

ASSAD: Used Soviet tanks in capture of key Palestinian positions.

Assad's Offensive in Lebanon

Minority Resolution on Angola

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Assad's New Offensive in Lebanon

By David Frankel

After a year and a half of fighting, it is clear that the civil war in Lebanon is nearing a turning point. Helped by Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, the Christian rightists are now hoping for a military victory.

In the north of Lebanon, Palestinian and Muslim leftist forces are bottled up in a small enclave around the city of Tripoli. In the south, long a Palestinian stronghold, the right-wing Phalangists have begun to raise their heads. They have received arms and training from Israel, and Phalangist leaders say that they will soon go on the offensive in the southern region.

But what tipped the scales in the civil war was the rapid victory of Syrian and Lebanese rightist forces in the mountain battle east of Beirut. On September 28, Syrian troops and Lebanese rightists, backed by massive artillery barrages and at least ninety Soviet-built tanks, launched an offensive against Palestinian positions in the mountains.

In two days of fighting, Palestinian forces were pushed out of a twelve-milelong salient, their last important position north of the Beirut-to-Damascus highway. Syrian troops occupying eastern Lebanon were able to complete their link-up with the Christian rightists in the west, and the proimperialist forces now threaten the last short section of the Beirut-to-Damascus highway still in the hands of the Palestinians and Muslim leftists.

More important, Beirut itself is threatened with encirclement. One Palestinian was quoted in a September 30 United Press International dispatch as saying, "The loss of Tal Zaatar was a prestige blow. But the mountain front is a real strategic loss." (Tel Zaatar, a Palestinian refugee camp in Beirut, withstood a fifty-five day siege before falling to rightist attackers in August.)

In keeping with the step-by-step character of his intervention in Lebanon up to now, Assad ordered his troops to halt their offensive after they had succeeded in driving the Palestinians out of their key mountain positions. When the Christian rightists attempted to carry on the attack by themselves October 1, they were pushed back with heavy losses.

Assad's tactic of alternating military pressure with negotiations has led some commentators to suggest that he is trying "to cut the Palestinian movement down to controllable size," as Geoffrey Godsell put it in the October 4 Christian Science Monitor.

It is true that Assad would like the luxury of a housebroken Palestine Liberation Organization, which he could use as a pawn in negotiations with Israel and in his relations with other Arab regimes. He has already called for the replacement of the current PLO leadership.

But it is not only the Palestinian national liberation movement that is threatened by Assad's actions. The whole Palestinian community in Lebanon is in deadly danger. Whatever Assad's intentions—and there is good reason to assume the worst—his policy in Lebanon will lead inexorably to a bloody massacre if it succeeds.

The Palestinians have proved to be an ever-present danger as far as Assad's rightist allies in Lebanon are concerned. Both the Palestinian national liberation movement and the population that is its source are a threat to the Maronite Christian establishment that has ruled Lebanon for the last thirty years.

If the Maronite rightists gain the upper hand in Lebanon, it will only be a matter of time before they try to settle accounts. Awareness of this was expressed by one Palestinian youth fighting in the mountains, who said, "What can we do? Where can we run if we don't fight? Out to sea? The Israelis will shoot holes in our boats." (New York Times, September 30.)

Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat accused Assad September 28 of attempting to "liquidate the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon" with his new offensive. He said, "The only winner is Israel."

The statement was accurate, but Sadat himself, along with the rest of the Arab rulers, has been playing a cynical game. While giving lip-service to the Palestinian cause, he has made no real effort to stop Assad. On the contrary, Sadat pledged his full support to Elias Sarkis, the new president of Lebanon, who was elected with Syrian support and who has expressly approved the presence of Assad's army in Lebanon.

A similarly hypocritical gesture was made by the Saudi Arabian regime, which has announced the withdrawal of its troops stationed in the Golan Heights, ostensibly as a protest over Assad's offensive.

The Kremlin, which also professes support for the Palestinians, has limited itself to reproaching Assad in letters and urging him to withdraw from Lebanon. The Syrian army is totally dependent on Soviet equipment, but Moscow has made no move to cut off supplies.

Meanwhile, both the U.S. State Department and the Israeli regime are watching events in Lebanon with undisguised satisfaction. With the Palestinians surrounded on land, blockaded by sea, and seemingly without recourse in their last stronghold, the imperialists are having visions of finally eliminating the biggest stumbling block to an imposed Middle East settlement.

Nevertheless, the Palestinians have not been defeated yet. In this regard, Assad faces a dilemma that may still lead to his downfall. If he tries to move rapidly against the Palestinian strongholds in Beirut and Saida, he risks heavy casualties and a backlash in the ranks of his army. At the same time, the longer the intervention in Lebanon is drawn out, the greater are the problems that Assad faces at home.

About 100 Palestinians are reported to be in Syrian jails for actions in opposition to Assad's intervention in Lebanon. Nervousness about his home base was reflected in Assad's decision to stage a public hanging September 27—the first in Damascus in eleven years. The victims were three guerrillas who seized hostages and attempted to exchange them for some of Assad's prisoners.

But even if the Palestinians are militarily defeated in Lebanon, the problem of Palestine will remain to haunt those who would like to see it buried once and for all. Following the 1948-49 Arab-Israeli war, the very name of Palestine disappeared from the map. In 1967, the Israeli regime was reinforced by a military victory over its Arab opponents. In 1970, the Palestinian liberation movement in Jordan was defeated and its organizations destroyed. But in every case the issue of Palestine has remained in the center of Middle Eastern politics.

Butz's 'Unfortunate Choice of Language'

Occasionally, the cosmetic veneer of capitalist rule is inadvertantly dropped and bourgeois politicians are exposed as the racist bigots they really are.

In the United States, this happened to Ford's secretary of agriculture, Earl Butz, who was forced to resign October 4. While he was flying to the Republican party convention in August, Butz made a typically racist remark during what he apparently thought would remain a private conversation.

As with the "deleted expletives" in the transcripts of Nixon's White House tapes, the major bourgeois newspapers chose not to repeat Butz's exact words. But an



BUTZ: When talking about Blacks, likes to speak in terms of [] and [1.

account in the October 3 Washington Post printed enough of his comments to convey their flavor.

Commenting on the Republican party's inability to attract more support from Blacks, Butz said, "I'll tell you why you can't attract coloreds. Because coloreds only want three things. . . .

"I'll tell you what coloreds want. It's three things: first, a tight [woman's sexual organ]; second, loose shoes; and third, a warm place to [defecate]."

Following the furor over the statements, Ford initially slapped Butz's wrists with a "severe reprimand" October 1, hoping it would all blow over. However, other officials, both Democrats and Republicans, demanded Butz's resignation. After meeting with Ford, Butz himself appeared on television and apologized for his "unfortunate choice of language."

What upset Ford was that Butz had been careless enough to let his real views be quoted in the press. In fact, Butz's remarks are undoubtedly a fair sample of those exchanged by ruling-class politicians when talking among themselves.

Just a week before Butz was quoted, Vice-president Nelson Rockefeller and House Speaker Carl Albert were overheard making racist remarks about Liberians and about Senator Edward Brooke, the only Black senator. When Brooke greeted a Liberian delegation, Albert nudged Rockefeller and whispered that Brooke would "be a slave" if he were in Liberia.

And if Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter has been slow to capitalize on Butz's "unfortunate" remark, it may be because the memory is still fresh of his own statement about the importance of preserving the "ethnic purity" of white neighborhoods.

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600,000 Join General Strike in Basque Country

By Tony Thomas

On September 27, the Basque nation in the Spanish state erupted in a massive general strike protesting political repression and the denial of the Basque people's rights.

Rouge, the French Trotskyist daily, reported that 600,000 workers, "perhaps the whole of the working class in the Basque country," answered the call for a general strike.

Rouge described the scene during the strike: "In Biscay, Navarre, Alava, and Guipúzcoa [the four Basque provinces], the work stoppage was total. Everywhere the sight was the same: the curtains and shutters of closed stores, only a few buses carrying strikers were running, and everywhere assemblies, meetings."

A report in the September 23 Le Monde said that the strike had been called on September 21 by "all the opposition political organizations in the Spanish Basque country, from the moderate socialists to the ETA."1 The date picked for the strike was the first anniversary of the execution on September 27, 1975, of three members of the FRAP² and two members of the ETA accused by the fascist regime of "terrorism."

An especially important demand of the general strike was freedom for Basque political prisoners. A report by Henry Giniger in the September 28 New York Times estimated that of the hundreds of political prisoners in Spain "the bulk are Basques convicted of so-called 'crimes of blood,' which the [July 1976] amnesty does not cover." Among these "crimes" is "terrorism," which may involve any physical conflict with the police, or membership in an organization deemed "terrorist" by the Francoist regime.

During the strike, there were numerous demonstrations and clashes with the police throughout the Basque country, Giniger reported. Groups of workers led by the Communist and Socialist parties tried to meet peacefully in town squares, but were dispersed by riot police under orders not to tolerate street demonstrations.

In Baracaldo, in the industrial belt surrounding Bilbao, 3,000 strikers stood silently while speakers told them "as long as one son of our people is imprisoned, we

2. Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriota (Revolutionary Antifascist and Patriotic Front).

democrats are obliged to fight for him." After twenty minutes of further speeches, helmeted police arrived and violently attacked the demonstration.

At Guernica, Rouge reported, the police attacked a demonstration marching on the town hall to chants of "Freedom, Amnesty."

September 27 was also the date of a general strike in the Canary Islands. The strike call came after the death of Bartolome Garcia, a twenty-one-year-old student killed by the police, supposedly in a case of mistaken identity. The police were searching homes of supporters of autonomy for the Canaries, claiming they were looking for the kidnapper of a local industrialist.

Twenty-five thousand persons attended Garcia's funeral on September 25. As soon as the funeral ended, groups of autonomist activists were attacked by the police. A dispatch in the September 28 Le Monde reported, "The most violent clashes left several wounded among the demonstrators and six wounded among the police, who had been hit by stones."

Giniger reported in the September 29 New York Times that "thousands" stopped work in protest of the police attack. He said this "protest movement was another example of how the police have come under fire after long impunity from criticism."

In still another protest of brutality by the regime, tens of thousands of workers struck in Madrid October 1, protesting the murder of a psychology student by a fascist gang on September 27.

The student, Carlos González Martínez, was killed as a result of an attack by a group called Warriors of Christ on a small demonstration commemorating the 1975 execution of the ETA and FRAP militants. It was not clear whether or not Martínez was participating in the demonstration or was only a bystander.

The Warriors of Christ is an armed fascist group closely linked with the police.

There were various estimates of the size of the Madrid action. "A government count put the number of strikers at 25,000; a spokesman for the Workers Commissions claimed 200,000," James M. Markham reported in an October 1 dispatch to the New York Times.

He said that the themes of the day "of work stoppages, slowdowns, picketing and street protests-on occasion dispersed by riot police-were broadened to include demands for full democratic liberties and the legalization of the country's embryonic non-government labor unions.'

Markham described some of the problems of organizing the strike:

Even the Communist-dominated Workers Commissions and the Socialist General Union of Workers seemed lukewarm about today's action. Only far-left enthusiasts seemed willing to term the action a general strike.

One labor informant said that political guidance for the hastily called "day of struggle" had been somewhat confusing-with the ultimate decision usually being taken by local leaders in a belt of factories on the outskirts of Madrid. As a result, the militant and fairly well-organized workers from metal-working, construction and printing plants in the industrial belt were in the forefront of the protest.

Another sign of the upsurge of worker militancy within the Spanish state was the eight-day postal strike that ended September 29.

The strikers' demands included higher wages, release of imprisoned strike leaders, and honoring by the government of an agreement negotiated in July between postal authorities and the workers commission representing postal employees. The government claimed that it was not bound to concessions made to the workers commission, which is an illegal organization under the fascist regime.

The strike began in Madrid and spread to eleven other cities, including Barcelona, Bilbao, Málaga, and Seville. An estimated twenty thousand postal workers participated in the strike, tying up postal and telegraphic service.

Clashes between strikers and police took place on September 25 in Madrid during a protest against the introduction of "volunteer" strikebreakers. That afternoon, two thousand strikers were attacked by police as they tried to march on general security headquarters at the Plaza de la Puerta-del-Sol in Madrid.

Giniger reported in the September 26 New York Times that the police fired shots at the demonstrators and arrested Gerónimo Lorente, a strike leader. The day before, Andrés Martín Moya, another strike leader, was arrested.

