido el caso más espectacular. Cayó desde 2.40 dólares en la primavera de 1975 hasta 1.71 dólares en junio: una caída de casi 30%.

Además de la desigualdad, la recuperación tiene otras debilidades, que han sido

señaladas por los mismos capitalistas. Para comenzar, está el peligro constante de que la inflación se salga de control una vez más.

¿Volverá la Inflación?

La inflación sigue estando a niveles peligrosamente altos en Italia, Gran Bretaña, Japón y Francia. En España, el índice de precios al consumidor en abril estaba 16.2% por arriba del índice del año anterior, y en los meses siguientes los precios aumentaron 4.6%.

Emile Van Lennup, secretario general de la OCDE, advirtió recientemente que la recuperación "podría degenerar muy fácilmente en un nuevo auge inflacionario, que muy probablemente conduciría a una nueva recesión mundial en 1977 y 1978."

Un punto de vista aún más pesimista fue el expresado por *The Economist* en su número del 3 de julio. El artículo principal de la sección de negocios señalaba: "... hace ya nueve meses que las siete principales economías capitalistas están experimentando una recuperación más acentuada que la que tuvieron durante los 18 meses de auge de 1972-73, que crearon tantos problemas . . . Cíclicamente, el punto equivalente del último ciclo fue principios de 1972." *The Economist* apuntaba las siguientes comparaciones:

- Actualmente, cuatro de los siete grandes países tienen tasas de inflación que varían entre el 9 y el 12% (las últimas cifras han sido comparadas con las de doce meses antes); otros dos países—Gran Bretaña e Italia—tienen una tasa que va del 15 al 17%; uno más, Alemania, tiene una tasa de inflación del 5%. A principios de 1972 en todos los países la inflación estaba dentro del rango del 5%.

- El desempleo total en esos siete países es ahora de poco menos de doce y medio millones. A principios de 1972 estaba por debajo de los ocho y medio millones.

- Los precios de las mercancías (índice de dólares de *The Economist*) aumentaron 28% en los doce meses que se cumplieron en junio de 1976, casi lo mismo que el aumento de 29% que hubo en los doce meses que terminaron en junio de 1972.

- En 1972, para contrarrestar la recesión, los gobiernos de esos países (con excepción de Italia), tenían déficits presupuestarios, sobre una base internacional comparable, de entre 0.5 y 1.5% del PNB. Actualmente tienen déficits de entre 3 y 7% del PNB. Es cierto que el estancamiento ha sido más severo esta vez, pero esos déficits no van a ser superados fácilmente.

El artículo termina diciendo: "A pesar de los llamados, exhortaciones, advertencias y reuniones, los siete principales países capitalistas se encuentran menos preparados hoy que hace tres años para enfrentar un período de expansión sostenida y duradera . . ."

"La mayoría . . . de los países dan por descontado, todavía hoy, que una alta tasa de desempleo evitará que resurja la inflación. Probablemente no sea así."

Desde luego, como señala brevemente el artículo de *The Economist*, la severidad de

la crisis de 1974-75 marca un contexto diferente del que existía a principios de 1972. Indicadores económicos de cifras iguales pueden tener un significado completamente diferente. Por ejemplo, es posible que el aumento en el precio de las mercancías sea, en mucho, producto de la especulación, que se basa precisamente en la idea de que habrá una repetición de lo sucedido en 1972. La caída del precio del oro y la baja general de los precios de las mercancías en julio y agosto, tienden a reforzar este punto de vista.

De cualquier manera, la amenaza de la inflación es clara. Desde la década de los cincuenta, la inflación ha pasado a ser una característica permanente del capitalismo. Actualmente ha llegado al punto en que, como lo pone el Presidente del Banco de Crédito Suizo Felix Schultess, "ni siquiera la recesión más severa del período de postguerra" pudo hacer que la inflación bajara a niveles "compatibles con los fundamentos sociales y económicos de las democracias occidentales" (*Wall Street Journal*, 21 de junio).

Existe todavía otra gran interrogante. A menos que los capitalistas inviertan cantidades importantes para expandir la capacidad productiva, la recuperación se va a desvanecer.

En la economía norteamericana, que encabeza el ascenso económico, los gastos de capital—medidos en dólares constantes—todavía no recuperan el nivel que tenían en 1974. La construcción de casas, que es un índice crucial para la gigantesca industria de la construcción en los Estados Unidos, no es todavía mucho más alta que en octubre de 1975.

En su artículo del 23 de julio sobre la situación económica de Europa, Farnsworth informaba: "Las tres principales compañías de productos químicos de Alemania Occidental—Bayer, Hoechst, y BASF—preveen un claro aumento de sus ganancias este año, optimismo que es compartido en Francia por el gigante de la química Rhone-Poulenc y por las Imperial Chemical Industries de Gran Bretaña."

