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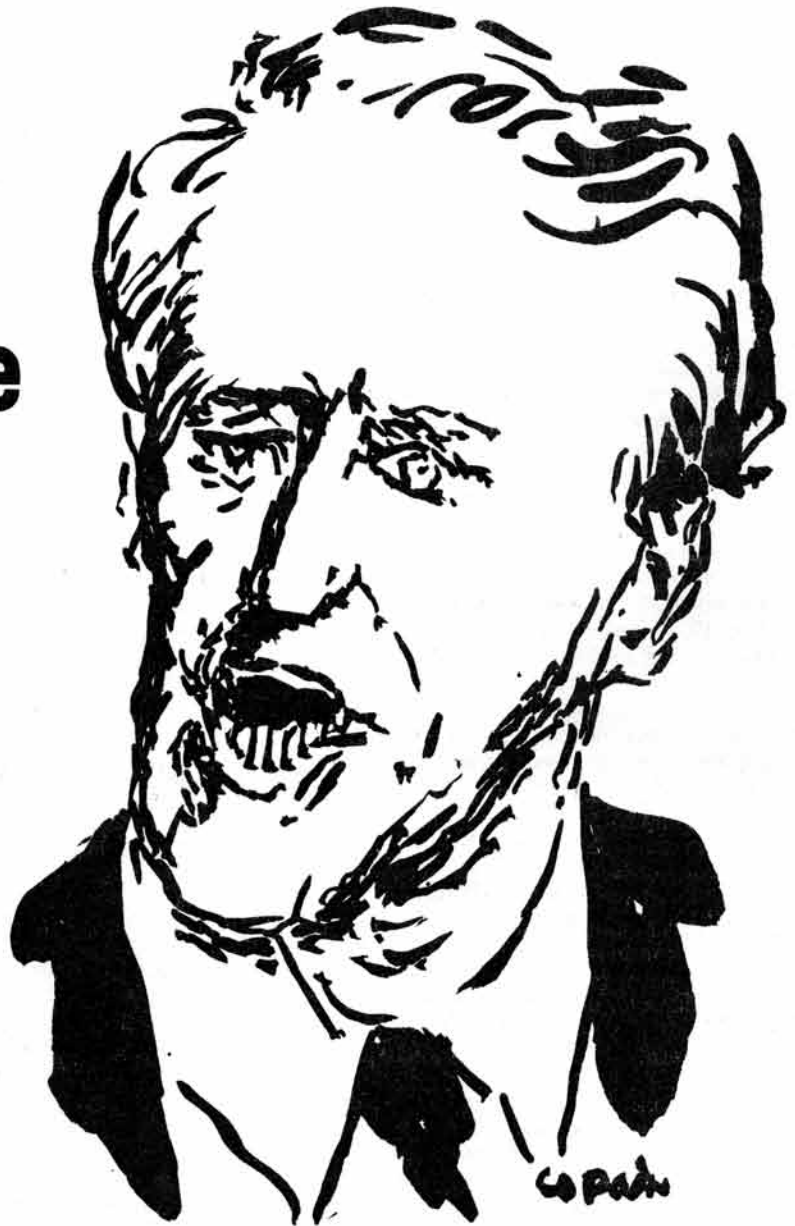
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October 4, 1976

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Blacks Condemn Escape Clauses

Smith's Promise to Grant Majority Rule in Zimbabwe



SMITH: Says he really means it.

Demand Release of Chinese Trotskyists!

The Assassination of Orlando Letelier

By Judy White

Orlando Letelier, former Chilean ambassador to the United States and minister in the Allende cabinet, was the victim of a terrorist attack in Washington September 21. The car he was riding in blew up, killing the Socialist party leader and Ronni Moffitt, an American.

A bomb attached to the underside of the vehicle was designed to detonate upwards. It opened a hole about two-and-a-half feet in diameter in the area of the driver's seat.

Letelier had been imprisoned on Dawson Island for almost a year until international protest forced the Pinochet regime to release him in 1974. He then went into exile in the United States. No charges were ever placed against him during his imprisonment.

Letelier was a prominent figure in the Chilean exile community. He made his last public speech at a New York rally September 10, called to protest the third anniversary of military rule in Chile. At the meeting he scored the political repression under Pinochet and announced that he had just been deprived of his Chilean citizenship "for interfering with normal financial supports to Chile."

The removal of Letelier's citizenship followed the junta's accusation that he had helped initiate a boycott of Chilean products by dock workers in the Netherlands, as well as a campaign against a \$63-million Dutch mining investment in Chile.

A *New York Times* editorial described the former ambassador as "devastating in his criticism of the military regime's economic recovery effort."

Expressions of outrage and protest at Letelier's murder were widespread in the United States, and demonstrations were called on short notice in several cities.

The Council on Hemispheric Affairs, a private organization of civic leaders, charged that the act was "merely the latest effort at intimidating the Chilean exile community by DINA, the dreaded secret police of Chile. . . ."

The church-affiliated Latin America Strategy Committee issued a statement saying, "We view this tragic incident as part of a spreading pattern of violence, torture and assassination in Chile. . . ."

The State Department expressed "its gravest concern," and numerous senators and congressmen called for an investigation.

Through its Washington embassy, the Pinochet dictatorship itself denounced the

murder as a "deplorable deed." In view of the junta's bloodsoaked record, however, the statement failed to deter calls for an investigation of its involvement. This was particularly true after it was learned that a high-ranking Chilean political-police agent had arrived in the United States at the end of August.

The editors of the *New York Times* rushed to Pinochet's aid September 22, shamelessly suggesting that the assassination may have been an attempt by "left extremists" to tarnish the junta's good name.

A central suspect is the Chilean secret police—the Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA). Several exiled opponents of the Pinochet dictatorship have been killed or wounded in terrorist attacks abroad, among them Carlos Prats González, the commanding general of the Chilean army under Allende, and Bernardo Leighton, a former Christian Democratic party leader.

There is every reason to assume that

these murders are merely an extension of the campaign of torture and murder carried out by Pinochet's secret police at home.

The shah of Iran, for example, carries out a similar policy. Reza Baraheni, Iran's best-known contemporary poet, reported August 11 that he had been "warned by a source that had been reliable in the past that the Iranian government has dispatched several assault squads from Savak, the Iranian secret police, to Europe and the United States."

Their aim, he said, is "to exploit the cooperation of criminal elements in this country to eliminate those Iranians who have raised their voices against torture and repression in Iran." Baraheni's name is believed to be near the top of the list of intended victims.

For the Letelier assassination, however, another possible solution remains. Was it carried out by some Washington agency as a courtesy to the Pinochet government?

It is a matter of public record that the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have been associated with many similar operations, from the murder of Congolese revolutionist Patrice Lumumba to at least eight attempts on the life of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

Among other things, this would help explain the FBI statement that it has "a lot of leads" but no suspects in the murder of Orlando Letelier. □

Bishops and Bureaucrats in East Europe

By Gerry Foley

In a communiqué issued September 10, the Polish Catholic hierarchy called on the people to make economic sacrifices and have confidence in the government's ability to solve the country's economic problems, *New York Times* correspondent Flora Lewis reported September 18 from Warsaw.

She quoted a Communist party member as saying that the government could not rely on either the army or the militia to put down protests if they erupted on a large scale. Her informant thought that the church's action in openly coming to the regime's defense showed how grave the political situation had become: "The Church knows what's going on better than anyone," he said. "They hear in the confessionals and such. They wouldn't have gone so far if they didn't think there could be real trouble."

Apparently the church hierarchy did not think it had anything to gain from a revolutionary upheaval. Instead it offered its support to the regime, hoping to be granted an auxiliary role in "maintaining order."

In other East European workers states, the church has offered its services as a force for social conservatism to the "Godless" bureaucratic regimes. On September 18, at the Budapest congress of the Hungarian Patriotic Front, a grouping of "nonparty" organizations such as exists in most East European countries, Hungarian Primate László Lékai expressed an attitude of collaboration with the bureaucracy.

The September 19 issue of *Magyar Nemzet*, the organ of the Patriotic Front, reported his remarks prominently. He was quoted as saying: "It is in the interest of both the church and the state to see that the good relationship that has developed continues to progress favorably."

The headline over the article said that the church was "enthusiastically joining in the Movement to Know Your Fatherland."

The East European church hierarchy, moreover, is apparently not the only force that thinks it has nothing to gain from a mass upsurge against the bureaucracy. In the September 18 dispatch quoted above,

Lewis wrote: "All authoritative sources said Mr. Gierk remained the choice of most Polish Communists, the Polish public [the same public that the first part of the article showed was on the verge of drastically rejecting the government, including Gierk] and also of both Moscow and Washington."

What worries the Catholic hierarchy, Moscow, and Washington is that the Polish workers are gaining more and more confidence in their power. For example, in an August 12 dispatch from the Baltic port of Gdansk, *New York Times* correspondent Malcolm Browne quoted a shop foreman as saying: "They [the government] can't do anything big without our say-so anymore. They try and we stop work, it's that simple. So we are getting more democracy."

However, the rule of bureaucracies in countries where capitalism has been abolished depends on depriving the workers of independent forms of organization and expression. Dramatic experiences such as the crushing of the Hungarian revolution in 1956 and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 show that the bureaucracies recognize any weakening of this political and organizational monopoly as a deadly threat.

Such experiences as the Hungarian revolution also demonstrate that once the bureaucracy's monopoly begins to break down, the workers can move very rapidly to take direct control of the economy and society. In most such instances, however, they have been quickly crushed by overwhelming military force, such as the tank columns Moscow sent into Czechoslovakia.

However, in Poland, there has been a two-decade-long seesaw battle between the workers and the bureaucracy in which the working class has gained a continuous experience in struggle and has never been crushed. Now, the bureaucracy faces a confident working class that cannot be broken without a major battle. And the bureaucracy could not be certain of the outcome, even with Soviet military intervention.

Furthermore, since the death of Stalin the bureaucracies have maintained their control over the workers not only by military force but by important economic concessions to the workers. This latter factor played a particularly important role in the restabilization in Hungary.

Now, after two decades of economic concessions, "well informed sources," according to Flora Lewis, fear that the bureaucratized economies are losing their capacity to buy time for the Stalinist rulers.

The present situation in Poland thus seems to point to a deepening of the crisis of Stalinism. And apparently all the forces with an interest in defending the world status quo have decided that they have more to fear than to hope for from such a development. □

In This Issue

Closing News Date: September 27, 1976

FEATURES	1390	Vyshinsky Rides Again —by Charles van Gelderen
CHINA	1380	Demand Mao's Heirs Free the Chinese Trotskyists!—by Michael Baumann
	1381	Who Are the Chinese Trotskyists?
ZIMBABWE	1382	Smith's Promise to Grant Majority Rule —by Ernest Harsch
EGYPT	1383	Bus Strike Brings Cairo to "Near Chaos"
NAMIBIA	1384	South Africa's Campaign of Terror
U.S.A.	1386	Ford and Carter's "Great Debate" —by David Frankel
CANADA	1387	Unions Demand End to Wage Controls
JAPAN	1388	Lockheed Scandal—Socialists Demand Release of All Facts
BRITAIN	1388	7,000 Voice Chile Solidarity —by Robin Hunter
	1396	Seamen's Union Calls Off Strike —by Jim Atkinson and John Blackburn
PANAMA	1389	Students Protest Price Increases —by Judy White
SPAIN	1392	"Mundo" Features Interview With Trotskyists
IRELAND	1394	Dublin Regime Stubs Toe on "Emergency" Bill—by Gerry Foley
IRAN	1397	The Shah's Executioner—by Reza Baraheni
SWEDEN	1402	Social Democrats Defeated at Polls —by Gerry Foley
ARGENTINA	1403	Save the Lives of Political Refugees!
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	1413	Dissident Musicians Win Support
NEWS ANALYSIS	1378	The Assassination of Orlando Letelier —by Judy White
	1378	Bishops and Bureaucrats in East Europe —by Gerry Foley
SELECTIONS FROM THE LEFT	1404	
AROUND THE WORLD	1407	
DOCUMENTS	1408	French Left Discusses Prospects for Unity
FROM OUR READERS	1424	
DRAWINGS	1377	Ian Smith; 1380, Mao Tsetung; 1402, Olof Palme; 1407, Leonard Woodcock —by Copain
EN ESPAÑOL:		
E.U.A.	1414	1,650 Asisten a Congreso Trotskista —por Judy White
	1417	Victoria del SWP contra Agencias Policiales—por David Frankel
INDIA	1416	Gandhi Maniobra para Cambiar la Constitución
SUDAFRICA	1418	Manifestaciones contra Kissinger —por Ernest Harsch
CHINA	1420	Narración del Incidente de Tien An Men —por Hua Lin

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Demand Mao's Heirs Free the Chinese Trotskyists!

By Michael Baumann

Following the death of the Great Helmsman, his successors have embarked on a campaign of speedup under the slogan, "Turn grief into strength."

Workers are being encouraged to lift output some 20 to 30 percent, with special praise reserved for such model efforts as a Shanghai steel plant that "stayed on the job around the clock."

There is nothing to indicate that Mao would have disapproved. But would it not be more fitting to follow the example set by even some of the most repressive capitalist governments upon the death of an autocratic ruler—namely, the release of political prisoners?

The fate of revolutionary militants who have rotted for years in the cells of Mao's political prisons demands immediate attention. Their persecution was one of Mao's worst crimes.

In the case of the Chinese Trotskyists, many were seasoned veterans of the resistance war against Japanese imperialism and the fight against the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang. They were jailed solely for their political views. They became victims of the Mao regime because of their outspoken advocacy of socialist democracy.

Years of Persecution

The arrest and incarceration of the Trotskyist militants began almost as soon as Mao came to power. In the fall of 1949 several dozen Trotskyists were arrested in Shanghai and Wenchow, and two were executed. In 1950, a similar group was arrested in Kwangsi and Kwangtung provinces. Some were shot on false charges of being "Kuomintang agents."

A number of the Trotskyists' local headquarters were raided by the new regime. In August 1949 most of the members of the Trotskyist Kiangsu-Chekiang Emergency Committee were arrested. In this instance they were ordered to cease all activity, and were released. What happened to them after that is not known.

Trotskyist organizations not raided in these years were constantly persecuted in various other ways. Their activities and correspondence were kept under permanent surveillance.

The biggest raids were carried out three years after Mao rose to power. In sweeping actions across China December 22, 1952, and January 8, 1953, Mao's political police



MAO: Released Kuomintang police agents but kept Trotskyists behind bars.

arrested virtually every known Trotskyist. In many cases their friends and relatives were arrested, too.

In all, about 200 persons are estimated to have been seized in the final raids. In the twenty-three years that have since passed, the wall of silence imposed by Maoist censorship has prevented any definite word of their fate from reaching the outside world. Some have died, according to fragmentary and uncertain reports. The survivors are presumed to be still behind bars.

What are the charges against them? It is impossible to say. No indictments or trials were ever made public, if indeed they ever took place. No mention of the arrests was made in the official press.

What did they really do to earn Mao's enmity?

Li Fu-jen, a former Shanghai journalist who knew some of them personally, answered this question in the June 29, 1970, issue of *Intercontinental Press*.^{*} Following Mao's takeover, "they continued to maintain, as far as possible, a group

activity. They met together. They propagated their political ideas by word of mouth and the printed word. They committed no acts that could reasonably be construed as counterrevolutionary."

Each of these activities, it should be noted, is guaranteed as a right of all citizens under both the constitution of 1954 and the constitution of 1975.

Unblemished Record

If no public trials were held for the Chinese Trotskyists, it was in large part because their records as fighters for the revolution made this extremely difficult. They fought for twenty-five years for the national independence of China, for the liberation of the proletariat and peasant masses, and for a socialist perspective.

Because of their activity, they suffered brutal repression from reactionary forces. Many of their comrades were put to death by Chiang Kai-shek's political police or suffered in his prison cells. Many died in the resistance war against Japanese imperialism, or were buried alive with Communist party militants on the eve of the liberation. Others spent long terms in Chiang's concentration camps, alongside CP cadres.

After the revolution, the Trotskyists participated in some of the campaigns instituted by the Mao regime. This is a matter of public record, for their revolutionary activity was at times praised in the Maoist press.

They took part in the campaign to eliminate the remaining forces of Chiang Kai-shek. They worked in the land-reform movement. They played an active role in the campaign against American aid to Korea. They were ready to defend with all their might the gains of the revolution against any imperialist power, particularly Washington and its puppet Chiang Kai-shek.

They represented several different generations of militants. Some, such as Chen Chao-lin and Ying Kwan, were more than fifty years old at the time of their arrest. They had served as leaders of the 1927 revolution; many had already completed terms in Chiang's jails.

Others, who were around thirty, had fought the Japanese imperialists. The youngest, those around twenty, had played an active role in the postwar struggle to overthrow the Kuomintang regime.

The unwavering support given to the Chinese revolution by their cothinkers

^{*}This and other articles on the case of the Chinese Trotskyists have been collected in the pamphlet *Revolutionaries in Mao's Prisons*, by Li Fu-jen and Peng Shu-tse (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1974. 23 pp. \$0.50).

abroad is a further indication of the mettle and views of the Chinese Trotskyists.

In the United States, the Trotskyist newspaper the *Militant* continually opposed Washington's support to Chiang and the aggression in Korea launched by Truman. The *Militant* demanded that the White House grant diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China, and opposed all the preparations for war against the new regime.

In Ceylon, the Trotskyist movement propagandized in support of the Chinese revolution. Its representatives in parliament proposed trade agreements with the new Chinese government.

Silenced by political repression and strict censorship, the Chinese masses cannot demand redress for these and other revolutionists held behind bars. Accordingly, it is the duty of the entire international workers movement, of all civil-liberties organizations, to demand their freedom.

Appeal by the Fourth International

In a statement issued April 16, 1972, the Fourth International called on the international labor and socialist movement to speak out for the release of the imprisoned Chinese Trotskyists. The statement said, in part:

"The Mao regime should be pressed to provide information on the fate of these political prisoners. Are they still living? Have some of them been submitted to secret trials? What crimes or infractions of the law were they charged with?"

"The secretiveness surrounding their incarceration does not speak well for the way in which the constitution is observed in China. On the contrary, it indicates that they were imprisoned in flagrant violation of a constitution that 'guarantees' the right of free speech. If this were not the case, why hasn't the government granted them a public trial?"

"Demand that the Mao government respect rights guaranteed in the constitution! Demand the observance of proletarian democracy in China! Demand the release of the Chinese Trotskyists!"

"We ask all the organizations that have defended the People's Republic of China against its foes, that have supported the Chinese Revolution, to take a stand on this issue to help break the wall of silence."

* * *

A little more than a year before his death, Mao began releasing convicted war criminals, nearly all of whom had served as lieutenants or police agents of Chiang Kai-shek. It is a monstrous violation of proletarian democracy to leave veteran revolutionists behind bars while these butchers walk free. Mao's successors should be pressed to alter their late master's policy and release the Trotskyist revolutionists at once. □

Who Are the Chinese Trotskyists?



CHEN CHAO-LIN: Imprisoned Chinese Trotskyist leader. Photo believed to have been taken in 1941.

The records of the Chinese Trotskyists as revolutionary socialists are enough by themselves to refute the Mao regime's baseless contention that they are "counterrevolutionary" agents. Following are brief sketches of some of the imprisoned militants.

Chen Chao-lin. A founding member of both the Chinese CP and the Chinese Trotskyist movement, Chen worked in Paris with Chou En-lai at the end of World War I. After the Bolshevik revolution he went to Moscow where he studied at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East. He returned to China in 1925 to work in the Central Committee of the CCP. During the peak of the 1925-27 revolution he played an important part in party work in the Wuhan area.

Following the defeat of the revolution, Chen became a Trotskyist. Arrested by the Kuomintang police, he served seven years in prison, being released in 1937 at the outset of the Sino-Japanese War.

Chen spent most of his time during the next few years translating the works of Trotsky into Chinese. With Japan's surrender in 1945, he edited a semimonthly magazine, *The New*

Banner, until it was banned by the Kuomintang.

When the People's Revolutionary Army took Shanghai, Chen remained, continuing his work until he was arrested. If alive now, he has served thirty-one years as a political prisoner—seven years under Chiang Kai-shek, twenty-four years under the Mao regime. He would now be about seventy-six.

Chiang Tseng-tung. A worker communist, Chiang played a leading activist role in the Shanghai labor movement. He took part in the 1925 uprising and continued his work as a proletarian revolutionist under the Kuomintang dictatorship. Arrested by Mao's police in 1952, if alive he is now about sixty-six years old.

Ho Chi-sen. A student leader in Peking in the early 1920s, Ho joined the Chinese CP shortly after its formation. During the Northern Expedition of the Kwangtung revolutionary army he played a leading role in revolutionary activity, together with Mao Tsetung, first in Wuhan, later in Hunan province. After Chiang Kai-shek's coup in Shanghai in 1927, he worked in the underground to rebuild the Chinese CP.

In poor health when his former colleague Mao put him behind bars, Ho is now about seventy-nine, if still alive. It is feared that he may have died in a forced labor camp.

Ling Hwer-hua. A veteran of the revolutionary struggle, Ling was a member of the executive committee of the Printers Union of Canton when arrested in 1952. He was sentenced to an indefinite term in a hard-labor camp. If alive, he is more than fifty-six years old. No word of him has reached the outside world.

Ying Kwan. A student in France after World War I, Ying took part in the 1925-27 revolution as a leading CP activist in the central China province of Anhwei, where he was born. He became convinced of the correctness of Trotsky's views in 1929 and worked to unify the four Trotskyist groups then in existence.

Arrested by the Kuomintang police in 1932, he spent two years in prison. Released in 1934, he was later rearrested and again set free shortly before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937. During the war years, he worked among students.

After Japan's surrender, Ying resumed political work in Shanghai until his arrest by Mao's police. If still alive, he is about seventy-six years old. No word of him has reached the outside world.

Smith's Promise to Grant Majority Rule in Zimbabwe

By Ernest Harsch

As late as last March, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith repeated the white-supremacist regime's longstanding position toward the country's Black majority. "I don't believe in black majority rule ever in Rhodesia," he said, "not in a thousand years."

In a September 24 televised speech, however, Smith changed his tune. "Rhodesia," he said, "agrees to majority rule within two years."

For once telling the truth, he said that such a solution to the escalating domestic strife is not what the Salisbury regime prefers. His speech followed a series of talks in Pretoria September 19 with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and South African Prime Minister John Vorster. During those talks, Smith said, "It was made abundantly clear to me . . . that as long as the present circumstances in Rhodesia prevailed, we could expect no help or support of any kind from the free world. On the contrary, the pressures on us from the free world would continue to mount."

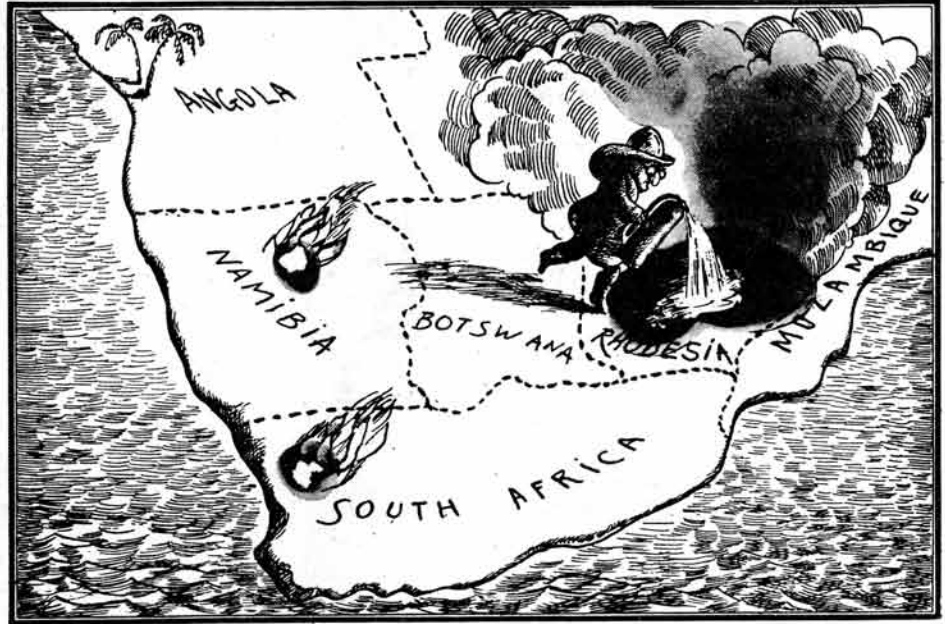
Whatever Smith might ultimately do, his speech is the clearest indicator up to now of the shift in imperialist strategy toward the Zimbabwean conflict.

This shift first became evident in late 1974, during the collapse of Portugal's African colonial empire, when the Vorster regime applied some diplomatic pressure on Smith to negotiate with the Zimbabwean nationalist leaders. After the end of the Angolan civil war in February, Washington, Pretoria, and the Western European powers stepped up their efforts to engineer a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe.

The shift in policy marked a realization by the major imperialist powers that the days of the Smith regime are numbered in face of a Black majority of more than twenty to one over the white settlers. The granting of formal independence to the Portuguese colonies and the failure of the South African intervention in the Angolan civil war inspired the Zimbabwean masses to fresh efforts in their struggle for freedom.

This increased the political difficulty of openly backing the Smith regime. The imperialist powers calculated that it was only a matter of time before Smith was toppled. Such an outcome would have a profound impact on the Black liberation struggles in Namibia and, most importantly, in South Africa itself.

Faced with this potential threat to their



Eugene Mihaesco/New York Times

interests throughout southern Africa, Washington, Pretoria, London, and the other imperialist governments sought to defuse the Zimbabwean conflict by pressing Smith to make some compromises. At the same time, they enlisted the aid of some of the neighboring Black African regimes to try to curb the guerrilla actions of the Zimbabwean freedom fighters.

As outlined in Smith's speech, the goal is to install—after a two-year transitional period—a Black neocolonial regime that is willing and able to protect imperialist interests in the country. Smith pointed out that Kissinger and he shared "a common aim and a common purpose, namely to keep Rhodesia in the free world and to keep it from Communist penetration."

The essentials of the imperialist plan, as summarized by Smith, include the establishment of an "interim government" that is to function until majority rule is implemented. The supreme body within this transitional regime is to be the council of state, which will be composed of an equal number of white and Black representatives and which will be chaired by a white. This body is to write a new constitution and organize elections. The council of state will also appoint a council of ministers, which, according to Smith, will be Black in its majority, with a Black chief minister.

Although the proposal was an important concession to the freedom struggle waged

by the country's Black majority, it falls far short of abandonment of white supremacy. In Smith's proposed interim regime, the white settlers would still be dominant. The decisions of the white-chaired council of state must be carried by a two-thirds majority, giving the white representatives veto power. Since the new constitution is to be written *before* elections are held, these white representatives will also have veto power over its terms.

Although Black nationalists have long coupled their demand for Black majority rule with the slogan "one man, one vote," Smith made no mention of universal franchise. Instead, he defined "majority rule" as being "responsible rule," a term that has been used frequently in the past to justify a qualified franchise for Africans, using high property and education requirements.

Moreover, the entire repressive apparatus is to remain in white hands. Smith specifically stated that whites would head the ministries of defense and law and order.

The postponement of independence*

*Rhodesia is still formally a British colony. The white-settler regime unilaterally declared its "independence" from Britain in 1965, but no government in the world has officially recognized it.

under a Black regime for two years is another key aspect of the proposal. Smith and the imperialists hope to gain time to organize an acceptable Black regime that would be willing to guarantee white "minority rights."

Reporting on Kissinger's talks with British Prime Minister James Callaghan in London September 23, *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman said:

Mr. Kissinger urged Mr. Callaghan to insure that steps are taken quickly to fill the leadership gap that the Secretary sees developing in Rhodesia if Mr. Smith's Government steps down at a later stage.

In Mr. Kissinger's view it is crucial that a black, moderate, pro-Western leadership be given priority in a new interim government, pending conclusion of a possibly protracted British-sponsored negotiation for a new constitution. . . .

In his talks with President Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia and President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania, Mr. Kissinger stressed the need for the black African leaders to come up with a negotiating team on Rhodesia that would be accepted by enough Rhodesian blacks so as to limit the ability of the more radical guerrillas, supplied with Soviet arms, to play a blocking role.

The entire plan, however, hinges on the willingness of at least some of the Black nationalist leaders and groups to go along with it. So far, none of them has accepted Smith's terms.

George Silundike, a representative of the faction of the African National Council led by Joshua Nkomo, said, "The proposals leave the substance of power in the hands of the minority; an interim government in which effective control of power is with the minority cannot have the capacity to transfer to majority rule.

"Either the plan must be changed or scrapped altogether and the field left open to the armed struggle."

However, Josiah Chinamano, another representative of Nkomo's group, declared that "despite some flaws, the proposal was welcome." (Nkomo is the only Zimbabwean leader to have met with Kissinger.)

Nkomo's chief rival, Ndabaningi Sithole, the head of the Zimbabwe African National Union, said that the proposals had the "diabolical intentions of creating a puppet regime in Zimbabwe" and giving Smith "a breathing space in which to consolidate his military, economic and international positions."

In a joint statement released September 26, the heads of state of Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, and Botswana also rejected some aspects of Smith's proposal, stating that if it were accepted it would be "tantamount to legalizing the colonialist and racist structures of power."

Anticipating this continued opposition, Smith indicated in his speech that the war against the Zimbabwean guerrillas would not stop. He said that "if we are realistic we must accept that terrorism cannot be halted at the drop of a hat and it will

therefore be incumbent on the security forces and all those living in the affected areas to act accordingly."

To underscore Smith's remark, a military communiqué was issued the same day stating that ten Black guerrillas had been killed in the previous twenty-four hours, bringing the total for the week to forty.

Smith also hedged on actually carrying out the proposals, stating that acceptance was conditional on the lifting of the United Nations sanctions against the regime and on an end to the guerrilla warfare.

On both these points, Smith said, Kissinger had given his "categorical assurance." Smith then continued, "In the light of previous experience there will be some understandable skepticism regarding the undertaking that terrorism will cease, but on this occasion the assurance is given, not only on the authority of the United

States Government, but of the British Government as well."

What secret assurances have Washington and London given the white settler regime? That they will pressure the neighboring African states to clamp down on the guerrillas? That a foreign "peacekeeping force" will be dispatched?

Smith's speech, and the attempt to postpone independence for two years, should be a clear warning to all supporters of the African freedom struggle to be on the alert.

The danger facing the Zimbabwean independence struggle from the imperialist powers was summed up by Tennyson A. Nyagumbo, a leader of the Restaurant and Hotel Workers Union. In a report in the September 23 *New York Times*, correspondent Michael T. Kaufman quoted him as saying, "If a settlement is imposed by the Americans and South Africans, we will not have true independence." □

Growing Unrest Over Inflation

Bus Strike Brings Cairo to 'Near Chaos'

A two-day strike by Cairo bus drivers ended September 20, but only after a confrontation in which at least one policeman was killed and a number of other persons injured.

The walkout was prompted by the refusal of the publicly owned transit company to discuss with officials of the drivers' union the payment of traditional bonuses for the Muslim holy month of Ramadan. The strike also reflected the anger of Egyptian workers over rising prices, shortages of consumer goods, and low pay.

"Many analysts believe that the patience of the Egyptian masses is wearing thin as the country's economic gloom deepens, and incidents like this weekend's illegal bus strike are watched closely for clues to the popular mood," *Washington Post* correspondent Thomas A. Lippman reported in a September 20 dispatch from Cairo.

Cairo bus drivers occupy a strategic position in the Egyptian economy. Eight million persons—more than one-fifth of the Egyptian population—live in Cairo, and the city's transportation system is completely inadequate even when operating at peak efficiency. Lippman described the result of the bus drivers' strike as "near chaos."

The government moved quickly to settle the grievances of the bus drivers, and John K. Cooley reported in the September 22 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*, "President Sadat is understood to have instructed his government to investigate

the Egyptian people's complaints over shortages and high prices" in the wake of the bus drivers' strike.

However, the shortages and inflation in Egypt are the fruit of Sadat's basic policy of opening up the country to foreign capital. This policy is not about to be changed by Sadat, and his real answer to the protests of the Egyptian workers was indicated by Cooley's report that "official sources said the public prosecutor's office was investigating the strike."

In an interview published the day after the strikers returned to work, Prime Minister Mamdouh Salem charged that "a minority of Marxist extremists attempted to exploit the suffering of the people and to incite resentment." He added that eleven persons had been arrested and were being interrogated. □

Israel 'Warning Shots' Kill Again

A twenty-four-year-old Palestinian was gunned down in Jerusalem September 17 when Israeli border policemen opened fire on Palestinians protesting the occupation of the West Bank and the confiscation of Arab land. As has become customary in such instances, Israeli officials released a statement explaining that the unarmed demonstrator had been hit by "warning shots." At least one other participant in the protest was wounded.

South Africa's Campaign of Terror in Angola and Namibia

[This interview was given in London to Tony Hodges by Bill Anderson, a twenty-one-year-old white South African who was conscripted last year into the Sixth Battalion, South African Infantry.

* * *

Question. What were your experiences as a South African soldier in Angola?

Answer. We went into Angola on November 22 and relieved a company of the Second Battalion of the South African Infantry. We were committed mainly to policing the town of Calueque and the Ruacana dam, which the town has been built up for. South Africa has a lot of interests in the dam.