Reporting on the strike settlement, a New York Times dispatch dated September 29 said: "No details were immediately available on the strike agreement. Informed sources spoke of a compromise on the mailmen's demands for wage increases and the release of those arrested."

The continuing ferment among the oppressed nationalities, workers, and youth show that the Spanish capitalists have little to be happy about. Despite repression and attempts to slow the upsurge by promises of reforms, the masses continue to mobilize to fight for the rights denied them for four decades.

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^{1.} Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (Basque Nation and Freedom).

German Social Democrats Duck Issue of Democratic Rights

By Gerry Foley

The campaign for the October 3 West German elections has been presented in the international capitalist press as one without issues.

"The lack of genuine debate and the shortage of real issues in the West German general election campaign is beginning to look positively eerie," the London *Times* commented in its September 9 issue.

In an editorial September 29, the New York Times said:

... there are no burning issues in either foreign or home-front policy that divide Mr. Schmidt's forces [the Social Democrats] from those of Mr. Kohl [the Christian Democrats]. It has been a campaign waged mostly on differences in emphasis rather than of basic policy, and most observers believe the results will hinge heavily on the reaction of the voters to the personalities of the four principals....

Mr. Kohl's slogan, "Freedom Instead of Socialism," is ludicrous when applied to Chancellor Schmidt, who has dealt harshly with the Social Democratic left wing since he succeeded Willy Brandt in 1974, and has directed Western Europe's most effective anti-inflation and economic recovery programs, using such respectable conservative instruments as budget cutbacks followed by an \$8 billion tax cut and lower interest rates.

Obviously the Social Democrats would prefer that there be no fundamental issues at stake. According to a September 28 dispatch from Mainz by *New York Times* correspondent Craig R. Whitney, Schmidt has even tried to identify himself with the heirs of Nixon in the United States.

Whitney quoted Schmidt as saying: "During my visit to the United States three months ago, President Ford said West Germany was a model of social stability. Mr. Ford is a conservative, but in contrast to ours, he is a decent conservative."

Thus, it is not surprising that the Social Democratic leadership has been stung by the bourgeois party's refusal to keep its campaign on the same level of consensus.

When Kohl accused Schmidt of running a dirty campaign, Whitney noted in an October 1 dispatch, the chancellor's resentment boiled over:

Mr. Schmidt, smoking a menthol cigarette and calm until that point, whipped off his glasses and retorted: "If anyone has embittered the campaign, it's you with your shameless slogan, 'fighting for freedom against Socialism.'"

The Christian Democrats have in fact raised a fundamental issue; they have sought to revive aggressive anticommunism and nationalism. In short, they have begun in this campaign to rally reaction-



SCHMIDT: Lost ground to rightists.

Official results, as reported in the October 4 *New York Times*, credited the ruling Social Democratic-Free Democratic party coalition with an eight-seat majority in the 496-member lower house of parliament.

Of the more than thirty-seven million voters who went to the polls, 42.6% voted Social Democratic (down 3.2% from 1972), 7.9% voted for the Free Democratic party (down 0.5%), and 48.6% voted Christian Democratic (up 3.7%).

ary forces to step up the pressure on a workers movement led by bureaucrats who advocate "neutral" technocratic management of "consumer" capitalism.

Schmidt's efforts to achieve a "gentlemanly" consensus with the Christian Democrats have been to little avail. He found himself facing a vicious redbaiting campaign, which is aimed at him and the right-wing Social Democratic leadership, as well as the radical youth.

The Bavarian Christian Democrat leader Franz Josef Strauss is one of the most truculent redbaiters. It was he who initially popularized the slogan, "Freedom Instead of Socialism." In an interview in the September 13 issue of the weekly *Der Spiegel*, he made it clear that he is out to brand the very idea of socialism as criminal.

I didn't invent this slogan, although it corresponds to my way of thinking. The inventer was a well-known, internationally respected Nobel Prize-winning economist Friedrich August Hayek...who wrote a remarkable book entitled *The Road to Serfdom*. In this book, he proves that fascism, National Socialism, Marxism, and Communism are brothers, or offspring of the same parents, brothers partially hostile to each other, but products of the same soil, collectivism. Therefore, it is absurd to maintain that socialism and freedom are identical.

Der Spiegel's interviewer tried to convince Strauss that the Social Democrats were no longer really socialists. The reactionary politician responded that while not all members of the Social Democratic party were socialists in the old sense, the party as a whole still could not be trusted:

Important sectors of this party are on the road back to the old socialism that Hayek was referring to. Our generation has been accused of not fighting dangerous embryos that appeared in the interwar period. Today we are taking this lesson to heart and acting in accordance with the rule *principiis obsta*, crush it in the egg.

In the state of Hesse, Christian Democrat red-baiting has a clearer focus—the demand to expel all radicals and liberals from teaching and to reinstate the traditional right-wing indoctrination. The chairman of the Hesse Christian Democratic party, Alfred Dregger, concentrated on this in an interview in the September 20 Der Spiegel:

I am not necessarily for more use of the police but rather for more effective use of them. The growth of crime cannot be dealt with solely by police means. If, for example, in many schools young people are not being trained in respect for the society, in principles such as duty and respectfulness toward the democratic state and its order, but rather are being educated in the spirit of militancy and class struggle; when young people, as is happening here in Hesse, are being taught to question the fundamental values of our society... then this is a matter that concerns our internal security.

Further on, in response to the question whether the Christian Democrats would extend the blacklisting of radicals from civil service jobs, Dregger said:

We want to carry out what Chancellor Brandt and the premiers of all the states agreed to in

1972 [when the blacklisting procedure was generalized]. We cannot accept Brandt telling us four years later that this was all an April Fools' joke and that "it doesn't hold anymore, and the Communists have to be let in.". . .

It goes without saying that the state cannot provide salaries and pensions for those who want to destroy it. Persons financed and directed from East Berlin, with the mission of extending that terror system here, are simply unqualified to be teachers of our children or to be entrusted with working in the executive branch of government. We will apply this rule consistently.

Obviously the Social Democrats' participation in the witch-hunt did not win them the confidence of the Christian Democrats as defenders of the capitalist order, and when they began to back down under pressure from the ranks and from the labor movement, they came under even heavier fire from the bourgeois party.

The Social Democrats have responded to these red-baiting attacks only in a limited way, blaming the right wing of the Christian Democracy represented by Strauss and Dregger, among others. They have tried to dismiss Kohl himself as simply a provincial politician out of his depth.

However, in his interview in the August 23 Der Speigel. Kohl took the same line as the Bavarian caudillo Strauss:

Socialism is not just Communist dictatorship, the Wall, the Gulag Archipelago. Socialism is also the creeping demolition of free society through increasing taxes, an anti-privateproperty economic policy, collectivist education, and so on. So-called democratic socialism begins building a society of bondage in innumerable individual sectors. . . .

Many countries in our free West are already on the road to such a society of bondage. We in Germany have to nip this in the bud.

In addition to anticommunism, nationalist demagogy has been the major element in the Christian Democrat campaign. For example, a dispatch from Michael Getler in the September 13 Washington Post reported: "Kohl's tactics play on German emotions. The national anthem is played after each speech and the second big opposition campaign slogan [is] 'out of the love for Germany.' "

In the September 23 New York Times Whitney noted Kohl's technique: "He talks about 'the fatherland' and he is leading audiences from one end of the country to the other in the singing of the West German national anthem: 'Unity, justice and freedom for the German fatherland.' "

The Social Democrats' campaign, on the other hand, was so soothing it threatened to put their own supporters to sleep. According to Der Spiegel, most experts expected a much larger rate of abstention among SPD* supporters than among the Christian Democrat following.

In particular, the SPD seems to be losing support among youth, who have been hit hardest by rising unemployment. Christian Democratic influence has also been

*SPD-Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany).

growing in the schools, where a right-wing atmosphere has been developing, thanks at least in part to the witch-hunting of left and liberal teachers that was initiated with SPD complicity. The SPD youth organizations, constantly under suspicion



KOHL: Stressed anticommunism.

for "leftism" in the eyes of the party bosses and their union bureaucrat allies, are hardly in a position to compete with the Christian Democrat organizations operating in the same milieu.

The gravest weakness of the SPD in this campaign is its failure to stand up to the antidemocratic offensive of the bourgeois party, their refusal to counter the Christian Democrats' calls for "freedom" for exploiters with a defense of the concrete democratic rights of workers, intellectuals. and youth. Its opportunism on this question is putting the SPD in an impossible position, since it is clear from the Christian Democrats' campaign that the capitalists will never trust the SPD to defend capitalist rule, especially in a deepening international economic crisis.

It is a measure of the SPD leaders' betrayal of the historic traditions of the German workers movement that they let the bourgeois parties put them on the defensive on the question of democracy. In Germany, no bourgeois force ever waged a determined fight even for parliamentary rule. It was the workers movement that struggled for democracy.

The question of democratic rights is in fact the most important issue in this election "without issues"-without issues because the SPD gave up on the question without a fight.

The German authorities, under a Social Democratic government, evidently do not even want the issue of democratic rights raised. A campaign announcement by the Trotskyists of the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM-International Marxist Group, German section of the Fourth International) was rejected by West German Radio on the grounds that the following passage violated a provision prohibiting "slandering the organs of constitutional government."

By its measures against freedom of speech and opinion for certain currents in the workers movement, through the blacklisting law . . . the Socialist-Liberal government has already forged instruments that can enable a future reactionary government to ban all Marxist propaganda in Germany, in the style of Hitler.

The decision not to broadcast this statement is particularly ironic in view of the redbaiting campaign the Christian Democrats have been running against the SPD. It is to be hoped that these attacks will awaken the labor movement to the dangers of failing to fight the anticommunist witch-hunting.

Beginning to change the attitude of the broad labor movement on the question of democracy depends largely on the impact of those forces that understand the historic interests of the working class. An example is the Trotskvists of the GIM, who waged an extensive election campaign.

However, in addition to the smugness of the labor bureaucracy, the revolutionists were confronted with the sectarianism of numerous and relatively large groups that claim to be revolutionary but take a sectarian attitude both toward the importance of democratic rights and toward the mass labor movement, in particular the SPD.

This sectarianism was an obstacle to the Trotskyists even getting on the ballot: "Hardly anyone who is member of a left organization is ready to defend the right of another organization to participate in the elections," an article pointed out in the September 9 issue of the GIM weekly paper Was Tun.

The redbaiting offensive of the Christian Democrats should be a lesson to the sectarians as well as the labor and SPD bureaucrats. The prevalence of ultraleftism and sectarianism among the radicalizing strata has already helped the bourgeoisie create a political climate much more repressive than the relationship of forces between the classes on the economic level would normally allow. As the international economic situation worsens, the German capitalists are out to consolidate this witch-hunt atmosphere.

It is the isolation of the radicalizing elements that has helped enable the bourgeoisie and the SPD leadership to make this election seem to be "without issues," when actually the real issue was a fundamental one-the democratic rights of the workers movement. П

Argentina—Mounting Wave of Anti-Semitic Terror

By Judy White

Growing evidence of the Argentine government's direct involvement in the escalating right-wing violence was the subject of Congressional hearings that began in Washington September 28.

A particular focus was the ominous threat the campaign of terror represents for Argentina's 500,000 Jews, who are coming under increasing attack.

There is "an organized campaign," designed to "discredit and intimidate" Argentine Jews, Burton Levinson testified the opening day. Levinson is chairman of the Latin American Affairs Committee of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

This campaign has involved "a massive propaganda effort" and physical attacks, he said.

"Last month, the Jewish Quarter, 'Barrio Once,' was attacked. Unidentified thugs drove through predominantly-Jewish neighborhoods and strafed Jewishowned shops with machine guns and placed bombs in synagogues and Jewish schools and cultural institutions."

In the period from August 1 to September 21 eleven bombs were directed at such targets.

Levinson also reported the June 4 kidnapping and murder of Dr. Salvador Akermann. His killers asserted that he had been involved in the capture of Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann.

A fact sheet distributed by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA)* cited other cases of kidnappings and murders of Argentine Jews:

• Among the thirty murder victims whose bodies were discovered August 20 in a suburb of Buenos Aires there were "a number of young Jews."

• The son and daughter of a leading exiled Jewish Argentine poet, Juan Gelman, along with his son's pregnant wife, were recently kidnapped in Buenos Aires. Gelman's wife was told that the kidnappings were a reprisal against her husband.