"Pero muy pocas compañías planean aumentar sus gastos de capital. El presidente de Hoechst, Rolf Sammet, dice que este año sus egresos se van a concentrar en proyectos para ahorrar costos de mano de obra, más que en proyectos que aumenten la capacidad generadora, punto de vista que es compartido por muchos otros ejecutivos de compañías europeas."

En su número del 2 de agosto, *Business Week* hacía un pronóstico más optimista sobre los gastos de capital en los Estados Unidos, pero también advertía: ". . . con las noticias que se conocieron esta semana de que el producto nacional bruto real bajó considerablemente en el segundo trimestre, está claro que una de las nubes más negras que todavía ensombrecen el horizonte económico es el poco gasto de capitales."

La falta de inversiones también puede ocasionar una mayor presión inflacionaria

si no se aumenta la capacidad de producción y, en consecuencia, empiezan a escasear algunos materiales. Esto sucedió en 1973 con los fertilizantes y el papel, por ejemplo. Una investigación realizada recientemente por el Departamento de Comercio de Estados Unidos revelaba que, para el primer trimestre de 1976, las fábricas norteamericanas estaban operando a 82% de su capacidad: sólo cuatro puntos menos que durante el punto máximo de 1973.

Los inversionistas y los ejecutivos de las compañías están conscientes del peligro que existe si no aumenta la inversión de capitales, pero todos quieren que sean otros los que inviertan. Los costos cada vez más altos de producción se añan al creciente temor de que cualquier recuperación va a derrumbarse antes de que los nuevos productos puedan ser realizados gananciosamente en el mercado. Estos temores han producido una profunda reticencia entre los inversionistas.

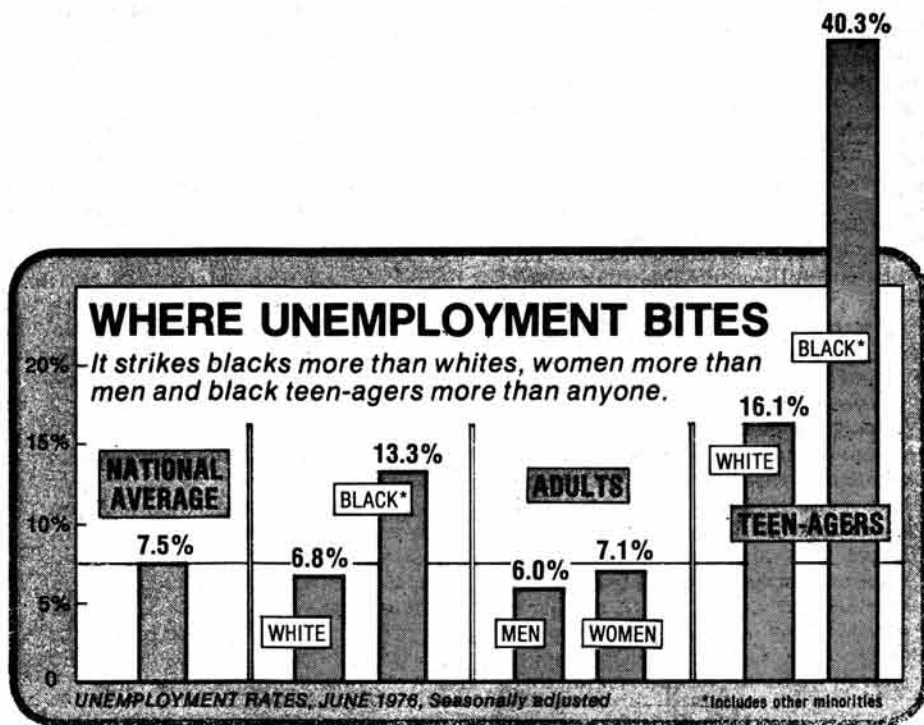
El Endeudamiento

En la situación actual, esta reticencia a invertir se ve aumentada por el mantenimiento de altas tasas de interés. La misma falta de garantías que existe para el inversionista industrial, existe para los bancos que proveen el capital para las inversiones; en consecuencia, los bancos exigen intereses más altos por el riesgo que corren.

Al mismo tiempo, los gastos para mantener a la economía funcionando han aumentado inevitablemente. En 1975, cuando la actividad económica de los Estados Unidos descendió 24.6 mil millones de dólares, medidos según el PNB, el total de la deuda pública y privada aumentó hasta alcanzar la extraordinaria cifra de 228.5 mil millones de dólares. Esto empujó el total de la deuda a la cifra sin precedentes de casi 3 billones de dólares.