There was a general defence of the dam, restrictions on the movement of people in Calueque and also on travel across the border into Namibia. We spent a fairly quiet three months there. We had very little action and no contact with what was going on further up north against the MPLA.¹

The only incident there involved cattle thieves on a huge cattle ranch 50 kilometres north-west of Calueque at Dongwena. The Portuguese owners had fled but the farm management was still functioning on their behalf. Cattle thieves that were active on this ranch were suspected of being SWAPO² or MPLA agents.

Some of them were captured and interrogated by our senior officer. I saw how these prisoners were treated. They were first badly beaten up with fists. Then they were subjected to a water torture where a rag was put over their faces and water was poured over them until they nearly suffocated. They were badly roughed up. One of the suspects complained afterwards of having broken ribs, and he asked for medical treatment, which was turned down.

I also have fairly reliable information that during the interrogation of one cattle thief on this ranch, our major got fed up with asking questions and getting no reply, so he turned around to one of the troops and ordered him to shoot the suspect, which he did. He shot him with his rifle and threw his body into the river.

From what I know, I should say that about 5,000 South African troops were in Angola.

1. MPLA—Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

2. SWAPO—South West Africa People's Organisation, the main Namibian nationalist group.

Former Soldier's Firsthand Account

Bill Anderson's battalion was stationed in southern Angola from November 1975 until February of this year. There, the battalion's assignment was to take part in the policing of the Cunene district just north of the Namibian border. The main objective was to assure South African control of the strategic dam installation under construction on the Cunene River at the Ruacana Falls.

After Anderson's battalion withdrew from Angola, it took part in "Operation Cobra," an "antiterrorist" sweep in the north of Namibia. A state of emergency was declared there in May, and the zone is now effectively under martial law.

On August 28, Sean Macbride, the United Nations commissioner for Namibia, said that a one kilometre free-fire zone had been created along the entire length of the Angola-Namibia border. He charged that South African troops had uprooted between 40,000 and 50,000 villagers along the frontier in the previous three months. There are now about 45,000 South African troops in Namibia.

Anderson, whose eyewitness account of the methods used in Operation Cobra was first publicized in the August 30 London *Guardian* (see *Intercontinental Press*, September 20, p. 1318), is unable to return to South Africa.

Our unit left Angola in mid-February. One of the other companies remained there a couple of weeks longer than us. They were based at Chitado, a centre for refugees fleeing south.

I know that one of the drivers, a conscript, was instructed, along with two other soldiers, to take three of the prisoners down to the river and shoot them, which they did. And this driver then cut off one of the dead men's ears and put it in a meths bottle and sent it home.

He also cut off a man's scrotum, curing it to put over the gear lever of his car. But that rotted. From stories I heard, this crudity was very much part of the South African soldiers' way of life in Angola. They used to hang various parts of dead bodies on their trucks and land rovers.

Q. What happened when you crossed back into Namibia in February?

A. We went to a camp far west on the Cunene River just inside Namibia at a place called Sodaliet. We were there for two months. We moved there just before the general South African withdrawal from Angola. Two weeks later, the South Africans finally moved out of Calueque—and Angola as a whole. Before they left, the troops mined the whole of Calueque, booby-trapped all the houses, and mined all the roads of Roçadas (a town about 200 kilometres north of the border).

At Sodaliet, we were patrolling the south side of the Cunene River, anticipating infiltration across the river. In mid-April we went home for seven days' leave and then returned to Namibia to take part in

what was known as "Operation Cobra." This involved five battalions and took place north-east of Ondongwa. We were based about twelve kilometres from the border, just east of Inahna.

Nothing was explicitly told to us about the operation or what we were supposed to be doing there. I gathered that the general orders were to clear the area of guerrilla activity. There had been a number of incidents in this area before we arrived, and we suspected that there were a lot of guerrillas active.

The five battalions were meant to be involved in a very thorough search of the area. For the first four or five weeks of the operation, each battalion was assigned to a particular area, and they sent out their own patrols in a fairly haphazard manner. At that stage, they were searching kraals [African villages], checking up on the local population to find out whether they knew of any guerrilla activity, but basically, I think, waiting for an attack so they could send a rigorous follow-up.

I don't think these four or five weeks were particularly productive for the South African army, because afterwards our tactics changed. In the final three weeks, the five battalions came together for a very thorough search of what must have been about 200 square kilometres of land. Our battalion moved down from the north, while the others moved in from the south and the sides. We moved down a kilometre a day. It was a very thorough search.

At this stage, orders were given that every single male adult be brought in for interrogation. Orders for the whole operation were that we should shoot anyone

who ran away. Every single male adult was brought in. And when I say "adult," I should explain that some of those brought in were as young as thirteen.

Q. Was this type of operation going on along the entire length of the Angolan border?

A. I am sure there were a number of other battalions working in other places. Our area was fairly small, centered around Inahna; it didn't run that far east. West of Ruacana, there wasn't much activity, because it's not populated there. The clearances stretched, I would say, from somewhere near Ruacana right through to the Caprivi Strip.³

Q. What happened when the villagers were brought in for interrogation?

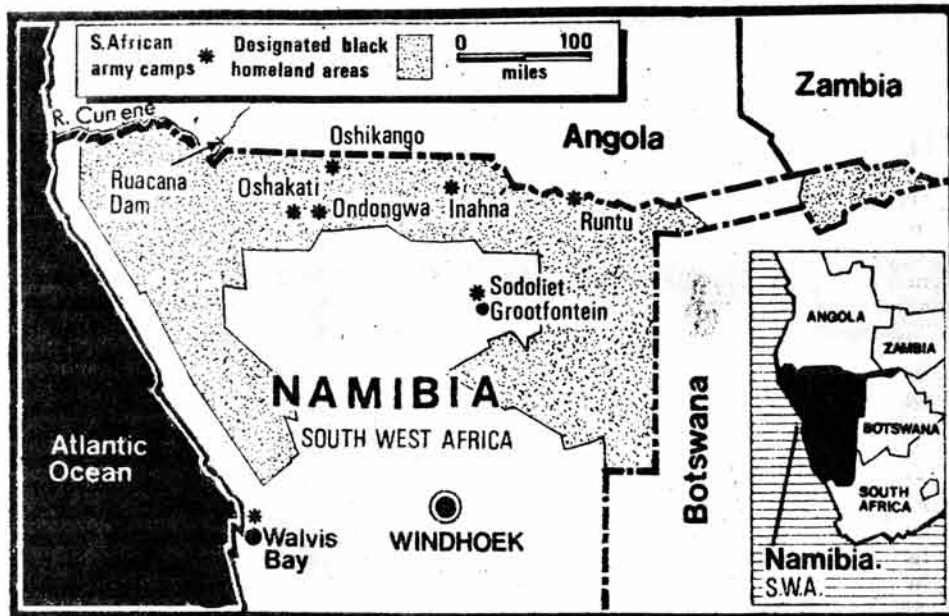
A. Right from the beginning I saw suspects very badly treated in front of senior officers, and the senior officers didn't say anything about it. They were beaten with fists and rifle butts. They were burnt with cigarettes, their mouths were filled with sand, and they were generally very roughly treated from the moment they were captured until they were cleared at Ondongwa. They were blindfolded the whole time. As far as I know, they were given very little food.

In the first couple of weeks there was a group of South African police attached to our battalion who were responsible for the interrogation. But afterwards the senior officers joined in, and later any troops who wanted to go and watch what was going on were welcome to do so. They carried on their own side-shows in taunting the prisoners who had just been interrogated or were waiting for interrogation. They were involved in the maltreatment in a very positive way, if not actually doing the hard stuff.

My tent was within fifty yards of the interrogation tent. They used shock treatment to get these people to talk, using the wires of a field telephone to apply electric shocks to ear lobes and the genitals. I went to bed almost every night to the screams of people being tortured. Usually the torturing would start at about 9 or 10 in the evening after the camp bar had closed. Usually all the officers involved had had quite a bit to drink. It was very much an entertainment for them.

I saw water torture being used on various prisoners, where their heads were dunked into buckets of water until they were almost drowned, and this repeated a number of times. One case that I didn't see—but I was told about it immediately after it had happened—was that one of the prisoners was hung up on a tree, his hands

3. The narrow strip of land jutting eastward between Botswana on the south and Angola and Zambia on the north.



London Guardian

were hooked up round a branch with handcuffs so that his feet were about two or three feet off the ground, and a fire was lit under him. He was continually beaten while he was being burnt from beneath. Every single one of the men brought in for interrogation was treated, if not in as bad a manner as that, in a very rough way.

As far as I know, our battalion went through interrogating at least 200, and I assume that the other four battalions were doing the same. This means that in this short period over 1,000 people were treated in such a fashion. We were never told any official figures, but at the end of the operation I heard that from all those held, forty people were being sent to court to face terrorism trials.

I don't know how many guerrillas were shot in the whole operation, but our battalion shot four. I can remember an occasion when two dead men had been brought in. They were left to lie in the middle of the camp, which was a pretty busy thoroughfare for troops. And troops were explicitly welcomed to come and have a good look at what a dead guerrilla looks like. Their bodies were abused by the troops.

Q. What has been the impact of this operation on the African population?

A. We saw in this area explicit hatred being shown by the local population. After all, if any innocent man was working his field and one of our patrols approached, he knew that if he tried to run away he would be shot and if he just stood there and carried on working he would be taken in and tortured. It's fairly obvious where this hatred has come from.

If similar operations were going on in other parts of Ovamboland,⁴ as I am sure they were, it's fairly obvious why the

Ovambo nation especially have got this incredible hatred now for the South Africans.

Q. What about the future?

A. In Namibia, as in South Africa, the whites will never give an inch of their land or their domination. No change will come about through the system itself, whatever people say about giving it time.

The 45,000 troops that are involved in Namibia are part of what is the biggest military operation South Africans have been involved in since the Boer War. At the same time, with the rioting in South Africa's cities, with over 300 killed and 2,000 arrested, Mr Vorster cannot sit back and say there's no crisis and play his little games with Henry Kissinger. I feel the time is ripe for something to really start happening in South Africa. I personally believe that this wave of unrest won't die down. □

4. The Ovambo reserve set up by the Pretoria regime in northern Namibia.

Park Regime Orders Haircuts to Fight 'Threats From the North'

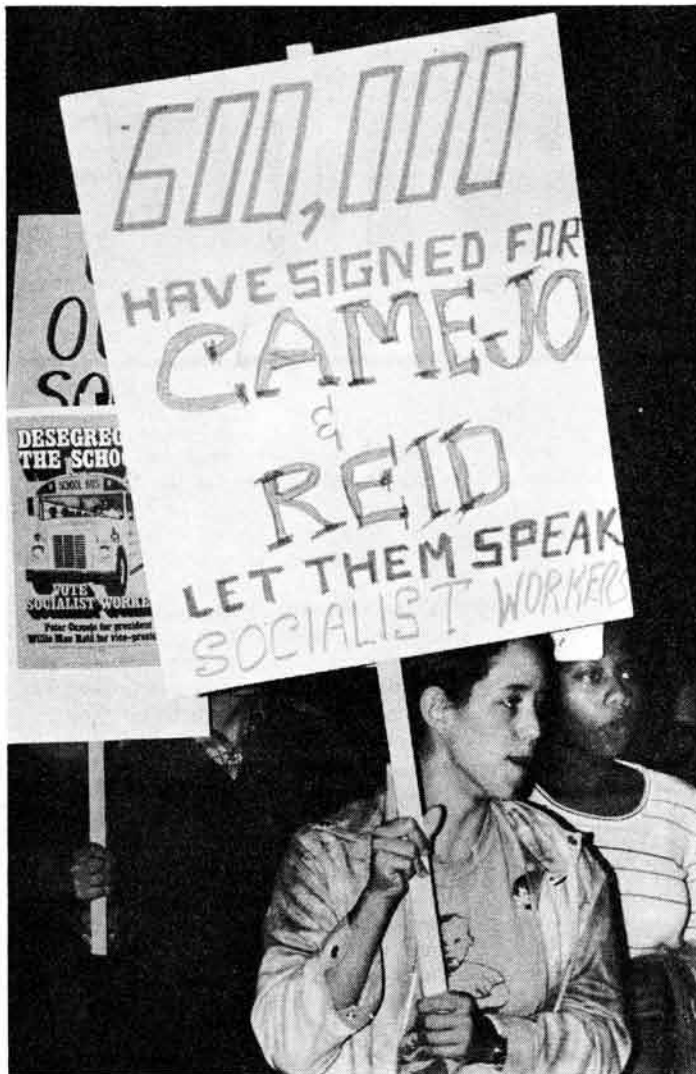
A series of "social purifications" have been taken by the Park regime in South Korea to combat "threats from Communist North Korea."

The measures include fines, forcible shearings of thousands of long-haired males, arrests for wearing purportedly obscene T-shirts, and a ban on "decadent" music.

In the six months ending July 30, National Police Director Kim Sung Joo reported 613,585 persons had been "checked" by police on these charges.

Ford and Carter's 'Great Debate'

By David Frankel



Shaftig Abdulahad/Militant

PHILADELPHIA: Part of picket line of 1,000 protesting exclusion of opposition candidates from nationally televised debate. Sign refers to number of persons who have signed petitions to place SWP candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid on ballot.

Billed as the "Great Debate," the first joint appearance of the Democratic and Republican party presidential candidates September 23 was politely called "something of an anticlimax" by *New York Times* reporter R.W. Apple, Jr., in an article written the following day. Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo was more to the point, calling the Ford-Carter debate "an outrageous insult to working people, Blacks, and women."

A television audience estimated at 90 million persons watched the so-called Great Debate. Any of those who expected Ford and Carter to seriously deal with the problems facing the American people soon discovered their mistake. As Camejo said in a statement issued September 24:

"Neither candidate proposed a single specific measure to put the millions of jobless in this country back to work. Not a single word was said about busing and school desegregation—an issue of central concern to Blacks. Both Carter and Ford remained silent on the issue of a woman's right to choose abortion, and the erosion of child care and other vital social services."

In short, in a debate supposedly focusing on domestic issues, Blacks and women were treated as nonpersons. Zeroing in on their nostrils for the American economy, government bureaucracy, and taxes, the two capitalist candidates treated their audience to ninety minutes of double-talk.

As Carter said, "we need to have a commitment in the private sector to cooperate with government in matters like housing, for a small investment of taxpayers' money in the housing field can bring large numbers of extra jobs and the guarantee of mortgage loans and the putting forward of 202 programs for housing all the people and so forth to cut down the roughly 20 percent unemployment that now exists in the construction industry."

William K. Stevens, who watched the debate in Johnny's Bar in Cleveland, reported on the response there in the September 25 *New York Times*. "It took less than 10 minutes—long enough for each candidate to deal with the first question on economics—for the basic opinion to form," Stevens noted.

"What's he said?" Mike Smith, a 31-year-old schoolteacher and also a Vietnam veteran, asked after Mr. Carter's first answer. "He's not said anything."

Those who were addressing the real issues facing the American people were outside the Philadelphia theater where the carefully staged Ford-Carter show was being acted out. A picket line of 1,000 persons protested the exclusion of opposition candidates from the debate, the attacks on the right of women to abortion by Ford and Carter, and American support to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Philadelphia police at first refused to grant a permit for the protest, and tried to seal off a four-block area around the theater, claiming that this was required by "national security." However, the city authorities were forced to back down after organizers of the protest, including the SWP, filed suit for the permit.

Meanwhile, the SWP is pressing ahead with legal action demanding that Camejo and SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid either be included in the Democratic-Republican party debates or else be given media time equal in quantity and quality to that being granted to the two capitalist parties.

"The closed character of these debates is an affront to the millions of Americans who have shown throughout this campaign that they are deeply disillusioned with the Democrat and Republican parties and are looking for an alternative," Camejo said in a statement on the eve of the debate.

He pointed out that the Democrats and Republicans "are the real 'minority parties' in this country today. The combined primary vote for Carter and Ford was less than 8 percent of eligible voters."

The two capitalist parties and their candidates "are well aware of their unpopularity and it is precisely why they refuse to confront independent challengers before the American people."

Although the capitalist media has maintained the pretense that the public-relations extravaganza of the Ford-Carter debates is a "news event," the truth is that every aspect of the show was carefully rehearsed. Correspondent Joseph Lelyveld, who was inside the studio during the debate, reported in the September 25 *New York Times*: "It was noticeable, for instance, that when he

[Ford] picked up his pen, he was not really making notes but pretending to do so for the benefit of the cameras."

During the debate, both candidates showered the audience with statistics—Carter because he wanted to prove how knowledgeable he is about government, Ford because he wanted to allay doubts about his intelligence, and both because they wanted to avoid discussing the real issues.

"The sense of detachment from the event deepened as the first half-hour eroded into the second half-hour," *New York Times* columnist Russell Baker commented.

We hunkered down against a sleet storm of bewildering statistical data. Budget deficits, tax revenue projections for 1981, the comparative veto rates of Roosevelt, Nixon, Ford. Yes, yes, these men walked easily among decimal points. They were cool in the presence of statistics of astounding arguability. It had to be admired, even though the statistics engorged the nonpresidential brain with puzzlement and the urge to doze.

Surely many of these splendidly precise statistics were being invented on the spur of the moment. No matter. In televisionland we are all sophisticated enough now to realize that every statistic has an equal and opposite statistic somewhere in the universe. It is not a candidate's favorite statistic *per se* that engages us, but the assurance with which he can use it.

We are testing the candidates for self-confidence, for "Presidentiality" in statistical bombardment. It doesn't really matter if their statistics be homemade. What settles the business is the cool with which they are dropped.

Different views on the effectiveness of this tactic came from the audience around the country. In New York, a seventeen-year-old high-school student observed, "I found them both lacking in the reasoning category."

In Philadelphia, however, one man recalled that Lyndon B.

Johnson had once claimed that Ford was incapable of chewing gum and walking at the same time. "I now think that's an exaggeration," he said.

Another Philadelphian suggested that if the next debate is as bad as the first one, the election might have to be held in a telephone booth.

The debate, *Times* reporter Apple said, "seemed to most observers to have failed to inject into the tepid campaign the excitement and voter involvement that many had predicted it would."

A similar view was given by Clyde Haberman in the September 24 *New York Post*. After citing polls showing that public opinion was evenly divided over the question of whether Ford, Carter, or neither won the debate, Haberman said:

"Perhaps the most intriguing—and potentially ominous—survey was the one that seemed to confirm the belief that large numbers of Americans have lost interest in their political process.

"In an impressionistic sample late last night, mostly in Western states, Louis Harris found that the debate—the first since the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon battles and the first involving a sitting President—had not generated 'great euphoria or excitement.'"

Ford, who spoke last in the debate, summed up by saying, "I think the real issue in this campaign, and that which you must decide on Nov. 2, is whether you should vote for his [Carter's] promises or my performance in two years in the White House."

The problem facing the American capitalist class is that millions of people are sick of Ford's performance and do not believe Carter's promises. And the "Great Debate" has done nothing to change their minds. □

October 14 Protest Gains Broad Support

Canadian Unions Demand End to Wage Controls

On October 14, workers across Canada will take to the streets to protest government wage controls.

Initiated by the 2.2-million-member Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), the October 14 day of protest has won wide support. It is shaping up as a major test of strength between capital and labor.

For the first time, all three of the main labor federations in Québec and the labor movement in the rest of Canada will be joined together in a single campaign. A full-scale strike is planned for Québec.

In Toronto, the Building and Construction Trades Council has voted to organize a strike by the 30,000 workers it represents, while the 54,000-member Saskatchewan Federation of Labour has set up eleven regional centers, each with full-time organizers, to prepare its October 14 strike action.

On Canada's west coast, employees of the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific railways voted September 19 to shut down train service in and out of Vancouver on October 14. The Vancouver and Victoria area council of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers voted unanimously to support the October 14 protest "to show how dissatisfied we are with the antics of the Anti-Inflation Board."

Support for the action has also come from the New Democratic party (NDP), Canada's labor party. Ed Broadbent, the federal leader of the NDP, has backed the protest by going on a speaking tour to expose the government's economic program. In the September 27 issue of the Canadian Trotskyist fortnightly *Labor Challenge*, Robert Simms reported on some of the facts uncovered by Broadbent's research team, the "NDP Anti-Illusion Board."

At the same time that wage increases above 12% were being rolled back by the government, Simms reported, Canadian corporations were raking in greatly increased profits.

"• Nine corporations in the media—cable TV systems, newspapers, radio, and magazine chains—averaged 25.9% profit increase after controls.

"• Ten trust companies . . . saw their profits jump 28.2% after controls.

"• Seven real estate developers, including Cadillac-Fairview, Canada's largest developer, averaged increases of 30.7% . . .

"• Eight utilities—pipeline, gas, and telephone companies—increased their profits by 32.3% . . ."

"The government is attempting to make

workers pay for the country's economic problems, while big business gorges itself on profits," George Addison pointed out in the same issue of *Labor Challenge*.

But "the controls have even more ominous implications. If capitalist governments can get away with suspending a right as basic as collective bargaining, what's to stop them from attacking other rights, like the right to form a union, or the right of free speech?"

In another article, Simms explained: "A battle for public opinion is being waged. [Prime Minister Pierre] Trudeau has the resources of the big business media on his side. Not a single daily newspaper in the whole country supports October 14.

"Lacking the financial means of the big business media, working people use mass actions such as demonstrations, pickets, and strikes as their tools of communication. . . . Mass actions are the mass media of the working class.

"The rulers of this country hate the sight of political strikes and demonstrations. They are afraid of working people united around the revolutionary concept that governments don't have the authority to take away democratic rights. They know that mass actions will lay the foundation for more and bigger actions in the future."

Lockheed Scandal—Socialists in Japan and U.S. Demand Release of All Facts

[The following statement, released in New York September 15, was issued jointly by Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president, and the Japan Revolutionary Communist League, Japanese section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

On February 4, 1976, the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations disclosed that between 1958 and 1972 Lockheed Aircraft Corporation paid \$12.6 million in illegal bribes to various Japanese government officials to promote its arms-exporting activities.

In April, a new dimension was added to the scandal through exposure of the involvement of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Secret ties were uncovered between Lockheed, the CIA, and Japanese officials.

One of the go-betweens was Yoshio Kodama, a powerful ultrarightist who has been an instrument of the CIA in Japan since the Second World War. Kodama and the Marubeni Corporation, who are Lockheed's representatives in Japan, channeled the cash bribes to government officials and to persons connected with the All Nippon Airways and the Self-Defense Forces (Japan's army). Kodama has wielded tremendous behind-the-scenes influence in the Liberal Democratic Party, and has helped bring about the selection of a succession of Japanese prime ministers who were acceptable to Washington.

The Lockheed scandal reveals far more than simply the corrupt practices of the imperialist corporations. The revelations give a glimpse of the hidden underside of the system of capitalist democracy—its military and secret police apparatus working hand-in-glove with the corporations in their insatiable pursuit of profits. The scandal throws light on the postwar conspiratorial alliance of the U.S. and Japanese ruling classes, the fundamental aim of which is to try to maintain capitalism in Japan and in Asia as a whole.

A glaring example of this policy is South Korea, whose people suffer under a brutal dictatorship that is propped up by Washington and Tokyo. South Korean jails, torture chambers, and secret police (KCIA) are paid for with Japanese and American aid, and 42,000 American troops are stationed there to back them up.

South Korean jails are filled with people such as Kim Chi Ha, Kim Dae Jung, and thousands of others whose only crime is to have spoken out publicly in favor of freedom in their country. This is the kind of "democracy" that President Ford, Prime

Minister Miki, Lockheed, and their cohorts defend.

U.S. and Japanese rulers fear that the Korean people, inspired by the example of the Vietnamese, may attempt to reunify their country and cast off the hated Park dictatorship. Thus they are working to strengthen the Park regime.

Like the first Watergate revelations in the United States, the Lockheed bribery exposures are only the tip of the iceberg. The Miki government, Ford, and Kissinger are afraid of full disclosure of their methods of rule and are cooperating in a cover-up. Although a few scapegoats have been sacrificed—such as Kodama, who is under indictment—the names of the majority of Japanese officials who took the payoffs have not been divulged, under an agreement initiated by Washington.

The Japanese and American people certainly cannot look to these politicians of the capitalist class to bring about full revelation of all the diplomatic and corporate secrets involved in this scandal.

In Japan the Lockheed disclosures sparked mass protests, including demonstrations, rallies, and strikes. The public outcry deepened the crisis of the Liberal Democratic Party government, already in trouble for trying to put the burden of Japan's economic difficulties on the backs of the working class. Since the LDP is Japan's major capitalist party, its crisis has deepgoing ramifications for the stability of capitalism in Japan.

And in the United States, the Lockheed scandal came after the revelation of the

Pentagon Papers, Watergate, and the exposures of the illegal activities of the CIA and of the imperialist corporations such as ITT in Chile. It has deepened the disillusionment of growing numbers of the American people in the institutions of capitalist democracy.

Just as the capitalist rulers in Washington and Tokyo have a common interest in covering up the Lockheed scandal, so the working people of Japan and the United States have a common interest in exposing the full truth. The Japanese and American peoples' demand for release of all facts about the Lockheed affair is linked to the opposition by the masses of both countries to the huge arms budgets and military alliances such as the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and the U.S.-South Korean Mutual Defense Treaty, which are designed to hold down the working people of Asia.

Japanese and American working people should join together in demanding:

Release all the facts about the Lockheed scandal, including the names of all government and corporate officials involved in the bribery!

Make public all the diplomatic, military, and corporate secrets of the U.S.-Japan alliance!

Revoke the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty!

Withdraw all U.S. military forces from Japan and the rest of Asia!

Eliminate the military budgets (including spending on so-called "self-defense forces") of Japan and the United States! Use the funds to provide jobs and services urgently needed by the working people of both countries.

Open all the files of the CIA!

Solidarity of the American and Japanese workers and farmers in this common struggle! □

7,000 in London Voice Chile Solidarity

LONDON—More than 7,000 persons took part in a demonstration in Trafalgar Square here September 12, marking the third anniversary of military dictatorship in Chile.

Supported by some of the largest trade unions in the country, the protest demanded that the Labour government end its material support to the Pinochet regime and that all political prisoners in Chile be released.

The day before, a spirited and successful rally in Glasgow brought 2,000 persons out into the streets in support of the same demands.

The widespread concern in the British labour movement about political repression in Chile was testified to by the high proportion of banners from trade-union branches and Labour party constituency associations in the march preceding the London rally.

Addressing the crowd, Ron Hayward, general secretary of the Labour party, reiterated the party's opposition to the Callaghan government's continued commerce with the Pinochet junta, particularly the sale of arms.

Among the trade-union leaders who spoke at the rally were representatives of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, Britain's second largest union; and the National and Local Government Officers Association, the country's third largest union.

The protest was sponsored by the Chile Solidarity Committee. □

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Panamanian Students Protest Price Increases

By Judy White

National Guardsmen using tear gas, rubber truncheons, and antiriot pellets fired from shotguns attacked demonstrators in Panama City in mid-September. As many as 500 persons were arrested as troops sought to crush an eleven-day wave of protests that began September 10. Scores more were injured.

The September 10 demonstration had originally been called to mark the anniversary of the 1973 military coup in Chile. However, it developed into an anti-government protest when the authorities announced price increases for rice and milk September 9.

Several thousand persons, mainly high-school and university students, participated in what press reports described as Gen. Omar Torrijos's first open clash with the student movement.

Subsequent demonstrations took on a more clearly antigovernment tone. Protesters carried signs saying, "End repression by the bourgeois government" and "Reduce the cost of living."

In addition to bringing in the National Guard and police, Torrijos banned all public demonstrations, ordered all primary and secondary schools shut down for five days, and suspended classes indefinitely at the National University.

At the same time, the Panamanian government arrested three persons they claimed were U.S. intelligence agents. Radio Libertador, the official radio station, announced that "the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States has carefully organized a plot to destabilize our country and our revolutionary process."

A formal note given to U.S. Ambassador William Jorden September 17 by Panamanian Foreign Minister Aquilino Boyd accused U.S. armed forces in Panama of interfering in the country's internal affairs and claimed the American serviceman and two civilian employees of the Defense Department had been arrested for "active participation" in the student demonstrations.

Groups involved in the protests dismissed Torrijos's charges as "a government campaign to confuse the masses," a dispatch in the September 21 *New York Times* reported.

Other actions by the regime confirmed this estimate.

A rash of complaints were made about Washington stalling on the canal negotiations. Torrijos had agreed to suspend the talks last May in the interests of Ford's election campaign. Suddenly, however, in view of the opposition to his economic



BERNAL: Prominent critic of Torrijos regime, deported for his views.

policies, it was to his advantage to revive the canal issue as quickly as possible in an attempt to shift the attention of the Panamanian masses away from the repressive steps he was taking to crush the student protests.

Accordingly, Torrijos dusted off some of his radical-sounding rhetoric. A report in the September 21 issue of the *New York Spanish-language daily El Diario* quoted the general as saying that his government was preparing to go "all the way" to recover control over the canal, exhausting all means, "but the peaceful ones first."

One report on Boyd's protest note to the United States mentioned that it included a demand for the outright cancellation of the treaty.

However, by September 19 the regime was taking a softer line. "We're not accusing any government of participating in the troubles," Panamanian Vice-President Gerardo González told the *Federación de Estudiantes de Panamá (FEP—Panamanian Student Federation)*, "but we are saying that elements of this government were involved and we must try them according to the law."

Alan Riding, writing in the September 23 *New York Times*, described the ferment as the "most serious crisis" Torrijos has faced in his eight-year rule.

He commented:

"A wave of student unrest has left him with little popular support outside the national guard, which controls the country. And even in the guard, the country's only armed force, with a strength of 10,000, the continued supremacy of the 47-year-old general seems less than assured. . . ."

Riding pointed to the blow the student protests had delivered to Torrijos's prestige. Up until very recently, the *Federación de Estudiantes de Panamá* has functioned as a semiofficial government body. Now, according to Riding, it has lost the support of the student movement to "an assortment of Trotskyite and other ultra-leftist groups that ignore the Government's radical rhetoric and dismiss it as oligarchic and bourgeois."

The Trotskyists of the *Liga Socialista Revolucionaria (LSR—Revolutionary Socialist League)* have been active in Panama for more than a year. An article by Gerardo Solorzano published in the May 3 issue of *Intercontinental Press* stated:

"The analysis made by the comrades of the LSR during their congress [of February 1976] singled out the rightist turn being made by the bonapartist regime under the guise of 'left nationalism,' and pointed to the repression that threatens Panamanian revolutionists during coming months."

Among the victims of this repression is Miguel Antonio Bernal. A prominent opponent of the Torrijos regime and professor of law and political science at the University of Panama, Bernal was deported to Ecuador February 19, 1976. No reason has ever been given for his deportation, but it came at the same time that eleven other left- and right-wing critics of the Panamanian government were also forced into exile.

In an interview after his deportation, Bernal summarized his criticisms of the Torrijos regime:

"... the Panamanian government presents itself to the public domestically and abroad as a 'revolutionary nationalist' government. It has managed to visibly create confusion on the true content of its policy in this way. Its policy revolves around modernizing the dependent capitalism that rules in our country, renegotiating the terms of imperialist rule, and smoothing over the roughest edges of the North American presence in the so-called 'Canal Zone,' without attacking the basic essence of the problem or respecting the evident historical aspirations of the Panamanian people."

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners is waging a campaign against this blatant case of political persecution. The committee asks that messages demanding that Bernal be allowed to return to his country be sent to Panamanian embassies throughout the world, with copies to USLA, 853 Broadway, Room 414, New York, New York 10003. □

Vyshinsky Rides Again

By Charles van Gelderen

[The following article appeared in the September 9 issue of *Red Weekly*, newspaper of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International. Charles van Gelderen has been a Trotskyist activist for forty years.]

* * *

Since April of last year, the Workers Revolutionary Party headed by Gerry Healy has devoted a great deal of its time and apparently abundant financial resources to a campaign purporting to deal with "Security and the Fourth International." Altogether 26 articles on this subject appeared in the late *Workers Press*. Now the campaign has been reopened with the arrival in this country of Harold Robins, one of Trotsky's guards in Mexico, and George Vereeken from Belgium.

Nineteen of the articles which appeared in *Workers Press* between 14 August and 9 September have been re-published in a luxury paperback under the title *How the GPU murdered Trotsky—Security and the Fourth International*. At £3 per copy, the 1½ million unemployed workers of this country must be making a bee-line for the bookshops to purchase this masterpiece of lies and innuendoes.

Hardly anyone today doubts that Trotsky was murdered on the orders of Stalin, and that "Jacques Mornard" (Mercader) was a GPU agent. So the purpose of this campaign is not to prove the guilt of the Kremlin masters. What then lies behind this prodigious expenditure of time, effort and money? The real reason is to launch a ferocious attack on the Fourth International and its leadership.

Politically bankrupt, organisationally stagnant, Healy has seen his "International Committee" split, with first the return of the American Socialist Workers Party to a sympathetic relationship with the Fourth International headed by the United Secretariat, and the rupture with the Lambert group in France. This has left him almost completely isolated in his Clapham lair, with only a few stooges here and there, propped up by financial aid from the London centre.

Meanwhile, the Fourth International has continued to grow and now has sections or sympathising organisations in more than 42 countries. Its international leadership meets regularly, is elected by International Conferences (not appointed from "above") and are known, unlike the anonymous members of the "International Committee." In Britain, Healy lost his

working class base with the expulsion of Thornett and his supporters, and there is an increasing turnover of members in the WRP as more and more of its adherents come up against its harsh and monolithic bureaucratic regime. It is here, in the political field, that we must look for the real motives of the Healy campaign.