• The San Fernando home and office of a Jewish doctor, Max Krawczyk, were raided on March 27 and May 16. In the first raid the assailants—dressed in military uniform—left a message on the wall: "Jews and Leftists, We Shall Return." On May 16, Krawczyk's wife was kidnapped and his eight-year-old daughter was questioned at gunpoint for an extended period of time.

In addition, twenty-five Latin American political refugees who were kidnapped and later released in Buenos Aires reported that their captors sang Nazi songs and shouted slogans against the Jews.

USLA organized a delegation of prominent individuals to protest this anti-Semitism. On September 24 the delegation visited the Argentine ambassador to the United Nations, Carlos Ortiz de Rozas, and the director of the Human Rights Division of the United Nations Secretariat, Marc Schreiber.

Ortiz de Rozas denied that the Argentine government had an official or unofficial policy tolerating the terrorist attacks. He did not explain what steps were being taken to apprehend those responsible.

Schreiber asked the delegation to submit a brief detailing the situation so that inquiries could be made.

USLA has announced plans to continue documenting and exposing anti-Semitic terror in Argentina as part of its general campaign against the political repression under the Videla regime.

A second witness who appeared before the congressional committee was Rev. James Weeks of the LaSallette Mission Society. Weeks had lived in Argentina for eleven years until he was expelled from the country following his August 3 arrest.

"On the afternoon of August 3rd, eight armed men broke into our house, claiming to be police, but dressed as civilians," he said. "From about five o'clock until about 10:30 p.m., they proceeded to harass and threaten us with torture and death."

When Weeks and the five seminarians he shared the house with were finally taken to police headquarters, two other persons were left in the house with instructions to wait three hours and then tell the press that the clergymen had been kidnapped by Montoneros, one of the main guerrilla groups in Argentina.

Weeks pointed out that what happened to him was part of "a persecution of the whole Church, not only of the more progressive members of the hierarchy. . . . The reporting of these cases to the police is of no consequence. None of the cases are ever investigated nor is anyone punished."

Weeks read the committee the testimony of some other victims of the repression:

Those who attacked my husband appeared to be savages. After beating him ferociously with their fists, they dragged him to the bed and began to beat him with a wet towel, all the while threatening him with death as they questioned him about his political beliefs. They insisted that he had leftist leanings and began to ask him about people and things he knew nothing about. He could not give them the information they were looking for. So they grabbed me and told him if he didn't talk they would kill me....

The couple was taken to a detention center.

I was then taken to a building where I heard my husband's voice. . . . When he heard mine, he called me by name, so they hit him and told him it was forbidden to talk. Immediately afterwards they brought him into the next room and began to torture him. His screams of despair reached my ears mingled with the laughs of these monsters. One of them hit me on the head and told me that I would be sure to confess when my turn came. . . .

My husband was tortured brutally and savagely every day. According to the doctor, his bronchial and genital areas were affected. They tortured him with electric shocks and water and hit him with clubs. His chest and abdomen were filled with burns, his mouth all swollen up, and his genital area infected....

The torturers would gloat and complain about the high cost of the batteries they needed for their torture equipment. . . .

Weeks ended his testimony by citing a number of features common to the experience of the victims he had talked to. Among them were the following:

The kidnappers were invariably police or military men, although they never presented identification or search warrants.

Those abducted were taken to predetention centers, or to police or military headquarters.

The conversation and behavior of the kidnappers showed anti-Semitic and profascist sympathies.

Although no formal legal charges were brought against the victims, they were generally accused of alleged leftist or Marxist leanings.

All were subjected to torture. \Box

'They Got Along So Well'

LONDON, Sept. 29 (AP)—Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev still has lingering admiration for former President Richard M. Nixon and doesn't understand why Nixon had to resign, veteran U.S. diplomat Averell Harriman reported today after a Moscow visit.

"They got along so well," Harriman said of Nixon and Brezhnev.

"He doesn't understand what President Nixon did in the United States, or Watergate," he continued. "He only thinks of the progress they made together."

^{*}For copies of these materials, write to USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

Rising Canadian Investment in South Africa

By Dick Fidler

[The following article appeared in the September 13 issue of Labor Challenge, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto.]

The Canadian government's "noticeable silence" in the face of the recent massacre of hundreds of Black students in South Africa "suggests an indifference tantamount to consent," Quebec Blacks charged in a recent statement.

"By implication," said the Black Community Central Administration of Quebec, "this silence incriminates all peoples of Canada and brands them as collaborators in the racist genocide of Africans."

"The Black Community of Canada finds this position intolerable. . . ."

Ottawa's silence, of course, does not reflect the outrage most Canadians felt at the Soweto killings, or their disgust with the racist apartheid policies of South Africa's white rulers. The Trudeau government's complicity in the racist repression of the Vorster regime is based on different considerations.

One is the very sizeable stake Trudeau's corporate backers have in South Africa's apartheid system.

As the accompanying table shows, Canadian investments in South Africa are substantial and rising rapidly. The value of factories and mines owned by Canadian corporations in South Africa more than tripled between 1965 and 1973 (the latest available statistics).

Almost half the total investment by Canadian businesses in the African continent in 1965 was in South Africa. By 1973, it accounted for more than 80% of total Canadian investment in Africa. This pattern reflects both the impact of the national liberation struggle in Black Africa (the more uncertain investment climate in newly independent states) and opportunities for imperialist the superprofits resulting from the institutionalized racism in South Africa.

The Trudeau government's 1969 white paper, "Foreign Policy for Canadians." expressed "broad revulsion" at the "cancer of Apartheid" in South Africa. But it also noted the "better-than-normal opportunities for trade and investment."

What these "opportunities" mean for Canadian companies was explained in a series of articles in 1973 by Hugh Nangle, deputy editorial page editor of the

A Partial Picture

Direct Canadian Investment in South Africa

	1965	1970	1973
South Africa	\$32 million	\$73 million	\$105 million
Rest of Africa	\$40 million	\$61 million	\$20 million
Total	\$72 million	\$134 million	\$125 million

(Source: Canada's International Investment Position, 1926 to 1967; Statistics Canada Daily, March 11, 1976.)

These statistics include both Canadian firms controlled in Canada and Canadian firms controlled abroad.

They probably seriously understate the actual extent of Canadian corporate involvement. The Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, which compiles these statistics, told the authors of a 1973 study by the YWCA [Young Women's Christian Association] that about 12 Canadian corporations had investments in South Africa. But the department's list omitted such companies as Canadian South African Diamond Corporation, Robert Morse Corporation, Ford Motor Company of Canada Limited, and Tinto Holdings Canada Limited.

The YWCA study concluded: "The full extent of Canadian investment . . . can only be guessed at. Other companies are doubtlessly involved, and the total amount of Canadian asset holdings is obviously much above the direct investment figures reported in our official statistics" (Investment in Oppression, pp. 3-4).

Montreal Gazette. Nangle reported that Massey-Ferguson, "the largest farm implement supplier in southern Africa," listed a gross profit of more than \$8 million on its South African subsidiary in 1972. Alcan Aluminum of South Africa, which "produces the widest range of semifabricated and finished aluminum products in Africa," reported gross profit of almost \$5 million in 1972.

There is one simple factor behind these huge profits-the super-exploitation of African workers. Under the apartheid laws, Blacks-the vast majority of the population-are prohibited from forming trade unions.* Those Blacks who attempt to organize unions are punished with long prison terms, if not worse. Canadian corporations have taken full advantage of these restrictions.

South African officials use two measures to calculate a minimum wage.

The Poverty Datum Line (PDL) is based on a calculation of the lowest possible costs to maintain a household in good health by Western standards, but for the short term only. It leaves out the cost of such items as household furnishings and utensils, medical, dental, and pharmacy bills, educational materials, etc.

The Minimum Effective Level (MEL), considered to be a minimum living wage, is the PDL plus 50 percent.

According to Nangle's 1973 data, of Massey-Ferguson's 733 Black workers, 642 were paid less than the Poverty Datum Line. Not one received the Minimum Effective Level wage. The median Black wage was about \$94 a month.

At Alcan's Pietermaritzburg plant, no fewer than 703 of 706 Black workers were paid below the PDL (\$131.60 monthly in that area). None were paid the MEL or higher.

Bata Shoes in Pinetown paid more than 60 percent of its Black workers below the PDL, and more than 98 percent below the MEL.

Only Ford South Africa paid all its workers above the PDL. But only 34 of its Black employees were paid above the MEL. (Ford South Africa is a whollyowned subsidiary of Ford Canada, in order to get lower tariff rates. Ottawa continues

^{*}Black unions are formally permitted to exist, but corporations are forbidden to negotiate contracts with them. -IP

to include South Africa in the Commonwealth Preference Tariff Agreement, although South Africa left the Commonwealth in 1961.)

No white employees of Canadian companies are paid less than the Minimum Effective Level wage. Coloured, or mixed-blood, workers are paid only slightly better than Blacks.

This direct corporate stake in the racist system is only one aspect of Canada's involvement in South Africa. Of overriding significance to Canadian businessmen and policymakers is South Africa's strategic importance to world imperialism.

South Africa controls the vital sea routes around the Cape of Good Hope, and has important naval bases on both the south Atlantic and the Indian oceans. Its armed forces are the major pro-imperialist forces in Africa. It has important deposits of vital minerals.

Through its membership in the NATO alliance, the Canadian government is heavily committed to backing the Vorster regime against the liberation movement of the country's Black majority.

In its recent statement, the Black Community Central Administration of Quebec said: "We demand that the Canadian Government call for a cessation of this massacre of Blacks in South Africa." The Black organization urged the government "to call on its citizens and corporations to withdraw all economic ventures in South Africa which directly or indirectly serve to support the tyranny of racial oppression exerted on the Black people of Africa by the Vorster regime."

The best way to register this sentiment is to mount mass demonstrations, rallies and meetings in protest against corporate and government complicity in South African racism. Black organizations in this country have taken the lead. Their initiatives should receive wide support. \Box

South African Judge Sentences Three Dissidents

A Cape Town judge sentenced three whites to prison terms September 29 for promoting the aims of the banned African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist party (SACP). David Rabkin, a British journalist, was sentenced to ten years imprisonment and his wife, Susan, was given one year, with eleven months of the sentence suspended. Jeremy Cronin, a lecturer at the University of Cape Town, received a seven-year term.

All three pleaded guilty to charges under the Terrorism and Internal Security acts and admitted that they had published and distributed leaflets and pamphlets of the ANC and SACP. After being sentenced, the two men gave clenched-fist salutes to the audience in the courtroom.

How Kissinger Visit Strengthened Vorster Regime

By Ernest Harsch

Henry Kissinger's recent flurry of "shuttle diplomacy" in southern Africa marks another step in Washington's escalating intervention against the African freedom struggle.

Arm in arm with the white racists in Pretoria, the Ford administration is maneuvering to dampen or sidetrack the mounting Black ferment. A key concern is to establish neocolonial regimes in Namibia and Zimbabwe.

Whatever the final outcome of these maneuvers, Kissinger's visit to Pretoria was an immediate diplomatic boost for the Vorster regime. New York Times correspondent John F. Burns reported in a September 19 dispatch from Pretoria: "For his part, Mr. Vorster has made no secret of the pleasure he takes at dealing with Mr. Kissinger. A few days ago he told a political rally that the talks had ended the period in which the West 'ignored us totally,' and ushered in an era in which Mr. Kissinger felt it necessary to report personally to the leaders of Western Europe on the discussions."

These diplomatic contacts with Washington and the Western European powers bolster the white minority regime's position within South Africa by showing the Black masses that Pretoria is backed by powerful allies. The aim is to foster an image of white strength and invincibility.

Since the first Black rebellions erupted in Soweto in mid-June, Pretoria has made a few minor concessions within an overall policy of brutal repression. At least several hundred Blacks have been gunned down by police and white vigilantes. It is estimated that thousands of Blacks have been arrested, including about 250 leaders and supporters of groups identified with the Black Consciousness movement.

When about 1,500 Blacks demonstrated in downtown Johannesburg September 23, demanding the release of these political prisoners, the police attacked them with clubs, arresting another 400 persons.

A report released by the antiapartheid Christian Institute of Southern Africa September 20 noted that allegations of torture of political prisoners were becoming more and more common. According to Amnesty International, Pretoria uses torture against prisoners "on a disturbing scale."