La deuda cada vez más grande hace que aumenten las tasas de interés. Cada vez se debe más dinero a los bancos, en relación a la cantidad de riqueza que se produce. El pago de los intereses y del capital prestado, se ve amenazado por la extensión excesiva del crédito. A esto los bancos responden aumentando las tasas de interés.

Para empeorar aún más las cosas, los bancos tienen otros clientes cuyas demandas van a resultar cada vez más insaciables, conforme se profundiza la crisis mundial del capitalismo: los países semicoloniales cuyas economías van a verse cada vez más devastadas por las oscilaciones de la espiral inflacionaria y por la profunda depresión que hay en el mercado mundial capitalista; las ciudades de los mismos bastiones imperialistas—como Nueva York—en las que el estancamiento económico y la opresión racial se combinan para crear toda una serie de “problemas fiscales”; y, de manera también importante, los mismos gobiernos imperialistas, como los de Gran Bretaña e Italia.



Newsweek

Esta gráfica muestra las tasas de desempleo en junio de 1976. Afecta más a los negros que a los blancos, a las mujeres más que a los hombres y a los jóvenes negros más que a nadie.

La deuda exterior total de los países semicoloniales se calcula en 135 mil millones de dólares, de los cuales una proporción cada vez mayor se debe a bancos privados de unas cuantas potencias imperialistas. Estos países tienen que estar pidiendo prestado constantemente, tan sólo para pagar el interés de sus deudas más importantes.

Perú, por ejemplo, tiene una deuda externa de 3.7 mil millones de dólares. En 1975 tenía un déficit de la balanza de pagos de 1.6 mil millones de dólares, que en 1976 será de 1.3 mil millones. Se ha informado que un grupo de bancos norteamericanos está negociando un nuevo préstamo de 150 ó 200 millones de dólares para permitir que el régimen peruano cumpla con el plazo en que debe pagar los intereses de su deuda.

El mismo círculo vicioso de pedir préstamos con altas tasas de interés para pagar préstamos anteriores, fue utilizado durante la crisis económica de la Ciudad de Nueva York. *Business Week* advertía en un artículo editorial del número del 12 de julio: “... los problemas que tiene la Ciudad de Nueva York presagian un problema más amplio. Todas las ciudades importantes de los Estados Unidos van a tener serios problemas económicos en los próximos tres o cinco años.”

De hecho, como han descubierto los capitalistas italianos y británicos, ni siquiera los principales gobiernos imperialistas están a salvo de las exigencias de los bancos que les prestan dinero. El Secretario del Tesoro de los Estados Unidos

William Simon, dijo en una reunión de la OCDE celebrada en París el 22 de junio: “. . . los prestamistas van a estar cada vez menos dispuestos a prestar dinero para financiar la expansión de los déficits de las cuentas actuales, a menos que las naciones que piden los préstamos realicen cambios fundamentales en sus políticas económicas internas.”

Uno de los ayudantes de Simon añadió que el gobierno británico tendría que cumplir “condiciones muy rigurosas” si quería recibir más préstamos.

El 22 de julio, el gobierno laborista de Gran Bretaña anunció que reduciría sus egresos en mil millones de libras [1.78 mil millones de dólares]. Esto incluía reducciones en los beneficios de desempleo, en la construcción y el mantenimiento de hospitales y escuelas, y en los subsidios para la construcción de viviendas. También se aumentaba el precio de las comidas para escolares, y de los tratamientos dentales y los anteojos que proporciona el sistema de salubridad nacional. El desempleo en Gran Bretaña es de 6.3%, y muchos trabajadores van a ser despedidos a causa de los cortes del presupuesto.

Defendiendo esta política, el *Manchester Guardian Weekly* declaraba en el número del 25 de julio: “. . . conseguir más préstamos, después de que se agote el plazo para el pago de intereses en octubre, va a ser mucho más difícil si no se reduce el gasto público. . . .”

“Una reducción general de mil millones de libras puede parecer devastadora. . . .”

Pero quizás no sea mucho más de una décima parte de la cantidad que el sector público va a tener que pedir prestada el próximo año."

En Gran Bretaña, como en cualquier parte del mundo, las medidas para estimular la economía y sacar al país de la depresión, entran en conflicto con las medidas para garantizar la estabilidad económica; es decir, el pago de los intereses a los bancos.

Un mejoramiento del ciclo económico capitalista por medio de aumentar constantemente la deuda, no puede ahuyentar para siempre el espectro de la crisis económica.