While the campaign is aimed at the Fourth International as a whole, its principal targets have been Joseph Hansen and George Novack of the American SWP. This is no accident. For years they were Healy's closest associates. After the split in the International in 1953, Hansen and Novack devoted a great deal of their time and talents to helping Healy to build the Trotskyist movement in this country. In fact, one can state quite categorically that they materially assisted Healy's theoretical development.

In the May/August 1952 issue of *Labour Review* (Vol. 1, No. 2) there appeared an article by Gerry Healy. It was an in-depth review of Aneurin Bevan's *In Place of Fear*. Some of us, when we first read the article (subsequently published as a pamphlet), were not only impressed by its theoretical clarity but also surprised—we were not accustomed to think of Healy as a theoretician of any stature, but rather as a very competent conveyor-belt of other people's ideas.

Also, a second and more thorough reading revealed quite clearly that the article was written in the American rather than the British idiom. Careless editing left in words like "railroad" instead of "railways," "labour" was spelt in the American way without the "u" and so on. It therefore came as no great surprise when John Lawrence (at the time a member of the Political Committee and a staunch supporter of Healy) informed me that the article was, in fact, written by George Novack, and that Healy himself had proposed that it should be published under his name.

Perhaps there should be a Commission set up to enquire how many of Healy's articles were written by him or ghosted by comrades whom he now accuses of being GPU accomplices?

It is precisely because Healy was so close to comrades Hansen and Novack that he never forgave them for "deserting" him and his "International Committee," which is why he is carrying on this vile campaign against them.

Far from running away from Healy's charges, Hansen has met them head-on,

and replied to them point-by-point in a number of articles in *Intercontinental Press*. Comrades of the WRP who are really interested in getting at the truth should not accept the garbled "quotations" appearing in *News Line* but should read for themselves what Hansen and Novack have written. We commend to their attention especially *Intercontinental Press* of 24 November 1975 in which Hansen answers the key allegations; the article by George Novack in the *Intercontinental Press* of December 1975—"Healy's Frame-up Against Joseph Hansen," and, above all, the full-length repudiation of Healy's facts in the issue of 9 August 1976—"Healy Caught in the Logic of the Big Lie," where Hansen completely demolishes Healy's fabrications.

In his frenzied attempt to destroy the Fourth International, Healy has found himself some strange allies, among them George Vereeken of Belgium, described in *News Line* of 16 August 1976 as a "veteran Trotskyist." This is interesting, as we are well acquainted with Vereeken's history as a "Trotskyist."

On 20 January 1938, Leon Trotsky wrote to his secretary Van:

"As for Cde. Ver, who unfortunately increasingly takes his distance from Marxism, it is extremely characteristic that he finds it possible to support Sneevliet in his totally opportunist struggle, now open, against the Fourth International and at the same time to conduct against us his ultra-leftist intransigence. . . ." (*Bulletin Intérieur International*, édité par le Secrétariat International pour la Quatrième Internationale No. 3, début mai 1938, p. 10).

This "veteran Trotskyist" has, in fact, been a veteran opponent of the Fourth International since its inception. The following is an extract from the minutes of the first EC of the FI after the 1938 Founding Conference:

"Report of the Ver affair by Cde. L. (Belgium): He traced the history of Ver's drift away from us up to his recent resignation from the Belgian Party. Ver violently opposed the 'French turn' in 1934 [entry of our French section into the SFIO¹—CvG] and when in 1935 the Belgian section entered the Labour Party, he and

1. SFIO (Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière) French section of the Labor (Socialist) International, formal name of the Socialist Party of France.—IP

his followers split. Later, the comrades who had entered the LP split away from that party . . . and re-united with V's organisation to form an independent party in Belgium. But V had not forgotten the old differences and regarded all those who supported the 'French turn' (i.e. the overwhelming majority of our international organisation) as traitors. Friction speedily developed inside the new party and V began to develop differences with our international organisation on a whole variety of questions, Holland, Spain etc. *On nearly every issue that came up he allied himself with the most backward elements in the International.* [My emphasis—CvG.]

"Nevertheless, L. (Trotsky) did not immediately launch a campaign against him. . . . He waited until Ver. saw the Transitional Programme and realised he would have to take up a position on this practical question instead of spending time in fruitless polemics. He was not prepared to take the step towards the masses indicated by the programme and gave in his resignation . . . it appears that he has been working for some time with Sneevliet and Molinier against our international organisation.

"The general opinion was that Ver's resignation had removed a persistent obstructionist and confirmed sectarian from our ranks. . . ."

But perhaps, after all, it is not so strange that Healy should find himself in close alliance with this veteran of anti-Trotskyism, for this is not the first time that they have worked in double harness.

In 1938 Healy was a leading member of the WIL² which rejected the efforts of an International Commission (Cannon, Shactman, Gould) to unite the various Trotskyist groupings in Britain into a single organisation prior to the Founding Conference. The WIL preferred to pursue its own sectarian path and linked itself with Vereeken, the Molinier group in France, and other sectarians who considered themselves more Trotskyist than Trotsky. These organisations published a "Draft Resolution for an International Conference" (*La Verité*, August 1939, No. 2)³ which contained the following:

"The organisations condemn the bureaucratic system *by means of which Trotsky* [my emphasis—CvG] through the agency of the International Secretariat manoeuvres the B-L Groups,⁴ renewing the system

2. WIL—Workers International League, a group in Britain that claimed adherence to the Fourth International in 1938, but refused to merge with the Militant Labour League, official British section of the Fourth International. —IP

3. Can also be found in the Vereeken Archives at Harvard.

4. Groups that supported the Movement for the Fourth International, led by Trotsky, frequently called themselves Bolshevik-Leninists. —IP

LSA Adds Signature to Statement

[The following statement was issued by the League for Socialist Action in London September 10.]

We would like to add our names to those printed in ICP (September 6, 1976) protesting the slanderous campaign launched by the Workers Revolu-

tionary Party against comrades Joe Hansen and George Novack.

We consider this campaign—as we have already stated in *Socialist Action*—to be a frame-up in the Stalinist tradition against leading and tested revolutionary socialists.

Tony Roberts

of the first years of the CI, a system which favoured the triumph of the bureaucracy over the Left Opposition."⁵

The same EC which rejected Vereeken also considered an application for "sympathetic affiliation" from the WIL. The EC declared itself as not opposed to sympathetic affiliation "in cases where an organisation is moving towards us, but in this case the WIL has shown by its actions that it is moving away from us. . . ."

In an interview in *News Line* (19 August 1976), Vereeken states: "My respect for him [Trotsky] increases as years go by. Trotsky's clear-sightedness about social, political and scientific development was unmatched." What a pity that he should have spent so many years, while Trotsky was alive and trying to build the Fourth International, opposing Trotsky on nearly every important issue; and that now, once again, we find him in the camp of those who are trying to destroy Trotsky's International.

Vereeken also bemoans the fact that Trotsky was "misled" about him by agents of the GPU. This probably refers to the rumour, which was rife at the time, that Vereeken had implicated Trotsky's son, Sedov, in the assassination by the GPU of Ignace Reiss.⁶ Who were these GPU agents who so easily pulled the wool over Trotsky's eyes?

Vereeken denied these imputations in *Bulletin Intérieur*, No. 14, May 1938 (page 17), where he stated: "As a militant revolutionary, I have always opposed false accusations brought deliberately or otherwise against militant revolutionaries of whatever tendency." (Healy, please take note.) But in the same bulletin there is a statement signed "Cami 18.iii.38" which quotes Vereeken as having said: "Si le Vieux critique Sneevliet, il devrait avec beaucoup de raisons critiquer son propre

files." (*If the Old Man* [Trotsky] criticises Sneevliet, he should for many [good] reasons criticise his own son.)⁷

If Vereeken does not directly accuse Sedov, it seems he was given to loose talk. He does not seem to have learned anything from his own history.

We must now pose a question. Healy accuses Hansen of concealing his association (sic) with known GPU agents for 37 years. We must now ask Healy why he concealed his own connections with "Etienne" (Zborowski) from his followers. Healy revealed this association in a letter to this very same Joseph Hansen whom he now accuses, in true Vyshinsky style, of the foulest misdeeds, dated 14 March 1960.

Not only did Healy meet "Etienne" on several occasions (how often?), but this GPU agent actually stayed a night at Healy's house. In the kindness of his heart Healy even bought the poor man a pair of shoes. All this took place in 1946. Should there not now be an enquiry as to why Healy kept silent about this for 14 years?

Finally, I offer Healy a little bonus. The writer of these lines actually knew Trotsky's murderer "Jacson" and Sylvia Ageloff in Paris in 1938. The photo in *How the GPU Murdered Trotsky* of these two with Maria Craipeau was taken by me and is my copyright. Perhaps I will now be indicted as an accomplice of Joseph Hansen, George Novack, James P. Cannon, et al!

For a suitable donation to the Red Weekly Fighting Fund, I am prepared to let him have a whole list of people who were in Paris at that time and must have met Mornard. Then, like his infamous predecessor in the Kremlin, he can now stage a whole series of "Moscow Trials" and keep the pages of *News Line* filled with the sensational rubbish, thus avoiding the necessity of dealing with the real issues of the class struggle in Britain and the world.

London, 2 September 1976

7. Camille was one of the pseudonyms of Rudolf Klement, Secretary of the International Bolshevik-Leninists, murdered by Stalinist agents just before the 1938 Founding Conference. Trotsky was of the opinion that Sneevliet had mishandled the Reiss affair (see *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1937-38)*, p. 114—"A Letter to New York").

'Mundo' Features Interview With Spanish Trotskyists

[The following interview with two leaders of the Liga Comunista (LC—Communist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain, appeared in the September 18 issue of the Spanish weekly newsmagazine *Mundo*.

[Juan Zuriarrain, political secretary of the LC, and Angel Tubau, one of the LC's leaders in Catalonia, were interviewed by Lluís María Bonet i Llovet in this mass circulation weekly despite the fact that the Liga Comunista is still a banned organization in Spain.

[The interview has been translated by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

At present, and since the beginning of this decade, there have been three main political organizations in Spain that claim to be Trotskyist—the Liga Comunista and the Partido Obrero Revolucionario de España [PORE—Spanish Revolutionary Workers party].¹

Juan Zuriarrain, the political secretary of the Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the LC, not only explained the official line of his party but began by briefly sketching out for us the importance of Trotskyism in 1976.

He said that the theory of the permanent revolution and proletarian internationalism were fundamental concepts, requiring a minimal explanation to make the LC's political line comprehensible.

"The permanent revolution is a theory developed by Trotsky and Pergus.² It is based on the idea that the working class is the only class that can play a progressive role in the march toward true democracy. That is so not only in capitalist countries but also in the degenerated workers states," Zuriarrain said.

This concept that the working class is the only class that can play the guiding role leads logically to his position that "there is no sector of the bourgeoisie that is progressive, not even a little progressive. This has been tragically shown many times—in the Spanish revolution, Chile, now in Portugal, and so on. Other sectors of society, like the petty bourgeoisie or the peasantry, that waver between the working class and big business, do not play a politically independent role in their con-

1. *Mundo* apparently forgot to list the third group referred to—the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria-Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (VI) [LCR-ETA (VI)—Revolutionary Communist League-Basque Nation and Freedom (VI)]—IP.

2. The reference is obviously to Parvus—IP.

The Third Congress of the LC

Attendance

Eighty-four delegates elected at assemblies, outgoing Central Committee (with voice but no vote), a representative of the LCR-ETA (VI), and a representative of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Locations

The Basque Country, Catalonia, Valencia, the Canary Islands, Madrid, Valladolid, Burgos, Asturias, Murcia, Zaragoza, and Andalucía.

Composition

Eighty per cent were men. The average age was twenty-four.

Forty-one percent were white-collar workers and 28 percent blue-collar workers.

Forty-six and a half percent had previously belonged to other parties.

The Tendencia Obrera [Workers Tendency] with five delegates, representing 5 percent of the party, called for the utilization by revolutionists of the representative links in the CNS [Central Nacional Sindicalista—National Federation of Syndicates]—its delegates—and for the construction of the workers trade union starting from the Workers Commissions.

Tendency One, with four delegates, representing 2 or 3 percent of the party,

was formed around the balance sheet on the course followed by the party since its second congress.

Resolutions

The political situation, the trade-union question, LCR-ETA (VI), a balance sheet on the work since the second congress, tactics for constructing the party, launching the Communist Youth, and modifications in the statutes.

Place

Held clandestinely somewhere in Spain.

Relations with the LCR

The need to form a single Trotskyist party was reaffirmed, but it was pointed out that unification with the LCR is not possible now, given the existing level of differences. The differences are on central questions concerning general tactics for building the party, what general alternative to pose to the dictatorship's crisis, the attitude toward united groupings, whether or not to use the representative links in the CNS, the attitude toward the workers commissions, intervention in movements like the women's movement, and the role of a youth organization in building the party. The congress voted in favor of continuing both public and internal debates on all of these questions.

frontations with the imperialists and the bourgeoisie. To summarize, only the working class is capable of making the revolution. It is the only motor force with the potential to win other sectors of society and the oppressed nationalities to this course."

The LC defines and upholds proletarian internationalism as "obeying and being loyal to the interests of the working class. Socialism cannot be built in the framework of a single country."

"You could say," concluded Angel Tubau, who chimed in with Zuriarrain throughout the interview, "that Trotskyism today is the synthesis of Lenin's theory of organization and Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution. It represents the continuity of Marxism-Leninism."

This Leninist theory of organization, which the LC has not given up, is not commonly followed by other Marxist parties. As is known, it involves the application of democratic centralism in the

party—the subordination in action of the minority to the majority (the greatest unity in action) after discussion in which there is complete freedom to present different points of view. This leads the LC to permit the existence within the organization of tendencies that defend and express their positions in its internal organs and debate them out at its congresses.

The LC has not abandoned the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"What has happened is that Stalinism has discredited the term, because of the police dictatorships existing in the East European countries. However, it is correct to define the dictatorship of the proletariat as the dictatorship of the majority over the exploiting minority and as the deepening and extension of democracy to much higher levels. It is true democracy, as opposed to the formalities of democracy under bourgeois rule."

Other political groups subscribe to the same concept but in a different way, according to Zuriarrain:

"The Maoists do not make a correct analysis of what happened in the countries of Eastern Europe. They say that in the USSR capitalism has been reestablished. We, on the contrary, believe that they are deformed workers states. There have been decisive conquests by the working class and historic advances there with regard to capitalism, which the later changes in the relations of production have not abolished."

The key point of difference is that for the LC "the bureaucracy is not a new bourgeois social class. It is not a new bourgeoisie."

From the concept of proletarian internationalism, the LC and in general all Trotskyists deduce the resultant need to build a single world party, a centralized international party with "allegiance to the class" to oppose international capitalism, which "does not act on a local level. This entire story of national allegiances on the part of its political parties is nothing but lies."

However, they realize that a world party like the one they envision has not come to be recognized as a necessity by the masses. And after they explain this in terms of the immediate historic situation, they assert sharply:

"Nonetheless, there now exist tremendous possibilities for Trotskyism, even greater than those that existed in the 1930s, in view of the revolutionary situation that is opening up in Europe. Only the banner of the Fourth International, an unblemished banner, will be the future banner of the proletarian masses."

The LC calls itself "a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International" and is part of the United Secretariat of



Mundo

ANGEL TUBAU. Born in Barcelona. Twenty-five years old. He was a founding member of the LCR and joined the LC when it was formed. Previously, he participated in the "Marxist-Leninist Students" group at the University of Barcelona. He is employed at a transport company and is a leader of the LC in Catalonia.

the Fourth International. According to Zuriarrain, the Fourth International embraces 95 percent of the world's Trotskyist organizations. The nuclei recognized as most important are the French (Ligue Communiste),³ the Americans (Socialist Workers party), and the Argentines (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores). They also claim to have adherents in the countries of the East and in China.

Following the Civil War, there was no Trotskyist group in Spain. It was not until the end of the 1960s that a group of activists, who came out of the Frente organizations (FLP, FOC, ESBA)⁴ formed the "Comunismo" group. In the summer of 1970, this group proclaimed its adherence to Trotskyism. Its basic nucleus founded the LCR at the beginning of the following year as a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.

At the end of 1972 the LCR split "practically in half" and the "Crossroads" tendency took the name of LC after its first congress in June 1973. This split was basically the consequence of a key debate—how to build the party of the Fourth International in Spain (the build-

3. The French section of the Fourth International is the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire—IP.

4. Frente de Liberación Popular (People's Liberation Front), Frente Obrero Catalán (Catalan Workers Front).



Mundo

JUAN ZURIARRAIN. Born in Bilbao. Twenty-six years old. Was a member of ETA in 1968-69. After going through the Comunismo group (1970), he participated in the founding of the LCR and later of the LC. Arrested in 1973 in Barcelona, he was sentenced to a year in jail by the TOP [Tribunal del Orden Público—Public Order Tribunal]. He does administrative work and is political secretary of the LC.

ing of which the PORE claims has already taken place). It occurred after the holding of the Ninth Congress of the Fourth International, which had taken place one year earlier.⁵ At that time, the followers of the line adopted tried to apply it to the real situations in their respective countries. From that experience emerged the LC, which disagreed with the official line.

This same difference over the line adopted led on the international level to the formation of a majority or Mandelian tendency (named after Ernest Mandel, its best-known leader) to which the LCR belonged, and a minority tendency with the American Hansen and his party at the head of it. The LC joined this tendency.⁶

At its third congress (see box), the LC adopted a political line calling for a united front or workers alliance. Such an alliance would be formed by all forces in the

5. Actually the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International took place in 1969—IP.

6. This a garbled reference to the International Majority and the Leninist Trotskyist Faction, the two main groupings in the Fourth International or in parties sympathizing with its objectives, now debating differences over policies. Ernest Mandel is a prominent leader of the IMT and Joseph Hansen of the LTF—IP.



The central organ is *Combate*, a fortnightly publication selling for fifteen pesetas. It has a press run of 8,000 to 10,000 copies and is distributed by the members (who sell 60 percent of what they distribute and give away the rest).

The political-theoretical organ is *Contra la Corriente*, which they are hoping soon to make a monthly. It deals with themes of more or less current interest.

Another, more theoretical organ is *Cuadernos contra la Corriente*, which reprints classics.

The publication they put out in Catalonia is *L'Espuma*, which does not come out regularly. In Euzkadi they put out *Korrontearren aurka*, also irregularly.

workers movement, by the PSOE⁷ and forces to its left. "With the hegemony of the PSOE and PCE,⁸ all their unstable satellites would enter," said Zuriarrain, like "the MC, PTE, and ORT.⁹ Trade-union forces, revolutionary nationalists, and so on, would also be components of it."

The LC holds that such a formation is not an immediate prospect, but "as the people see the disadvantages of their organizations being allied to the bourgeoisie,¹⁰ currents will begin to appear within it [the *Convergencia Democrática*] in support of our policy."

The workers alliance must propose a general strike as the way to install a provisional government that would guarantee the necessary elections for a constituent assembly.

The originality of the LC's proposal lies in the composition they propose for this provisional government. It must be formed by no less than the PCE and the PSOE, "because they are the two majority parties most representative now of the working class; thus they have the greatest responsibility in the advance toward socialism."

The current pact of the PCE and the PSOE with the bourgeoisie and the unlikelihood that they will change their tactics is answered with the same argumentation.

"This proposal is made on the basis of the fact that they are the majority and of the need to avoid a vacuum of power after the general strike. It also flows from the need to form a workers government."

The constituent assembly formed after the elections would take charge of drafting an adequate constitution. The resulting workers government, because of the advance of the mass movement, would have four main tasks—"to dismantle the Franco apparatus and all its institutions, to prepare a democratic program for the road toward a constituent government supported by other constituent governments of the nationalities, to immediately satisfy the needs of the masses, and to set in motion an anti-imperialist foreign policy."

Such a government, according to the LC, has the possibility of taking power.

"What we cannot do is wait for our party to become a mass party and then take power. That is why we propose what we do."

7. Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers party), the Social Democrats.

8. Partido Comunista de España (Spanish Communist party).

9. Movimiento Comunista (Communist Movement), Partido del Trabajo de España (Labor party of Spain), Organización Revolucionaria de Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Organization).

10. A reference to the popular-frontist *Convergencia Democrática* (Democratic Convergence), to which most of these organizations belong—*IP*.

As is understandable, the number of members in the LC is secret information. This is not the case with regard to their degree of activism.

"There are different levels of activism. They are not the same for a leader, a cadre—those we call professional revolutionists, which is not to be confused with those who work full time for the party—and for the rank-and file. The members of the Central Committee and also of various subordinate committees fall into the first category. Rank-and-file members, on the other hand, are only required to attend weekly meetings, to carry out activity in some of the trade-union federations—the UGT or the CNT,¹¹ to distribute our

11. Unión General de Trabajadores (General

newspaper, and to make a financial pledge."

The average pledge of members is 500 pesetas [US\$7.35] a month. From these pledges all expenses are paid. One of the most important expenses is for propaganda (see box). The number of full-timers and how they are financed remained undisclosed, along with other details that still cannot be revealed. In any case, all the parties have full-timers. The LC was not going to do less than the others. In all of them finances are a secret. The LC finds itself in the strange normalcy of the post-Franco era. □

Workers Union), Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores (National Confederation of Workers).

Fight Continues to Halt Execution of Murrays

Dublin Regime Stubs Toe on 'Emergency' Bill

By Gerry Foley

It was announced September 19 that the Irish president, Cearbhall O Dálaigh, had refused to sign the emergency powers bill pushed through both houses of the Dublin parliament early in the month. The bill was backed by an uneasy coalition of Fine Gael, the historically more pro-imperialist bourgeois party, and the Irish Labour party.

The president insisted on consulting with his Council of State to determine if there was enough doubt about the bill's constitutionality to refer it to the Supreme Court.

The new legislation had run into rough water in parliament and emerged badly compromised from the debate. The discussion on the various motions leading up to passage of the repressive package on September 10 brought out the contradictions of the weak Irish ruling class, as well as numerous skeletons from the closets of its shabby neocolonialist political circles.

Supporters of Prime Minister Liam Cosgrave's government proved noticeably nervous. This was reflected in a tendency toward provocative statements. For example, in the September 2 debate, John Kelly, Cosgrave's parliamentary secretary, said, as summarized in the *Irish Times* of the following day:

... there had been a very substantial shift between society and the State. The Irish State and Government had become, for the last 15 years or so, not more tyrannous, hardline or repressive, but a good deal less so. In fact, he thought the State had become timid in the last 15 years or thereabouts. ... "A single cockroach was enough to bring a torrent of comment on Mr. Cooney [minister for justice] recently," he added.

Since half the country was nowadays up on their hindlegs complaining, he thought it required much more courage to stand up for those establishments which were under threat. "The country is turning into an enormous plethora of protest groups of one kind or another, when these people should be down on their knees, thanking God for the freedom we enjoy here," he continued. Where, he asked, was there a freer country than this?

Mr. Charles Haughey, opposition (Fianna Fáil—FF) spokesman on health, interjected from the floor: "Russia."

There was a chorus of the pot calling the kettle black, with the government parties trying to defend themselves by recalling the repressive actions of the opposition party in the past against the left and militant nationalists.

The debate was given a sharper edge by the fact that the house included former radicals subjected in the past to repression.

Various deputies referred to events in the 1921-22 civil war in which leading members of Fianna Fáil, the bourgeois opposition party, were interned and beaten up or threatened with torture by the government of the present prime minister's father. Members of the other bourgeois party, Fine Gael, cited acts of violence by the precursors of Fianna Fáil.

In the course of the debate, Fianna Fáil deputies denounced the emergency bill in terms that could be expected to make it difficult to reach the kind of consensus among the bourgeois political forces needed to apply it, terms that apparently reflected a sharp split in the ruling class.

Fianna Fáil deputies tended to stress that a "political solution" was needed

rather than simple repression. This no doubt reflected the idea that because of their more nationalist image they can more effectively defuse the buildup of militant nationalist sentiment by a relatively larger use of maneuver. Some FF speakers claimed it was their government that succeeded in heading off the threat to "law and order" when Dublin faced real mass mobilizations in the past.

In the heat of the debate, speakers revealed what the government was really afraid of. During the September 7 debate, Conor Cruise O'Brien said, as summarized in the *Irish Times*:

... he believed that the present level of violence in the North, and here, was simply intended as a detonator for a vastly greater explosion of violence involving the whole island. He said deputies might think back to the level of violence in the Lebanon two years ago and how that violence between two communities there had since exploded to the extent of destroying one of the most prosperous countries in the Middle East.

Obviously, a mere increase in terrorist actions in the South could not produce what O'Brien feared. However, mass anti-imperialist mobilizations touched off in the South by Protestant pogroms in Derry and Belfast in 1969 and British repression in January 1972 threatened to destabilize the neocolonialist regime.

The Irish bourgeoisie is clearly divided over how to meet this danger, even though the division is only over tactics.

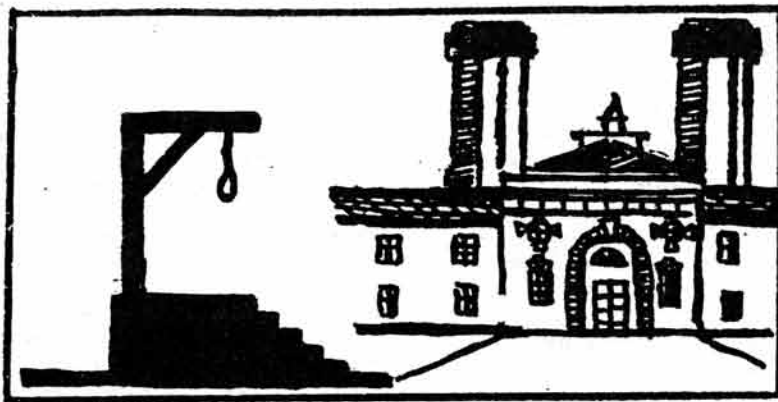
Nonetheless, both sides stressed their confidence that police would not misuse the power of internment to torture prisoners. This confidence came in the face of many recent complaints about how the police use their power. For example, two young persons, Noel and Marie Murray, were sentenced to hang June 9 by a special tribunal on charges of killing a policeman during a bank robbery. The only evidence against them was a statement the defendants claim was extorted by torture. Their story is given in a recent news release by the Murray Defence Committee:

In the case of Noel Murray he was hung upside down over a toilet and his head was kept in it while it was flushed and while police urinated into it. This type of treatment was carried on for over 18 hours until he made a verbal statement. In Marie Murray's case they simply let her hear the torture proceedings in the next cell until she was so convinced they were going to kill her husband that she was prepared to tell any lie to save him.

The Irish press has been prevented from commenting on this case by the authorities. The Murrays face rapid execution if their appeal is rejected by the Irish Supreme Court on November 1.

Like the emergency powers bill, the Murrays' case has become a test in the new escalation of repression. Now that the bill has suffered a setback, the possibilities are also improved for an effective cam-

MUST THEY HANG?



MARIE AND NOEL MURRAY, SENTENCED TO DIE BY HANGING, ON THE 9th JULY, IN THE SPECIAL CRIMINAL COURT, BY JUDGES PRINGLE, MARTIN AND CARROLL.

THEY WERE SENTENCED TO DEATH WITHOUT A JURY — THE ONLY EVIDENCE WAS STATEMENTS, EXTRACTED UNDER TORTURE BY THE POLICE.

THE ACCUSED WERE NEITHER PRESENT NOR LEGALLY REPRESENTED DURING TWO THIRDS OF THEIR 'TRIAL'.

POLICE PERJURY HAS CONDEMNED THEM TO DEATH

Leaflet circulated by Murray Defence Committee. Irish Supreme Court is to hear their appeal November 1.

paign to save their lives. Both cases are interconnected.

Fortunately, while the new repressive moves are dividing the bourgeoisie, there seems to be a possibility that they are uniting the workers and anti-imperialist movement in defense of democratic rights.

In its first response to the bill in its August 30 issue, the Provisional republican paper *An Phoblacht* claimed that the government intended to victimize militant organizations such as the one it represents and coddle "effete" ones such as the Communist party and Official IRA.

However, the editorial in the September 20 issue on the bill's censorship provisions avoided this sectarian stance and took a more correct position:

... it is essential for all of us to realise that a threat to one is a threat to all, whether it be to "The United Irishman" [Official IRA], "The

Irish Socialist" [pro-Moscow Stalinist], "The Starry Plough" [Irish Republican Socialist party], "Tuarisc" [Gaelic speakers movement], "Amarach" [community paper of Gaelic-speaking districts], or "Inniu" [right wing of the Irish-language movement].

Moreover, the editorial stressed the legal status of Provisional Sinn Féin:

Primarily, "An Phoblacht" is a political paper, the organ of one of the oldest political parties in Ireland, the only one with elected representatives in virtually every townland of each of the 32 counties, . . . at present.

The fact that *An Phoblacht* has taken such a position, along with the recent formation of an Irish Council on Civil Liberties, which has drawn broad support, are hopeful signs that a powerful movement may emerge in defense of democratic rights. □

British Seamen's Union Calls Off Strike

By Jim Atkinson and John Blackburn

LONDON—The executive committee of the National Union of Seamen (NUS) voted by a narrow margin September 22 to call off a planned strike for a pay raise barred under the Labour government's wage controls. Under heavy pressure from top leaders of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) and the Labour government, the leadership of the 38,000-member union agreed to accept improved fringe benefits in lieu of the pay increase.

The seamen wanted a £6 weekly wage rise starting last July—a demand which NUS leaders argued was in accord with the £6 limit operative under Phase One of Labour's pay policy, which was in force until August. But the TUC and the government disagreed. On July 14, and again on August 11, the TUC Economic Committee, which has acted as a sort of examining body for wage claims under the "social contract," ruled that the seamen could not have a wage rise until next January.

Two days after the TUC's final adverse ruling, the NUS National Executive Committee, facing mounting pressure from militant seamen, decided to ballot the union's membership on the advisability of taking some kind of industrial action to secure their pay claim.

On September 6, the results of the ballot were announced: by a slight majority the seamen had voted for industrial action. Immediately, 300 seamen at Felixstowe port jumped the gun on the union leadership and staged a twenty-four-hour wildcat walkout to pressure their leaders into calling a national strike. The following morning (September 8), the NUS executive voted unanimously for an all-out strike from three days thence.

The NUS leaders, however, had been cornered into a confrontation for which they had no stomach. On September 9, the *Guardian* reported that "Mr Slater, who is a member of the TUC General Council, went out of his way to deny that the strike was a challenge to the social contract." The dispute, he said, was only about "interpretation" of the government's wage controls. After all, the NUS annual conference had voted full support for Labour's pay restrictions last May.

But Slater's pleas of loyalty to the social contract cut little ice with either the TUC or the government. The impending strike threatened to undermine the social contract by pointing the way to other sectors of workers to challenge the wage controls. Eric Jacobs and John Fryer, writing in the September 12 issue of the *Sunday Times*

Business News, stressed the point: "If the seamen bent the rules, then the pressure for everyone else to do the same would be overwhelming, and the entire pay policy would be in ruins." On the other hand, if the government had tried to hold out against a prolonged seamen's strike the economic dangers for the ruling class and the government could have been immense.

But the government, in an unprecedented move on the eve of such a crucial strike, decided to take a back seat, leaving the TUC to meet with the seamen's leaders and force a surrender—a mark of the government's high confidence in the TUC leaders and a striking example of the prominent role now played by the trade-union bureaucracy under the social contract as a direct agent of government policy.

In a September 12 article entitled "Seamen: How the TUC put the boot in," the *Observer's* labour correspondent Robert Taylor gave a picture of how the TUC leaders went to work on the seamen's leaders. "There was no doubting the TUC's determination to drive home to Jim Slater, the volatile NUS general secretary, and his executive just what their surprise call for an all-out industrial action would mean.

"By God, we'll make sure no union supports you," is what TUC General Secretary Len Murray told them. . . ."

Taylor reported that "at no point was there any question that the TUC would concede the seamen's case: the aim was to force a NUS surrender, not to reach a bargain."

According to Gordon Norris, a member of the NUS eighteen-member executive, the TUC leaders threatened to expel the seamen from TUC membership if the strike went ahead.

Under this pressure, the NUS executive voted by 8-7 September 11 to postpone the strike for 15 days. After eleven more days of intensive talks, first with the TUC and then with the shipowners, the strike was called off and a settlement reached providing fringe gains allowable under the government's wage controls.

The crisis had proved especially acute for the TUC since, embarrassingly, the original strike decision had been announced right in the middle of the TUC's annual week-long congress where a reaffirmation of support for the social contract was the main point on the agenda.

Meeting in the seaside resort of Brighton, the delegates (who represented Britain's eleven million organised workers)

voted overwhelmingly to renew the social contract for another three years. The main resolution adopted called for a return to "free collective bargaining" after Phase Two expires next August, but said that this should be "planned" and "orderly" to avoid a "wages free-for-all." As the TUC general secretary, Len Murray, put it in his keynote speech to the congress on September 8: "The move next year towards a more flexible system must not lurch into instability but be an orderly process: otherwise we shall cast away all that we have gained."