Kissinger's willingness to greet the world's most hated racist within South Africa itself is consistent with Washington's overall foreign policy. In early June Kissinger posed for photographers while shaking hands with Chilean dictator Pinochet in Santiago, and two months later he signed an agreement in Tehran pledging the sale of another \$10 billion worth of American arms to the shah of Iran.

Because of the international condemnation of Pretoria and the rising rebellion against its racist and repressive rule, however, Washington has been forced to publicly criticize the system of apartheid. Kissinger himself repeated these criticisms while he was in South Africa.

Kissinger, however, took care not to embarrass Vorster too much. New York Times correspondent Bernard Gwertzman reported from Pretoria September 18 that when Kissinger addressed a gathering of American embassy employees, he "repeated his criticism of South Africa's apartheid policy, but less harshly than he has done in the United States. Mr. Kissinger clearly wanted to avoid a public rift with his host, Prime Minister John Vorster, during delicate negotiations."

By pressing for concessions in Zimbabwe and Namibia, Washington is seeking to create a political cover for its economic and paramilitary aid to the Vorster regime. About 360 American companies have nearly \$1.5 billion invested in South African mines and industries, thus playing a major role in propping up the apartheid economy. Since the 1960s, Washington has approved the sale of millions of dollars worth of aircraft to Pretoria, including troop transport planes, Bell helicopters capable of being used in police and military operations, and twin-engined Lear jets suitable for reconnaissance and certain combat missions.

The U.S.-sponsored negotiations over Namibia and Zimbabwe are, in the last analysis, aimed at protecting Pretoria, the most powerful bastion of colonial rule on the African continent.

Colin Legum, a long-time commentator on African affairs, pointed to this aspect of Washington's southern Africa strategy in the September 19 issue of the London *Observer*. He said that "powerful forces in the West are willing to support Kissinger in his efforts to achieve majority rule in Namibia and Rhodesia only if they are assured that their rich cake in South Africa will be preserved."

Like Kissinger, their only real aim is to preserve capitalist rule in face of the massive Black ferment. $\hfill \Box$

High-School Activists in Mauritius Explain Issues in Struggle

By Tony Hodges

In May last year, Mauritius was shaken by a massive student revolt. More than 50,000 secondary-school students took part in the protests, which culminated in a general student strike involving every secondary school in the country.

The story of the strike and the issues which sparked it were explained to me (during a recent visit to the island) by two of the strike leaders, Georgette Noel and Veena Pillay, who attend the Bhujoharry College, one of the largest secondary schools in the capital, Port Louis.

The student struggle became a head-on confrontation with the government of this former French and British colony. It started, Noel told me, on May 5 at her school.

"The principal wanted to raise our school fees by 20 rupees. As he had just raised our fees, the students were not prepared to pay."

On May 5, the school's 1,000 students boycotted classes and protested outside the schoolgates with placards. "The police arrived," Pillay said, "and used tear gas against us. Then they came with batons and guns. There was confusion but we didn't stop our strike."

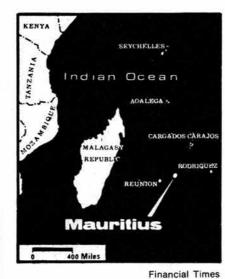
This strike quickly ended in victory. The students' determination convinced the school administration that it would be wiser to revoke the fees increase.

But new strikes broke out in rapid succession at other schools. "Students went on strike in mid-May at John Kennedy College, Queen Elizabeth College, Royal College of Port Louis, and Royal College of Curepipe to protest against the shortage of teachers," Noel said. "Then we had a strike at London College," Pillay explained, "because two teachers were dismissed. The principal there thought they were political leaders. The students went on strike on May 15. That day, our school and several others struck in sympathy.'

According to Noel, "this strike continued; other colleges came out on strike, protesting about a whole series of issues from the price of books to the quality of the teaching. We were joined by the students at the University of Mauritius. More and more students joined the movement until there was an explosion on May 20."

The protests culminated that day in a huge nationwide march of secondary school students which was violently attacked by the police. The scale of the action finally forced the government to promise some reforms.

A History of Colonial Oppression



The history of Mauritius, an Indian

Ocean island some 1.400 miles east of

the African mainland, is one of brutal

colonial oppression. Annexed briefly by

the Dutch in the seventeenth century,

the island was seized by France in 1715. A century later, in 1814, during the

Napoleonic Wars, Mauritius was ceded

to Britain, which maintained direct

colonial rule until 1968.

colonists set up large sugar plantations and shipped in thousands of African slaves to work in the fields. Today, the descendants of the slaves, the Creoles, comprise a little more than 30 percent of the island's population of about 900,000.

In the eighteenth century, French

Slavery was abolished in 1835. When freed Creole slaves refused to work for their former masters, Indian indentured labourers were imported as an alternative source of labour. Today, the Indo-Mauritians, including both Hindu and Muslim communities, comprise more than 65 percent of the population.

Since formal independence in 1968, Mauritius has been governed by Prime Minister Seewoosagur Ramgoolam's Labour party.

But the island's economy is still dominated by the imperialist monopolies and the local white elite, the 10,000 Franco-Mauritians. French plantation owners hold more than 70 percent of the sugar-producing lands-a striking statistic when it is noted that sugar-cane covers 90 percent of the cultivable land and accounts for 89 percent of the country's exports.

One of the main issues which has aroused the students' anger is the content of their education. "We have to study Britain all the time." Noel told me. "We're taught to imitate the British. We learn about British and European history; the students know how many wives King Henry VIII of England had; but they don't really know much about what happened with slavery here. There are very few books about the history of Mauritius."

A related problem is the language question. Ninety-eight percent of Mauritians speak Creole, a language forged by the slaves on the sugar plantations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But English is the official language, used in courts, the legislative assembly, and government business. French is also widely used in business and government circles.

"The government says that Creole is not a real language but a dialect of French," Noel said. "They say we ought to speak English or French; that Creole is the language of slaves.'

But, "Creole is a language," Pillay added. "It is derived from French, Arabic, and African languages."

Noel stressed that "only the rich speak French or English. The bourgeois people think that Creole is just for the common people; so they will always speak French, or sometimes English. But the poor, the manual workers, understand a bit of French or English, but their language is Creole.'

Linguistic oppression is a real and harsh factor in the life of most Mauritians. "When we look for a job," Noel explained, "we have to speak French or English. The interview is conducted in French or English; sometimes we know the Creole words to answer a question, but we can't express it in French or English. In this way we are discriminated against when we look for work."

This system of discrimination operates in the schools too. "When we go to primary school," Noel went on, "the teachers speak English in class. Those who are used to hearing English at home know what the teacher is saying. But the average child, whose vocabulary is Creole, does not know what the teacher is asking."

Secondary-level exams, moreover, are all written in English by Cambridge University in Britain!

"In the strikes," Noel said, "we demanded the use of the Creole language in the schools."

Another big issue is the private ownership of most of the island's secondary schools. Though these private schools receive subsidies from the government, they are effectively "abandoned" by the government, Noel said. "The private schools have worse facilities than the few state schools. They do not have laboratories for the science subjects and do not have much equipment and apparatus to perform experiments.

"We want increased subsidies from the government to these schools so our fees can be reduced. The best solution would be to nationalise all the private schools."

The high price of textbooks is another problem. Students in the private schools have to buy all their books. According to Pillay, bookshops regularly hoard stocks of textbooks to raise prices to scandalously high levels. "The prices of books," she suggested, "should be fixed by the government." Or, Noel proposed, "the government should set up its own bookshops to supply textbooks at a fixed price."

Another reform demanded by Mauritian students is abolition of the scholarship system. "We are asking for the abolition of scholarships," Pillay said, "because it is always the rich that are favoured." Scholarships—because they are based on academic achievement—tend to reinforce existing inequalities of opportunity.

One of the biggest scandals is the private tuition system. "At school," Pillay said, "the teachers don't teach everything. Then they ask students if they want private tuition at home. Sometimes, in order to pass the exams, you have to take private tuition in all the subjects. It is very expensive." This system, which exists in many semi-colonial countries, places huge financial burdens on poor families and discriminates sharply in favour of those who can afford extensive private tuition. "Most Mauritian students," Pillay said, "fail their exams because they cannot afford the private tuition they need in order to pass."

On top of all these problems, students and teachers have to fight for the right to organise politically in the schools. At Bhujoharry College, thirty-one teachers were fired last December for union activity and their left-wing views—though they subsequently challenged their dismissal in the courts and won.

One of the most striking aspects of the

Mauritian student struggle has been the role of women students. Their active involvement in the May 1975 strike was at sharp variance with the traditional exclusion of Mauritian women from politics.

Mauritian society is shot through with reactionary anti-women ideology peddled by the powerful Catholic clergy, Hindu *swami* and Muslim *moulana*. "Girls are brought up to see themselves as servants in the house, as inferior to men," Pillay said. "This is why Mauritian women have been late to join political movements."

Noel explained that "abortion is illegal in Mauritius, even if the woman is in danger of losing her life. Only married women can legally obtain contraceptives. Abortion should be legalised. We have thousands of women who have illegal abortions. And this is a very high price: it is very dangerous and many die."

Most young Mauritian women are trapped at home most of the time. "Women

are not allowed to work late in the evening," Noel said. "The girls are not allowed to go out in the evenings unescorted, or to engage in political activity."

Noel and Pillay also stressed the importance of the demand for equal pay. "In the sugar industry," Pillay said, "most of the work is done by women because they get paid less than men." Women are employed as cheap labour in the textile, electronics, and other factories in the country's "Free Zone" (so-called because of the tax holidays and free profit repatriation terms enjoyed by the zone's foreign investors).

Mauritian women, Noel and Pillay say, need to organise to win their liberation. So, they say, do students. As Noel put it: "The students have a role to play in the society. If we rely on the government, it's a waste of time. We must organise ourselves well in order to attain our aims, not wait for the government."

Longest-held Political Prisoners in the Americas

Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists!

On October 30 and November 13, demonstrations will take place in several cities in the United States demanding the freedom of five Puerto Rican nationalist political prisoners: Lolita Lebrón, Oscar Collazo, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Irving Flores, and Rafael Cancel Miranda. The five fighters for Puerto Rican independence have been held longer than any other political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere.

Oscar Collazo was arrested on November 1, 1950, after an armed attack on the Blair House (a temporary Washington residence being used by President Harry Truman). The others were arrested after an armed attack on the U.S. House of Representatives on March 1, 1954, that wounded several congressmen.

These attacks were part of an upsurge of the Puerto Rican national liberation struggle in the early 1950s in opposition to the imposition of "commonwealth" status on the American colony. The five were supporters of the Puerto Rican Nationalist party.

In recent years the demand for their release has won widespread support. The Ford administration has tried to pressure them to accept a pardon admitting their "guilt." However, all five have refused a pardon. They demand to simply be released, since they feel there is no guilt in having fought for the independence of their country.

Among those calling for their release have been the Puerto Rican Senate and House of Representatives, the governor of Puerto Rico, the Episcopal Church, the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Puerto Rico, the Puerto Rican Women's Federation, the Puerto Rican Bar Association, and unions such as the Puerto Rican Teachers' Federation, the Social Workers' Federation of Puerto Rico, and the island's Teamsters union.

In the United States, support for the prisoners has come from such groups as Americans for Democratic Action, the Puerto Rican caucus of the Democratic party, the National Lawyers Guild, Congressmen John Conyers and Ronald Dellums, the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression, and the Puerto Rican Bar Association of New York. Former Alabama Congressman Kenneth Roberts, one of those wounded in the March 1 attack, has also called for their release.

The Committee to Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists,* which organized demonstrations in New York last October demanding their release, is calling for a demonstration on October 30 at the U.S. Medical Facility at Springfield, Missouri (where Cordero is being held), and in New York and San Francisco November 13.

The committee is placing special emphasis on demanding the release of Cordero, who has cancer. The disease is terminal—in large part due to poor medical treatment he has received in prison. \Box

^{*}P.O. Box 319 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Billions of Dollars in U.S. Arms Pour Into Iran

By Majid Namvar

"Out of control"—that was the way U.S. arms sales to the shah of Iran were described in a recent report by a subcommittee of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Released August 1, the fifty-nine-page report found that the shah is the largest single purchaser of U.S. military equipment. In the four-year period ending in June 1976, the shah paid the Pentagon and various U.S. arms manufacturers a total of \$10.4 billion.

But Iran, with its nonindustrial economy, lacks a work force with the skills necessary to maintain and operate the sophisticated weapons purchased by the shah. Therefore, the report says, the Iranian army will be unable to use these arms "unless increasing numbers of American personnel go to Iran in a support capacity."