De cualquier manera, por el momento la clase dominante de los Estados Unidos se siente animada por las ganancias que le deja la recuperación, y está intensificando la ofensiva antiobrera que hasta ahora le ha resultado tan exitosa. Por ejemplo, el 24 de junio, la Corte Suprema de los Estados Unidos decretó que los gobiernos estatales y locales no están obligados a aplicar las leyes federales en lo referente al establecimiento de salarios mínimos y el máximo de horas de trabajo. Esta decisión abre claramente el camino para un mayor ataque contra los empleados públicos de los Estados Unidos.

Mientras no los pare la resistencia de una clase obrera movilizadada, los capitalistas seguirán bajando los salarios y las condiciones de vida. Un artículo editorial publicado en el número del 19 de julio de *Business Week* muestra el tipo de proposiciones que están encontrando eco entre los patrones norteamericanos. Se refería al parsimonioso sistema de seguridad social de los Estados Unidos, y tenía por título "Prometen demasiado." Decía:

"Conforme aumenta el número de jubilados en proporción al número de trabajadores, quizás la nación tendrá que reconsiderar la idea de la jubilación a los 65 años, y encontrar medidas para animar a los trabajadores a seguir laborando."

Algo que nos permite medir el avance de la ofensiva antiobrera en los Estados Unidos y en todo el mundo es la comparación de dos recientes reuniones cumbre: Rambouillet hace ocho meses, y Puerto Rico en junio.

En la conferencia cumbre sobre economía celebrada en Rambouillet en noviembre de 1975, la mayor parte de la discusión se realizó en secreto. Pero como señaló entonces el corresponsal del *Wall Street Journal* Richard Janssen, había "razón para creer que los dirigentes políticos y sus consejeros económicos realmente habían optado por un menor crecimiento económico en los próximos años, aceptando calladamente una tasa elevada de desempleo, con la esperanza de reducir la inflación y evitar altibajos drásticos" (24 de noviembre de 1975).

Esta política se expresó de manera explícita al convocarse la conferencia cumbre de Puerto Rico. Ahí, los jefes de

estado de las siete principales potencias imperialistas declararon que su principal preocupación en el campo económico era que la recuperación de la depresión internacional iba a ser muy rápida.

"La implicación clara de esta estrategia es que el Occidente no prevee un retorno al pleno empleo sino hasta bien entrada la década del ochenta," dijo Bernard Nossiter en el número del 23 de junio del *Washington Post*.

"Desde que terminó la guerra," añadía, "se había considerado que una tasa alta de desempleo era el principal peligro, y que había que evitarla a toda costa. Las largas listas de desempleados en Francia, Alemania y Gran Bretaña durante la última depresión, hicieron surgir temores sobre la estabilidad de éstos y otros países.

"Pero no ha sucedido nada. Parece que ningún gobierno ha tenido que pagar por ello. Los políticos de las naciones industriales ya no consideran que el desempleo al nivel que se encuentra actualmente sea un problema que preocupe mucho a los votantes."

A este respecto hay que mencionar de manera especial a los dirigentes sindicales reformistas socialdemócratas o estalinistas. Al mismo tiempo que se han negado a movilizar a las bases de los sindicatos para combatir el desempleo, han colaborado con los gobiernos y los patrones para mantener bajos los salarios.

La situación de Alemania, por ejemplo, fue abordada en una nota de Alfred L. Malabre, Jr., en el número del 12 de mayo del *Wall Street Journal*.

"La recuperación en Alemania ha ido acompañada de mucha algarabía," dice Arnold P. Simkin, economista de Lionel D. Edie & Co., empresa que hace investigaciones sobre las inversiones. . . . Las ganancias de las empresas son particularmente alentadoras. "Es muy probable que este año las ganancias aumenten mucho," predice el analista, en parte debido a que "los sindicatos alemanes aceptaron aumentos de salarios comparativamente pequeños."

Los sindicatos alemanes aceptaron un tope máximo para el aumento de salarios de 5.5%. Un artículo que apareció en el número del 26 de julio de *Business Week* decía: "Otmar Emminger, gerente general del Deutsche Bundesbank, el banco central de Alemania, dice que el éxito que ha tenido su país se debe en mucho a que 'los sindicatos toman en cuenta, explícitamente, la política del gobierno para presentar sus peticiones de aumentos de salarios.'"

En Gran Bretaña, el Trades Union Congress [Congreso Sindical] aceptó un tope de 4.5% para el aumento de los salarios, a pesar de que la inflación es tres veces mayor. "Otro inesperado punto brillante" es Japón, según Malabre, que alaba "la moderación de la llamada ofensiva obrera de primavera, durante la cual se determinan los principales aumentos salariales del año." Este año los aumentos salariales tendrán un promedio de 9%, escribe, lo que queda por debajo del 13% o más del año pasado.

Todavía está por verse hasta cuándo pueden seguir los gobernantes reduciendo los salarios y las condiciones de vida sin provocar importantes enfrentamientos entre las clases. □

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