The congress opposed the government's public spending cuts, which have hit housing, education, food subsidies, and health care, but charted no course of action to get the cuts reversed. With regard to unemployment (now higher than at any time since before World War II), the congress merely sought to shift the problem on to the backs of foreign workers by calling for controls on imports, a policy which does much to put wind in the sails of the racist propagandists of the far-right National Front and National party.

Singing the praises of the social contract, Murray claimed that "all in all, trade unionists have gained more from this government in the last two and a half years than from any other government"—at a time when there are 1.5 million jobless, social facilities are being stripped back by public spending cuts, and prices in August were up 13.8 percent over a year ago.

With this record, the seamen are unlikely to be the only group of workers to threaten to puncture the social contract. "The barter price of wage restraint," *Times* labour editor Paul Routledge reminded the paper's readers on September 6, "was supposed to be price control and more jobs. Prices are bound to rise with the phasing out of food subsidies, and registered unemployment has reached 1,500,000 and is still rising. The reckoning cannot be postponed for ever. . . ."

Unemployment is hitting especially hard at public sector workers, and it is from the public sector unions that the first signs of action on the jobs front are coming. The National Union of Public Employees (NUPE), the country's fifth largest union with over 600,000 members, has called a demonstration and lobby of Parliament for November 17. NUPE's London Divisional Council has called on its members to strike on November 17. And Britain's largest civil service union, the Civil and Public Service Association (CPSA), has thrown its support behind the demonstration and called a one-day strike for November 17.

November 17 affords an opportunity to start assembling the forces needed to mount a challenge to the government's economic policies and the TUC's collaboration (the social contract) upon which they depend. □

The Shah's Executioner

By Reza Baraheni

[Reza Baraheni, Iran's most prominent modern poet and literary critic, was arrested by the shah's police in September 1973 upon his return from a year of teaching in the United States. His alleged crime was the publication of his book *Masculine History*, and of his article "The Culture of the Oppressor and the Culture of the Oppressed," in which he demanded cultural autonomy for Iran's ethnic minorities.

"I was in prison," he writes, "and that in solitary confinement, for 102 days at the end of 1973. . . . The prison was called the 'Joint Committee for the Campaign against Terrorism in Iran.' But I met no terrorists in this prison. I discovered that the name was just a disguise to conceal the fact that most of the prisoners were students, professors and government employees." Baraheni was released as a result of protests from groups such as Amnesty International; the international association of Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists and Novelists (PEN); and the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).¹ He now lives in exile.

[The following appears in revised form as an introduction to his *God's Shadow: Prison Poems*, which has been published by the Indiana University press in Bloomington. We have taken the text from the *Index on Censorship*,² vol. 5, no. 1, Spring 1976.]

* * *

The pistol in the hand of the tall bearded young man was aimed at me when I pulled down the car window after I came to the stoplight at the end of Queen Elizabeth Boulevard. It was a dirty day, a dirty crossroad and the dirtiest hour of the blazing sun of Teheran, and the young man's complexion was no less dirty. But he was recklessly cool. When he lifted his dark glasses to his sweating forehead with his left hand, he did not bother at all about the cars shooting in all directions and the people rushing to the scene, to where its armed protagonist was standing in the open sun sweating.

"If you make a move, I'll blow your brains out," he said through yellowing teeth. He thrust his hand inside the car, opened the door expertly and sat by my

side with the pistol still pointed at my ribs. "Move on and stop on the other side." "But who are you?" I asked as soon as I could ask questions, although I could already guess. "I am an agent of the SAVAK," he mumbled, "and you have to come with us." The people had already disappeared, seeing the pistol, and the cars moved as naturally as if nothing had happened. I stopped the car on the other side, and then I saw three people in a car parked ahead of me. One of them leaped out and ran towards my car, opened the driver's door, and pushing me forward against the steering wheel, settled himself in the back seat. I knew that he also had a pistol in his hand. The man at the steering wheel in the other car opened the door, came out, and turned to us shouting: "Let's go and inspect his house." And then, turning to me in particular, he said in the most sarcastic tone I had heard in my life: "Behave yourself, Professor!" The word "professor," which I had never used in my academic career, used now by this man from the Secret Police, sounded like a divine curse in my ears. My wife, my tiny brothers-in-law and my parents-in-law were waiting for me on the top of the stairs when I went up with three of the four following me. I winked at my wife, telling her: "We have guests." "But why didn't you say so?" protested my wife. "I thought we were all going to eat out." The men could not wait for any explanation on my part. We went in. One of the men closed the door and the inspection of the house started right away while everybody watched.

They knew what they were doing. In less than an hour they had turned the whole flat into a pile of garbage heaped in the middle of the rooms. Even our bedroom. And even children's toys were torn open and inspected. The better educated of the three, the driver, went through all the shelves of the Persian books, picking out one here and another there and putting them on the desk. When they finished, the flat was like a house after an earthquake or an air raid.

"Let's go," said the driver to me after he had successfully identified himself to us as the leader. My wife wanted to say something in protest, but she gave up as soon as she saw the helplessness in my eyes. I wanted to have time to think, and also give my wife all the money I had with me.

"Are you sure I'm the man you are looking for?" I asked. "What do you mean?" asked the leader. "Nothing. I

simply wanted you to know that there's another Dr Baraheni besides me." They wouldn't bother to go after my older brother, who was a Professor of Psychology in the University of Teheran. He was a quiet man and had never said or written anything against the authorities.

The man spoke into his walkie-talkie. I took the money out of my pocket and handed it to my wife. "Your first name is Reza, isn't it?" "Yes," I said. He spoke into the walkie-talkie again: "We have got the project. We'll be there pretty soon." I was their "project." He turned to me: "It's you we want. Let's go." Then he looked at my wife. "Madam," he said, "we'll bring the Professor back in two hours." Nobody said a word. We went down the stairs in a hurry. We got in the car, their car this time. They blindfolded me after we had driven for some time. Now I only knew that we were driving to the centre of the city. It took us about an hour. How could I go back home in an hour or two?

Deception, treachery and lies have been at the very root of all oppressions. Their two hours means 102 days, and sometimes the whole of eternity. And once you are out of their prisons, that is, if you are out at all, you are so different that neither you nor anyone who knew you before can tell for sure whether it's actually you who have come forth from the dead. Then there is the mental torture, the nightmare of things that took place while you were there, that come back to you in the form of those very elements of frustration, the scissors of castration, and you simply let yourself go down the slope until you break yourself against an idea, a rock of survival and revival, and you put to yourself the question which has been lying dormant in your mind: Why me and not the rest of those happy-go-lucky professors, businessmen? Why did I go to prison and all the rest of the people did not? Why are there only 32,000 political prisoners, and not 32,000,000? The answer comes to you gradually: When there are 32,000, there are also 32,000,000. Everybody is in prison, some actively and some potentially. Your prison is only a microcosm of the whole country. The prison is the society condensed, the whole of its history and sense of time in a canned, encapsulated form. But first a bit of story, rather than history.

They took everything away from me. When they blindfolded me again, I had no belt, no shoelaces, no socks, no handkerchief, no pen, pencil or paper. They also made a list of the books they had taken from my flat and forced me to sign a statement saying that those dangerous books belonged to me. Then I was taken out again, pushed through several doors, all iron, and finally we seemed to have arrived at our destination. I was told, "put your foot up, put your foot down," each time we went through a door. The final door opened with the pulling of bolts and a hammer-like sound. I was pushed in, the

1. 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.—IP

2. 21 Russell Street, London WC2B 5HP.—IP

blindfold was removed and I found myself in what I was later to learn was Dungeon No. 14.

I was still a fool, thinking that they couldn't do this to me, that they would come any minute to apologise for what they had done. But subsequent events proved that I too, like my nation, had been taught to believe in miracles. They came in at about eight o'clock and took me out, blindfolded and handcuffed, and again we passed through several iron doors. Finally, when they took the handkerchief away, I was facing a man who told me to sit down and answer his questions. I was accused of having relations with the Confederation of Iranian Students Abroad. I denied the accusation. All this time I had been hearing noises, all kinds of noises, people screaming and asking for help, and others swearing at the tops of their voices, and the sound of whips and clubs being swung and the moaning of men and women everywhere. Where was I? And I actually went ahead and asked the man where I was. "None of your business, you son of a bitch," the man shouted. "Here the questions come from us, not from traitors like you!" And there were all sorts of questions dealing with my entire life, with the emphasis laid on the last twenty years, my whole literary career. The guard was ordered to take me back to my cell. I was blindfolded and handcuffed again and taken back to the dungeon.

It was a 4 by 8 feet hole with nothing on the ancient tiles. The light shone in through a small windowlet barred on both sides. The shouting was actually coming from all over the place. It seemed as if a great religious procession was moving on all the floors. The sound of whispering, rather indiscreet for this sort of situation, came from the other cells. Sometimes there would be loud moaning or sobbing, and generally when the iron door of the block was opened and shut there would come open wailing and crying. Nothing except prison sounds could be heard. Next night I was to join the ranks of the doomed, underground wailers and mourners. I put my jacket under my head as a pillow and tried to go to sleep. But thoughts of outside and the screams of inside wouldn't let me. In less than six hours I had been disconnected from the rest of the world like a nobody, like a termite on the verge of being squeezed and trampled by anonymous forces. The world had thrust out its hidden bowels and swallowed me up. But somehow everything looked like a bad dream, a dirty joke, an allegory, the meaning of which one cannot grasp except through allusions and inferences, and when the meaning is about to be disclosed, one collapses under its looming ugliness, or simply ceases to exist.

I believe I had just closed my eyes when suddenly the door was flung open with a snapping and banging that sent me springing from the floor to the door. It was



Chuck Fishman

REZA BARAHENI

morning. I hadn't realised it. Days come and go in prison without the prisoner becoming conscious of the light of day. A new guard was standing in front of me with the blindfold hanging from his shoulder. "Get up," he said, "and put your shoes on." I was taken out blindfolded and handcuffed. I was aware, through the blindfold, of the faint light of the sun. When I was being taken through the courtyard, I heard somebody shout in an imperious voice: "Bring that son of a cuckold here!" I was pushed into a room and the blindfold was removed. There was a group of people in suits and ties, and several others in sweaters, and then several others with blindfolds and handcuffs. These last people couldn't stand properly. They seemed to be suffering from something in their shoulders, legs, feet heads and hands.

"You see this son of a cuckold? He is much more dangerous than all the terrorists, the communists, the Fedaeyeen, the Crusaders³ and the socialists. It's because of this son of a bitch that we have all these cells full of students. They are all his students. This pimp is responsible for the people in all our prisons. You cuckold, how dare you write those things against the government? Is it a pen you are holding in your hand or a spade? What is it that turns you into a howling beast in the Iranian press? Isn't a university professorship enough for you? Your father was a porter in the bazaars of Tabriz! Didn't this present government educate you so that

3. A group of Iranian activists, generally known as Crusaders for People's Freedom.

you could become a professor? What else do you want, you son of a bitch?"

The man saying these words was bald, very well dressed, and his eyes were so nervous and red that I thought a few other sentences from him, and he would find his eyes leaping out of their sockets and falling on the floor at his feet. Before he finished the last sentence he took long, hurried and nervous steps towards me and started slapping me on the face. It seemed that he could not stop himself from shouting when he was slapping. There was total harmony between the two actions: "What the hell is the matter with you, you son of a whore? What's this beard you have grown? You want to look like a terrorist leader? I'll spit on this beard of yours, and when we get rid of you, I'll come personally and shit on your grave. Didn't I shit on Al-Ahmad's⁴ grave? Well, I'll come and shit on your grave too!"

I wanted to find a minute of time and explain a few things, but he wouldn't give me a chance. He was busy using his hands on my face and his feet on my lower parts, swearing at me and my whole family, in particular my wife and daughter, my mother and sister. When he was tired he turned to the guard who had brought me to him: "Go and get someone to shave his beard." The man arrived, but I later found out that he was not the barber. He was a short blue-eyed man who was the prison nurse and was called "Doctor" by the prisoners. He was a pitiless man who wouldn't even give them an aspirin. He had no razors available to shave me. The bald man wouldn't take no for an answer. He slapped me twice more and ordered the man to shave me with his scissors. The man took out a pair of surgical scissors from his sack, led me to the side of the pool, sat me down and started cutting my beard. Whenever his tiny scissors were not a match for my thick and long beard, he would virtually pull the hair out very hard with the ends of the scissors. Then I heard the bald man shout from the room: "Take the cuckold into Otagh-e Tamshiyat!" I had never heard of this combination of words, half Turkish and half Arabic. Literally it would mean: the room in which you make people walk, but I soon found out that it actually meant the torture chamber. I was blindfolded again and led by two of the guards, one on each side, up a long flight of stairs. When I was on the third floor, I was forced to pass through something which resembled a leather-made curtain or perhaps a tunnel. This was used for mystification purposes. The prisoner should be kept in the dark all the time. The curtain led to an iron door, too small even for my size. In fact I didn't think it was a room at first. The leather-made tunnel, the small iron door and the

4. Jalal Al-Ahmad, my friend and a great writer, who mysteriously died five years ago. Even the SAVAK people would sometimes agree that he was killed by the SAVAK.

blindfold gave me the feeling that I was going to be buried alive. So tight and narrow and suffocating did everything seem that I was already gasping for breath. The order came from a metallic voice: "Take the blindfold off." One of the guards untied the blindfold, and I found myself surrounded by four other men in addition to the guards.

I had never seen the faces of these men. But they reminded me of the typical thick-necked Iranian *Jahel* (meaning an ignorant, he is the Iranian version of Macho), fat and tall and dirty at the same time, shrewd, irrevocable and irresistibly virile and strong. In fact the double chin, the protruding globe of a belly rising right from below the double chin, the yellowing teeth with one or two teeth studded in gold, and the fists ever ready to rain their blows upon their opponent, and the instruments hanging from the walls, convinced me at a glance that I was in for something I had not expected in my life. It was a sudden revelation with both sudden and gradual consequences. What were they going to do to me? I asked myself. And the funny thing was that they called each other "Doctor." They kept repeating, Dr Azudi, Dr Hosseini, etc. . . . It was only later I came to realize that by using a university title, they provide themselves, rather unconsciously, with a certain type of legitimacy to deal with university students, school and university teachers. After all, what degree could be higher than a doctorate? The Commander of the Committee, General Zandipour, called himself a professor, and in fact all the rest of the torturers and even the prisoners considered him to be one. But he had very strange tastes for a professor. When I saw him the first time, after I was carried down on the back of one of the guards to the second floor to be interrogated, the general appeared in a civilian suit, and as a symbol of his professorship carried the second volume of Sholokhov's *Quiet Flows the Don* in Persian. The general approached like a strict schoolmaster and suddenly told me: "When the Middle-East Conflict broke out, I wrote a book, but the Censorship stopped its publication and all its editions were taken and burned. Do you think its fair?" "No," I retorted almost by instinct, "but who are you?" "None of your business," he burst out, almost spitting in my face and terrifying me with his Kafkaesque paradoxicality. But back to the chamber.

"Tie him up," Dr Azudi ordered his men, and turning to me he said: "Go and lie down." There was a bed on the floor. There were also two other iron beds, one on top of the other, in another corner of the room. These last two, I later learned, were used to burn the backs, generally the buttocks, of the prisoners. They tie you to the upper bed on your back and with the heat coming from a torch or a small heater, the burn your back in order to extract information. Sometimes the burning is extended to the

spine, as a result of which paralysis is certain. There were also all sizes of whips hanging from nails on the walls. Electric prods stood on little stools. The nail-plucking instrument stood on the far side. I could only recognise these devices upon later remembrance and through the descriptions of others, as well as by personal experience. The gallows stood on the other side. They hang you upside down and then someone beats you with a club on your legs, or uses the electric prod on your chest or your genitals, or they lower you down, pull your pants up and one of them tries to rape you while you are still hanging upside down. Evidently great rapists, with very ingenious imaginative powers, have invented this style to satisfy their thirst for sadism. There were in the other torture rooms worse instruments which other prisoners would describe: the handcuffs that break your shoulders in less than two hours of horrible torture; the electric shock instrument, apparently a recent introduction into the Iranian torture industry; and the pressure device which imposes pressure upon the skull to the extent that you either tell them what they want or let your bones break into pieces.

Most of the horrible instruments were located on the second floor. I was not taken there, but the office of my interrogator, Dr Rezvan, was next to this chamber, and one day when he was called to another office for some sort of consultation, I walked into the room, glanced round it and then went back. It resembles an ancient Egyptian tomb and is reserved for those suspected of being terrorists or accused of having made attempts on the life of the Shah or a member of the Royal Family. Not every prisoner goes through the same process, but generally, this is what happens to a prisoner of the first importance. First he is beaten by several torturers at once, with sticks and clubs. If he doesn't confess, he is hanged upside down and beaten; if this doesn't work, he is raped; and if he still shows signs of resistance, he is given electric shock which turns him into a howling dog; and if he is still obstinate, his nails and sometimes all his teeth are pulled out, and in certain exceptional cases, a hot iron rod is put into one side of the face to force its way to the other side, burning the entire mouth and the tongue. A young man was killed in this way. At other times he is thrown down on his stomach on the iron bed and boiling water is pumped into his rectum by an enema. Other types of torture are used which have never been heard of in other despotic systems. A heavy weight is hung from the testicles of the prisoner, maiming him in only a few minutes. Even the strongest prisoners have been crippled in this way. In the case of the women, the electric baton is moved over the naked body with the power increased on the breasts and the interstices of the vagina. I have heard women screaming and laughing hysterically, shouting, "Don't do it, I'll tell you."

Rape is also a common practice. Thirteen-year-old girls have been raped in order to betray their parents, brothers or relatives. Once, looking down from Dr Rezvan's office, I saw a five- or six-year-old girl placed in front of several prisoners in handcuffs to disclose their identities. Any time she would resist, she would be slapped or her ears would be pulled hard until she would cry and scream. She seemed to have no knowledge of what was happening, and she seemed to know none of the men.

I lay down on my stomach, but was immediately ordered by Azudi to lie on my back. My hands and feet were tied to the two ends of the bed by the guards. Azudi sat by me on the bed. I didn't know his name then, and later when I described him to the other prisoners, they told me what his name was. I also found out he was the head-torturer and even the other torturers were afraid of him. He was only responsible to the bald man who later identified himself as Hosseinzadeh and told me that he had been a student of mine, and had received a "D" from me.

Azudi started beating me hard on my mouth saying, "Tell me." I had forgotten the names of friends, writers, printing-house workers and those whom I had taken into my confidence on my books and articles. "What should I tell you?" I asked him. "We know everything, only we want you to tell us everything yourself!" "But I know nothing. You ask me questions and I'll tell you everything!" "I'll beat the shit out of you, if you don't tell me yourself!" he said. Then he took hold of the lower parts of my ribs and started to squeeze the internal organ he was holding in his hand. Was it my stomach, liver, kidney, or perhaps my heart, he was holding in his hand? I have never been able to understand the human body properly, but at that moment, I thought he was holding my whole life in his hand. "I've done nothing! I've done nothing! I've got nothing to tell you." I mumbled inaudibly. "You have and you'll tell us!" grumbled Azudi, and then without turning his head to the others, he said: "Parvizkhan, go ahead!" The flogging started at once. It was a thick plaited whip, made of wire with a knot at the end of it. The whip would go up, curl round the man's head and descend with a whacking sound right on the soles of my feet. The man was a professional. He never missed. When the whip came down, it was like a huge hot charcoal, live, burning and tearing at the soles of the feet, crippling the whole legs. I was screaming at the top of my voice. Now I could understand the meaning of the screams of the other people the night before. These screams stayed with me for 102 days, and when I left the prison, they didn't leave me. Once, months later, when I called my interrogator to tell him that I wanted to leave Teheran for a few days, as soon as he picked up the receiver, the same nauseating, pleading and pitiable screams

could be heard over the telephone. The telephone number was 320773. Everyone is welcome to ring up and hear some genuine screaming.

The flogging went on for some time, then Azudi called out to the other man to stop, and when the man did, Azudi placed his large iron fist on my cheek: "Tell us, if you don't want to die! Tell us!" My feet were burning with pain: "Why don't you believe it? I don't have anything to tell you. If I had anything, I would tell you." He got up, grabbed the whip from the other man and started flogging me all over. I started screaming again. He was so furious that he seemed mad at the kind of profession he had: "You son of a bitch, do you think I'll be satisfied with the kind of lie you're giving me? I've killed more than a hundred men on this bed." He got tired and threw the whip to the other man, who caught it in the air, and immediately started to work on my feet again. Flogging is a kind of permanent torture. It is ever present. Every interrogator carries a whip in his hand when he walks around the prison, or takes down confessions, or forces the prisoners to put down the right kind of words.

Azudi came back and sat down. He told the man who was standing by my head: "Go ahead!" The man immediately obeyed and began flogging me on my hands. This whip was smaller and made of leather rather than wire. But it wasn't flat. It really hurt. I could hear my own screams reflected from the prison walls. The screaming of other prisoners reached my ears too. Voices came even from inside the water pool. I later found that some of the prisoners were thrown into the pool and flogged from all sides by the torturers. These voices intermingled, forming something like a chorus for an Iranian Passion Play. Azudi himself began his murderous performance on my jaws and ribs. These seemed to be his favourite places on the human body. Struggling, I managed to get one of my feet out of the rope. The beating and flogging stopped as if something had gone wrong with the whole ritual. The guard put my foot back into the noose, and my adversaries resumed their brutality and continued until I fainted. I had exhausted my breath with my screams, and apparently they had also got a little tired, because when I regained consciousness, the whipper was wiping away his sweat and Azudi was sitting on one of the stools watching me.

He came and sat by me on the bed. He put his thick fleshy hand on my cheek and patted me like a child. There was something sexual in the way he did this. Then he raised his hand as high as he could and slapped me on the same cheek: "You see, you son of a bitch! We have the tape of your speech against the Shah in the States, we have all the things you said against the White Revolution, and now we have a written document in the paper. We

have all your books also, documents which show that you have had no intention except to overthrow the rule of the Shah. You are a traitor, and you know what we do with traitors? We fuck them first and then we kill them."

"But why don't you send me to court?" I said. "Don't you think that if you have all these documents against me, you can easily lock me up?"

"This is the court. There is no other court. I'm the judge, the jury, the court and the executioner. You know what they call me here? Tell him, Parvizkhan!"

"Executioner to His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah, the Light of the Aryans."

Then Azudi added: "I'll pull your tongue out of your mouth and I'll break your fingers one by one, so that you won't be able to say anything, or write anything." Saying this he took the little finger of my left hand and broke it. I started screaming and the flogging began again, and again I fainted. I had been given about fifty beatings on my feet and hands, but my feet hurt worse.

When I woke again Azudi was still sitting by me. There were now two whippers, one on either side.

"Are you married?" Azudi asked.

"Yes," I said.

"Is your wife an American?"

"No, she isn't," I said.

"Is she an Iranian?"

"Yes," I said.

"Then I'll have her brought here and I'll have the guards fuck her right in front of your eyes."

This was no joke. I had heard stories of the kind, but I never knew that the problems might concern me one day. I didn't know what to say. I looked away. I felt ashamed as if I had said these words to Azudi.

"You have a daughter, don't you?" he asked.

"Yes."

"How old is she?"

"Thirteen."

"How nice. Guard? How would you like to fuck a girl of thirteen?"

The guard didn't say anything. The torturers laughed.

"Are you going to tell us now?"

"But why don't you understand? I've got nothing to tell you!"

"Are you going to tell us who told you to write that article?"

I knew he meant the article I had written about twenty days earlier. The article was called, "The Culture of the Oppressor and the Culture of the Oppressed." I had tried to analyse the oppressive nature of the government's cultural policies, and the article had been interpreted as an attack on the Shah's attitude towards the peasants and the workers, his racist policies in relation to the plight of the large and small minorities in Iran.

But I asked: "Which article do you mean?"

"The one in which you say something

about the Turks in Iran."

"No, I wrote that article by myself. I write all my articles myself."

"Did anyone see the article before it was published?"

I had read it to several friends, and several others had asked me to write my opinion on the present cultural situation, and there were a few friends in the press who had given me encouragement, but I couldn't possibly say anything about these people. Their names I would not disclose even now. They had families and children like myself, and some of them had been in prison months before me and they had come out and were working here and there. The government had not been able to arrest them simply because their names had not been given away under torture.

"No, nobody saw it before I published it in the paper. But the Censorship of the Ministry of Information must have seen it, before it was published."

He knew that I was thrusting my guilt for the publication of the article upon the shoulders of the government censorship, and almost asking him to get hold of the man in charge and torture him. They started again. This time two people were flogging me, one on either side of the bed. When one of the whips was up, the other was down on the soles of my feet. I was screaming again, but not with the same voice and energy. Azudi got up himself, took hold of another whip and started flogging me all over again. Then he suddenly got so hysterical that he took me by my sides and tried to raise me to my feet, but he couldn't. The guards and the others helped him by untying me from the bed. Azudi lifted me up and pushed me to the corner of the room: "You cuckold! I am going to kill you this very minute!" I couldn't stand on my feet and fell down. He lifted me up again and then took a pistol out of his belt. This was a smaller pistol than the pistol of the man who had arrested me. He put the pistol to my temple. The other torturers started kicking me, shouting: "Behave yourself! Stand properly!" The pistol against my temple gave me the horror of my life. I thought this was it, the end. Still, almost by instinct, I thought I should do something to save my life. He took the pistol away, put in a bullet, and held the pistol back to my temple. I had almost forgotten the pain in my hands and feet, my mouth, ribs and internal organs. I was sweating all over. Was I also pissing? "Tell me!" He was shouting at the top of his voice, calling me all the obscenities he had collected in his torturer's vocabulary. I had contracted my face, the skin of my cheek and temple waiting for a miracle to save me. I must have looked ridiculous, because the others were simply laughing. Then the trigger was pulled, or so I felt, and I went down with my head blown off. My head knew that it was blown off. I fell down. When I gained consciousness again, I was being carried down on the back of the guard.

Later, one of the guards told me that one of the torturers had imitated the sound of shooting with his mouth and hands, before I had fainted.

This is not the place to say everything about Iranian prisons. The entire story of my prison life and a detailed analysis of oppression in my country require separate treatment.⁵ I have spoken of the above things to assure the reader that the poems included in this volume deal with genuine experience. They are not imagined, abstract or ideological poems. Their mere brutality is their imagery. I could have thought about these experiences before I went to prison, but I could not have written about them. I had to see everything with my own eyes. I had to belong to the ranks of the people, tortured, maimed, dismembered, and actually castrated, at least temporarily, in order to put these images into words. If there is a title I could give them, it would be "Poems of Factuality." I am not using the word "documentary," because I think it is a good word for works like *Marat-Sade* or *In Cold Blood*, wherein the author uses documents in order to create a verisimilitude, without himself being or having been personally involved in brutal actions which have taken place because of him and for his benefit. I am not using the word "reality" either, because the word has become an obsolete coin in the West, and has lost its meaning through abuse and misuse.

These poems are factual in that they belong to the facts of my life, or those of my prison-mates or my countrymen. In a paradoxical way one should say that they are so factual that they stand for themselves and not as the poems of a poet. The images gathered around each other as if the poet was not there, as if they had been charged by themselves, starting to convey their messages to each other without the mediation of the person involved as an agent. Between the actions and the agent of these actions, there was nothing abstract. Even the subjective was concrete here. The prison has a structure of its own. It looks like no other building outside. At least that is the case with Iranian prisons. This structure is also the structure of the prisoner's mind. After the prisoner, or the imprisoned poet, comes out of prison, there is no way for him to escape this structure. It is said that an addict gets used to having a new cerebral structure. The reason he can never cease to be an addict is that he can never escape that structure. It is the same with a man who has been in a torture chamber. That gory revelation of pain, or rather, that epiphany of historical emasculation and castration, haunts him in his dreams and awakenings. The world becomes small, dwindling into an inhuman, beetle-like thing, as if the human body and mind had been pressed hard and

squeezed a million times smaller, but the structure had retained its earlier divisions. It is a kind of Kafka-esque metamorphosis in which, instead of an insect, a microbe had started to pass judgement on the human predicament. In only a few hours, the torture chamber takes you back to the primeval forest with fear as the only reigning monarch. The meaning of life departs, and you are suspended in a stupid void in which you are totally alone, desperately alone.

The torture does not end the first day or the first week, even if it may cease to be operational for some time. The torture becomes deeply psychological as time goes on. You are taken out to be shot and you are not. But it takes you two hours of absolute horror to realise that. And then this very action begins to have such an awesome reality in your mind that, later, even after you are released, it becomes part and parcel of your maimed subconscious, as if you had genetically inherited it from a subhuman ancestor and could do nothing about it. You hear of people killed under torture, or an agent is thrown in with you who gives you the details about someone else's death at the hands of the agents. Then the next day or night you are taken out and dealt with in the same fashion, with only one difference: they don't kill you this time. The hell is with you until you disappear, and then, somehow, it moves on in the eternity of its own infernal presence, because, after all, it might go on living after you cease to exist. Then the writer becomes the disseminator of horror and torture. Because what is human culture after all, if it is not the presence of ages of pain accumulated in the mind of contemporary man? But the contradiction of writing lies exactly here: you write because you think that you can get rid of torture through writing about it. That may be the first urge. But the second urge arises from a more humane source. You write because you think that torture and oppression were made by man and can only be destroyed by man.

Having come out of that hell, I know that there is nothing supernatural about it. It is a hell made by one man for another man, and it should be destroyed by man. Thus the actual horror, having become factual in one's words, turns to the source of its actuality again, in the form of the negation of that actuality, in the guise of an opposition.

I am not so simple-minded as to turn my suffering into the formula of an ideological equation. I am simply saying this. The Iranian spirit, having suffered centuries of oppression under the most brutal structure of monarchy, which I have elsewhere called "Masculine History," is growing degenerate, with additional fascist elements introduced by the present régime: Aryanomania, anti-semitism, strict Persian nationalism at the expense of the suppression of other nationalities in Iran, emphasis on the Persian race as a superior

race, the militarisation of the country with a military budget higher than any similar budget in the whole history of the Middle East and eating up a dozen times more than all the funds used for other purposes, the suppression of all opposition in the country, the introduction of censorship as the legitimate right of the SAVAK (the Secret Police), the existence of more than half a million secret police and an equal number of informers, the bureaucratisation of the whole system—these are among the recent contributions of the present régime to the classical apparatus of oppression. Iran will suddenly burst out, in the same way Germany did thirty-five years ago, and bring the whole of the Middle East to its knees. All the weapons purchased recently were bought in order to dominate and expand. When the Shah and his Prime Minister say they will revive the ancient glories of Cyrus and Darius, they actually mean that they wish to rule over the Arabs, the Afghans, the Pakistanis and the whole of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. How can they do it? By buying weapons and training men and women to use them. The Iranian Army is the strongest military force in the area, and the SAVAK is the most efficient intelligence, counter-intelligence and espionage system in the history of the Oriental peoples. Everything is ready so that in almost a decade you will have war breaking out from the Iranian borders.

There isn't one single paper in Iran that criticizes the system. The people have been given the impression that it is a great sacrilege to say even the slightest thing against the Royal Family, the Army, the SAVAK, the Cabinet and any of the institutions that have something to do with the state machine. The system has been made sacred. Every five or six weeks a show of treachery is staged on the National Television, run by the Queen's cousin, as a result of which young men who have done nothing are taken and shot. All the good men have been thrown out of the universities and the ministries. The people have been degraded to such an extent that a year ago the government fed them frozen meat, years old, which when melted, smelled of decomposed carcasses with worms in them. Nobody said a word because the Royal Family had something to do with it. People froze to death recently in the richest oil country of the world, and that in the second biggest city (Tabriz) in the country. Nobody said a word.

Worse than all this is the spiritual impact of oppression. The government emasculates men. They can only retaliate by emasculating each other or their families. Whole families have recently been killed by the fathers of those very families. Oppression comes from above, devastating whatever it finds in its way. The monarchy not only oppresses, but creates oppressors. But this again requires a separate treatment, and this is not the place for it. □

5. In fact the above pages are a summary of what happened to me. The whole story appears in my prison account.

Swedish Social Democrats Defeated at Polls

By Gerry Foley



OLOF PALME

For the first time in forty-four years, a coalition of bourgeois parties won a large enough percentage in the September 19 Swedish elections to form an openly procapitalist government.

The defeat of "Swedish socialism" brought cheers from capitalist circles both in Sweden and around the world. A September 20 Associated Press dispatch reported:

"Some United States officials expressed quiet satisfaction today over the defeat of Prime Minister Palme. Although relations have improved steadily over the last two years, Mr. Palme was never popular with some American officials."

Palme's "progressive" international policy enabled Swedish capitalists to make profitable deals with some more nationalist governments in colonial countries at the expense of the bigger imperialist powers. However, Washington was undoubtedly most irritated by the political concessions the Swedish government had to make to follow this line.

For example, the Palme government's opposition to the Vietnam war weakened U.S. imperialism's position. Stockholm's defense of Chilean political refugees also saved a number of political activists, such as the Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco, whom Washington would have pre-

ferred to have seen silenced.

In Sweden itself, even those capitalists who have reconciled themselves for decades to giving major concessions to the workers are beginning to foresee the need for cuts and for driving the workers movement back both on the economic and political levels.

The defeat of the Social Democrats was greeted by a burst of enthusiasm on the Stockholm stock market, with the biggest jump in prices in the history of Swedish trading.