The way the Senate committee sees it, "the U.S. assumes the obligation of longterm support for the equipment it has sold; the purchaser becomes dependent on the U.S. in much the same manner as a local automobile dealer is dependent on Detroit."

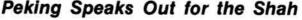
However, what is involved is not automobiles. As the report points out, the Iranian regime could not "go to war in the next five to ten years . . . without U.S. support on a day-to-day basis."

As of January 1976, there were already an estimated 24,000 Americans stationed in Iran. This number "could easily reach 50,000-60,000 or higher by 1980," the Senate report concludes.

The flow of arms and advisers to Iran turned into a flood as a result of a secret agreement reached between President Nixon and the shah in May 1972. Nixon agreed, according to the Senate study, "to sell Iran virtually any conventional weapons it wanted."

An appendix to the report lists 118 visits to Iran by senior Pentagon officials during the two-and-one-half years from September 1973 to March 1976. Between 1971 and 1975, the shah's military budget increased tenfold.

No change in U.S. policy is proposed by the Senate report, although it points out the danger of U.S. involvement in any military action undertaken by the shah. The Senate subcommittee, which is dominated by well-known liberals such as Hubert Humphrey, Frank Church, and George McGovern, simply suggested that the pace of arms sales to the shah and the type of arms sold should be adjusted to



"China defended Iran's military program and said that Iran has a right to provide her own defense, without any interference from others."

With these words, the September 15 issue of the shah's mouthpiece, the Tehran daily *Kayhan*, boasted that the bureaucrats in Peking have endorsed the imperialist-backed arms buildup in Iran.

The Maoist regime's defense of the shah's massive military program was a response to a critical article in a recent issue of the Soviet government newspaper, *Izvestia. Kayhan* quoted the Chinese news agency as saying, "Moscow's interference and noise-making reveal its plans for seeking Soviet hegemony."

Professing concern for the shah's right to further arm his dictatorship, the Peking bureaucrats asked, "Is it necessary for Iran to seek permission from the Kremlin when she exercises her national independence?"

friends in Peking.

SHAH: Needs more arms, according to

better enable the Iranian military establishment to absorb them.

The response of the Ford administration came in a communiqué signed in Tehran August 7 by Henry Kissinger and Iran's economics minister, Hushang Ansari. The joint statement revealed that the shah is planning to buy yet another \$10 billion worth of American weaponry by 1980.

Kissinger explained that the shah was planning to buy \$34 billion in American goods and services, including the new military hardware, by 1980. During this same period, the United States is supposed to import \$16 billion worth of Iranian goods, including \$14 billion of oil. This arrangement will clearly lead to an increase in the current \$2.5 billion deficit in the Iranian budget, which has been caused by the shah's enormous military spending, coupled with a decline in oil revenues.

Furthermore, Kissinger informed the Senate subcommittee on August 27 that in addition to the \$10 billion in military sales already agreed to, the shah will also buy 160 newly manufactured F-16 fighter planes at a total cost of \$3.4 billion.

Among the other weapons the shah is buying or has already bought are: • 290 Phantom fighter-bombers with three and possibly four varieties of missiles for them.

• 300 F-5 light interceptors.

• Eighty F-14 fighters with Phoenix missiles. (Part of the production costs are being covered by the Iranian regime.)

• An electronic intelligence network, "Project Ibex," which may be supplied by Rockwell International.

• More than 500 Bell helicopters (part of the development costs for these are being covered by Iran), and more than 100 Augusta Bell helicopters.

• Seven antisubmarine destroyers, including four of the ultramodern Spruance class.

 Four frigates with Seacat and Seakiller missiles.

• Forty-five smaller naval vessels with Exocet missiles.

• 2,300 British Chieftan tanks, and 400 M-47 and 600 M-60 tanks that are being modernized.

In addition, the sale of eight American nuclear reactors is currently under discussion.

What is behind this gigantic arms buildup?



David Housego suggested one reason in the August 28 issue of the British financial weekly, *The Economist.* "The Shah likes expensive military equipment, subscribes to arms manuals as another man might to gardening magazines, organises military exercises and flypasts and shows off his latest purchases to his son," according to Housego.

But however much the shah enjoys expensive and deadly toys, both he and his imperialist suppliers have other motivations for this joint arms program. It has been a long-standing policy of the American imperialists to strengthen the shah's regime as a counterrevolutionary base in the Arab-Persian Gulf area. In recent years, the shah has been able to play a more extensive role in combating the Arab revolution.

After invading three small Arab islands off the Arabian Peninsula, and taking them over as military bases, the shah dispatched several thousand troops to Oman in December 1973, reportedly at the request of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. The Iranian troops were sent to help the reactionary Qabus regime crush the eleven-year struggle for selfdetermination in the Dhofar region.

Although the shah has repeatedly proclaimed himself victorious in wiping out the Dhofar rebels, his troops are still stationed in Oman. The shah may well use Oman as a base for future military interventions against the Arab revolution.

Moreover, when situations that cannot be handled by Iranian troops arise, the Pentagon counts on having ready-made bases in Iran that can be used in launching its own intervention. "Though officials do not say so," Harry Ellis reported in the August 9 Christian Science Monitor, "sales of the latest U.S. air, land, and naval equipment to Iran could give the United States, in time of need, a vast cache of armaments on hand in the Middle East."

Of course the shah would not hesitate to use this same cache of armaments against his own people. This was clearly demonstrated in June 1963, when the Iranian army massacred 10,000 persons in less than a week. The liberals in the Senate are well aware that the flow of U.S. arms keeps the shah on his throne. As the Senate study explained, "the most important factor which prevents the outbreak of more internal violence and separatist tendencies [in Iran] is the strength and loyalty of the Iranian armed forces. The Shah's decisions on weapons procurement, together with the preferential treatment accorded to the Iranian military in terms of pay and privileges, are designed, in part, to keep the military content."

The report's reference to "separatist tendencies" concerns the more than 60 percent of Iran's population that is composed of non-Persian nationalities. These nationalities have been deprived of their most basic democratic rights. They are forbidden even to use their own languages in the schools.

In the past, the two largest oppressed nationalities, the Azerbaijani Turks and the Kurds, have demonstrated their desire for self-determination. Short-lived autonomous governments were set up in the areas inhabited by both peoples in late 1945.

The potentially explosive state of affairs on the southeastern borders of Iran is another source of worry for the shah. There are signs of unrest among the Baluchi people, who are oppressed under both the Iranian and Pakistani regimes. The Senate study notes:

"Iran is especially concerned about the centrifugal tendencies within the Baluchestan regions of southeast Iran and Pakistan. A new conflict between Pakistan and India, perhaps prompted by separatist tendencies in Baluchestan, could result in Iranian support for Pakistan since the Shah has stated that Iran would regard any attempt by India or another power to further dismember Pakistan as a threat to its own security."

The complications that could arise from such a confrontation between Iran and India were noted in the Senate report, which suggested that the extent of Washington's commitment to Iran might make it difficult for the U.S. to maintain a neutral stance. At a Tehran news conference August 6, the shah, accompanied by Kissinger, reacted to the suggestion in the Senate study that he restrain his appetite for American arms by pointing to the importance of his counterrevolutionary services.

"Can the United States or the non-Communist world afford to lose Iran?" the shah asked. "What will you do if one day Iran will be in danger of collapsing? Do you have any choice?"

Kissinger backed up the shah, saying the Ford administration attaches "great importance to relations with Iran as well as to the crucial role Iran plays in the security and balance of the whole [Middle East] area."

On this score, the luminaries of the American Senate have no difference with Kissinger. Their report even hinted at the possibility of future American intervention, saying:

"Anti-Americanism could become a serious problem in Iran, as it has elsewhere, if there were to be a change in government in Iran. The possibility of a future crisis situation cannot be totally ignored and for this reason contingency plans to deal with such an emergency are necessary."

71 Cases of Torture in Philippines

A report by Amnesty International, released September 15, has charged the government of Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos with "torture used frequently and with extreme cruelty." According to the report, "star-chamber methods have been used on a wide scale to literally torture evidence into existence."

Two Amnesty International representatives interviewed 107 prisoners held in Marcos's prisons. Seventy-one testified that they had been subjected to torture.

Marcos has responded to protests by trying to clean up his regime's image. About twenty-five prisoners have been granted "temporary release" and four military men have been ordered to stand trial on charges of torture, according to Amnesty International.



Stevenson/Los Angeles Times

October 11, 1976

American Workers Show Rising Interest in SWP Platform

By David Frankel

When Socialist Workers party (SWP) presidential candidate Peter Camejo talks to workers at unemployment offices and factory gates he immediately identifies himself as a socialist. Otherwise, people think he is another Democratic or Republican party politician and they often walk away in disgust.

Since the SWP candidates began campaigning in the beginning of 1975, well over one million pieces of literature on the socialist program have been distributed. "You don't see our literature strewn on the ground," one activist remarked while describing the reaction of workers at factories in the Pittsburgh area. "They take the material, and they do one of two things—they either stand there and read it or they carefully fold it and put it in their pockets to read later."

The interest in the socialist campaign has been reflected in the amount of coverage in the mass media. Peter Camejo and SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid have been interviewed by major daily newspapers and television stations throughout the country.

Reid's appearance in Kansas City this February was typical. Between speaking engagements she appeared on two halfhour televised interviews and gave interviews to the Kansas City Star (circulation 309,000) and the Globe, the city's major Black newspaper. In nearby St. Louis, the Globe Democrat (circulation 285,000) pictured a security guard at the unemployment office unsuccessfully trying to stop Reid from campaigning there.

The *Militant*, which reflects the views of the SWP, reported on Camejo's tour of Philadelphia in its May 7 issue. "Both the Philadelphia *Daily News* [circulation 263,000] and the *Inquirer* [circulation 455,000] ran major stories on Camejo's tour. The *Washington Post* [circulation 532,000] covered the Germantown rally, and the following day it featured an article on Camejo as part of its 'Campaign '76' series."

Through the Needle's Eye

The impact of the Camejo-Reid campaign has been greatly enhanced by its geographical scope. As of September 29, the SWP ticket had qualified for a place on the ballot in twenty-six of the fifty states and in the District of Columbia.¹ More

Stalinists Cross Wires on U.S. Election

There was no report on how Gus Hall, the presidential candidate of the American Communist party, reacted, but according to a September 29 Associated Press dispatch, Soviet Communist party Chief Leonid Brezhnev has declared his neutrality in the American presidential race.

Perhaps Hall was still recovering from the declaration of French Communist party leader Georges Marchais. On August 16, Marchais told an interviewer, "If I were an American, I would vote for Carter."

than two-thirds of the American people live in these states, which include nine of the largest in the country. In addition, the socialist campaign is still in the process of attempting to win ballot status in four other states.

Formidable difficulties are involved in getting on the ballot in the United States. As one television commentator explained during a documentary on the SWP campaign: "It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, or a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven, than it is for third parties to get on the ballot."

Each state government has its own laws establishing various ingenious obstacles for opposition parties seeking a place on the ballot. The standard device is to require the collection of thousands of signatures of registered voters within a short time. Election laws often specify that these signatures must be collected in numerous different localities and filed and verified in the areas where they are collected.

To put the socialist candidates on the ballot in California, it was necessary to collect 300,000 signatures—half to qualify Camejo and Reid, and half to qualify the SWP candidate for U.S. senator, Omari Musa. In Pennsylvania, socialist campaign workers collected 49,000 signatures, in Texas they collected 31,000, and in Massachusetts they collected more than 65,000.

But merely meeting the legal requirements is only the beginning of the battle. State officials frequently rule signatures invalid because they include—or don't include—a middle initial, or because an abbreviation like "W" is used for "West" in an address. This was the case in Missouri, for example, where the SWP was ruled off the ballot after collecting 25,000 signatures. One of the signatures invalidated by state authorities was that of Roger Goldman, the eastern Missouri president of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Of course, the Democratic and Republican parties are guaranteed their place on the ballot with no difficulty. Moreover, in the name of "reforming" the corrupt system of campaign funding, Congress passed a law in 1974 that will give \$43.6 million in public funds to the Democratic and Republican campaigns—and not a cent to opposition parties.

Despite such roadblocks, it has become clear from the SWP's 1976 presidential campaign that the opportunities for American Trotskyism are bigger than ever before. One sign of this is the respect the party has won for its fight to preserve and extend the democratic rights of American working people.