The prospect of cutbacks in Swedish social welfare benefits was obviously good news for capitalists in other imperialist countries. For example, the editors of the *Christian Science Monitor*, an influential daily that generally reflects the thinking of the State Department, said September 21: "... if Sweden, the world's showcase of social democracy, does begin to draw back from further socialization it may give pause to other industrialized nations moving leftward."

The European and American press is speculating that the Swedish results may give momentum to the bourgeois Christian Democrats in the October 3 elections in West Germany, where the Social Democrats' small lead has been slipping.

Despite the fanfare over the Social Democratic defeat in Sweden, its actual vote loss on September 19 was small. However, the electoral following of the party had been eroding for several years and even a small loss was enough to tip the scales for the bourgeois parties. The Social Democrats lost 0.8% compared to 1973 and the Communist party, which backed the cabinet from the outside, lost 0.6%.

On the other hand, the largest party in the bourgeois coalition, the Center party of the new premier, Thorbjorn Falldin, in fact lost slightly. However, the Folkeparti (liberals) increased their vote from 9.4% to 11%, and the Moderates (conservatives) from 14.3% to 15.6%.

In the 1973 election, the CP vote had increased slightly. One factor in its present loss may be sharpening factionalism between the leadership, which tries to appear more "democratic" and less tied to Moscow, and unreconstructed veteran Stalinists.

The Maoist SKP (Sveriges Kommunistiska Parti—Communist party of Sweden), which has the support of a few thousand young activists, concentrated its fire on the CP (called the Venstreparti Kommunis-

terna, VPK, Left party of Communists). Its own small vote seems to have declined.

The Swedish section of the Fourth International, the Kommunistiska Arbetarförbundet (KAF—Communist Workers League), ran candidates in most areas. It centered its campaign on calling for a democratic militant workers movement to oppose the bourgeois offensive.

The KAF opposed the sectarianism of the Maoists among the radicalized youth, as in a debate in Stockholm reported September 17 in *Dagens Nyheter*, the country's leading daily.

"The hall was filled; people were standing in the aisles to hear the encounter between the Trotskyists in KAF and the Marxist-Leninists in the SKP.

"The KAF holds that it is important to see that Sweden doesn't get a government of the bourgeois parties and thinks it will be good if the VPK gets enough votes to stay in parliament. The SKP holds that the Social Democrats are a bourgeois party and that the VPK is only their auxiliary."

After the defeat of the workers parties, the KAF commented in the September 21 issue of its weekly paper *Internationalen*:

"The youth vote won us the election,' [bourgeois politician] Gösta Bohman said, grinning on TV. And that is the sad truth. The defeat cannot be explained by the atomic energy question or by the scandals. The reason is the consistent disarmament of the entire workers movement.

"By pretending classes were abolished, by refusing to take up the most burning questions before the workers movement, the Social Democracy succeeded in driving a section of the youth into the arms of the bourgeois parties."

The government's program for building atomic power plants was reportedly the most discussed issue in the elections. Palme maintained the plants were necessary to assure independent Swedish development because of the country's lack of energy resources. Falldin argued radioactivity from the plants could endanger future generations.

Some leaders of Sweden's large anti-pollution movement threw their support to the Center party because of this issue. However, the other bourgeois parties openly backed building the plants, and the Swedish employers association issued a statement just before the elections defending the need for them. Obviously the vote will not alter the Swedish capitalists' determination to continue this program.

On the nuclear issue, as a defender of Swedish capitalism, Palme was trapped. It is not clear how many votes went to the bourgeois parties on this issue. But it probably discouraged many young people from voting for the workers parties. In this, the nuclear issue was symptomatic. The reformism of the Social Democrats has led to increasing alienation of the youth from the workers movement, whose vitality depends on them. □

Save the Lives of Political Refugees in Argentina!

[The following statement was issued by the Uruguayan Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

According to the United Nations there are 14,000 political exiles in Argentina, the great majority of whom are Chileans and Uruguayans. Despite the size of this figure, it is far from being correct for it does not include an undoubtedly greater number of political activists who are in Argentina but who have not asked for political asylum.

The persecution of those who had to flee to Argentina from neighboring dictatorships did not start with the March 24 military coup. It had already begun under the supposedly democratic government of Isabel Perón. To cite only two examples, let us mention the imprisonment under the state of siege of former Senator Erro¹—who is still in jail—and that of the former vice-president of the CNT,² compañero Hugo Cores. We should also recall the six persons who were massacred in Argentina and transported clandestinely to Uruguayan soil as a bloody memento after the murder of Uruguayan Colonel Trabal in Paris.³

We mention these examples not because they are the only ones, but simply because they were the most well known. During the Peronist period not only was the infamous and deadly AAA⁴ already functioning, there was also a real international network of *gorilas* designed to hunt down, jail, or kill Latin American political activists.

In many exile circles in Buenos Aires it was feared that the March 24 coup in Argentina was going to mean a reenactment of the horrible persecution of foreigners [in Chile], the famous radio appeals

initiated with the "Pinochetazo"⁵ calling for hunting down the foreigners.

The first statements of the military government alleviated some fears. There was to be stricter control over the exiles but no indiscriminate "hunt" would be organized. Moreover, in later statements General Videla and his ministers said that even exiles found in violation of the rulings in force would not be sent to their country of origin but to another.

The facts quickly gave the lie to their words, however. Either the *gorilas* from other countries exercise a very strong influence within this government, or some of the facts that we are going to relate are completely inexplicable.

The most publicized murders—of former Bolivian President Torres, former Uruguayan Senator and Minister Zelmario Michelini, and the former president of the chamber of deputies of the same country Gutiérrez Ruiz—were not an exception. They were simply the murders of the most well-known bourgeois figures and, as a result, the ones that had an impact on world public opinion.

While the coast of the Río de la Plata and the outskirts of Buenos Aires are being populated with corpses that are allegedly or actually unrecognizable, in the Argentine capital there are increasing complaints of disappearances of political activists and trade-union fighters. One of the best-known recent cases is that of compañero Gerardo Gatti—a former leader of the printers union, the Convención Nacional de Trabajadores, and the political trade-union grouping Resistencia Obrera Estudiantil.⁶

Gatti's case is not unique either. Almost every day different political organizations denounce the kidnapping, disappearance, and—in cases when the body turns up—the murder of some of their activists or sympathizers.

This persecution is not limited to those refugees who are not under the protection of the United Nations. For example, one of the hotels where some of the UN-protected refugees live was raided by forty armed men, who kidnapped twenty-five persons. It is highly unlikely that such an operation involving sixty-five persons passed unnoticed in a city with as many police and

military patrols as Buenos Aires.

In this case, international pressure resulted in the appearance of the kidnapping victims several days later, alive but brutally tortured.

A few days earlier, the files of a religious organization that aids the refugees—one recognized by the United Nations—were seized by force. Two thousand record cards were taken. To what end? Given the background of these gangs, it is easy to predict: to increase the number of bodies that appear in the ravines of Greater Buenos Aires or in the waters of the Río de la Plata.

Another incident may illustrate still more clearly the situation faced by the refugees: An exile was seized and returned to the doors of the United Nations offices . . . with his face disfigured from the acid burns inflicted by his captors.

The situation has become so grave that the United Nations itself has addressed many countries, asking them to take in political exiles who are in Argentina.

But this campaign should not remain in the hands of Prince Aga Khan and other feudal or bourgeois figures. The international revolutionary workers movement must mobilize all its forces to defend the lives of the Chilean, Uruguayan, and other political exiles who are now in Argentina. We must wage an international campaign of condemnation, demanding public statements from all governments that claim to respect human rights. We must strongly urge trade unions and union federations to take a position and, where possible, get them to take concrete actions expressing solidarity and to boycott the Argentine government. In situations where correct statements have been made, as with the leaders of the European Social Democracy, we must demand that they not stop with mere condemnations. If they are in power, they should immediately break commercial and diplomatic relations. If they are in large opposition parties, they should push for mass mobilizations to force their governments to follow the same course.

For respect for the lives, liberty, and right to work of the Latin American residents and political exiles in Argentina!

For the unrestricted right to emigrate to any country, with the United Nations taking responsibility and paying the costs!

For an international campaign in solidarity with the exiles in Argentina and for the release of all prisoners in jail there for supposed crimes committed in their countries of origin!

Buenos Aires, June 28, 1976

1. Enrique Erro, former senator from the Uruguayan Frente Amplio (Broad Front), was arrested at his Buenos Aires home early in 1975.

2. Convención Nacional de Trabajadores (National Workers Congress).

3. Ramón Trabal was assassinated in Paris December 19, 1974.

4. Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (Argentine Anticommunist Alliance).

5. The 1973 military take-over in Chile by Gen. Augusto Pinochet.

6. Student-Worker Resistance.

Selections From the Left

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

* * *



Arbeiterkampf

"Workers Struggle," workers newspaper of the Communist League. Published fortnightly in Hamburg, West Germany.

Comment on Mao's death in the September 20 issue stresses the contradictions in the Great Helmsman's legacy, and in the process points out the contradictions among the Maoist groups in the advanced capitalist countries and in the Communist League itself.

In a special box, the editors express their unhappiness at a report that the Chinese leadership rejected messages of condolence from the French and Italian CPs. For them such a decision would point up Peking's failure to develop the broad and influential left current they hope to be a part of. They lament that this has left "intelligent" Maoists like themselves marooned in a political desert:

"Let's imagine for a moment. Let's say the Chinese state and party leadership stopped giving the imperialist politicians friendly advice to arm and stir up war hysteria. Let's say that instead it intervened at the congresses of the big revisionist parties such as the Italian and French CPs with delegations and revolutionary proposals. Let's say that personalities such as the Portuguese general Otelo Carvalho or the anti-imperialist Greek opposition leader Papandreu were received in Peking.

"It is obvious what an enormous influence such a Chinese foreign policy would have on the workers movements in the imperialist countries, and what importance, moreover, such a policy would have for an effective defense of the Chinese People's Republic from imperialist encirclement!

"The fact is, however, that China's party and state leadership have cozied up to the most reactionary imperialist politicians and at the same time completely snubbed the workers movement in the imperialist countries—in its trade-unionist, reformist, and revisionist forms, as well as in its embryonic revolutionary ones. The 'Marxist-Leninist sister parties' that the Chinese CP has gathered around it represent a miserable circus of political dilettantes and provocateurs.

"Since their origins in the first half of the 1960s, that is, in ten to fifteen years, these grouplets have not gone beyond a

sect existence isolated from the workers movement. The only 'ML' organization in West Europe that, through an intelligent policy, has been able to win a certain influence is the Portuguese Revolutionary Communist party [the political core of the União Democrática do Povo (UDP—People's Democratic Union, the main organizer of the "regroupment" around General Otelo Carvalho)]. And this group was promptly snubbed by the ruling clique in China's CP, as has been the European revolutionary left as a whole. Instead, China's CP has maintained 'sisterly relations' in Portugal with the semifascist PCP(ml) [Partido Comunista Português (marxista-leninista)—Portuguese Communist party (Marxist-Leninist)], which, for example, warmly greeted Spínola's return to the country.

"This has already become a miserable spectacle that we shouldn't even think about."

The editors are not optimistic that the post-Mao leadership will adopt a line that would open up new opportunities for the tendency they represent. Their article on Mao's death concludes on the following note:

"So, it would be illusory to hope for any relatively rapid correction of China's foreign policy through a victory of the 'left' in the party leadership. The chances for such a turn are probably still less after Mao Tsetung's death. On the other hand, it is to be feared that the right turn followed since 1971 in foreign policy will in the longer run affect domestic policy.

"In the final analysis, any turn for the better can only come from the masses of Chinese workers and peasants—party members or not. The conditions for this are certainly better than in the Soviet Union, but no one should hope for an advance in the short run."

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist working-class weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S. Published in New York.

Under the headline "Who Mourns Mao?" the September 17 issue quotes the tributes of figures like Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford and charges that "... Mao has brought China into an even more open alliance with American imperialism. Peking has encouraged the most reactionary anti-Soviet militarists among U.S. capitalist politicians."

While noting "the progressive nature of the Chinese revolution" and the establishment of a workers state in China, the article says of Mao: "He was a treacherous Stalinist bureaucrat balancing between the Chinese masses and imperialism. His narrow nationalistic policies were an

obstacle to the consolidation of the Chinese revolution and its international extension."

THE SPARK

Published fortnightly by the Spark group in Detroit, Michigan.

An article in the September 13-27 issue on Mao's death argues that any changes that happen as a result "will be small in comparison to the changes that have already taken place in China under Mao's leadership. The Communist Party of China led the peasant revolution that made huge changes in China. Their victory in 1949 marked the end of direct imperialist control of China. . . .

"For the poor people of China, the revolution made huge changes in their lives," changes for the better. China, however, "is not a communist society. . . . A communist society can only come into being after workers take control of society and run it in their own interests.

"In China, this never happened. The nationalist revolution made big changes, but it did not replace the rule of the capitalists with the rule of the workers."

was fun

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

In the September 16 issue, H.A. comments on the death of Mao Tsetung: "The most important personality in the world revolution since Lenin and Trotsky, the outstanding leaders of the Russian October, has left the scene. Inseparably bound up with his name were the socialist revolution in China, the construction of a workers state in the world's most populous country, and the establishment of the first workers state in a Third World country. This victory changed the face of the earth and the course of world history. It began the historic triumphal march of the colonial revolution, it dealt world imperialism a defeat that disjoined its entire structure, and from which it has never entirely recovered.

"All those who underestimate this historic importance of the Chinese revolution, including the historic importance of Mao Tsetung as a personality—for the world revolution, either out of narrow bureaucratic interests, like the Kremlin leadership, or out of justified indignation against the counterrevolutionary foreign policy and bureaucratic internal development of China, condemn themselves as Marxists and revolutionists. Therefore, the Interna-

tional Marxist Group expresses to the workers and peasants of China its sympathy for the death of Mao Tsetung."

H.A. goes on to explain that "after the collapse of Japan in the Second World War, Mao moved decisively to take advantage of the imperialist power vacuum for the sake of the revolution.

"However, in the process he established a bureaucratic party and bureaucratic rule on the model of Stalin's. He prevented the working class from establishing its own power, and reduced it to a powerless appendage of his party.

"Mao did oppose the policy of 'material incentives' in production and appealed to the masses against technocratic tendencies in the party. But at the same time, he held back the masses from exercising power, and brutally crushed the mass mobilizations he himself unleashed, as in the 'Cultural Revolution,' as soon as he had achieved his factional objective.

"Mao did oppose Khrushchev's policy of accommodation with the West, called 'peaceful coexistence,' and thereby gave impetus to the colonial countries. But he carried his break with the Soviet Union (which Khrushchev brutally provoked) so far that he denied its character as a workers state and declared it to be the 'main enemy.'"

Thus, Mao carried out "the most counter-revolutionary foreign policy a workers state has conducted since the worse period of Stalin's rule." He even "supported NATO against the European workers states and took the side of imperialism in Angola."

So, now: "Mao's death leaves the party and the state in a profound crisis of leadership. This is part of the price for the bureaucratic-Stalinist character of his regime."

In concluding, H.A. warns: "Grave dangers now threaten the Chinese revolution, the gravest dangers since its victory. Mao has not 'left his house in good order.'"

"All revolutionists must be on the alert to defend the gains of the Chinese revolution.

"Only a political revolution in which the Chinese working class overthrows the rule of the bureaucracy and establishes its own power can cut the gordian knot of the Chinese crisis."

VJESNIK

"Herald," organ of the Socialist Union of Working People of Croatia. Published daily in Zagreb, Yugoslavia.

In the September 15 issue, the tone taken toward Mao and the Chinese leadership is notably friendly:

"Today at 3:00 p.m., Peking time, former Chairman of the Chinese CP Mao Tsetung will be buried. China will bid farewell to its first citizen, who had already become a legend during his lifetime. At that moment, throughout the length and breadth of this enormous country the Chinese will stand with uncovered heads, and for three days

thereafter they will pay their final respects to their leader.

"In the neighboring Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the entire population at that moment will stand with heads uncovered and pay their respects to the great leader of the Chinese people."

The Tito regime is apparently hoping that the disappearance of Mao will offer new possibilities for maneuver in world Stalinist circles. *Vjesnik's* correspondent in Peking, Aleksandar Novacic, noted in an article in the same issue that because of death and other "changes," only four places are filled on what is supposed to be a ten-member standing committee of the Political Bureau of the Chinese CP's Central Committee.

workers world

Weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the Workers World party. Published in New York.

The September 17 issue features two articles and an editorial on China and the death of Mao. An obituary by Andy Stapp hails Mao as "the organizer of the world's greatest mass revolution."

Stapp, who gives a laudatory account of Mao's record prior to the triumph of the Chinese revolution, says:

"After the seizure of power in 1949, Mao's greatest achievement was undoubtedly his support for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of 1966-69, a genuine mass movement which successfully warded off the very real danger of rightist elements restoring capitalism in China."

However, Stapp also notes that "in more recent years, a number of false policies pursued by the Chinese leadership, particularly their accommodation with U.S. imperialism, have damaged the prestige of the Chinese Revolution and the world struggle for socialism."

What Stapp presents as "mistakes, which occurred at the very end" of Mao's life, are taken up in more detail in an article by Deirdre Griswold, who says that "the crushing defeat to the progressive forces in Indonesia in 1965, plus the inability of the Chinese party to win to its side in the struggle against Soviet revisionism any large and influential communist parties, were key factors in China's retreat to a 'national' brand of socialism—where it perceived its own national interests in a way that subordinated the interests of the international revolutionary movement."

An editorial on the relations between China and the USSR argues that "nothing has done more in recent years to hold back the revolutionary struggle against the dying world capitalist order than the tragic division and hostility between the Soviet Union and People's China. With China at a crossroads following the death

of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, a new opportunity presents itself to end this division and begin a new era of Sino-Soviet relations."

VOZ SOCIALISTA

"Socialist Voice," weekly journal of the Socialist League, Venezuelan sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.

"Mao was forged as a revolutionist; he died a bureaucrat," Raúl Castroverde writes in the September 15 issue.

Beginning his article, Castroverde says: "The history of Mao's life is indissolubly bound up with the great events of the Chinese revolution. His contradictory personality cannot be understood apart from the struggles, sufferings, and hopes of the broad masses of the earth's most populous nation. He was the chief, the man who in the eyes of millions represented the revolution, this gigantic mobilization of the people that swept away feudalism and capitalism in China. But he was also the one who coldly issued the order for repression against the young Red Guards, whom he himself had appealed to, when they began in 1968 to question the privileges of the bureaucracy as a whole."

Castroverde summarizes the history of the Chinese revolution as follows: "After 1927, when Chiang carried out a coup in Shanghai, it was the Chinese poor peasants who were the inexhaustible fount of revolutionary energy. Mao became their great leader.

"The peasant soviet republic of Juichin; the retreat to the north, known as the Long March; and the development of the peasant power in the north are the great episodes in which Mao was forged as a mass leader. The war against the Japanese invasion (1937-45), which the Maoists waged on a line of united front with Chiang but maintaining their political and military independence, transformed the Maoist leadership into the government of an immense liberated area, where the peasants established their own power. . . .

"Mao proposed a joint government with Chiang. But the agrarian revolution was advancing. Without waiting for directives from the CP, the victorious peasants began to expropriate the landlords and the rich peasants. Chiang, believing he was in a strong position and anxious to exterminate the organs of peasant power, broke off negotiations with Mao and invaded the liberated area.

"This event in 1946 touched off the civil war. Mao backed the agrarian revolution, and Chiang's armies, because of their peasant base, disintegrated. The imperialists were prevented from intervening because their soldiers refused to go. In 1949, the bourgeois government collapsed, and Mao became chairman of the revolutionary government of China.

"The weakness of the Chinese proleta-

riat and the lack of centralized organs of power of the poor peasants, the driving force of the revolution, has been a grave deficiency of the Chinese revolution. This, along with China's tremendous material backwardness, has promoted the formation of a layer of privileged bureaucrats among the party cadres and technicians. Mao maintained himself in power by balancing among the various sectors of Chinese society—the peasants, the bureaucrats, and the nascent proletariat.

"As this process developed, Mao became more and more a defender of bureaucratic privilege. This was reflected in his abrupt application of repression to halt the Cultural Revolution and in his foreign policy—his support for Pinochet, his support for the proimperialist reactionaries in Angola, and his support for the bloody repression against the people of Bangladesh."

Castroverde sums up Mao's place in history as follows:

"Mao is dead but the revolution is not. Despite Mao's degeneration, the Maoists' contributions regarding rural guerrilla warfare as a tactic of peasant struggle are part of the accumulated experience of the world revolutionary movement.

"But what is more important is that at the time of Mao's death, the Chinese proletariat is moving with greater and greater determination to do away with bureaucratic privilege. Only a revolutionary workers party can replace this paternalistic and bureaucratic leadership, only such a party can carry out a political revolution against the bureaucratic caste and make China once again the vanguard of the world revolution."

WORKERS' Power

Weekly newspaper of the International Socialists, published in Detroit, Michigan.

Two pages in the September 20 issue are devoted to the death of Mao. The first of two articles compares the sympathetic treatment of Mao in the capitalist media today to the unbridled hostility accorded the triumph of the Chinese revolution. It concludes that "American government officials today use China as an ally of the United States in the struggle between U.S. and Russian imperialism.

"That is why they are now so lavish in their praise of Mao."

In the second article, Dan Posen says, "Mao did not reshape China singlehanded. He did not act as a superhuman genius. He represented a political machine—the Chinese Communist Party. Mao organized a new social system and a new ruling class in China through the Communist Party."

The Chinese CP, Posen says, "is the ruling class in China today. Under its rule, capitalism in China has been destroyed and replaced with bureaucratic collectivism. Under this system, the actual power

and privileged life style of the bureaucracy grows every time industrial output expands."

According to Posen, this is the explanation for the conflicts within the bureaucracy. "Every time national output expands, new sections of lower bureaucrats demand the right to share some of the luxuries enjoyed by the top ones. The result is 'mass campaigns against bureaucracy,' organized by the top bureaucrats against the lower ones."

HAYTH

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

This is the newspaper of the faction of the Greek Communist party that the Kremlin tried to destroy in the period after 1968 because it sought more independence for maneuvers in Greece than Moscow was willing to grant at the time. Accordingly, it has evinced particular interest in the possibility that Mao's death may open up more maneuvering room in world Stalinist circles.

The "interior" CP is apparently watching for moves by the big West European Communist parties, above all its patron, the Italian CP, toward a rapprochement with Peking. This is indicated, among other things, by a dispatch from the paper's Rome correspondent in the September 16 issue.

"The different position the French and Italian CPs have taken from the CP of the Soviet Union on the occasion of Mao's death has put back 'on the agenda' the question of the Italian CP's relations with Peking and Moscow.

"This question was raised in particular by an article on international questions by the Italian journalist Alberto Jacoviello, a political analyst for *l'Unità* [the Italian CP organ], recently published in the Paris daily *Le Monde*.

"In this article, Jacoviello, known by previous actions to be sympathetic to Mao's politics, criticized the Italian and French Communists for maintaining a conciliatory position in the past toward the Sino-Soviet conflict.

"In an interview with *Corriere della Sera*, Segre, the head of the Italian CP's international department, today [September 15] answered Jacoviello's criticisms. (*l'Unità* had pointed out that Jacoviello's article in *Le Monde* represented his views alone.)"

Among other things, in the article in question Jacoviello wrote: "The doctrine of limited sovereignty is not an invention of Brezhnev. It has been a constant in Soviet policy since the time of the Third International and extending to the invasion of Czechoslovakia, including Stalin's attempt to overthrow Tito and Khrushchev's attempt to strangle China economically."

Aughe's correspondent reports that Segre "noted that from an early stage the Italian CP had taken a neutral position in the Sino-Soviet conflict and together with the other parties opposed the exclusion of the Chinese from the international movement, and that it had sought the reestablishment of friendly relations with the Communist party of China."

Further on in the dispatch, the correspondent points out: "Segre denied that the Italian CP gives 'special preference' to the CPSU. 'It has special relationships only with those parties geographically close to us, which face similar problems and situations. This goes not just for CPs but for Socialist and Social Democratic parties.'

"In answer to another question about the future of Yugoslavia after the death of Tito, the Communist leader said the following: 'As Italians, and also as Communists, we have a strong national interest in seeing Yugoslavia remain a socialist and unaligned country.'

"Segre's answers, which were published in Italy's major paper, represent the first official stand by the leadership of the Italian CP toward a phase which everyone considers particularly delicate and complex, the phase that Mao's death opened for the entire international Communist movement.

"From the first, in the statement of its Central Committee and the main articles in its organs, the Italian CP has stressed the need for restoring friendly relations with the CP of China, relations which were cut off in 1962. The issue of the Italian CP's theoretical journal *Rinascita* now at the printers will be largely devoted to the relations of the Italian CP with the other Communist parties."

DIRECT ACTION

Socialist weekly published in Sydney, Australia. Presents the views of the Socialist Workers party.

A memorial meeting was held at Adelaide University September 18 to observe the death of Mao Tsetung, the September 23 issue reports. Outside, a member of the SWP began selling *Direct Action* and the pamphlet *Revolutionaries in Mao's Prisons: The Case of the Chinese Trotskyists*.

"It wasn't long, however, before the local Maoists began to object to the presence of the seller," Peter Abrahamson reports. Three Maoists thugs confronted the seller and forced him to move to the opposite side of the road.

"The actions of the Maoists can only mean that they have something to hide," Abrahamson says.

"How can they justify the continued imprisonment of revolutionaries—who supported and defended the Chinese revolution—when Mao released a large number of opponents of the revolution in March 1975?"

AROUND THE WORLD



Arabs Call Protest Strike in Galilee

A two-hour general strike in the Galilee region has been called for September 28 by the majority of the Arab village and town officials in Israel.

The strike call, which was adopted at a September 22 meeting, was prompted by the publication of a report by Israel Koenig, the Interior Ministry's chief official in Galilee. Koenig's report warned that Arabs would soon comprise a majority in Galilee, and urged:

1. Harsh penalties against Arabs who "show any sort of hostility to the country and to Zionism."

2. Measures to curb the growth of the Arab population.

3. Measures to make it more difficult for Arabs to gain admission to Israeli universities, and a policy of encouraging Arab students to study abroad but making it difficult for them to return to Israel.

4. Reduction of the number of Arab workers in Israeli factories.

Koenig also criticized Israeli officials for not being sufficiently aware of "the superficial and Levantine Arab character."

The strike call demands Koenig's removal from his post and from any activity having to do with Israel's Arab population. It condemns the "evasive stand" of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who has refused to take any action against Koenig.

The Palestinian leaders voiced their "outrage and condemnation" against the "racist and chauvinistic spirit, full of hate and racial superiority which the [Koenig] document breathes."

Peter Custers Deported by Dacca

Dutch free-lance journalist and social worker Peter Custers was deported from Bangladesh September 23. Custers had been arrested by the Rahman regime in December 1975 and accused of unspecified "antistate activities."

Custers was finally brought to trial in Dacca and, on September 20, was sentenced to fourteen years in prison. The trial was conducted in secret, with even Dutch Chargé d'Affaires Paul Brouwer excluded from the proceedings. The defendant was denied the right to an attorney of his choice.

Sentenced along with Custers were six Bengalis, who also received fourteen years imprisonment. Under martial law, no appeal is permitted.

The Rahman regime did not mention

Custers's critical news articles in the trial. It contended that his social-welfare and literacy program was a cover for activities against the government.

Custers's deportation came after an international campaign in his behalf won the support of journalists' organizations in Europe and had led some members of the Dutch parliament to discuss cuts in the Netherlands's aid to Bangladesh.

Brazilian Tribe Driven to Suicide

Driven to despair, the Mayurunas of the Brazilian Amazon have reduced their population from 2,000 persons in 1972 to approximately 400 now, by killing children born to tribe members.

Like all Brazilian tribal societies, the Mayurunas have had their lands invaded and their culture destroyed by Brazilian industrial, mining, and agribusiness interests.

When the Mayurunas fought back against these incursions, the Brazilian government sent a military expedition against them in 1963.

Brazilian anthropologist Paulo Lucena reported that by the time oil workers reached the area where the Mayurunas live near the Peruvian border, in 1972, they "had become meek."

Since then, Lucena said, they have become "desperate and feeling that they had no place to go, decided to die."

AT&T Scores New Profit Record

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company announced September 15 that its profits for the quarter ending August 31 had reached \$1.01 billion, making AT&T the first American corporation ever to take in \$1 billion in any single three-month period.

General Motors held the previous record, with profits of \$909 million in the second quarter of 1976. Both Exxon and General Motors led AT&T in sales in 1975, making them the three largest U.S. corporations.

AT&T's third-quarter profits marked a 25 percent increase over the \$810.2 million it raked in over the same period last year.

Auto Workers Strike in U.S.

Production of Ford cars stopped September 14 when 165,000 members of the United Auto Workers walked off the job in plants across the United States. Issues in

the strike include the demand for higher wages, and an improved cost-of-living formula to keep wages in line with rising prices.

Another major point of contention between the auto bosses and the strikers is the union's demand for a shorter work-week with no reduction in pay so as to cut into the unemployment in the auto industry.

"Reducing work time is not a new concept," UAW President Leonard Woodcock and Vice-president Ken Bannon said in a letter to all Ford UAW locals. "Many people working today are too young to remember that the 'normal' work week used to be 48 hours and even longer. . . ."

"The facts are that the companies are now making more profits than ever, and that even fewer workers would be employed if work time had not been reduced. . . ."

"Even the recovery from 1975 to 1976, with production up about 30%, has produced an employment increase only half as large, so that thousands of auto workers continue to be unemployed."

Woodcock and Bannon said they have "repeatedly called upon the auto companies to open the books on productivity and unit cost figures, but they refuse to do that"



LEONARD WOODCOCK

French Left Discusses Prospects for Unity

[In its June 10-16 issue, the Paris weekly *Politique-Hebdo* published debates about the prospects for unity of the organizations that claim to stand to the left of the Communist and Socialist parties.

[The discussion was focused on the response of these formations to the growing strength of the traditional reformist organizations, grouped along with a small bourgeois party in the Union of the Left, and to the probability of a victory of this coalition in the 1978 legislative elections.

[One debate was between Gilbert Hercet from the National Bureau of the Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU—United Socialist party, a centrist formation) and Alain Krivine from the Political Bureau of the

Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League).

[Another debate took an indirect form. A correspondent of *Politique-Hebdo* interviewed Ernest Mandel, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, in Brussels. In response to this interview, Yvan Craipeau, a founding leader of the PSU, contributed an article. Craipeau was a leader of the French Trotskyist movement from 1935 to 1946, when he broke with Trotskyism.

[The exchanges between Krivine and Hercet and Mandel and Craipeau follow. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Fundamentally, we have to be able to get into the workers movement, shoulder to shoulder with the big workers organizations, so that the left victory in the elections can unleash a process of social change.

Krivine. Let's put the question hard and straight. Do you in the PSU think that the Common Program represents a stage in the advance toward socialism and that, basing yourselves on the masses, you are going to push the reformist leaderships toward the socialist revolution? Or do you think that the backers of the Common Program are leading the workers into a blind alley?

Hercet. I think that we can't forget who the enemy is. The enemy is the bourgeois authorities that have to be overthrown. It bothers me sometimes to see the far left concentrating all its fire on the Union of the Left. There are two camps, and it is clear what kind of a battle is going on. We are in the camp of those who want to overthrow the bourgeois authorities. Talking about the Union of the Left as class collaborationist signifies that the main left parties are in the other camp. That is unacceptable. The PSU is, of course, not participating in the Union of the Left on the basis of the Common Program. But we stand shoulder to shoulder with the signers of the Common Program in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and its regime.

Krivine. This attitude that you have to choose between the two camps can lead very far. To be effective, why not sign the Common Program so that you can help change the left from inside? Of course, the main enemy is the bourgeoisie, and it is precisely because the Union of the Left is not really fighting the bourgeois government that we criticize it.

Hercet. That's why we don't join it!

Question. The debate might be clearer if we took up the question of the attitude revolutionists should take after a victory of the left in the elections. What line should the far left groups take toward the left in power?

Krivine. The victory of the left is unquestionably going to unleash a great wave of enthusiasm in the working class. Not only that, it is going to touch off an important mobilization of the workers. For

Debate Between Hercet (PSU) and Krivine (LCR)

Question. The immense majority of the workers in this country are pinning their hopes for change on an electoral victory for the left. Is the far left able to offer any other way out?

Krivine. Let's look the facts in the face. If you consider the immense impact of the parties rallied around the Common Program [the electoral platform of the Union of the Left], it is illusory to think that an alternative can emerge on the level of day-to-day struggles alone. The workers equate the idea of change with a victory of the left in the elections. I would point out in addition that the weakness of the far left, its inability to offer a political alternative, is not unrelated to the growth of electoralist illusions. So, we face a situation that we can't try to hide. The elections will be a day of reckoning for revolutionists and we must prepare for this.

Hercet. I agree with this analysis essentially. In fact, in the minds of a large majority of the workers, the solution for this period is an electoral victory for the left. And the far left cannot change this in the slightest by shouting "we won't wait until 1978." Does this mean that we are going to twiddle our thumbs? Obviously not. We know very well that in such periods as this, the big organizations put a damper on struggles that threaten to frighten the middle classes. Our role, on the contrary, is to take part in these struggles, constantly trying to establish a link between the social and political arenas. So, let's prepare for the elections, but let's also be present in all fields of

social and political activity.

Krivine. The two reefs that we have to steer away from are in fact quite visible. One is subordinating all our activity to the elections (which is what the reformists do). The other is to concentrate on social struggles in such a way as to fail to make the link between the experience in these struggles and political solutions. So, what line should we follow? We should do everything possible to centralize the social struggles (around demands that unify the workers, around self-organization) and also intervene in the political arena. Here also, even if we are in a minority, we should combat the illusions focused around the Common Program.

Hercet. When you say that our intervention in the political arena should be directed at exposing the illusions of the Common Program, that seems rather facile to me. This is an oversimplified view. It amounts to thinking that reformist leaderships are betraying the masses and that once we have shown that this is what they are doing, one fine day the masses will come over to the revolutionists.

No, the present leaderships of the workers movement do represent something. And among these leaderships, there are differences between the strategies of the CP and SP. It would be absurd to argue as if there were a strategy of the Common Program. The Common Program serves today as a cover for two different strategic plans, the Communist plan and the Socialist one. And we also have to be able to play on the contradictions that exist between these plans.

a certain time the illusion will persist that the government elected is the workers' government and that all their essential demands are going to be rapidly met. I would add that the forms of the mobilization will depend on the conditions in which the left enters the government. But, in any case, we don't think that the role of revolutionists will be to shout: "Out with the government, long live workers power."

We have to take account of the combative mood of the workers and push for satisfaction of basic demands that will help to unite the class. Secondly, our main efforts should be concentrated on questions of self-organization. What is decisive in fact is for the workers to take their own struggle into their own hands and to multiply experiments in workers control. Gradually, the contradictions will emerge between the ultimate consequences of these struggles and the program of the government parties.

The emergence of these contradictions will lead to the first breaks with the program of the government parties, to the appearance of the first signposts pointing out a different road. This alternative will have credibility only when such a break assumes mass scope, that is, when these committees have become a mass phenomenon. I would note, to make myself clear, that it is not excluded that on a specific point we might support one or another initiative by the government, if it corresponded to a demand raised by the masses.

Hercet. You start off from the idea that the electoral victory is going to spark enthusiasm and mobilization, especially in the beginning. But in such periods, you should not underestimate the self-inhibiting capacities of the masses. The illusion that the government will eventually satisfy their demands can last a rather long time. This is all the more true since the modernist faction of the bourgeoisie can, at the start, accept a certain number of reforms, which, while going beyond Giscard, will change nothing fundamental but can serve to pull the wool over the eyes of the workers.

This said, it is clear that the left forces are going to want to delay implementing the Common Program. Not only the structural reforms but the immediate measures called for in the Common Program will be put off until later. So, we will have to consider the Common Program as a minimum program. The left parties have committed themselves to it, and we will have to demand that they apply it.

How can we go beyond this? You stressed that the problem is to lay the foundations of another power. In this area, the far left must draw the lessons of recent experiences, especially in Portugal, and not give the name "people's power" to what is only the embryo of this, and above all if it is actually only committees of the

far left. To the contrary, the people's unity committees can only be the basis for a genuine "people's power" if they are built on a mass base and in the spirit of unity. The far left, therefore, will have to be present at all levels of the political, institutional, and perhaps even the governmental struggle, constantly seeking to link up these various levels.

Krivine. We do have to draw the lessons of the recent experiences. The structures of self-government have to be open to all workers, including those influenced by reformism. In this respect, the sectarianism of the Portuguese FUR,¹ which drove away the Socialist party workers, led the far left into isolation and defeat. In such a situation, the revolutionists must to the contrary appeal tirelessly to all the workers to participate in these forms of self-organization in order to win satisfaction of their fundamental demands. Otherwise, we will end up with counterfeit structures of self-organization and actual minority committees including only the converted. Thousands of workers can, in fact, agree with the platform of these committees without thereby feeling any need to fight the government.

Hercet. This question of what attitude to take toward the government is an important one. The PSU, as everyone knows, has no objection in principle to supporting a government of the left forces, or even to participating in such a government. Starting from this position, do we have to give up anything? What's at stake for us? Laying the bases of another kind of power. Of course, the organs of people's power will be autonomous with respect to the government. But does this mean that these committees will be hostile to the government? You have stressed the following point, but it must be highlighted still more: Workers under the political influence of the left parties will be led to work in these structures. They are not going to be driven away under the pretext that they don't support a program of struggle against the government! With whom are we going to establish socialism, if not with the masses of reformist workers. But we are not going to have any credibility with these workers,

1. Frente de Unidade Revolucionária (Front of Revolutionary Unity), a coalition originally formed in support of the Gonçalves government. The front was based on, among other things, a program of defending the "people's power" scheme of the ruling Armed Forces Movement. It was formed to build the August 25, 1975, demonstration in Lisbon, the last major attempt by the CP to defend the Gonçalves government. On August 27, when the CP began to make conciliatory signs to the Socialist party, the most ultraleft and sectarian groups forced its expulsion from the front.—IP

we are not going to win their confidence, unless we "get our feet wet" along with the others in the struggle to overthrow the bourgeois authorities. You can't be clods coming from the outside to score points. You can't just make a pretense of being for unity. A defeat of the left will not just be a defeat for the reformists. It will also be a defeat for us.

Krivine. I notice that there has been a very clear evolution in the PSU, and not in the right direction. It's unthinkable for revolutionists to participate in a left government on the basis of the Common Program, unless they want to serve as left cover. You can't have one foot in the government and the other in rank-and-file committees representing the embryo of a rival power.

Hercet. I didn't say the PSU would be favorable to participating in a government on the basis of the Common Program. I said that there is no opposition in principle to participating in a government with the left forces.

Krivine. On that, everyone agrees. If revolutionists participate in a government that sets as its task the destruction of the bourgeois state, bravo. But the debate is not over that.

Question. Everyone feels very clearly that in a situation created by the victory of the left, everything will depend on the relationship of forces that the revolutionary current is able to establish with the left parties. Otherwise, the debates over orientation will remain mere incantations. The impact of the far left will depend primarily on how united it is. Is there any chance for achieving unity before the hour of reckoning comes around?

Krivine. Tens of thousands of youth and workers who have broken with the reformist organizations are very anxious to see the unity of the revolutionary organizations. This desire for unity goes very deep. It would be irresponsible not to draw the conclusions from everything we have just said. Time is working against us. This debate shows that, over and above the differences, there is a possibility for agreement on the essentials. We can come together in common work to advance unifying demands and to promote forms of self-organization in the mass movement (in the women's and soldiers' movements). It is totally irresponsible in such a situation to continue to act separately. As soon as possible we have to reach an agreement affecting electoral tactics.

Question. How do you explain the fact that up until now there has not been such a meeting of the minds?

Krivine. To be quite frank, the responsi-

bility falls on the PSU, which does not want to cut itself off from the signers of the Common Program. To make myself clear, we don't criticize the PSU for following the principle of unity in action with the reformist parties. But if you want to appeal to the reformist workers with a minimum of credibility, you have to do so on the basis of having a much larger base of activists. If the revolutionary organizations reach an accord, they will draw behind them, and into a common struggle with them, a mass of unorganized activists. It is to this end that we will continue to wage the fight for unity. Today, there is no other way out for the far left.

Hercet. The LCR often has a very strange way of engaging in dialogue with the PSU. For example, showing a contempt for our democratic internal life, they select out the "good" PSU members from the "bad" ones. But let's try to get to the root of the matter. It is true that a feeling exists among many militant workers that there is no credible revolutionary organization. The current that we represent is far larger than our organizations. It is these unorganized activists that we have to turn to first of all. This said, it is not an accident that there are several political organizations. Differences exist, and with so much at stake in this period, we have to be particularly careful. It would be easy to agree on a certain number of points such as the characterization of the content of the Common Program, workers control, and self-organization. Such convergences make possible unity in action. But organizational unity is something else again.

We think that socialism can only be built on the basis of broad popular agreement. It is on this idea that our strategy of people's unity is based. This is a social strategy based on the convergence in anticapitalist struggle of the working class and other strata of the people. On the political level in the present period, this strategy involves unity in action of the political organizations. The tactical implications of this for the municipal elections seem clear. They call for the formation of common slates with the left organizations. Already in these municipal elections, we have to get in position for the hour of reckoning in 1978. The only way to gain credibility for an independent line is to be present in a united way in preparation for the decisive battles.

The municipal elections are thus an important occasion to clearly demonstrate a line of unity. I said, of unity, but I also said, with clarity. This means that the essential elements of our municipal program have to be taken into account by the left parties. In this respect, it does not seem to me to be a negligible thing that the city governments can become points of support for the workers struggles and, most importantly—even looking toward committees of people's unity—that they

can make possible concrete experiments in direct democracy.

Krivine. Toward the revolutionists, you take a very hard line. You demand fundamental agreement. With the reformists, you are satisfied with a partial agreement on how the city governments should be run.

Hercet. Don't mix everything up. We don't make the same demands in the case of electoral tactics as we do for organizational rapprochement.

Krivine. Common slates imply a common basic political agreement.

Hercet. In the municipal elections, our aim is to put forward a line. It is also to be present in the city councils. It is not an unimportant thing to win some seats and use them as points of support to help in the development of struggles and to promote new forms of local democracy (people's assemblies in the neighborhoods, for example).

Krivine. If I'm following you, you think it is more important to have a few PSU city council members than to present a clear and unified alternative.

Hercet. We have to prepare the conditions so that the workers will have the best possibilities for action when the left is in power.

Question. If the signers of the Common Program refuse to take account of your municipal program, what will the PSU do?

Hercet. We don't know how national

negotiations would develop. It is possible that there would be no agreement. On the basis of the party's line, comrades will have to assess the situation locally and get agreement in those cities where negotiations can produce something.

Krivine. If the PSU persists on this path, it's going to be the only political organization not to realize the national implications of the municipal elections. You are responding in a thoroughly petty way to a grave situation. The truth is that in order to gain credibility, you are following an opportunist line without assuring the means to safeguard your independence. For you, the unity of the revolutionists is no longer an axis. You prefer the company of the left parties. In this way, you are assuming a very grave responsibility in the eyes of workers who are looking to the far left and waiting for it to unite. They will not wait long.

Hercet. Be serious. We are aware of the political choices we are making. There is no point in trying to teach us lessons. Our tactic for the municipal elections was developed, as I said, starting from our concept of people's unity. So, obviously the overall political context was taken into consideration. Our line enables us to develop an autonomous force, while at the same time putting pressure on the Union of the Left. You can always declare your independence. This is only the independence of a few leaderships without troops. What point is there in crying out in the wilderness, following the line, supposedly, of the last of the just? Let us dare to carry our line to where the decisions are made, including the institutions of government.

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Interview With Ernest Mandel

Question. How do you analyze the perspectives opening up in Southern Europe?

Mandel. We think that a more or less synchronized revolutionary crisis looms in four Southern European countries. And this comes in a completely exceptional conjuncture. You have to go back to the Russian revolution and the post-World War II period to find an analogy. What is particularly notable is that the international context is much more unfavorable for capitalism than in the past. We are in a phase of decline in the strength of the world bourgeoisie. This is illustrated, for example, by the inability of American imperialism to organize a short-term military response and by the absence of an international striking force in Europe comparable to the Nazi army mobilized against the Spanish republic in the 1930s, or even the French army used against Poland.

This does not mean that the material power of capitalism is on the verge of collapsing. But the direction in which the wind is blowing is shown by the victory of the Vietnamese revolution, the vicissitudes of the attempt to unify Europe on a capitalist basis as an alternative solution to American leadership, and the difficulties the German Federal Republic is having (as the inevitable result of the past that has left it militarily mutilated) in playing the role of "cop" on the old continent. Finally, and most importantly, this economic crisis, unlike the one in 1920, coincides with a new rise in workers struggles on a Europe-wide scale. I would add, however, in order to give a more balanced picture, that the economic recession is not just a normal and spontaneous reaction by capital to the falling rate of profit. It also represents an attempt, conscious or not, to mount an attack on the working class, an attempt that has scored some points in the United States and England, and (temporarily, in my opinion) in Germany.

The fact remains, to use an expression that is too often not given its full value, that we are beginning a turn in world history. I am convinced that if we succeed—and this "we" goes far beyond the ranks of our own organization—in grasping the opportunity offered us in Southern Europe, we can change the fate of the world. In the first place, what happens here will have an impact on all Europe (including the East European countries). Secondly, such an offensive by the socialist revolution would have the power to open up the situation at the two frozen poles of world politics, the United States and the USSR. Conversely, a defeat in Southern Europe could not be a small one. The threat in the long run is the

crushing of the European working class and a possible fascistization of the United States, tempted to resort to a war economy, the classical remedy for depression. In short, the specter looms of dictatorship and local nuclear wars, the nightmare of the 1930s and 1940s multiplied tenfold.

Q. Isn't there a terrifying disproportion between the stakes you have described and the state of the revolutionary movement? What is the Fourth International but a drop of water in the imperialist ocean?

Mandel. If, in several countries at once, we expect a brief and decisive test of strength in the near future, then it is clear to everyone who has his feet on the ground that my answer will have to be a pessimistic one. Obviously the revolutionists cannot win over the majority of the working class in Southern Europe in the next six or twelve months! And, in my opinion, no revolution can be victorious in the advanced industrial countries without the active support of the majority of the workers. Actually, the crisis runs so deep that we must prepare ourselves for years of prerevolutionary confrontations and not for one great moment sometime in the next six months. During this long period, extensive contradictions will develop within the reformist parties, in connection with the probable failure of their class-collaborationist experiments. These contradictions will give revolutionists the chance to alter the relationship of forces. That is, they will be able to do this if they adopt a coherent tactical and strategic position. So, we have to discuss the basis for this.

Q. Don't you think that in France this discussion is advancing by giant steps?

Mandel. There is an interaction between discussion and the political situation. When the mass movement breaks out of an impasse, it gives new impetus to the confrontation of ideas. Look at the discussion developing in Italy. Up until last June, all interchange seemed to be frozen. Now discussion is flourishing among the groups that we call "centrist," and is exhibiting an unquestionable richness. The same goes for Spain, where it had been thought that the far left was falling back toward the PCE [Partido Comunista de España—Communist party of Spain]. Since Vitoria,² a different sort of picture has been taking shape. It is the CP that seems to be having internal difficulties.

2. On March 3, 1976, Spanish police fired on a demonstration in the Basque town of Vitoria, killing four workers. This incident touched off a general strike in the Basque country and protests throughout Spain.—IP

When a situation is frozen, it can't be opened up by words. Thinking that would mean getting trapped in idealist notions. What you are experiencing in France is not a paralysis of the far left but of the mass movement. You have to watch for it to widen, to move on from the defensive economic struggles being waged while the workers wait for a left victory [in the elections] to a higher level. You have to watch for the dialectical contradictions between the mass mobilization and the state power (maybe these will develop immediately as in 1936, maybe more slowly).

Q. More than one person wonders whether the Fourth International isn't an obstacle to such a confrontation of ideas. The charge is raised that it copies the old, excessively centralist models inherited from the Comintern. It is accused, moreover, of introducing lines of division that obstruct internationalism rather than promote it. For example, isn't the French LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire—Revolutionary Communist League] closer to the PdUP [Partito d'Unità Proletaria—Party of Proletarian Unity—a pro-Peking Italian centrist group] and Avanguardia Operaia [Workers Vanguard—a semi-Maoist centrist group allied with the PdUP] than it is to the American SWP [Socialist Workers party] the leader of the Fourth International minority?

Mandel. Our organization does not exist because we are sticking in a historical rut or because we continue to define ourselves on the basis of issues in the past. The real debate is not over the name, the organizational framework, the statutes, the behavior of persons, or our looking back to a bearded individual named Leon Trotsky. What the discussion is over are the strategy and tactics, the Transitional Program, the united front, the attitude to be taken toward the unions and mass reformist parties. When some people in Portugal call the CP, or Soares, or both social fascist, include the CP in the FUR and then expel it, equate hundreds of thousands of SP workers with the bourgeoisie, or slavishly adapt to the Social Democratic leadership, we feel a need to distinguish ourselves from them, to reassert the capacity Leninism has traditionally offered and continues to offer for working out political positions.

What do labels matter? If in the political arena, we found forces that agreed with our strategic and tactical orientations and which were put off only by our name and historical reference points, we would drop these things within twenty-four hours. This said, the programmatic conception that unites all Fourth International tendencies and brings the LCR into a closer relationship with these than anyone else is a deep understanding of the worldwide character of the economy, of politics, and of

the class struggle in the epoch of imperialism, which results from the internationalization of the productive forces. International organization by the revolutionists reflects an objective necessity and not an outdated dogma. What is outdated is the dogmatic notion of the national state, of political life confined within the frontiers of a nation.

However, we aren't ants who think they're elephants. We are quite well aware of the weakness of our organization; we regard it as a nucleus, the first step toward a mass communist international. Our guiding idea is that it is useless to try to construct walls without blueprints, that internationalism is not arrived at by adding up national organizations. Unlike the devotees of "national Communism," whose disastrous effects we see today, among other things, in the Sino-Soviet conflict, we think that from the start you have to think simultaneously on the national and international levels. However, we don't see this unity in a mechanistic way. The diversity of national situations requires a diversity of tactics, and democratic centralism cannot be practiced the same way on the international level as it can on the national. It is this, along with our concern for carrying on debates out in the open, that has enabled us to dispel the shadow of Stalinism that has hung over the democratic centralist type of structure.

So, we have become a modest pole of attraction. And when the ETA-VI, the Colombian Bloque Socialista, or the Icelandic socialist youth join us, they are not interested in discussing labels!

Q. But isn't it strange—your opponents would say, revealing—that in such an important arena of the struggle against imperialism as Italy the Fourth International plays hardly any role?

Mandel. The Italian case is in fact a rather peculiar one. The revolutionary Marxists have not succeeded there in developing the kind of base the LCR has in France. I see in this, aside from ideological choices, a consequence of the organizational relationships of forces. Many of those who would have joined us preferred, in order to be more effective, to adhere to stronger movements. This aspect has often been ignored in the thinking of more than a few groups claiming to be Trotskyist. Since 1968, in particular, we have come to understand that purely ideological, exclusively political, operations are inevitably stillborn. Every political undertaking has simultaneously to be an organizational one. In order to change the relationship of forces, this plan has to base itself on the relationship of forces that actually exists and include it in the analysis.

While the Italian situation is an exception, it is, nonetheless, not hopeless. Social contradictions run through the far left and are forcing it to undergo a recomposition.

It is no accident that the Maoist references are gradually disappearing from the theses formulated by the Italian groups. This is a result of the Chinese foreign policy, which has revealed the absence of real proletarian democracy in China at the same time as exposing the bureaucratic control of the state apparatus.

Dialogue with the main Italian revolutionary currents is desirable and neces-

Contribution by Yvan Craipeau

Internationalism goes far beyond solidarity among the struggling peoples and their organizations. Its objective foundation lies in the internationalization of production and of the division of labor, which has brought on an internationalization of the class struggle.

The first consequence of this process is that it is impossible to conceive of socialism in one country. The fight for socialism involves struggling to break out of the limitations of the national states. This does not mean the disappearance of genuinely national entities but rather the flowering of national minorities that up till now have been subjected to oppression in the framework of the capitalist states.

The second consequence is that a working-class and revolutionary strategy cannot be developed within the limitations of national situations; it has to be developed within the context of an international perspective.

The third consequence of the internationalization of production flows from the above. That is, faced with the international activity of imperialism and state capitalism, the workers and revolutionists need an international strategy.

But this is where the difficulty begins. While capitalism is passing through a deepgoing crisis, international organization by the workers has never been so weak. Never have the supporters of socialist revolution been so far from constituting an international force. There are many historical reasons for this, not the least of which is the evolution of the USSR, and the determination of Soviet state capitalism to exploit and dominate the nations. The fact that many Communist parties, notably those in Europe, have taken their distance from Soviet state capitalism is a positive factor, but at the same time this attitude has led these parties to fall back toward national Communism.

Starting from this process in which the Communist parties are moving away from the USSR, some comrades think they can hope for the reconstitution of an international that could bring together, despite fundamental differences, both the revolutionists and the parties playing a decisive role in the class struggle, perhaps even the unions. But if such a regroupment were possible, it would be realizable also at the

necessary, and it is going to take on a broader scope. We can exchange views and participate in united action with people whether or not they are members of the Fourth International. What will be difficult, in view of the powerful attraction the experience of the left in Italy is going to exercise, will be both to avoid sectarianism—cries of betrayal—as well as opportunism. This is our constant concern.

national level. This would mean concretely that the revolutionists would lose their relative independence and dissolve into the reformist parties. But these same comrades strongly reject this. They know that if there is no autonomous revolutionary pole, there is no chance for a socialist revolution. What is true in each country obviously remains true on the international level. There is no way of avoiding this conclusion. The problem is to build an international revolutionary pole.

However, the task of building such an international pole retains all its complexity. The existence of the Fourth International does not solve these problems and scarcely even represents any advance toward solving them. Of course, historically the Fourth International played a positive role in fighting Stalinism and nationalism. It is not insignificant that it includes nuclei in dozens of countries. It is also true that the Fourth International does not constitute an ossified sect and that a current within it is questioning some of its traditional notions. But it is obvious that it is not an international. After forty years, it includes only propaganda groups. Those organizations such as the LCR or the American SWP that have a certain base are few and far between. The Fourth International has never been able to play a real role in any revolution. It has generally been reduced to laying out perspectives for mass movements in which it has barely participated.

What is most serious is that the Fourth International as it actually exists is not even the nucleus—or the embryo—of a genuine international organization. Mandel's overture, to be sure, is a meritorious one. He makes it clear that democratic centralism cannot operate in an international organization (contrary to the old claims that the International was supposed to become "the general staff of the world revolution"). He is ready to consider dropping the name and historical reference points of the Fourth International in the event of an agreement on strategy and (!) tactics.

But is the question one of labels and historical references? Mandel repeats the old idea of Trotsky (which I once defended) that it is useless to build the walls of a house if you don't have an overall blue-

print. However, a revolutionary organization (national or international) is not a house that you can build and then invite people into. It is a living organism that develops in a constant dialectical interrelationship with the mass movement. The essential differences that continue to stand between the PSU and the LCR touch precisely on the nature of the party, and on the practical consequences of such differences for day-to-day work.

Learned architects can, of course, draw up a program, proclaim themselves the vanguard, and call on the masses to reject the leadership of the reformist parties and accept theirs. But they can't create a party this way and still less a party that can inspire the workers to take their affairs into their own hands within the perspective of socialist self-management. In our opinion, a party can grow only out of the experience of the workers, primarily those workers most resolutely engaged in anti-capitalist struggle. The workers feel the need to combine their thinking and their activity, making use of all the practical and theoretical experience of the past. A party conceived of from this standpoint does not pretend to be the leadership of the working class (or aspire to this role). It tries to play the role of an intellectual team, formulating proposals for action. This leads to a different kind of behavior toward the mass organizations, notably the unions. Such a party is not interested in intervening from the outside, as teachers, in organizations seen as the primary school of communism. Its members seek to collaborate, along with their other associates, in collectively working out decisions and orientations.

Taking the example of Italy, Comrade Mandel recognizes the importance of parties such as the PdUP, which "are flourishing and exhibiting an unquestionable richness." He calls them "centrists," intermediary between the reformist parties and the revolutionary ideas embodied in the Fourth International.

However, the organizations like the PdUP do not, in fact, oscillate between the Gruppi Comunisti [Rivoluzionari, Italian section of the Fourth International] and the reformist parties (a goodly collection). Their richness lies in the fact that they are closely linked to the mass movement, out of which they were born, even if they are subject to the pressure of the confidence the mass movement places in the Italian Communist party.

An international organization cannot develop around the "nucleus" of the Fourth International. Such an organization can only arise out of the convergence of groups linked to the class struggle, such as the PdUP in Italy. It can only arise out of a coordination of their efforts leading later to the development of a general strategy, whose tactical application will be determined in the final instance by each national organization; and this actual implementation can take very diverse

forms, depending on the national situations.

Southern Europe can be the laboratory for such a regroupment. Everyone agrees that a major revolutionary crisis has begun in this region. In every case, such a crisis strikes the most poorly industrialized sector, where the contradictions make up a particularly explosive mixture. The tempos are different, but they can come together in a way that favors revolutionary explosions. This, moreover, is what is leading [French SP leader François] Mitterand to base himself rather on the northern European Social Democrats.

In such a situation, it is urgent that the revolutionists of the various countries mesh their strategies. But what do we see? The Social Democrats are striving to coordinate their activity. The Communist parties are doing this in their own way, through bilateral relationships. And they are bringing their positions closer together.

er. For their part, the European and international bourgeoisie are preparing their plans for facing the storm.

The revolutionists, because of their diversity of education and traditions, are experiencing the greatest difficulties even in coordinating their thinking and activity. The ultraleft policy of the Portuguese FUR has created an additional difficulty to regroupment, but it is clear that a joint discussion with the Portuguese comrades would have helped them free themselves from their sectarianism and from their weakness for minority actions. In any case, such a regroupment cannot take place around the Fourth International, even if it consents to drop its label. The members of the Fourth International can play an important role in this, but only on the condition that they give up seeing the revolutionary organization as the "general staff" of the working class and come to see it as an organization seeking to become the "intellectual team" of the class. □

Former CP Leader Comes to Their Defense

Dissident Czechoslovak Musicians Win Support

A prominent member of the Dubcek leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist party, purged by the "normalizers," has broken a long silence to speak out in defense of members of a "rock" music band prosecuted for "demoralizing the youth."

Zdenek Mlynar said in a statement quoted in *Le Monde* September 15 that these trials were aimed in reality "at intimidating and silencing the youth who refuse to bow to the official dictates about how they should conduct their lives, spend their leisure time, and assess their personal values and those of society.

"Anyone who is familiar with our political system knows that the courts and the police never act alone. Such decisions are always the object of political discussions at the various levels of the party and state organs."

Mlynar, who was a member of the presidium of the Communist party and the secretary of its Central Committee in 1968, noted that expressions of discontent among the youth, such as that represented by the two rock bands rounded up by police in Czechoslovakia on March 17, are common in modern industrial societies. He added:

"I think that in our society, there are many concrete factors that promote such rebellion among those who reject lies and deception" because, "despite assurances to the contrary, it is a fact that lies and deception are rewarded today in our society. . . . The road to official successes

goes by way of cynicism and an ability to dismiss everything that is not looked upon favorably by the government."

Mlynar expressed his gratitude to "numerous progressive and left forces" for defending the young musicians threatened with long prison sentences. □

Diagnosis: Democratic Delusions

A Czechoslovak court has prescribed ten months in jail and psychiatric treatment for a man who wrote thirty anonymous letters critical of the regime, United Press International reported September 15.

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1,650 Asisten a Congreso Trotskista en EUA

Por Judy White

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 27 de septiembre, con el título "1,650 Attend National Convention of American Trotskyists." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Más de 1,650 observadores y delegados asistieron al congreso del Socialist Workers Party [Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—SWP] que se celebró en Ohio del 7 al 13 de agosto. La reunión fue la más numerosa en la historia del partido.

El espíritu del congreso quedó ejemplificado en la prolongada ovación que se produjo a continuación de un reporte en que se informaba que el partido había reunido más de 200,000 firmas para incluir por primera vez en las papeletas electorales de California a sus candidatos para senador, presidente y vicepresidente.

El congreso respondió también entusiastamente cuando, en diversas ocasiones, se interrumpieron las sesiones para informar brevemente de las últimas noticias sobre el juicio por cuarenta millones de dólares que el SWP ha emprendido contra el gobierno por espionaje y persecución.

La creciente influencia del partido y la perspectiva cada vez más amplia de su trabajo, se reflejaron en los mensajes enviados por abogados prominentes en la defensa de las libertades civiles, dirigentes del American Indian Movement [Movimiento de los Indios Norteamericanos], la National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [Asociación Nacional para el Avance de la Gente de Color], la National Organization for Women [Organización Nacional de Mujeres], y el Partido de la Raza Unida. Asistieron delegaciones de dos organizaciones en los Estados Unidos que están interesadas en mantener discusiones para intensificar la colaboración con el SWP: Spark [Chispa], y el Revolutionary Marxist Committee [Comité Marxista Revolucionario—RMC].

En el congreso celebrado exactamente un año antes, el SWP había examinado cambios importantes que se estaban produciendo en la situación política norteamericana, y comenzó enérgicamente a ajustar su funcionamiento según las nuevas oportunidades que se abrían. El ritmo y la amplitud de estos ajustes fueron tales que se convocó el congreso de 1976 para evaluarlos. Normalmente, el siguiente congreso nacional no se habría celebrado hasta 1977.

La resolución política que se adoptó en el congreso de 1975 señalaba que el largo

auge económico que siguió a la Segunda Guerra Mundial, terminó a principios de los años setenta. La combinación de la rápida subida de los precios y la alta tasa de desempleo, comenzaron a socavar las ilusiones de los trabajadores en que su nivel de vida aumentaría constantemente.

Al mismo tiempo, Watergate y las revelaciones sobre la criminalidad del FBI y de la CIA estaban minando la confianza que la población norteamericana tenía en la honestidad y las buenas intenciones del gobierno.

La forma de pensar de millones de obreros norteamericanos estaba comenzando a cambiar bajo el impacto de éstos y otros acontecimientos.

Estas nuevas actitudes surgieron en una atmósfera de protesta y de cuestionamiento, que ya había sido alimentada por la oposición masiva a la guerra de Vietnam; por las luchas de los negros, los chicanos y los puertorriqueños; y por el movimiento de liberación de la mujer.

La resolución preveía crecientes enfrentamientos entre los trabajadores y las fuerzas al servicio de la clase dominante. El congreso de este año confirmó y elaboró este planteamiento.

Jack Barnes, secretario nacional del SWP, comenzó su informe al congreso sobre la situación política diciendo: "Todos nosotros hemos tenido la misma extraña experiencia que otros trabajadores norteamericanos durante los últimos meses. Hemos leído en el periódico muchas noticias que llaman 'buenas.' Pero parece que tenemos muchas malas noticias en nuestras propias vidas."

Se refería al hecho de que las ganancias, los gastos para la guerra y las tasas de rentas y utilidades están subiendo (buenas noticias para los ricos), mientras que los salarios, el gasto en servicios públicos y las oportunidades de trabajo están bajando (malas noticias para la gente trabajadora).

Hasta ahora, el grueso de los ataques capitalistas contra la clase obrera ha caído sobre las nacionalidades oprimidas que viven en los Estados Unidos y contra las mujeres, hecho que se refleja en la mayoría de las resoluciones, informes y discusiones del congreso.

El informe sobre la lucha de liberación de los negros se centró en la lucha por conseguir la integración racial en las escuelas, y en el trabajo que ha estado realizando el partido sobre este problema.

Esta lucha ha sido uno de los principales problemas en la política norteamericana durante los dos últimos años. Su centra-

lidad queda señalada, dijo el encargado del informe, Malik Miah, "por el simple hecho de que cualquier candidato burgués importante—desde Gerald Ford hasta Ronald Reagan y Jimmy Carter—ha señalado su oposición al servicio de transporte escolar, que es el único medio viable en esta sociedad racista para terminar con la segregación racial en las escuelas."

Además, Miah dijo: "La ofensiva del gobierno contra el servicio de transporte escolar, como forma de dar igualdad educacional a los negros, viene de la ofensiva general contra el nivel de vida y los derechos democráticos de la clase obrera en su conjunto."

Incluso burócratas sindicales mojigatos como George Meany, presidente de la AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations), han reconocido este hecho y continúan apoyando públicamente el servicio de transporte escolar.

Y "no es ninguna sorpresa," dijo Miah, "que el gobierno, sus políticos, los medios de comunicación y la policía hayan tolerado e incluso alentado la violencia racista contra los negros, el sector más militante de la clase obrera. Como resultado de esta complicidad del gobierno, hemos visto el crecimiento de organizaciones derechistas, antinegras, antiobreras y fanáticamente racistas."

La discusión sobre el informe se centró en lo que Miah indicó como la principal tarea del SWP en la lucha de liberación de los negros: "Continuar la educación sobre la importancia del servicio de transporte escolar y la integración racial en las escuelas en la lucha por los derechos de los negros," y explicar cómo la lucha por el servicio de transporte escolar sólo se puede ganar "con una estrategia de movilización masiva de las comunidades negras y sus aliados en Boston y a nivel nacional."

El delegado al congreso Jeff Mackler, de la sección de California de la American Federation of Teachers [Federación Norteamericana de Maestros—AFT] que tiene 450,000 miembros, informó sobre la lucha para que la AFT adopte una resolución apoyando el servicio de transporte escolar. Una resolución que presentaba esta posición fue apoyada por 200 funcionarios de la federación en todo Estados Unidos, y presentada al congreso nacional de la AFT celebrado recientemente. Aunque la resolución fue derrotada, el debate en torno a ella introdujo esta cuestión política fundamental en el centro del congreso de los maestros.

Olga Rodríguez informó sobre la resolu-



Acto electoral celebrado al cierre del Congreso Nacional del SWP.

Walter Lippmann/Militant

ción sobre la lucha de los chicanos. Un componente principal del ataque capitalista, dijo, "es la campaña violentamente racista contra los mexicanos y otros que viven y trabajan en los Estados Unidos sin visas de inmigración o permisos de trabajo, los llamados extranjeros ilegales."