The Crimes that Won't Go Away

"Watergate"—the multiple violations of democratic rights by the government—is a central issue in American political life. The capitalists have been unable to bury the past and stop the flow of revelations about their methods of government. And it has been the suit launched by the SWP and YSA against government spying and harassment that has been a prime source of the continuing disclosures.

The pressure against the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has already forced Ford and Carter to take up the question of whether FBI Director Clarence Kelley should be fired. On a broader scale, Carter's entire campaign is being conducted on the theme of restoring trust in the capitalist government.

By challenging the government in the courts, the SWP and YSA have been able to expose the crimes of the government

^{1.} This count includes New York State, where

the state authorities ruled against an attempt by the right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees to have the SWP thrown off the ballot. However, the SWP will not be finally certified for a spot on the New York ballot until October 8.



Warren Dean/Militant

Camejo addresses rally of striking teaching assistants at University of Wisconsin, April 1.

and its secret police, while winning new prestige and authority in the eyes of millions. The Trotskyists are known as the people who are fighting the FBI, and winning.

For example, when the SWP and YSA demanded the names and files of nineteen FBI informers September 4, they were in the news in virtually every city in the United States. Front-page articles covering this one development in the case appeared in newspapers in Portland, Oregon; San Francisco; Los Angeles; Denver; Houston; Minneapolis; Boston; and Washington, D.C.

The combined approach of suing the government while running in the elections has been particularly effective. On the one hand, the suit has won massive publicity for the election campaign. At the same time, the fact that the FBI is directing its attacks on constitutional rights against the campaign of a presidential candidate has made the suit more timely and increased its impact.

When the U.S. Justice Department announced September 13 that it had ordered an end to the FBI's thirty-eight year "investigation" of the SWP, the party was in a position to demand in the name of its presidential candidate the immediate removal of all FBI informers operating within the SWP, and the release of all files on them.

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

The Vanishing Voter

The feeling of outrage expressed by Camejo is widespread in the United States today, and it has been deepened by the disclosures forced out of the FBI by the Trotskyists' law suit. In fact, the context of the 1976 presidential election has been set by two overriding factors—the continuing revelations about the U.S. government's violations of democratic rights, and the impact of the world economic crisis of 1974-75.

Together, these two factors have resulted in a third—a crisis of confidence in the institutions of American bourgeois democracy, and in particular a massive loss of confidence in the Democratic and Republican parties.

For more than a century the reins of power in the United States have been handed back and forth between two capitalist parties. There is not a single mass-circulation newspaper or magazine claiming to speak in the interests of the working class, let alone a mass party representing the workers or the oppressed nationalities in the United States.

Politics itself is defined by the capitalist media as participation in the electoral farce periodically staged by the two ruling parties. Thus, the editors of the New York Times described, in the September 13 issue, the continuing decline in voter turnout as "a turning away from politics."

In fact, the behavior of American voters is a clear indication of the disgust and cynicism with which they view the Democratic and Republican parties. As one recent study put it, "The American people in increasing numbers have been giving a 'no vote' to their leaders and institutions."

Conducted by the Peter D. Hart Research Associates, the study estimated that roughly 70 million qualified voters nearly half the voting age population—will choose not to vote November 2. The most common reason for not voting—given by 68 percent of the nonvoters surveyed—was that "candidates say one thing and then do another."

In its September 13 editorial, the *New York Times* commented that "neither President Ford nor Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter appears so far to have been able to recover the nonvoters' lost allegiance.

"... The growing roll of nonvoters is a warning signal neither party's candidate can afford to ignore."

Although the capitalist media attempted to label the nonvoters as "apathetic," the Hart poll found that in reality they are just as well-informed as those who do vote. The biggest distinguishing feature of the nonvoting group was the concentration of young people in it. In fact, one half of all those aged eighteen to twenty-nine have not even bothered to register on the voting rolls.

Syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak reported September 15 on a voter registration drive in Cleveland. The effort netted 3,071 new registrants, compared to 52,836 who registered under similar conditions in 1972, and 64,081 in 1968.

"Registration was at the lowest ebb in black areas such as Ward 20 (Hough) and Ward 24 (Glenville). With more than 20,000 registered voters in each of those wards, total new voters after the Sept. 8 'open' registration closed down were one voter for each ward."

A Resounding Flop

These findings confirm the significance of the thirty-one primary elections held between February and June. (See Intercontinental Press, June 21, p. 973.) The capitalist media gave lavish coverage to these elections as part of the ruling-class attempt to overcome the alienation undercutting the two-party system.

The exercise was a resounding failure. A total of 25.8 million persons took part—only 17.6 percent of the voting-age population. Carter received support from 4.2 percent of the voting-age population, compared to 3.4 percent for Ford.

One sign of the erosion of the authority of the Democratic and Republican parties has been the reaction to the government's decision limiting the televised presidential debates to Ford and Carter. When a similar series of debates between John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon was set up in 1960, Congress simply passed a special law allowing the debates to be televised without requiring equal time for opponents of the two capitalist parties. There was no public outcry, and the mass media simply ignored those outside of the Democratic and Republican parties.

This time, things have been different. The idea that the debates should be opened up to include opposition candidates has won widespread support. Both the *New York Post*—New York's evening daily and *El Diario-La Prensa*, the largest Spanish-language daily in New York, carried front-page articles on the decision of the SWP to sue for equal time with the Ford-Carter debates—a suit that is currently in the courts.

A similar indication of the dissatisfaction with the capitalist parties has been the response to the campaign of Eugene McCarthy. McCarthy is a maverick capitalist politician who won national prominence when he challenged Lyndon Johnson in the 1968 Democratic party primaries on the issue of the Vietnam War.

While McCarthy's antiwar image remains, he has also stressed his opposition to the political monopoly of the Democratic and Republican parties and carried out a fight against the undemocratic laws designed to keep independent candidates off the ballot.

According to a report in the September 29 New York Times, McCarthy has qualified for the ballot in twenty-nine states. Opinion polls are currently estimating that he will take 6 percent of the vote in November. If this is an accurate reflection of voter sentiment, it is of considerable significance as an indicator of opposition to the candidates of the two main capitalist parties.

Right-winger vs. Chameleon

A look at the Ford and Carter campaigns shows clearly enough why they have failed to arouse enthusiasm. The Democrats and Republicans simply do not offer answers for the big problems facing American workers.

More than seven million persons are unemployed; Blacks and women face increasing attacks on their basic rights; and the ever-present threat of war continues unabated. On all these issues, Ford takes a hard right-wing line. He is opposed to any federal action to provide jobs for the unemployed; he is opposed to the busing needed to end segregated education; he is opposed to the right of women to choose abortion; and he urges still greater military spending.

Carter, like Ford, opposes "forced busing." At the same time, he plays up his support from Black leaders and insists that he is a representative of "the new South," which has supposedly put discrimination against Blacks behind it.

While refusing to back a constitutional amendment that would allow state governments to once again make abortions illegal, Carter also says that he would not necessarily oppose such an amendment.

At the same time that he attacks Ford for doing nothing to relieve unemployment, Carter insists that any social programs he implements will come second to the need for a balanced budget—the traditional excuse for denying funds to social reform programs.

In short, Carter's election strategy is to appear as all things to all people.

The official opening of Carter's campaign came September 6 with a speech by the Democratic party nominee at the Warm Springs, Georgia, retreat where Franklin D. Roosevelt frequently vacationed. "This year, as in 1932," Carter said, "our nation is divided, our people are out of work and our national leaders do not lead. Our nation is drifting without inspiration, without vision and without purpose."

Having evoked the image of Roosevelt, Carter appeared September 13 in Birmingham, Alabama, with archracist Governor George Wallace at his side, and declared, "We Southerners believe in work, not welfare."

Thus, Louis Harris, summarizing the findings of a public-opinion poll in the

September 7 Washington Post, noted that the Democratic party nominee "comes across as more conservative to conservative voters, more middle-of-the-road to middle-of-the-roaders, and more liberal to liberals."

Carter's chameleon-like performance on the major issues has only increased the cynicism with which he is widely viewed. Clarence Mitchell, one of the main leaders of the NAACP² stated the feelings of millions of Blacks when he said August 24 that the civil rights planks of both the Democratic and Republican parties were "examples of pussy-footing, mealymouthing, hate-mongering, and platitudinating," and "examples of how you can have it both ways and say nothing."

Nevertheless, a recent Gallup poll found that 83 percent of Blacks favor Carter over Ford. It is undeniable that most Blacks who bother to vote will vote against Ford, and that in most instances this will mean a vote for Carter. Millions of others seeking a way to express their dissatisfaction with the way things are going will also vote for Carter. Many more will stay at home, and some will vote for McCarthy. But what is new about the 1976 election is the response to the alternative of socialism being posed by the candidates of the SWP.

Campaigning Against Racism

Nothing illustrates this better than the reaction in the Black community to the SWP presidential and local campaigns. Black newspapers with a total circulation of more than 1.3 million have published articles on the SWP campaign. (There are roughly eight million Black households in the United States.)

Moreover, many Black papers have given consistent coverage to SWP campaign statements on subjects ranging from the frame-up of Joanne Little and racist violence in Boston to the U.S. intervention in Angola and the vote in the United Nations characterizing Zionism as a form of racism.

In Milwaukee last February, SWP mayoral candidate Bernie Senter won the endorsement of the city's major Black newpaper against Democratic incumbent Henry Maier. An editorial in the *Milwaukee Courier* said:

"Unlike Maier or any of his other opponents, Bernard Senter of the Socialist Workers Party has been touring the entire city calling for prompt school desegregation, open housing enforcement, success to the Meatcutters Union in their important strike, and a clampdown on police violence against residents of the [mostly Black] inner city."

Another example of the impact of SWP campaigns among Blacks was the 26 percent of the vote won by Pat Bethard

^{2.} The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the largest civil rights organization in the United States.

last November in her campaign for a seat on the Seattle City Council. Bethard's campaign was centered in Seattle's Black community, and the SWP opened up a storefront headquarters and later established a branch there as a result of this campaign.

Increasingly, the SWP is being seen as the party that is on the front lines fighting for the rights of Blacks wherever they are under attack. This led to the decision of Local Division 26 of the Amalgamated Transit Union to endorse the campaign of Steve Beumer for the Detroit school board this spring.

Local 26 represents 1,400 Detroit bus operators, nearly 90 percent of whom are Black. The local voted unanimously in April to support Beumer, a militant in the union, because he was the only candidate defending the desegregation of the Detroit school system and the busing plan needed to carry it out.

Supporters of the Camejo-Reid ticket were also among the leaders of a floor fight at the convention of the 450,000member American Federation of Teachers this August. The fight to put the union on record in support of busing to desegregate schools became the main issue at the convention. It was the first serious challenge to the union's racist leadership in a decade.

The changing situation within the tradeunion movement was also demonstrated by the success of SWP candidates in San Francisco in winning union endorsement last fall. Three SWP candidates for the city Board of Supervisors were endorsed by a chapter of Social Services Union Local 535. A vote for endorsement in Painters Local 4 ended in a tie vote.

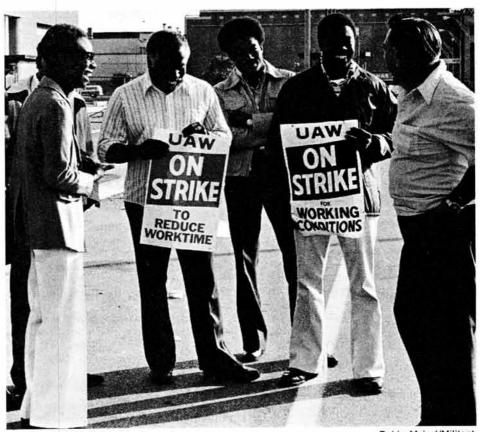
In the same election, SWP mayoral candidate Roland Sheppard spoke before the San Francisco Building Trades Council, two locals of the Carpenters union, a Retail Clerks local, and his own local of the Painters union.

Support Among Chicanos

Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, the largest oppressed nationalities in the United States after Blacks, have also shown rising interest in the socialist campaign. The Camejo-Reid ticket has had particular impact in the Chicano movement.

The SWP is well known among Chicano activists for its support for an independent Chicano party, for its work in support of the United Farm Workers union, and for its defense of immigrant workers. Camejo's candidacy has been further welcomed by Chicano activists since he is the first presidential candidate of Latin descent and speaks Spanish fluently.