Washington culpa a estos "extranjeros ilegales" del desempleo que existe en todas las capas de la clase obrera norteamericana.

"La principal tarea del movimiento chicano hoy es emprender una contraofensiva contra éste y otros asaltos a los derechos y el nivel de vida de los chicanos," dijo Olga Rodríguez.

La posición del SWP sobre la lucha de los chicanos y su participación en el movimiento chicano tuvieron como resultado un aumento del reclutamiento, así como del respeto de activistas chicanos independientes. Esto se expresó en las observaciones hechas por Juan José Peña en el acto electoral del partido que se celebró en el cierre del congreso.

Peña es presidente del Partido de la Raza Unida de Nuevo Mexico, que el pasado mayo apoyó la candidatura presidencial del SWP, de Peter Camejo y Willie Mae Reid.

"El SWP es un partido que en los últimos años ha contribuido al avance de la causa de los chicanos," dijo Peña. "El SWP ha reconocido la necesidad de que los chicanos se organicen independientemente de la sociedad que ha puesto un peso tan grande sobre nuestras espaldas por ser diferentes, después de habernos reprimido y haber robado nuestra tierra y nuestros medios de vida."

Un documento sobre las luchas de los puertorriqueños que viven en los Estados Unidos fue la primera resolución del SWP sobre este nuevo movimiento. Proviene del

creciente conocimiento por parte del partido de la lucha de los puertorriqueños, que a su vez es consecuencia del creciente compromiso en sus luchas y del reclutamiento de activistas puertorriqueños.

Catarino Garza, activista desde hace tiempo en la lucha puertorriqueña, informó sobre la resolución. Señaló tres acontecimientos recientes que confirmaron la evaluación hecha en el documento sobre la importancia de esta lucha en los Estados Unidos: una marcha de decenas de miles de personas en Filadelfia el 4 de julio, pidiendo independencia para Puerto Rico; una lucha victoriosa para mantener abierto el Hostos Community College en Nueva York, la única universidad bilingüe en los Estados Unidos; y una lucha triunfante de 40,000 trabajadores de los hospitales de Nueva York, que son principalmente negros y puertorriqueños, por el reconocimiento sindical y un contrato a nivel de ciudad.

"En los dos primeros acontecimientos que he mencionado," dijo Garza, "los puertorriqueños lucharon por sus derechos democráticos. En el tercero, participaron en una lucha obrera más amplia. Pero en todos los casos el enemigo es el mismo, los ricos que dominan este país."

La resolución explica que los puertorriqueños sufren una doble opresión en los Estados Unidos. Son discriminados como minoría nacional y explotados como parte de la clase obrera.

En consecuencia, la resolución señala que las luchas contra ambos aspectos de esta opresión "están entrelazadas, y no se puede ganar una sin la victoria de la otra."

La resolución política del SWP de 1975, junto con las resoluciones sobre los chicanos y los puertorriqueños aprobadas en el congreso de 1976, tratan de este aspecto

central de la lucha de clases en los Estados Unidos.

En el informe político al congreso, Barnes señaló la profunda interrelación que existe entre las luchas políticas de los oprimidos en la sociedad norteamericana como un todo, y la batalla por un ala izquierda, de lucha de clases, en el seno del movimiento obrero norteamericano.

Citó el ejemplo de la lucha por la democracia que se está realizando en el seno del sindicato metalúrgico en la actualidad. La lucha ya está atrayendo a activistas de las nacionalidades oprimidas y a luchadores por los derechos de la mujer.

"También es un centro de atracción para cualquier grupo rebelde en el movimiento obrero norteamericano," dijo Barnes, "para todo grupo de trabajadores en cualquier parte que quiera democracia sindical y una política de lucha de clases."

También las mujeres están sufriendo un duro ataque en la ofensiva de la clase dominante norteamericana. La lucha de las mujeres para proteger y extender sus derechos se centra ahora en la campaña por una enmienda de la Constitución de los Estados Unidos que prohibiría la discriminación en base al sexo. Varios delegados al congreso discutieron el trabajo realizado para conseguir el apoyo de los sindicatos a la lucha por la ratificación del Equal Rights Amendment [Enmienda por los Derechos Iguales—ERA].

Larry Seigle dijo en su informe sobre las tareas y perspectivas del partido que en todo el movimiento sindical, las actividades de los miembros del SWP giran "alrededor de las crecientes oportunidades de llevar al movimiento sindical los grandes problemas políticos a que se enfrenta la clase obrera."

Seigle explicó otros pasos que daría el

partido para aprovechar las nuevas oportunidades que se le abren.

Señaló que la campaña del SWP en las elecciones presidenciales sería el instrumento más importante del partido para la popularización de las ideas socialistas en las siguientes semanas; y que conseguir más apoyo para el partido en el juicio que lleva contra el espionaje y la persecución del FBI, contribuiría a profundizar la crisis de confianza en el gobierno de los Estados Unidos, descubriendo sus mentiras y encubrimientos. (Ver el artículo "Victoria del SWP contra Agencias Policiales" en este mismo número).

Cuando discutió el gran impacto que ha tenido el juicio del SWP contra el gobierno, Larry Seigle comentó: "Estamos demostrando que incluso un pequeño partido revolucionario que sabe lo que está haciendo y que comprende la importancia de la lucha por los derechos democráticos puede tener un gran impacto."

El partido ya ha dado importantes pasos organizativos para enfrentarse a la nueva situación. Desde el congreso anterior, se ha extendido a más de quince nuevas ciudades. Sus ramas, ahora de menor tamaño y organizadas en estructuras a nivel de ciudad, se han casi triplicado en número.

La militancia y la dirección del partido también han reflejado este giro:

- De las 1,655 personas que asistieron al congreso, 293 lo hacían por primera vez.
- Cuarenta y cuatro por ciento de los delegados eran mujeres, que fueron 38% en 1975

• El Comité Nacional que se eligió en el congreso incluye veinte miembros de nacionalidades oprimidas, comparados con quince en el Comité Nacional saliente.

Se dedicaron dos días del congreso a debatir puntos sobre los que existen diferencias en la Cuarta Internacional: la política que debieran haber seguido las organizaciones revolucionarias en las recientes elecciones de México, Italia y Portugal, y las responsabilidades y retos que se plantean en el futuro para la construcción de la Cuarta Internacional.

Hubo presentaciones educativas fundamentales sobre China y sobre Sudáfrica, y un punto especial sobre la represión política en Argentina y la necesidad de construir una campaña de solidaridad con las víctimas de ésta.

Además, hubo mesas redondas sobre los esfuerzos para liberar a los prisioneros políticos en América Latina e Irán, sobre las actividades de defensa de los presos políticos en la Unión Soviética y Europa Oriental, sobre la revolución árabe, el movimiento internacional por la liberación de la mujer, y diversos aspectos de la situación política canadiense.

Asistieron al congreso 230 invitados internacionales de diecinueve distintos países.

Además de los visitantes miembros de partidos que se adhieren a la Cuarta

Internacional, saludaron al congreso observadores de otras dos corrientes trotskistas internacionales: Lutte Ouvrière (Lucha Obrera) y el Comité Organizador por la Reconstrucción de la Cuarta Internacional.

Alan Jones saludó al congreso en nombre del Secretariado Unificado de la Cuarta Internacional.

"En el pasado congreso del SWP," dijo, "pude traer los saludos del Secretariado Unificado en un punto crucial a la vez para la lucha de clases mundial y la Cuarta Internacional. Este punto culminó con la entrada de las tropas del FLN [Frente de Liberación Nacional] en Saigón y la victoria de la revolución vietnamita.

"Podimos ver en la campaña—que fue una parte real de la conquista de esta victoria—a la Cuarta Internacional, quizás por primera vez en su historia, ser capaz de intervenir, aunque fuera en pequeña medida, como una fuerza real en la política

mundial. Somos parte de la victoria de esa revolución.

"Ahora, un año más tarde, vemos con claridad la siguiente fase de la revolución mundial," dijo, refiriéndose a la inquietud creciente por un cambio social que se está produciendo en los países imperialistas.

Jones resumió los sentimientos de los asistentes al congreso cuando dijo:

"Vemos, como Trotsky, que la lucha de la humanidad se decidirá sobre el suelo de los Estados Unidos. Pero esta lucha no será simplemente una lucha entre la clase obrera norteamericana y las nacionalidades oprimidas de los Estados Unidos contra la clase dominante norteamericana.

"Esa lucha será una lucha entre la clase obrera de todo el mundo y los oprimidos de todo el mundo contra la clase dominante más poderosa que ha existido en la historia. Este es el único modo en que puede triunfar la revolución." □

Intenta Suprimir Toda Crítica

Gandhi Maniobra para Cambiar la Constitución

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Gandhi Moves to Rewrite Constitution," que apareció en el número del 27 de septiembre de nuestra revista. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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El 1 de septiembre, el gobierno de la Primera Ministra Indira Gandhi presentó formalmente una serie de enmiendas a la introducción y a los cincuenta y nueve artículos de la constitución hindú. Esta última maniobra de Gandhi para consolidar su dictadura personal fue tomada en nombre de una "revolución socio-económica para terminar con la pobreza, la ignorancia, la enfermedad y la desigualdad de oportunidades."

Las enmiendas permitirían que el gobierno ilegalizara "las acciones y asociaciones antinacionales," categoría dentro de la que se encuentra cualquier cosa que "no reconozca, cuestione, amenace, desorganice o tienda a desorganizar la soberanía y la integridad de India o la seguridad del estado o la unidad de la nación."

Otras de las enmiendas impedirían que las cortes hindúes concedieran *habeas corpus* o dictaran cualquier otro tipo de orden que pudiese retardar "un asunto de importancia pública"; quitarían el poder a todas las cortes inferiores a la Corte Suprema para revisar la constitucionalidad de las leyes federales; y prohibirían que la Corte Suprema revisara la constitucionalidad de las enmiendas a la constitución.

Lo que es más, la nueva legislación daría al presidente, que actúa bajo las órdenes de

la primera ministra, poderes realmente ilimitados para decretar más enmiendas a la constitución.

Como el Partido del Congreso, dirigido por Gandhi, tiene una mayoría de dos tercios en ambas cámaras del Parlamento, es casi seguro que se aprueben esas enmiendas a la constitución.

Como resultado de la estricta censura del régimen sobre la prensa, no ha habido oposición por ese lado a este fortalecimiento aún mayor del poder de Gandhi. "Aunque hubo muchos informes sobre el planteamiento del gobierno de modificar la constitución," informaba una nota del *New York Times* fechada en Nueva Delhi el 2 de septiembre, "lo más parecido a una crítica fue la conclusión, enterrada en un artículo editorial de *The Statesmen*, que decía que la proposición de que se permita al presidente modificar la constitución era 'realmente extraordinaria.'"

Ahora el régimen está tratando de apoderarse de la imprenta de *The Statesman* bajo el pretexto de que fue utilizada para imprimir una publicación mensual que prefirió cerrar antes que someterse a la censura previa. Según una nota enviada desde Calcuta por Henry Kamm y publicada en el *New York Times* el 18 de agosto, el gobierno se molestó porque *The Statesman* no manifestó el entusiasmo adecuado ante las medidas de Gandhi. □

Intercontinental Press te dará semana a semana un análisis de los más importantes acontecimientos mundiales.
¡Suscríbete ya!

Victoria del SWP contra Agencias Policiales

Por David Frankel

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "SWP Scores Major Victory Against FBI," que apareció en el número del 27 de septiembre de nuestra revista. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press.*]

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Aproximadamente cuarenta años después de que el Presidente Franklin D. Roosevelt le ordenase que comenzara una acción contra el Socialist Workers Party [Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—SWP], el Federal Bureau of Investigation [Oficina Federal de Investigaciones—FBI] ha recibido la orden de terminar su "investigación" del SWP y de la Young Socialist Alliance [Alianza de Jóvenes Socialistas—YSA].

La orden del Procurador General Edward Levi se dio a conocer en una carta del Departamento de Justicia del 13 de septiembre. Una vez que esta orden se hizo pública, apareció en los titulares de primera plana en todo Estados Unidos.

Peter Camejo, candidato presidencial del SWP, dijo que esta instrucción era "una reivindicación del derecho de todos los norteamericanos a comprometerse en una actividad política, cualesquiera que sean los puntos de vista y las ideas que defiendan."

"Es una reivindicación de la lucha del SWP y otras organizaciones contra la utilización por parte del gobierno de informadores, atracos, vigilancia electrónica, control telefónico, secuestros, ataques físicos e incluso asesinatos."

En una conferencia de prensa celebrada el 15 de septiembre, Camejo dijo a los periodistas que la nueva instrucción era un triunfo que "aceleraría el ritmo, la amplitud y el impacto" del juicio del SWP y la YSA contra el gobierno por espionaje y persecución. Camejo dijo que el SWP y la YSA intentan conseguir ahora:

- "Una reglamentación permanente para ilegalizar todas las técnicas de espionaje y desorganización que utilizan contra nosotros el FBI y otras agencias de la policía política." Esta reglamentación significaría que ningún procurador general podría levantar esta prohibición, sin pedir un juicio para que se retirase.

- "La entrega inmediata de todos los archivos sobre el SWP que actualmente tiene el gobierno."

- "Cuarenta millones de dólares por daños."

Además, Camejo y su compañera de candidatura, Willie Mae Reid, anunciaron que están pidiendo la retirada inmediata de todos los informadores del FBI que

están dentro del SWP, de la YSA, y de los comités de la campaña electoral del SWP. El 4 de septiembre, el SWP hizo públicos documentos que ha obtenido durante el procedimiento legal, en los que el FBI admite que sigue manteniendo en la actualidad sesenta y seis informadores infiltrados en el SWP y la YSA.

"Esta es una situación indignante," dijo Camejo. "Estamos a menos de dos meses de las elecciones presidenciales, y el gobierno mantiene un equipo de informadores y artistas en trucos sucios dentro de los comités electorales de uno de los candidatos. ¡Esto tiene que cesar, y tiene que cesar ya!"

Syd Stapleton, secretario nacional del Political Rights Defense Fund [Fondo para la Defensa de los Derechos Políticos—PRDF], también habló sobre este adelanto en la conferencia de prensa. (El PRDF se estableció para organizar el apoyo y reunir fondos para el juicio del SWP y de la YSA contra el gobierno.)

"La instrucción de Levi elimina la última sombra de justificación legal para el uso de informadores," dijo Stapleton. "También derrumba completamente las elaboradas argumentaciones del gobierno de que no tiene que darnos los expedientes protegidos por la doctrina espúrea del 'privilegio del informador.'"

"Estos informadores y sus actividades quedan ahora sin ninguna protección legal, y pueden ser denunciados y procesados por delitos civiles o penales."

Algunas personalidades del Departamento de Justicia en Washington, según la prensa, están preocupadas porque la retirada simultánea de los sesenta y seis informadores del FBI les identificaría. Les gustaría extender el período de tiempo en el que los informadores salieran del SWP.

"Este plan de 'retirada escalonada' es tan artificial como cuando los Estados Unidos lo propusieron en Vietnam," dijo Stapleton. "Nosotros decimos '¡Fuera ya!'"

Stapleton también pidió que el FBI entregase sus archivos de ocho millones de páginas sobre el SWP y la YSA. "La orden de Levi al FBI significa que la retención de estos archivos está ahora fuera de la ley," explicó. "Estos archivos se han reunido bajo la cobertura de una 'investigación' que el gobierno declara ahora sin ninguna justificación legal."

El *New York Times* informaba el 14 de septiembre que estos archivos del gobierno los usa rutinariamente la Comisión del Servicio Civil de los Estados Unidos para

decidir sobre la contratación de aspirantes a un empleo. El SWP y la YSA lucharán contra cualquier maniobra del gobierno por retener los archivos del FBI, o por destruirlos para ocultar su contenido.

"Tienen que recordar," dijo Stapleton, "que los archivos censurados que hemos arrancado hasta ahora al FBI son solamente una porción mínima—y podemos suponer que la más inocua para el gobierno—de lo que existe. Vamos a insistir en tomar posesión del resto. ¡Y sin una sola palabra omitida!"

"Si el FBI no cumple con esto, sólo podemos pensar que en realidad la investigación del FBI no ha terminado. ¿Por qué otra razón deberían retener los archivos?"

La instrucción del Departamento de Justicia de que no existe justificación para la "investigación" del FBI contra el SWP y la YSA, es un duro golpe para otras agencias federales que han estado realizando sus propios programas de vigilancia y desorganización contra los dos grupos socialistas. La Central Intelligence Agency [Agencia Central de Inteligencia—CIA] ya ha admitido ante la corte que realiza atracos y vigilancia electrónica de los socialistas que viajan al extranjero. Sin embargo, se niega a publicar ningún detalle sobre estos crímenes en base a que pondrían en peligro la "seguridad nacional."

El SWP y la YSA van a presionar ahora por la demanda de que las agencias como la CIA; el Servicio Secreto; Inteligencia Militar; la División del Servicio Interno para Ingresos sobre Alcohol, Tabaco y Armas de Fuego; y la Agencia de Seguridad Nacional, así como los departamentos locales de policía, abran sus archivos y terminen con sus actividades ilegales.

Además, el SWP y la YSA están alentando a otras víctimas del FBI para que hagan lo mismo que ellos. Willie Mae Reid, candidata para la vicepresidencia del SWP, señaló en su declaración sobre la instrucción de Levi que este desarrollo es de especial significación para el movimiento de liberación de los negros, que fue tomado como blanco principal por el FBI.

"Las tácticas que el FBI ha utilizado contra el movimiento negro," señaló Reid, "incluyen la utilización de informadores que siembran la discordia e intentan provocar la violencia dentro del movimiento. También hay evidencia cada vez mayor de la complicidad del FBI en los asesinatos de Martin Luther King, Jr., y de Malcolm X."

De hecho, el jefe de la policía de

Memphis—ciudad donde fue asesinado Martin Luther King Jr., en abril de 1968—quemó últimamente archivos de espionaje político a pesar de una orden de la corte federal que prohibía su destrucción. Quizás esos archivos podrían haber arrojado alguna luz sobre el misterio alrededor de la muerte de King.”

Reid expresó la esperanza de que “la orden del Departamento de Justicia en el proceso del SWP sirva para alentar a los dirigentes de las organizaciones negras de todo el país a ganar el mismo tipo de reglas contra el FBI, y contra otras agencias del gobierno.”

Este no es el tipo de respuesta con que contaba la administración de Ford cuando realizó la retirada que supuso la orden de Levi. El gobierno esperaba que esta concesión le permitiría detener las dañinas

revelaciones que se están produciendo en el juicio socialista. Como dijo *The Nation*, uno de los principales semanarios liberales de Estados Unidos, en el editorial de su número del 18 de septiembre, el SWP ha sido una “fuente de revelaciones” sobre el asalto del gobierno a los derechos democráticos.

Desgraciadamente para la clase dominante norteamericana, el SWP no tiene la menor intención de seguir estos planes. El Secretario Nacional del SWP, Jack Barnes, lo dejó claro en la entrevista que publicó *The Militant* el 24 de septiembre.

“El SWP hará todo lo que esté en nuestro poder para profundizar y continuar la exposición y las revelaciones sobre los ataques del gobierno a los derechos democráticos de todos los norteamericanos,” dijo.

Añadió: “Lo que se murmura en Wash-

ington es que el gobierno esperaba fervientemente que nos podrían dar la orden de Levi, hacer una oferta de un gran arreglo económico, y entonces terminaría el caso y nos olvidaríamos de los ocho millones de páginas en los archivos del FBI, y de los archivos que están en poder de la CIA; de la División de Alcohol, Tabaco y Armas de Fuego; y todos los demás.

“Para decirlo simplemente, pensaron que tomaríamos los millones y saldríamos corriendo. Están tan acostumbrados a comprar a príncipes, reyes y partidos políticos, desde el Democrático Cristiano de Italia hasta el Liberal Democrático de Japón—para no hablar del Demócrata y el Republicano aquí, que les salen baratos—que no pueden concebir una organización que no tenga un precio.

“Bueno, al fin encontraron una.” □

Huelga General en Ciudad del Cabo y Johannesburgo

Manifestaciones contra Kissinger en Sudáfrica

Por Ernest Harsch

A pesar de los garrotes y las balas de la policía, muchos jóvenes negros participaron en manifestaciones contra la llegada de Henry Kissinger a Pretoria el 17 de septiembre, protestando porque la visita era un signo más del respaldo que dan los Estados Unidos al odiado régimen del *apartheid*.

En Soweto, una ciudad negra que se encuentra a quince millas de Johannesburgo y que ha sido el centro de muchas de las recientes manifestaciones y huelgas, los estudiantes pusieron cientos de carteles en los que se denunciaba a Kissinger como “asesino.” Otros carteles protestaban por el apoyo de Washington al régimen sudafricano o decían: “Kissinger, go home.”

Un cartel que se encontraba en la reja de una iglesia decía: “Dr. Kissinger, váyase de Azania; no traiga sus opresores norteamericanos disfrazados a Azania.” Azania es el nombre que dan a Sudáfrica algunos nacionalistas negros.

En Soweto se realizaron cuando menos cuatro manifestaciones contra la visita de Kissinger. Igual que en las protestas masivas anteriores, la policía disparó contra la multitud de estudiantes y jóvenes inermes. Según el *Rand Daily Mail*, cuando menos seis negros resultaron muertos y treinta y cinco heridos. Algunos testigos informan que la policía entró a las aulas de una escuela media y golpeó a los estudiantes con garrotes.

Mientras la policía asesinaba manifestantes negros, Kissinger pasaba cinco horas en pláticas “constructivas” con el

Primer Ministro John Vorster. Independientemente de cuál sea el resultado de esas negociaciones, el mero hecho de que Kissinger aceptara venir a Sudáfrica para reunirse con Vorster es un apoyo muy grande para Pretoria.

La organización anti-*apartheid* Christian Institute of Southern Africa [Instituto Cristiano de Africa del Sur] señaló ese hecho en una declaración publicada el 16 de septiembre. “Un estadista extranjero que visita al gobierno de Sudáfrica,” decía, “confiere respetabilidad y apoyo al régimen del *apartheid*, a menos que lo rechace explícitamente.”

Vorster echó a andar toda su maquinaria de propaganda para aprovechar al máximo la visita de Kissinger. En una entrevista televisada el 12 de septiembre, dijo: “El Dr. Kissinger admite que ellos tomaron la iniciativa para hablarnos acerca de esos asuntos [Namibia y Zimbabue] porque somos la clave y, por implicación el Dr. Kissinger acepta esto, también para muchos aspectos de los problemas de Africa del Sur.”

El 17 de septiembre, el *Rand Daily Mail* dijo que Kissinger es “el hombre más poderoso que haya visitado Sudáfrica.” Algunos de los periódicos sudafricanos han descrito a Vorster como “el pacificador de Africa,” que tiene el sello de aprobación de Kissinger.

Si bien parte de esta campaña de propaganda tenía el objeto de reforzar la moral de la población blanca, estaba

destinada principalmente a los más de veinte millones de negros que hay en el país. Vorster está tratando de hacerles ver que el régimen del *apartheid* no está solo, que cuenta con aliados poderosos. Aunque el primer ministro sudafricano había dicho poco antes de la llegada de Kissinger que no hay crisis en Sudáfrica, el régimen del *apartheid* considera que el apoyo de los Estados Unidos es vital para mantenerse en el poder frente al poderoso reto que significan las rebeliones de los negros.

La profundidad del fermento masivo que hay entre los negros de Sudáfrica se pudo apreciar claramente con la huelga general de tres días que se realizó mientras Kissinger se encontraba camino a Sudáfrica. La huelga fue la protesta más grande que ha habido contra el régimen del *apartheid* desde que estalló la rebelión de Soweto a mediados de junio. También ha sido una de las huelgas políticas más grandes de trabajadores negros en toda la historia de Sudáfrica.

La huelga fue convocada por el Soweto Students Representative Council [Consejo de Representantes Estudiantiles de Soweto], una organización que se formó al calor del levantamiento de junio. Los estudiantes distribuyeron volantes en inglés, zulú y sotho en Soweto y en otras ciudades negras segregadas. Dijeron que la huelga era para protestar por el asesinato de más de 300 negros por la policía (según cifras oficiales), el arresto de muchos dirigentes negros destacados, la muerte en prisión de tres presos políticos, y la reducción de los

salarios de los obreros como represalia ante una anterior huelga general que tuvo lugar en Johannesburgo del 23 al 25 de agosto.

"Más de 150,000 obreros negros comenzaron una huelga general de tres días en el centro industrial y financiero más importante de Sudáfrica," informaba el 13 de septiembre desde Johannesburgo el corresponsal del *Washington Post* David B. Ottaway.

En Soweto la huelga tuvo tanto éxito como la de tres semanas antes, cuando entre 70 y 80% de los 250,000 trabajadores de Soweto no se presentaron a trabajar. Pero a diferencia de la huelga anterior, también participaron trabajadores de Alexandra y Thembiza, otras dos ciudades negras segregadas cerca de Johannesburgo.

Johannesburgo quedó virtualmente paralizado, y muchas oficinas, fábricas y hoteles informaron que hubo un absentismo de hasta 70%. En algunos hoteles, sólo se presentaron a trabajar alrededor del 20% de los trabajadores. Los trenes y los autobuses se vieron seriamente afectados, pues casi todos los trabajadores negros del Departamento de Transporte Municipal de Johannesburgo se pusieron en huelga.

Los organizadores de la huelga obtuvieron una gran victoria al lograr la solidaridad de los trabajadores zulúes, que se encuentran alojados aparte del resto de la población de Soweto en unas barracas que parecen cuarteles. Durante la huelga del 23-25 de agosto, la policía logró voltear a algunos de estos trabajadores zulúes contra los estudiantes y huelguistas.

Ottaway informaba en una nota fechada el 15 de septiembre en Johannesburgo que, según fuentes africanas, el apoyo de los trabajadores zulúes a la huelga "fue el resultado de una serie de reuniones secretas entre los habitantes de las barracas y los organizadores de la huelga, quienes explicaron ampliamente el propósito del boicot."

El hecho de que los estudiantes hayan logrado que los residentes de las barracas participaran en la huelga, tan sólo tres semanas después de los sangrientos choques instigados por la policía entre los zulúes y otros negros, muestra lo rápido que se aprenden lecciones políticas durante un levantamiento social como el que se está desarrollando en Sudáfrica.

El 15 de septiembre, la huelga general se extendió a Ciudad del Cabo, otro importante centro industrial. Además de los africanos, participaron en la huelga muchos trabajadores de color,* que son la espina dorsal de la clase obrera negra de Ciudad del Cabo.

*La población negra de Sudáfrica está compuesta por 17.8 millones de africanos, 2.3 millones de personas de color, y 710,000 hindúes. Las personas de color son descendientes de los primeros colonos holandeses; de los esclavos hindúes y malayos; y de los nativos Khoi-Khoi, bosquimanos y otros pueblos africanos.

Ottaway informaba el 15 de septiembre: "Muchos de los aproximadamente 200,000 trabajadores de 'color' (nombre que da el gobierno a los mestizos) no fueron a trabajar, lo que afectó principalmente a los muelles y a la industria de la construcción, pero también a muchos pequeños comercios del centro de la ciudad."

Según la Cámara Industrial de Ciudad del Cabo, la huelga fue efectiva en un 50%. En algunas partes de la ciudad, se pusieron en huelga hasta un 90% de los trabajadores. Según un informe de John Stewart publicado en el *Financial Times* de Londres el 16 de septiembre, la industria más golpeada fue la del vestido, que emplea 50,000 trabajadores, 90% de los cuales son mujeres.

Nicholas Ashford informaba en el *Times* de Londres el 16 de septiembre:

El puerto de Ciudad del Cabo, el segundo más grande del país, se vio afectado de manera particular, pues sólo el 20% de los estibadores africanos se presentaron a trabajar.

Oficialmente, las escuelas para personas de color estaban abiertas, pero ni los maestros ni los alumnos se presentaron a clases. Una gran panadería de la ciudad tuvo que suspender la entrega de pan porque el 90% de sus empleados de color no se presentaron.

La huelga de Ciudad del Cabo fue un desarrollo extraordinariamente importante para la lucha de los negros en contra de la opresión de los blancos. Durante décadas, Pretoria trató de dividir a las personas de color y a los hindúes de la mayoría africana, dándoles uno que otro privilegio simbólico. Pero el sistema de *apartheid* de supremacía blanca sigue estando tan inalterablemente opuesto a dar derechos reales a las personas de color como lo está a dárselos a los africanos.

Por esta razón, las personas de color y los hindúes se han identificado cada vez más como parte de la lucha de los africanos contra el enemigo común. Fue esta creciente unidad entre los tres sectores de la población negra lo que sentó las bases para el surgimiento del Movimiento de Conciencia de los Negros, a principios de los años setenta, cuando empezaron a crearse grupos como la South African Students Organisation [Organización de Estudiantes Sudafricanos—SASO] y el Black People's Convention [Congreso de los Negros—BPC].

La huelga de Ciudad del Cabo fue la primera ocasión en que los trabajadores de color se han levantado contra el régimen blanco—o que han participado en luchas conjuntas con los africanos—en una escala tan amplia.

El triunfo de la huelga general de Johannesburgo y Ciudad del Cabo mostró un mayor grado de organización que muchas protestas anteriores, a pesar del arresto de la mayoría de los dirigentes de los estudiantes y jóvenes negros. Los estudiantes han jugado un papel ejemplar, y parece ser que en mucho han sido la dirección de la lucha.

La huelga también indicó que la población negra de Sudáfrica está comenzando a apreciar su propia fuerza. Lo que reconocieron los estudiantes al llamar a la huelga, fue el inmenso peso social de la clase obrera negra, que actualmente supera los siete millones de personas. Por el simple hecho de no presentarse a trabajar, los obreros negros mostraron que pueden paralizar la economía dominada por los blancos.

La creciente comprensión del poder e impacto de la acción de masas fue resumida por dos de las consignas que aparecían en los volantes de los estudiantes: "La unidad hace la fuerza" y "El poder está en nuestras manos."

El régimen de Vorster tiene miedo de esta creciente confianza que hay entre la población negra. Aunque ha tratado de aparentar que ha hecho algunas concesiones menores, su respuesta sigue siendo principalmente la utilización de la represión masiva.

En un intento por aplastar la solidaridad con la huelga, la policía peinó secciones de Soweto y Alexandra el 13 de septiembre, arrestando a cientos de personas. En Alexandra entraron casa por casa buscando "agitadores" e "intimidadores"; lo que realmente buscaban era personas que no hubieran ido a la escuela o al trabajo. Según la policía, tan sólo en Alexandra fueron arrestadas 900 personas.

Durante la huelga, la policía también disparó contra una multitud que se encontraba en torno a la estación de ferrocarriles de Soweto, y contra varias manifestaciones estudiantiles. Según *World*, un periódico publicado por negros en Johannesburgo, cuando menos dieciséis negros fueron asesinados en Soweto durante la huelga, y entre cincuenta o cien resultaron heridos.

Más de 260 destacados dirigentes negros han sido arrestados, bajo el Acta de Seguridad Interna, que permite la detención hasta por un año, sin derecho a fianza, audiencias o consejo legal, de cualquier persona que sea considerada un peligro para "el orden público."

Muchos de los detenidos bajo esta ley son dirigentes de SASO, BPC, South African Students Movement [Movimiento Estudiantil Sudafricano], Black Parents Association [Asociación de Padres de Familia Negros] y otros grupos. El nombre de Steve Biko, uno de los fundadores de SASO, se añadió recientemente a la lista de presos políticos.

Según diferentes cálculos, varios miles de negros han sido arrestados en conexión con su participación en las protestas y huelgas contra el gobierno.

Se sabe que en las cárceles de Vorster se utiliza ampliamente la tortura. Según los volantes de la huelga, tres presos políticos han muerto en prisión. La vida de los demás también se encuentra en peligro.

Se necesita urgentemente una campaña internacional para salvar a estos presos y para exigir su libertad inmediata. □

Narración del Incidente de Tien An Men

Por Hua Lin

[Primera de dos partes]

[El siguiente es el primer informe detallado de la manifestación de protesta realizada el 5 de abril en la Plaza Tien An Men de Pekín, en la que participaron 100,000 personas. Apareció por primera vez en el número del 1 de mayo de 1976 de *Huang Ho* (Río Amarillo), una revista que publican en Hong Kong ex Guardias Rojos. La traducción al español se hizo en base al texto en inglés que apareció en el número del 27 de septiembre de nuestra revista. La traducción y las notas son de *Intercontinental Press*. El autor dice en una nota que recibimos junto con el artículo que se basó en datos obtenidos a través de cartas de testigos presenciales del acontecimiento, comunicados de corresponsales extranjeros y la prensa oficial de Pekín. Varios incidentes, como la represión contra la manifestación la tarde del 5 de abril y la posterior cacería de brujas, son dados a conocer por primera vez en este artículo.]

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Desde hacía varios días se sentía en Pekín una atmósfera muy cargada, pero nadie sabía exactamente cómo había empezado todo. De cualquier manera, el 28 de marzo todo el mundo se dio cuenta de que el periódico de Shanghai *Wen Wei Pao*¹ había publicado un artículo del que mucha gente sospechaba que era un ataque contra el Primer Ministro Chou En-lai. A partir de ese momento, la gente se empezó a sentir inquieta. Alguien pegó grandes carteles en los trenes de la ruta Sin-Pu en respuesta a *Wen Wei Pao*; y aunque las autoridades los quitaron inmediatamente, pronto la noticia corrió por todo Pekín. Ansiosas y excitadas, las personas comenzaron a discutir el hecho.

Pero todo el mundo estaba seguro de una cosa: la atmósfera cargada emanaba de profundos sentimientos. Durante muchos años, el pueblo había estado deseando un cambio que mejorara sus vidas y relajara el control en las esferas política y cultural. Cuando el Primer Ministro Chou habló de las "Cuatro Modernizaciones"² en el Cuar-

to Congreso Nacional del Pueblo, sintieron que al fin había llegado el día que tanto habían esperado. Hubo un júbilo general, y el Primer Ministro Chou se convirtió en el símbolo de la esperanza de cambio. Entonces, poco tiempo después de la muerte de Chou, se lanzó la campaña contra el "intento desviacionista de derecha de revertir veredictos correctos."³ Como parte de esta campaña, se dijo que la consigna de las "Cuatro Modernizaciones" era un "complot revisionista," y se llamó a la gente a criticarla fuertemente. Conforme se desarrollaba la campaña, no sólo Teng Hsiao-p'ing fue criticado, sino que también se insinuó que Chou En-lai no estaba libre de sospecha. ¿No equivalía esto a decirle al pueblo que su última esperanza de cambio había sido aplastada? La situación se volvió intolerable.

Guirnaldas para Chou En-lai

Una semana antes del festival Ching Ming,⁴ empezaron a aparecer guirnaldas en memoria de Chou frente al Monumento a los Héroes del Pueblo [en la Plaza Tien An Men de Pekín]. Estas guirnaldas fueron enviadas por algunos miembros del personal del cuartel general de la Segunda Artillería; el Ejército Popular de Liberación [EPL]; y por cuadros de los ministerios quinto, sexto y séptimo del Consejo Estatal de Construcción de Maquinaria.

fue atacado en el número del 1 de marzo de 1976 de *Bandera Roja*, poco después de la muerte de Chou, porque supuestamente subestimaba la necesidad del control ideológico.

3. La campaña contra "el intento desviacionista de derecha de revertir veredictos correctos" iba dirigido principalmente contra Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Teng, vicepresidente del partido, empezó a ser atacado veladamente poco después de la muerte de Chou a principios de enero. Sin que se mencionara su nombre, fue acusado de rehabilitar a los cuadros que habían sido purgados en la Revolución Cultural de 1965-69. También fue acusado de plantear una política económica modelada según la de la Unión Soviética, que enfatizaba los incentivos económicos individuales y el cumplimiento de cuotas de producción. A esto, los maoistas oponían una política de movilizaciones masivas políticas y laborales bajo el control del partido y sin paga. Nunca se le dio a Teng la oportunidad de contestar las acusaciones y el 7 de abril, después de la manifestación en Tien An Men, fue destituido de todos sus puestos en el partido y en el gobierno.

4. El festival Ching Ming se celebra tradicionalmente en China a principios de abril, para honrar a los antepasados del pueblo.

Ellos fueron, entonces, quienes iniciaron el incidente. En cuanto al significado de su acción, no dijeron nada. Pero el solo hecho de que enviaran las guirnaldas tan temprano es en sí un fenómeno poco usual. Las masas sintieron inmediatamente que podían utilizar las guirnaldas para hacer una declaración pública.

Las guirnaldas eran sagradas, no podían ser deshonradas. ¿Quién podía negarle al afligido pueblo ese derecho?

El 1 de abril empezaron a apilarse más y más guirnaldas. Los mensajes de condolencia en ellas decían: "Querido y venerado Primer Ministro Chou, pensamos en tí día y noche." En el lado norte del monumento alguien colgó una bandera negra, en la que se leía con atrevidos caracteres blancos: "¡Gloria eterna a nuestro querido y venerado Primer Ministro Chou!"

Este era, al mismo tiempo, un acto en defensa de Chou En-lai y de las esperanzas del pueblo.

El 2 de abril, Tien An Men fue invadida por miles de personas. El monumento ya estaba lleno de guirnaldas y de decenas de fotografías de Chou En-lai. Los mensajes de condolencia en las guirnaldas decían: "Protegeremos tu imagen heroica y cumpliremos tus gloriosos planes."

Esta era una abierta declaración de apoyo a la línea de Chou y, lo que era igual, una manifestación de desaprobación a la campaña contra "los intentos desviacionistas de derecha de revertir veredictos correctos."

El 3 de abril, las guirnaldas aparecieron con consignas como: "Cuidado con los conspiradores dentro del partido. Abajo todos los traidores que se oponen al Primer Ministro Chou." Cientos de miles de personas se reunieron frente a Tien An Men y la pila de guirnaldas que había en el monumento alcanzó una altura de quince metros. Este era un ataque contra quienes habían iniciado la campaña contra "los intentos desviacionistas de derecha de revertir veredictos correctos."

El 4 de abril, que era el día del festival Ching Ming, predominaron consignas como: "¡Abajo la Emperatriz Dowager!"⁵ "¡Abajo Indira Gandhi!" y "¡Abajo todos los reaccionarios que quieren atacar al Primer Ministro Chou!" Esto hizo que el ataque se dirigiera directamente contra

5. Quienes critican a Chiang Ch'ing, la esposa de Mao, se refieren a ella irónicamente como la "Emperatriz Dowager," comparándola con la reaccionaria Tz-u Hsi (1835-1908), que fue la verdadera gobernante de China desde 1862 hasta su muerte.

1. El periódico de Shanghai *Wen Wei Pao* tiene la reputación de ser el vocero de los fanáticos maoistas más fraccionales e intolerantes.

2. Las "Cuatro Modernizaciones" fue una consigna planteada por Chou En-lai en el Cuarto Congreso Nacional del Pueblo en enero de 1975. Proponía el desarrollo industrial por medio de la modernización de la agricultura, la industria, el ejército, y la ciencia y la técnica. Este programa

Chiang Ch'ing, inspiradora de la campaña contra "los intentos desviacionistas de derecha de revertir veredictos correctos."

El incidente ganó impulso según su propia lógica interna, que expresaba los sentimientos del pueblo. Las guirnaldas se convirtieron en una especie de cartel gigantesco, que el pueblo utilizaba para expresar su propio punto de vista sobre la vida política del país. Las guirnaldas pasaron a ser el eje de la preocupación popular; a su vez, las guirnaldas movilizaban al pueblo. Los miles de personas que estaban en Tien An Men, con ánimo decidido, tomaron las consignas de las guirnaldas y pronunciaron discursos. A la plaza seguía llegando gente con más guirnaldas. Por primera vez en veintiséis años el pueblo se había puesto en pie para hablar en su propio nombre.

Consternación en Chungnanhai

No hace falta decir que todo esto provocó una profunda inquietud en Chungnanhai.⁶ La "dictadura del proletariado" debe tener poder y autoridad absolutos.⁷ Pero la independencia de la acción en Tien An Men era en sí misma un reto contra el estado de cosas, para no mencionar el atrevimiento de los discursos y de las consignas. Esto ocurrió en medio de la campaña contra "los intentos desviacionistas de derecha de revertir veredictos correctos," y se produjo justo a la puerta del "cuartel general del proletariado." De todos los gobiernos de la Tierra, Chungnanhai se encuentra entre los pocos que comprenden muy bien el poder que tienen las masas, porque fue el pueblo quien lo llevó al poder. Durante veintiséis años, nunca se ha olvidado de decir que representa al pueblo. Pero pareciera que hoy el pueblo se hubiese convertido en una amenaza para su dominación. ¿Puede algo ser más espantoso? Se decidió inmediatamente que había que detener la acción en la plaza.

Al recibir la directriz, el Buró de Seguridad Pública de Pekín actuó con rapidez. Cuando aparecieron por primera vez las guirnaldas, las distintas ramas del buró movilizaron a los "Comités de Inquilinos" para mantener la ley y el orden.⁸ Todos

6. Chungnanhai, a un costado de la plaza Tien An Men, era la residencia de Mao Tsetung.

7. El año pasado, después de la campaña contra Lin Piao y Confucio, el régimen inició una campaña para fortalecer la "dictadura del proletariado," eliminando la "contrarrevolución en el terreno de la superestructura"; es decir, una campaña contra las ideas disidentes.

8. Los comités de inquilinos, o comités de calle, son el aparato gubernamental al nivel de cada cuadra en las principales ciudades. Sus miembros son elegidos, pero quienes son nominados generalmente son investigados por el comité local del partido y pueden ser vetados por las unidades inmediatamente superiores del partido o del gobierno. Funcionan bajo las órdenes del gobierno o de la policía.

aquéllos que previamente habían sido denunciados como "enemigos de clase" fueron mantenidos bajo estricta vigilancia, y se les prohibió ir a Tien An Men. Se enviaron grupos de policías vestidos de civil para que vigilaran a quienes violaran esa disposición.

Al principio, las autoridades actuaron con mucha cautela, pero se habían confiado demasiado. Pensaron que el pueblo reaccionaría igual que en el pasado, y que podría ser silenciado con sólo tronarle los dedos. Pero la multitud seguía creciendo; las guirnaldas hacían una pila cada vez más alta; y los discursos y consignas se volvían cada vez más radicales. La presencia de policías vestidos de civil resultó ser completamente ineficaz: nadie les prestaba atención. Lo que es más, como a los "enemigos de clase" se les había prohibido oficialmente entrar a esa zona, el pueblo se sintió menos inhibido para hablar.

Las autoridades vacilaban. Resolver el problema no iba a ser tan fácil como había parecido al principio. Una cosa era obvia: la represión inmediata no era una maniobra aconsejable. Se trató de utilizar la persuasión en lugar de la fuerza bruta. De esta manera, el 3 de abril el Buró de Seguridad Pública decidió "persuadir" a la multitud de que se dispersara. Policías vestidos de civil circulaban entre la multitud advirtiendo: "Camaradas, ¡tengan cuidado de no ser utilizados por los enemigos de clase!"

¿Qué? ¿Enviar guirnaldas era sinónimo de ser utilizado por los enemigos de clase? Durante muchos años el pueblo se había angustiado ante el uso de esas gastadas y trilladas palabras para aterrorizar a las masas. Ahora la policía las usaba para deshonorar un acto sagrado de conmemoración. Y los mismos que se atrevían a lanzar esas acusaciones, los policías vestidos de civil, eran unos infames por sus actos sin escrúpulos. La gente levantaba el puño contra los policías y les gritaba enojada: "¡Ustedes son los enemigos de clase!"

Muchos policías fueron golpeados en la cara. Uno de ellos incluso se desmayó, y lo hubieran matado si no hubiera sido salvado por Yang Min-jui, Wan Pei-chin, y otras milicianas del Distrito Occidental de la Fábrica de Materiales Plásticos.

Las autoridades no se daban cuenta que el pueblo, silenciado durante tantos años y que apenas ahora recibía la oportunidad de hablar, no iba a aguantar la más mínima provocación.

Los cuadros de la Academia de Ciencias de China colgaron un cartel que decía: "Algunas personas quieren evitar que vayamos a Tien An Men a llorar por el primer ministro; ¡pero nada puede impedir que lo hagamos!" La multitud estaba de acuerdo: ¡Ese es un buen cartel! ¡Nada puede detenernos!

Ante esto, el Buró de Seguridad Pública tendría que recurrir a la fuerza. Tendría que arrestar a los dirigentes y dispersar a la multitud.

El 4 de abril, Tien Jiu-shan, un cuadro dirigente del Buró de Seguridad Pública, fue uno de los varios cientos de colegas suyos que se dispersaron entre la multitud, esperando el momento oportuno para arrestar a los activistas. Un joven puso un pequeño cartel en el monumento y gritó a la multitud: "¡Opongámonos a todos los pseudo-marxistas-leninistas! ¡Derrotaremos a cualquiera que se oponga al Primer Ministro Chou!"

Las masas, impresionadas por su osadía, aplaudieron inmediatamente. Se escuchaban gritos de "¡Dílo otra vez! ¡Dílo otra vez!"

Tien Jiu-shan informó rápidamente de esto a las oficinas del buró y recibió la orden: "¡Arrestelo!" [Entonces Tien Jiu-shan dijo al joven orador:] "¡Has pronunciado discursos contrarrevolucionarios y colgado carteles contrarrevolucionarios!" Luego trató de detener al joven, pero éste logró huir en su bicicleta. Tien gritó: "¡Detengan a ese canalla!"

En el pasado, era seguro que ese grito hubiera conseguido la ayuda inmediata de las masas. Esta vez sucedió lo contrario. La multitud rodeó a Tien para permitir que escapara el orador. Tien gritó: "¡Soy del Buró de Seguridad Pública! ¡Estaba pronunciando discursos contrarrevolucionarios!"

"Tú eres el canalla," dijeron a Tien. Después de recibir algunos golpes, se quedó parado, bamboleándose y murmurando: "Arresto . . . arresto . . ." Luego perdió el conocimiento.

Ahora las masas se sentían unidas. El "dirigente" desconocido se había convertido en su héroe. Lo que es más, una cosa era cuando no se había arrestado a nadie; pero una vez que las autoridades comenzaron a arrestar personas, fue imposible restablecer la paz. La ira de la multitud aumentaba rápidamente, y su actitud hacia el uso de la violencia también cambió: ésta pasó a ser un método legítimo, aprobado públicamente. Existían todas las condiciones para un motín, aunque éste no había estallado aún.

Todos los pasos de las autoridades fueron equivocados. Este fue un factor indispensable para hacer que avanzara todo este incidente. Indiscutiblemente, ahora las autoridades aparecían como tontas a los ojos del pueblo. Incluso le hubiera ido bien al gobierno si solamente hubiera aparecido como tonto, porque subyacente a su estupidez estaba su posición básica de reprimir al pueblo.

Entonces las autoridades tomaron otra decisión, que lanzó el incidente a nuevos niveles.

Durante los acontecimientos del 4 de abril, la oficina del Buró de Seguridad Pública estuvo muy activa. El secretario a cargo del comité del partido, Ma Yung-shun, fumaba mientras esperaba junto a varios teléfonos rojos las noticias de los desarrollos en la Plaza Tien An Men. Ma Yung-shun era responsable de la ley y el orden en Tien An Men. Sabía que las

guirnalda que habían sido colocadas allí habían hecho que algunos camaradas del centro se pusieran furiosos y molestos. Llevaba treinta y dos horas sin dormir.

Durante los últimos días, Ma había estado acosado por el miedo. Medidas que habían tenido éxito en el pasado no habían funcionado esta vez. Pero ahora sonreía. Había una manera sencilla para resolver esto: si se quitaban las guirnalda, esto daría una indicación inmediata de la actitud del centro del partido, y la voluntad del centro del partido tenía un peso muy grande para asegurar la obediencia de las masas. Confiaba que las masas se retirarían al siguiente día, tal y como esperaban quienes toman las decisiones.

"¡Mañana es el día decisivo!" dijo Ma Yung-shun a su equipo, y descuidadamente quitó una página más de su calendario, descubriendo una página nueva que indicaba el 5 de abril.

Quitan las Guirnalda

Esto fue lo que trajo la página nueva del 5 de abril: la explosión del incidente de Tien An Men, que sacudió al mundo.

Temprano por la mañana, el guardia Yuan Chi-feng, junto con un grupo de policías y milicianos, montaba guardia frente al monumento. Su misión era proteger la solemnidad, la limpieza y el orden del monumento . . . e impedir que se colocaran más guirnalda. Yuan Chi-feng, cuando vio que se acercaba la multitud, calculó que en ese momento ya había 30,000 personas o quizás más.

Las masas gritaron a los guardias: "¿Dónde están nuestras guirnalda?" "¿A dónde se las llevaron?" "¿Por qué quitan nuestras guirnalda?" Los guardias no respondieron. No podían hacerlo: nadie sabía donde estaban las guirnalda.

¿No era esto pedirle claramente al pueblo que denunciara al Primer Ministro Chou? ¿No era esto pedirle abiertamente al pueblo que abandonara su última esperanza? Todo estaba claro sin necesidad de palabras. Era obvio que no podía haber sido un funcionario de segunda fila quien ordenara que se quitaran las guirnalda. ¿Pero quién podía ser? Fuera quien fuese, las guirnalda habían simbolizado la voluntad de todas las personas que se habían reunido allí. ¿Qué podía ser más importante?

¡Devuélvannos nuestras guirnalda!

Por un momento, quizás solamente unos segundos, una sombra de temor descendió sobre los miles de personas, pero se disipó rápidamente. Este nuevo obstáculo hizo que despertara repentinamente el orgullo del pueblo. Este orgullo, que sentían todos los presentes, hizo que de pronto se dieran cuenta de su propia fuerza e importancia: no eran inferiores en nada a quienes detentaban el poder. Tenían el derecho de tomar decisiones y no temían hacerlo. Estaban incluso dispuestos a arriesgar la vida en la lucha por el derecho a tomar

decisiones. Era un momento histórico crucial.

Las decisiones de las autoridades resultaron ser completamente equivocadas. No habían tomado en cuenta que las masas también son seres humanos que deben tener su propia dignidad y derechos, por los que en última instancia estaban dispuestas a pelear. Y el poder de las masas era inmenso. La decisión de las autoridades de quitar las guirnalda fue en realidad la chispa que hizo estallar el incidente de Tien An Men. ¡Comenzó el motín!

A las 7:30 a.m., un grupo de personas, que llevaba un retrato gigantesco de Chou En-lai, entró a la plaza por la calle Cheng-an y corrió hacia el monumento. La multitud, muy excitada, les abrió paso, cerrándose tras el retrato. Se formó una ola de gente que comenzó a avanzar hacia el monumento.

Pronto quedó rota la línea defensiva de los milicianos. El retrato de Chou En-lai fue colocado en el lado norte del monumento, frente al retrato de Mao Tsetung que está al otro lado de la plaza. Las masas estallaron en aplausos y gritos de júbilo.

Poco después, avanzaron también los estudiantes de la Escuela Secundaria Número 173 de Pekín para colocar sus guirnalda. La multitud los animaba con sus gritos.

Los guardias que estaban frente al monumento eran impotentes ante las decenas de miles de manifestantes enojados y que tenían el ánimo muy alto. Yuan Chi-feng recibió varios golpes en la conmoción.

En ese mismo momento, otro camarada de su misma compañía, Seong Hai-ping, montaba guardia frente a la bandera nacional en la Plaza Tien An Men. Al ver que la multitud corría hacia el monumento se sorprendió tanto que no sabía qué hacer. El día anterior, un grupo de trabajadores le había pedido que pusiera la bandera a media asta, "para honrar al primer ministro." Otro grupo de jóvenes se había subido a la balaustrada que rodea a la bandera y trató de ponerla a media asta por la fuerza, por la misma razón. Retrocedieron sólo después de una larga y dura discusión con Seong Hai-ping y otros guardias. Pero ahora la situación era completamente diferente. Era bastante obvio que ahora las masas no tenían miedo de nada, y si querían poner la bandera a media asta nadie las podría detener. Afortunadamente, la gente estaba demasiado ocupada con la guerra de las guirnalda.

Para las 7:45 a.m., más de 50,000 personas se habían reunido en la plaza y obstruían el tráfico en la calle Chang-an.

A las 8:00 a.m., el Buró de Seguridad Pública envió un automóvil con altavoces para pedirle a la gente que se dispersara, para "no obstruir el tráfico." Las agudas voces de Tien Lan-yu y Liu Jsin-fei, mujeres policías, amplificadas por los altavoces, formaban una exasperante onda de sonido. Cuando llegó a la parte oriental

del Gran Salón del Pueblo, el auto fue rodeado por la multitud. Al ver que sus gritos y recriminaciones eran ahogados por el ruido de los altavoces, la gente sacó al chofer y empezó a bincar encima del automóvil y a golpearlo. Entonces alguien gritó: "¡Volteen el automóvil!" Fue volteado inmediatamente. Tien Lan-yu y los otros pasajeros también quedaron de cabeza, como cebollas que tienen la cabeza en la tierra, pero aún así podían sentir vagamente que alguien seguía brincando encima del auto. La gente que se encontraba en la plaza lanzaba gritos de aprobación.

A las 8:30 a.m., comenzó finalmente un gran enfrentamiento entre las masas y los guardias que estaban en el monumento. Al ver que los guardias quitaban las guirnalda en sus propias narices, las masas avanzaron para recuperarlas, lo que resultó en una lucha en la cual hubo bajas por ambos lados.

Finalmente, alguien gritó en medio de la multitud: "¡Obreros, no luchen contra obreros!" y la lucha se apagó gradualmente. Entre la multitud comenzó una discusión, y se decidió tratar de averiguar quién había ordenado que se quitaran las guirnalda. Hubo un gran movimiento hacia el Gran Salón del Pueblo, donde se creía que se encontraban los responsables de que se quitaran las guirnalda.

"¡Abran la puerta!" "¡Salgan! ¡El oficial de turno!" El Gran Salón del Pueblo se arremolinó.

El enfrentamiento, que ahora llegaba a su clímax, siguió desarrollándose rápidamente. Wu Yuan-fu, un delegado al Cuarto Congreso Nacional del Pueblo, junto con otros milicianos de la Sexta Compañía de Contrucción de Pekín, tenía la tarea de proteger el Gran Salón del Pueblo. Su turno había comenzado el 4 de abril.

Cuando las masas llegaron a la puerta oriental, Wu Yuan-fu ya había ordenado a los milicianos que cerraran bien la puerta. Fuera, la multitud comenzó a gritar. Sin molestarse en escuchar, Wu Yuan-fu ordenó a los milicianos que cerrasen la puerta con doble llave. Al otro lado de la puerta de vidrio, algunas personas furiosas golpeaban y pateaban, reuniendo fuerzas para tratar de derribar la puerta. Eran las 9:00 de la mañana.

En este mismo momento, el comandante de la milicia en el Distrito de Chiu Yang y de una unidad del Distrito de la Guardia de Pekín, recibió una orden del Comité Municipal Revolucionario de Pekín: "Entren inmediatamente a la plaza, sin armas, para proteger el Gran Salón del Pueblo."

Varios cientos de miembros de las fuerzas armadas del Distrito de la Guardia fueron los primeros en entrar a la plaza. Tendieron una línea defensiva frente a las escaleras que conducen al Gran Salón, separando a las masas que estaban en la puerta de las que estaban en la plaza.

Esto convenció automáticamente a quienes se encontraban en la plaza de que las guirnalda estaban en el Gran Salón del

Pueblo. Gritando el nombre de Chou En-lai, la multitud corrió hacia el Gran Salón, sólo para ser detenida por el ejército. La gente quitó a los soldados sus gorras e insignias y las lanzó al aire. El soldado Hze Hsu-wua se puso a pelear con la multitud. Lo arrastraron hasta el monumento y se le ordenó que se arrojara y confesara su crimen contra el primer ministro.

Poco después de que el ejército entrara a la plaza, Liu Tsin-lung, vicecomandante de la milicia del Distrito de Chiu Yang, llevó 600 milicianos más para reforzar la situación. Querían preparar una emboscada contra los manifestantes frente al Gran Salón, pero antes de que llegaran a la puerta principal, su formación se vio dividida en varias secciones. Se inició entonces otra escaramuza caótica, en la cual unos cien milicianos resultaron heridos, doce de ellos de gravedad. No había manera de calcular las bajas que hubo entre los manifestantes.

A las 10:00 a.m., la multitud que rodeaba el Gran Salón del Pueblo era de casi 100,000 personas. Exigían que se les devolvieran las guirnaldas y que se les diera el derecho de honrar a Chou En-lai.

Un hombre que dijo ser estudiante de la Universidad Tsinghua se puso de pie y pronunció un discurso atacando a Chou En-lai,⁹ diciendo que Chou era el instigador oculto del "viento desviacionista de derecha." La multitud enojada pidió que se le golpeara y se le obligara a arrojarse y suplicar perdón. Varios policías vestidos de civil que se encontraban entre la multitud también fueron golpeados.

A las 11:00 a.m., pensando que los responsables de que hubieran quitado las guirnaldas se podían encontrar en el Museo de Historia de China o en el cuartel del ejército que está en la esquina sudoriental de la plaza, la multitud se dividió y corrió hacia estos dos edificios.

El Museo de Historia de China ya se encontraba lleno de soldados, para evitar que se acercaran las masas. La multitud logró, en cambio, entrar a los cuarteles de la Novena Compañía del EPL, en la esquina oriental de la plaza. Varios jóvenes que llevaban el pelo cortado como soldados gritaron por un megáfono de transistores (que probablemente habían tomado en el cuartel): "El pueblo tiene el derecho de recordar al primer ministro. ¡Está bien que pida que le sean devueltas sus guirnaldas!"

A mediodía, un grupo de personas fundó el "Comité del Pueblo de la Capital para Honrar al Primer Ministro." Este comité sacó un comunicado, en el que insistían

9. Todas las universidades chinas fueron cerradas durante la Revolución Cultural, y no volvieron a funcionar hasta 1972. Quienes estudian en ellas, que son muchos menos que antes de esa revolución, son seleccionados por su lealtad al régimen maoísta. Las universidades Tsinghua y de Pekín son conocidos bastiones de las fuerzas ultramaoístas.



Monumento a los Héroes del Pueblo cubierto de guirnaldas.

que las autoridades debían volver a poner las guirnaldas en su lugar. Un joven con gafas anunció que si el Buró de Seguridad Pública no respondía en un plazo de diez minutos, la multitud lo iba a atacar.

A las 12:30 p.m., un numeroso contingente de soldados del EPL llegó para ayudar a los guardias del cuartel. Las masas gritaron: "¡El Ejército del Pueblo debe estar del lado del pueblo!" Sin prestar ninguna atención al llamado, el ejército comenzó a sacar a la multitud del cuartel.

Las masas, que no pudieron encontrar sus guirnaldas y que vieron rechazadas sus demandas sin que se les contestara una sola palabra, se enojaban cada vez más. Voltearon el automóvil de un miembro del partido y le prendieron fuego.

A las 12:40 p.m., la multitud detuvo a medio camino un camión de bomberos que había salido de la puerta de enfrente y se dirigía a donde estaba el fuego. Varios jóvenes sacaron al chofer, mientras que otros destruían los neumáticos del camión con sus cuchillos y cortaban la manguera. El bombero Wan Ai-hsiu fue arrastrado un trecho bastante largo por la multitud, y cuando lo soltaron le advirtieron: "¡Nunca reprimas al pueblo!"

A las 12:45 p.m., la policía salió a apagar el fuego, pero fue bloqueada por los manifestantes, que tiraron al suelo las gorras de los policías.

Las llamas del auto que se quemaba simbolizaban el enojo del pueblo. Nadie podía apagarlo. El pequeño sedán siguió ardiendo hasta quedar reducido a cenizas.

Mientras los milicianos y el ejército estaban preocupados con el incendio, algunas personas aprovecharon la oportunidad para llevar más guirnaldas al monumento. En las guirnaldas aparecían las siguientes palabras: "Querido Primer

Ministro Chou, sentimos mucho molestarte con la confusión que reina en Tien An Men," y "Aplastaremos a quienes quieren castrar el verdadero marxismo-leninismo."

Tien An Men fue durante mucho tiempo el lugar donde el pueblo chino mostraba su férrea disciplina,¹⁰ pero ahora, llevado por una profunda fuerza interna, había estallado.

Al ver las nubes de humo negro, uno se podía imaginar la situación que reinaba en Chungnanhai. Habían pensado que quitar las guirnaldas era un acto aconsejable, pero en vez de eso, desató un motín en la Plaza Tien An Men. Las autoridades estaban al mismo tiempo sorprendidas y furiosas. Este era el mayor "incidente contrarrevolucionario" en los veintiséis años de historia del régimen. No es raro que tuviera que ser reprimido.

Pero había tanta gente, toda hirviendo de rabia. Y aún era de día, aún faltaba la tarde antes de que se pusiera el Sol.

¿Represión inmediata? No, eso era imposible. La multitud tenía que enfriarse. Era necesario esperar el momento oportuno. Las autoridades tenían un gran poder represivo, y el hecho de que las masas hubieran estado reunidas durante sólo una mañana le daba tiempo al régimen para utilizar el arte de la lucha.

Pero durante este periodo no debía dar ni un solo signo de debilidad, o se crearía una situación intolerable. Los manifestantes serían inspirados por su victoria y acabarían con la autoridad del gobierno.

¡Había que quitar otra vez las guirnaldas!

[Continuará]

10. La Plaza Tien An Men, como la Plaza Roja de Moscú, es el lugar favorito del gobierno para la realización de manifestaciones oficiales.

FROM OUR READERS

John Gravel of South Africa, now retired in Florida, writes:

"There is a false and misleading headline in the Sept. 20 issue of IP over an article on South Africa by Ernest Harsch. It reads: 'Kissinger's Plan to Save Apartheid.'

'Kissinger's mission is not to save apartheid, but to save the huge American investment in South Africa and to insure that the country remains a secure field for American business as a part of the 'Free World.' (This concern is well stated in the body of the article.)

"It is a matter of record that Kissinger has publicly denounced apartheid—and that in no uncertain terms. He understands without a doubt that apartheid is incompatible with the security of American interests. The preservation and development of those interests require civil peace, an end to violent racial strife.

"Unless Vorster can be persuaded to modify the oppression of the blacks and coloreds, the present rebellion will grow into a full-fledged liberation struggle and—revolution.

"It is to abort that revolution that Kissinger is now busy in southern Africa. The first steps are trying to get neo-colonial regimes installed in Namibia and Zimbabwe. If that succeeds, Kissinger will have a lever to induce Vorster to make 'meaningful' concessions in South Africa. It all adds up to an effort to abort the developing revolution. To Kissinger and the U.S. imperialists, revolution means that everything goes 'down the drain.'"

A reader in Australia, who follows the student newspapers there, writes: "You may be pleased to know that Intercontinental Press is one of the major sources of international news for quite a number of them. . . ."

"A recent issue of the AUS [Australian Union of Students] paper Axis carried Frankel's series on the plight of Jews in the Soviet Union, much to the annoyance of local Zionists.

"Even the Communist Party of Australia's paper Tribune quoted extensively from, and credited, an IP report by Joanna Rossi on the women's liberation conference of 1600 in Barcelona, in a recent article.

"Honest and accurate reporting has a way of building its own reputation."

Israel Shahak writes from Jerusalem, Israel:

"The translation of my Pi-Ha'aton article was *most excellent*, and I thank you very much. I am adopting this as the definitive English version. I hope the article made a good impression."

The article "Israel—A Racist State Founded by a Racist Movement" appeared in our August 2 issue.

B.C., a subscriber in Vancouver, British Columbia, sent this letter with his renewal subscription:

"I have been subscribing for the past year and before that I picked it up at Vanguard Books here in Vancouver. I am an avid reader. I also pass them around to friends (but I make sure I get them back so I can keep them at hand).

"I am really impressed by your new section 'Selections from the Left.' I feel that this is an important addition as it gives a spectrum of what the other left groups are saying and doing in their countries."

"I want to congratulate you on the continual high quality of I.P.," writes B.S. of Toronto, Canada. "What I particularly find valuable are the translations of documents both from the debates within the F.I. and elsewhere. Also 'Selections from the Left' is a useful and interesting feature. I particularly like the variety of selections there. Keep it up and I will be a long-time subscriber."

M.R., who is "working in Holland for a year," explains:

"Naturally I have continued to receive I.P. here for it is even more valuable to me in the Netherlands as my Dutch is very limited.

"I have enclosed a clipping from the International Herald Tribune of July 18 as I thought you may not receive this paper. The clipping on radiation in Chicago may not yet have been picked up by the 'Capitalism Fouls Things Up' column."

Because M.R. sent this clipping instead of assuming that we already had it, we were able to carry the information in our August 2 issue about the dangerous radiation levels in a West Chicago park.

"Keep up your wonderful work!" writes D.T. of New York City. "Joseph Hansen's piece on Healy hit it all on the head. The Allen Myers piece 'To Eat or Not to Eat' was the kind of thing the radical press should have more of."

The Hansen article "Healy Caught in the Logic of the Big Lie" appeared in our August 9 issue; the Myers piece in the September 20.

Vanguard Books, Vancouver, B.C., sent an order for additional copies of "Joe Hansen's remarkable, useful, and thorough answer to Healy. That final paragraph is such a neat rapier thrust."



Herblock/Washington Post

We had hoped that by the time our vacation was over there would be some improvement in the postal service. Evidence is to the contrary.

L.N. of San Francisco, California, says he is "tired of getting the IP a month late" and asks us to tell him how much he has "to pay for the remaining to come 1st class."

A recent *New York Times* editorial about "the rapid deterioration of communications with any location that is off the beaten track or the main line" cites two cases.

A letter mailed from New York City to a small community in Upstate New York took six days to get there.

A letter mailed from Lake Placid, New York, to a destination in Vermont—a distance of less than 100 miles or two hours' leisurely drive—arrived one week later.

We cite further evidence.

An envelope delivered from Ireland to Gerry Foley of Intercontinental Press was empty, bearing these postal rubber stampings: "Received without contents" and "Received in damaged condition."

And more evidence.

Moneysworth carried an item about the "heavily-guarded 'secret depot' surrounded by a 12-foot fence, where packages mutilated by the Post Office itself are hidden." This was discovered by California Congressman Charles Wilson, who toured the Detroit facility. He said: "It contained thousands of parcels so badly defaced that they were a horror and embarrassment to the Post Office."

A horror perhaps, but an embarrassment? □