The New Mexico Raza Unida party—an independent Chicano party—has endorsed the SWP presidential ticket and organized a series of meetings for Camejo in that state. Juan José Peña, the chairperson of the New Mexico Raza Unida party, spoke



Robin Maisel/Militant

Reid (left) joins picket line at Ford's River Rouge plant in Detroit, September 18.

at the rally held by the SWP at its national convention this August.

In Texas, Camejo has had Spanishlanguage meetings with striking farm workers set up by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, and participated with Chicano activists in protests against the victimization of immigrant workers from Mexico. Pedro Vásquez, the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Texas, is a respected leader of the Chicano movement.

The special oppression of women has been another area in which the SWP candidates have spoken out as leaders in the fight for human rights. Both Camejo and Reid participated in the 8,000-strong demonstration for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the U.S. constitution held in Springfield, Illinois, this May. Both SWP candidates were introduced from the platform at the rally.

Local SWP campaign committees have been in the forefront of the struggle to get the ERA passed and to defend the U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. This contrasts with the scandalous position of the Communist party, which opposes passage of the ERA.

At the convention of the 1.8-millionmember National Education Association this June, Jill Fein, the SWP candidate for county commissioner in Houston, was the one who introduced a motion passed by the convention for support to demonstrations in favor of the ERA.

Putting the Blame Where It Belongs

Whether they are speaking to trade unionists, to unemployed Black youth, to women demanding equal rights, to Puerto Ricans struggling for bilingual education, or to Chicanos protesting terrorization by immigration police, the SWP candidates have one clear, direct message: American capitalism is in crisis; the ruling class is attempting to solve this crisis at the expense of the working class; the attacks on Blacks, women, and other specially oppressed layers of the working class are an expression of this crisis; and it is necessary for the workers to unite and to organize independently to fight these attacks.

Above all, it is necessary for the working class to break politically with the capitalist class and form its own party to fight for its interests. To further this goal the socialist candidates call for the unions to form a labor party.

Catarino Garza, the SWP candidate for Congress from Manhattan's largely Puerto Rican Lower East Side, explained it this way in the February 20 issue of the *Militant*:

"We need a voice that puts the blame for this crisis where it belongs—on the profithungry bankers and financiers and the two parties that work for them, the Democratic and Republican parties."

Another theme running through the SWP campaign is its internationalism. Camejo and Reid have spoken out against the racist repression in South Africa and Israel, making solidarity with the struggles of the working class and the oppressed around the world part of their campaign. This has been symbolized in the international tours of the candidates.

Reid met with leaders of the women's liberation movement in Australia and New Zealand, and with leaders of the Australian Aborigines and the Maori people of New Zealand. Camejo spoke to workers and students in Spain and Canada. In Puerto Rico, the San Juan Star reported April 8 that the socialist "candidate for president of the U.S. called his presence in Puerto Rico Wednesday 'an act of solidarity with the independence movement.'"

The success of the socialist campaign has attracted the attention of right-wing terrorists as well as of those interested in fighting against injustice and exploitation. In Pasadena, California, Nazi thugs have shot out the windows of the SWP campaign headquarters; similar armed attacks have taken place in Denver. In Los Angeles, the SWP campaign headquarters was the target of a bomb attack, while in St. Louis, Missouri, SWP candidate for governor Helen Savio has been threatened with death by local right-wing terrorists. Camejo himself has received two death threats.

Such terrorism, however, has never proved effective in stopping the spread of ideas.

Where is the Rest of the Left?

Why is it that the SWP and YSA have been so much more successful in taking advantage of the new opportunites opening up for socialists than the other tendencies on the left?

The central role of the Trotskyists in the fight against FBI crimes and the government secrecy needed to cover up those crimes has already been mentioned.

Looked at from a broader point of view, the success of the American Trotskyist movement in the 1976 election campaign reflects the cumulative impact of the role played by the SWP and YSA throughout the radicalization of the 1960s and 1970s. By participating in and helping to lead the antiwar movement and the women's liberation movement while the other tendencies on the left defaulted, the SWP and YSA were able to win new forces to their banner and new respect after the long isolation of the 1950s.

This same process is currently being repeated to some degree in the Black liberation movement, particularly around the issue of busing and school desegregation. The abstention of many groups on the left from the electoral arena, for both sectarian and opportunist reasons, should also be noted. The traditional Social Democratic current in the United States is splintered into several competing groups, with the two most important, the Social Democrats, USA, and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, both working wholeheartedly for the election of Carter. Even many liberals cannot bring themselves to do that.

A third Social Democratic group, the Socialist party, USA, is running a campaign of its own, but has had very little impact.

The main Maoist groups in the United States have taken an essentially abstentionist position toward the elections, doing their best to ignore them. This has also been the stance of many small sectarian groupings, such as the International Socialists.

Spark, the American group associated with Lutte Ouvrière (a French Trotskyist grouping) has endorsed the SWP campaign.

Gus Hall Tries to Get Out the Vote

The American Communist party is running its own election campaign this year. Gus Hall, the CP's candidate, is currently on the ballot in eighteen states and the District of Columbia. Hall also ran for president in 1972, with less-thansatisfactory results from the point of view of the Stalinists.

In December 1972, right after that campaign, Hall told his Central Committee, "My guess is that 30 percent, maybe 40 percent, of Communists did not vote for the Communist presidential ticket." Many of the CP's members have been immersed in the Democratic party for so long that they are resistant to the idea of running their own campaign. This would explain why much of Hall's campaign activity this year has been devoted to speaking before CP clubs and making declarations for the Stalinist press.

Apparently, however, the CP's problem still remains. Hall returned to the question in a speech to the CP's National Council in March 1976, declaring that "the basic problem is that we have not politically convinced the party. The root of the weakness is in the leading cadre."

Behind Hall's concern with presenting a CP alternative in the elections is the effect that the SWP's 1972 and 1976 presidential campaigns have had within the broad radical movement. This year the Stalinists launched their biggest electoral effort since the 1930s, but the SWP campaign has made a qualitatively greater impact.

Too Realistic

ITV, the British commercial network, has banned a fifteen-second commercial that was to show a Black child's hand taking a small piece of cake while a white hand takes the rest.

The film was part of a campaign by the International Famine Relief Organization (OXFAM) to show how badly the wealth of the world is distributed.

According to a report in the September 27 Christian Science Monitor, a spokesman for ITV said the commercial could not be shown here because it was "political" and contravened the network's code of conduct.

When you move, it's nice to have your mail move with you.			
New Address:	Old Address:		
Name	Name		
Address	Address		
City	City		
State	State		
Zipcode	Zipcode		
Country Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116,	Country Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014		

Intercontinental Press

Banzer Crushes Bolivian Miners Strike

With the direct financial backing of Washington, Bolivian President Hugo Banzer Suárez was successful in breaking a thirty-day general strike by mine workers, which began June 14. Some of the events leading up to the strike, and the Banzer regime's brutal crackdown, were reported by S. Fernandez in the September 23 Inprecor, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

This showdown had followed a rise in labor and student struggles since the beginning of the year. More than 70,000 workers and students were involved in these struggles, Fernandez reported, winning some initial victories.

In January, workers at the Manaco shoe factory carried out a successful strike, with the support of students, miners, and other workers. In addition, Banzer was forced to grant some of the demands of student protesters, including the release of arrested student leaders and giving students more control over university affairs.

Banzer was also unable to prevent the holding of a congress of the Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia (FSTMB—Trade Union Federation of Mine Workers of Bolivia) in early May, which was attended by 400 delegates. The FSTMB, which has in the past been in the vanguard of the Bolivian class struggle, has been regaining strength in recent years.

Fernandez pointed out, however:

the Bolivian masses are not developing in a uniform manner or at the same level. . . The new rise of the masses has been limited to the miners and the university students, while other sectors (with a few exceptions, such as the Manaco workers in the industrial sector) have held back, unable to defeat or overcome government control.

The dictatorship understood this new awakening of the masses and its limitations and thus prepared to isolate and decapitate it, for the regime could not permit itself the luxury of allowing the development of the workers movement, which day by day was succeeding in making its trade-union organizations function again and was becoming ever more audacious in its demands and its efforts to recover lost ground.

After the FSTMB congress, the regime decided to go on the offensive. But first Banzer made sure of direct aid from American imperialism:

A way had to be found to pay for the struggle against the miners, which the government calculated would be a long one. At the request of the military government, Henry Kissinger agreed to generously finance the antiworker counter-offensive of Banzer and recommended



BOLIVIAN DICTATOR BANZER

that he take a hard line against the miners. The plan of attack was approved and polished up in Santa Cruz, in the presence of Kissinger and with his assistance. Kissinger left Bolivia on the night of June 7. On the following night, Banzer's cabinet voted a state of siege and decided on a military invasion of the mines, ordering the destruction and capture of the miners' leaderships, from the national FSTMB... to the local trade-union sections.

The great majority of the leaders of the FSTMB, Fernandez reported, were arrested in La Paz, while the armed forces moved in to occupy the mines. Despite the loss of their central leadership, the miners responded to the offensive and the Catavi and Siglo XX mines issued a call for a strike. After the FSTMB leadership was reconstituted, a general miners' strike was called.

More labor leaders were arrested and the police and military moved to crush the strike. Fernandez continued:

The state of siege, along with the declaration of the mining regions as military zones, isolated the mines. A wall of silence and misinformation was erected around the mining regions, making communications among districts difficult; communication between the mines as a whole and the rest of the workers movement and the universities was even more difficult. Throughout the thirty days of the strike, the government continually broadcast false information.

In an attempt to break the strike in each mine by subjecting the entire population to military pressure, the police violently burst into houses, seizing miners and their families and taking them away.

When students protested in solidarity with the mine workers, hundreds were arrested and seven universities were closed. Faced with this massive repression, the strike was suspended mine by mine, having lasted thirty days.

During the crackdown, about 400 persons were jailed or exiled. And in the wake of the strike 845 miners were fired on charges of being "agitators" or militants. The miners' radio stations were taken over by the army, which also continued to occupy the mining districts.

Despite the level of repression against the miners and students, Fernandez pointed out, the defeat was not total:

For one thing, even in the areas that were directly hit, demoralization is limited, while the spirit of combativity still holds sway among the broad masses. The trade-union leaderships, although much reduced by arrests and layoffs, have preserved themselves underground.

By crushing the strike, Banzer "increased his prestige among his imperialist patrons," Fernandez said. The results were prompt: "Less than thirty days after the miners strike was broken, Banzer received various loans running into the millions of dollars. In addition, in accordance with Kissinger's promise, it is Yankee imperialism that will pick up the tab for the \$24 million spent breaking the strike and carrying out the repressive measures." □

Supporters of Irish Struggle Face New Attack in U.S.

A federal judge ordered the publisher of The Irish People, a weekly newspaper published in New York, to register as an agent of a foreign interest on September 27. This action, taken solely because The Irish People opposes the British occupation of Ireland and supports the struggle against it, is the latest move in an ongoing campaign by the government against supporters of the Irish struggle in the United States. In earlier attacks, Irish activists have been framed up on charges of violating U.S. firearms laws.

Kings, Presidents, Tinhorn Dictators, Mourn Mao's Death

By David Frankel



PINOCHET: Orders three days of "official national mourning" in honor of Mao.

The death of Mao Tsetung September 9 was the occasion for an outpouring of official grief that would have done credit to Winston Churchill, Charles de Gaulle, or Franklin D. Roosevelt. Kings, presidents, and prime ministers—rulers charged with the defense of capitalism in every corner of the world—paid glowing tribute to the man who, according to his followers, dedicated his life "to the emancipation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over, and to the cause of communism" (*Hsinhua*, September 10).

Prominent among the mourners around the world were the relics of a feudal past, now employed in the service of the capitalist order. *Hsinhua*, the official Chinese news service, listed condolences from King Olav V of Norway, King Hassan II of Morocco, King Baudouin of Belgium, Queen Elizabeth II of Britain, Queen Margrethe II of Denmark, and the Grand Duke, His Royal Highness Jean, of Luxembourg, to name but a few.

Royality no longer has the prerogatives it once did, and many of these crowned heads must have felt a twinge of envy at the absolute power held by Mao before his death. King Juan Carlos I of Spain, the handpicked successor of fascist dictator Francisco Franco, expressed confidence "that the image of the late chairman will serve forever as the model and orientation for his people."

The king, who would doubtless be pleased if he could be assured of weathering the next few years, let alone eternity, went in person to present a wreath in memory of Mao to the Chinese embassy.

Mao, "the great teacher of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people," had another royal friend in Shahanshah (king of kings) Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. The shah, an expert on the subject of oppressed nations, holds Kurds, Azerbaijani Turks, and Baluchis under his reign of terror, in addition to his own Persians. But Mao was willing to overlook the oppression of nations and the torture of Iranian oppositionists in the interests of friendly diplomatic relations with the shah, and the shah himself was only too pleased to stay on good terms with any "communist" who supported his regime.

In a September 10 message expressing his "profound and sincere sympathy," Pahlavi hailed "the late chairman's illustrious role in the establishment of the People's Republic of China...which has ushered in a new era of greatness and prosperity" and which "will be permanently recorded as one of the most brilliant chapters in Chinese history."

Also listed among the admirers of Mao by *Hsinhua* was General Suharto, a man who became president of Indonesia in 1965 by butchering as many as one million persons. Suharto said of Mao, "He will be remembered by the world as a statesman of historic stature who rendered his great service to the people and the state of the People's Republic of China."

Flags were flown at half-mast and periods of national mourning were decreed for Mao in Argentina, Syria, and Sri Lanka. Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka must have remembered with particular gratitude the military and financial help offered her by Mao in 1971, when her regime faced a rebellion of radicalized youths.

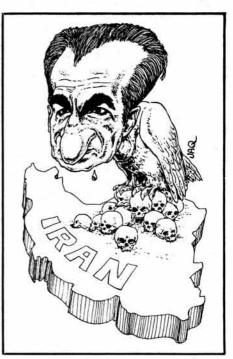
Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos, whose regime has just been cited by Amnesty International for its use of torture against political prisoners, added his name to those who lamented the loss of Chairman Mao. Marcos was received as an honored guest in Peking only last year.

But certainly the crowning honor for the man who, according to *Hsinhua*, "blazed a new trail for the cause of liberation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people," came on September 10. On that day, Hsinhua reported, "...Chilean Deputy Interior Minister Enrique Montero...declared September 12, 13, and 14 as days of official national mourning for Chairman Mao Tsetung with flags on public buildings to be flown at half-mast."

The period of national mourning was announced by the ministry of the interior, which is in charge of the police and prisons. Perhaps then the thousands of political prisoners in the junta's concentration camps and torture chambers will be awarded memorial copies of Mao's little red book, to better appreciate the wisdom of what *Hsinhua* calls the "great, glorious and correct Marxist-Leninist party which is today exercising leadership over the People's Republic of China."

Mao's successors cannot be charged with ignoring the question of just who was sending condolences on the death of "the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era."

When they felt that a strong political protest was needed to make clear where their sympathies lay, they were firm and unhesitating. On September 14, the



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SHAH: Sends his "profound and sincere sympathy." Peking bureaucrats rejected messages from the Communist parties of the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Mongolia.

No such qualms were exhibited when it came to testimonials from imperialist governments, parties, and politicians. Thus, Richard Nixon's remarks on Mao's death were printed in *Hsinhua* right below those of President Ford. Nixon called Mao "a unique man in a generation of great revolutionary leaders," and pointed in particular to the deal he engineered with Mao at the expense of the Vietnamese revolution in 1972.

"The new relationship which we established then," Nixon said, "was a tribute to . . . far-sighted vision on his part."

Ford also hailed the accomplishments of détente, saying, "Americans will remember that it was under Chairman Mao that China moved together with the United States to end a generation of hostility and to launch a new and more positive era in relations between our two countries."

Former Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, and current Prime Minister Takeo Miki, both took time off from the Lockheed payoffs scandal to eulogize Mao. Tanaka said he was "deeply grieved" at Mao's demise, and recalled that "in order to end decades of unfortunate history of relations between Japan and China, I visited Peking as a representative of Japan."

Miki termed Mao "a great statesman of the world," and said, "At the present time when relations between Japan and China are developing, I am sincerely distressed on the passing away of this great leader."

Praise also came from Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, who declared that under Mao's "guidance and inspiration China regained its national respect and international influence. His was the guiding hand as in recent years China emerged to play a major role in world affairs."

French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing called Mao "a statesman of exceptional stature," and vowed, "France will not forget that he was, together with General de Gaulle, who held him in high esteem, the architect of rapprochement of our two countries."

"... a great statesman of world renown" was the way British Prime Minister James Callaghan described Mao.

It is worth contrasting the reaction in imperialist capitals to Mao's death with their reaction when Leon Trotsky died. The August 23, 1940, issue of the New York Times, for example, declared that Trotsky's assassination was "no more ruthless than the Russian revolution which this consummate firebrand in exile had himself set alight and kept aflame a generation ago. . . It was not enough for him that Russia should be drenched in blood and suffering; the whole world had to wade through a sea of violence so that the triumph of the proletariat could be assured."

The venom of the *Times* was typical. Trotsky was a "firebrand," not a "statesman." In the intervening period the imperialists have not changed their views on the threat of revolution, as the events in Vietnam so amply demonstrated. The difference in the way they assessed Trotsky and Mao was the difference between their hatred for an enemy and their appreciation for services rendered. \Box

'Anticommunist Alliance' Claims Credit

Brazilian Bishop Kidnapped and Beaten

Bishop Adriano Hipólito was kidnapped, badly beaten, and threatened with death in a suburb of Rio de Janeiro September 22. Kidnapped along with him was his nephew, Fernando Leal Webering.

Two hours later, the bishop was dumped—bound and gagged—at the side of a road, where he was rescued by a passing motorist. Webering was found the following morning.

The six armed men who carried out the kidnapping divided into teams of two, one driving off with Hipólito, one with his nephew, and the third with the bishop's car. They told Hipólito, "This will teach you, you shameless Communist. The only reason you are not going to die is that the chief does not want us to kill anyone now."

Two hours after the bishop was freed, his car exploded in front of the downtown Rio headquarters of the Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil (CNBB— National Conference of Brazilian Bishops). The wreckage contained leaflets signed by the Alainça Anticomunista Brasileira (AAB—Brazilian Anticommunist Alliance). The text referred to Communists in the Catholic church and said that Hipólito had been punished for being one of them.

Simultaneously with the explosion of the bishop's car, a bomb went off outside the home of Roberto Marinho. Owner of the Rio de Janeiro daily *O Globo*, a television station, and several radio stations, Marinho had videotaped an interview with Hipólito that afternoon. The AAB took credit for this bombing, too.

Although not the most outspoken member of the CNBB, Hipólito is well known as a supporter of human rights. His kidnapping and the subsequent bombings followed shortly on AAB bombings of three other institutions associated with human rights—the Associação Brasileira de Imprensa (ABI—Brazilian Press Association), Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil (OAB—Order of Brazilian Lawyers), and Cebrap, a São Paulo sociological research group.

"The latest events have the clear markings of the police, of persons accustomed to doing such things," commented an *Intercontinental Press* correspondent who follows Brazilian affairs closely.

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Mao Tsetung in the Early Years

By Theodore Edwards

[This is the first of a two-part article.]

Mao Tsetung presented himself to the world as an unrivaled practitioner of the science of Marxism and as an uncompromising champion of the revolutionary cause of the workers and the oppressed. These claims rested on the Chinese Communist Party's victory over Chiang Kai-shek in 1949 and the subsequent abolition of capitalist property relations in China. This was indeed a victory for world socialism of historic proportions. But it does not follow that the revolution succeeded because of the caliber of the Maoist leadership. Under special, fortuitous circumstances, a revolution can take place despite the limitations of its leadership

One way of testing Mao's pretensions is to examine them historically: How did he become the head of the Chinese Communist Party? What role did he play in the first great workers' revolution in China, in 1925-27? And does Mao tell the truth about what he did and why?

Mao's own accounts of his past, as well as the official party versions, are periodically rewritten to present events not as they happened but as Mao would have preferred his readers to think that they happened. Since 1927 the CCP leadership has continuously revised and reinterpretea the past to suit its current factional needs. Historical facts are falsified and leaders who are purged from the party become "unpersons." They are written out of the historical record or their past activity is maligned and distorted.

This retroactive alteration of historical events and persons is applied to "Mao Tsetung Thought" as well. The materials in Mao's Selected Works were almost all written before 1949. During most of this period, the CCP had a perspective of longterm peaceful coexistence with Chinese capitalism and Chiang Kai-shek. This was embarrassing to Mao after Chiang's armies had crumbled and the old dictator had fled to Taiwan. So a subcommittee of the Central Committee was put to work, not merely to select, but to rewrite Mao's thoughts.

In the end, Mao himself took over this job of literary forgery, completing it for the 1951 edition of his *Selected Works*, which still remains the basis for all the new editions or translations published in China.¹ However, this text, too, is subject to periodic revision. For example, when Kao



MAO TSETUNG. Photo taken in the early 1930s.

Kang, head of the State Planning Commission, was purged in 1954, subsequent printings of Mao's works deleted his name,² although he had been a member of the CCP since 1926.

All one can know for certain from reading such arbitrarily doctored "records" is what was considered to be party policy at the time of publication. And this can change at a moment's notice.

One recent pamphlet offers the following summary of the previous history of the CCP:

"'The history of the Communist Party of China is one in which Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line combats the Right and "Left" opportunist lines in the Party. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party defeated Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line, defeated the "Left" opportunist lines of Chu Chiu-pai and Li Li-san, defeated Wang Ming's first "Left" and then Right opportunist lines, defeated Chang Kuo-tao's line of splitting the Red Army, defeated the Right opportunist anti-Party bloc of Peng Teh-huai, Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih and others and, after long years of struggle, has shattered Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line.' "³

The speaker quoted here is Lin Piao, addressing the Ninth Congress of the CCP in April 1969. This was the congress that designated him as heir and successor to Mao. In September 1971, however, Lin Piao also became an unperson, and at the Tenth Congress, in August 1973, he was denounced as a "bourgeois careerist, conspirator and double-dealer, engaged in machinations within our Party not just for one decade but for several decades."⁴

Mao's official obituary included a list of former leaders of the party purged by him. The list was longer than the one read by Lin Piao in 1969. It concluded with Mao's victory over the "counterrevolutionary revisionist line" of Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping.⁵

The Real Record

Denunciations like this of Mao's life-long collaborators as "capitalist agents" and "counterrevolutionaries" make it difficult to establish the true history of the CCP and the real nature of Maoism. Fortunately early CCP publications and early editions of Mao's writings exist. There are accounts by participants who later broke with Mao. And in recent years a great volume of documentation became available as a result of the Sino-Soviet guarrel and the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. A number of carefully documented studies of CCP history have appeared recently in the West that shed new light on the events despite the various prejudices of the authors.6

3. Lin Piao, Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1969), pp. 69-70. There are various systems for transliterating Chinese names; I have used the modified Wade-Giles system, which is the most common in English. The spelling of names in quoted material may be based on a slightly different transliteration.

4. Chou En-lai, "Report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China," *Peking Review*, September 7, 1973, p. 20.

5. "Message to Whole Party, Whole Army and People of All Nationalities Throughout Country" by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the State Council, and the Military Commission of the CCP CC, September 9, 1976, (*Hsinhua Daily News Release*, September 10, 1976, p. 3).

6. Among the most useful of these are The Long March to Power: A History of the Chinese Communist Party, 1921-72, by James Pinckney Harrison (New York: Praeger, 1972); Biographic Dictionary of Chinese Communism, 1921-1965, 2 vols., by Donald W. Klein and Anne B. Clark (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University

^{1.} Stuart Schram, Mao Tse-tung (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1966), pp. 270-71.

^{2.} Compare p. 387 in Conrad Brandt, Benjamin Schwartz, and John K. Fairbanks, eds., A Documentary History of Chinese Communism (New York: Atheneum, 1966) with the 1965 Peking edition of Mao's Selected Works, vol. III, p. 45.

Let us examine the account in Mao's obituary of his relations with other early leaders of the CCP. The Central Committee and the other state and army bodies recount:

"Chairman Mao Tsetung was the founder and wise leader of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the People's Republic of China. Chairman Mao led our party in waging a protracted, acute and complex struggle against the right and 'left' opportunist lines in the party, defeating the opportunist lines pursued by Chen Tu-hsiu, Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san, Lo Chang-lung, Wang Ming," etc.

It is a matter of elementary historical truth that the CCP was not founded by Mao but by Ch'en Tu-hsiu. And Mao cannot truthfully be described as the leader of the party in this period, during the 1920s and early 1930s. It is not even true that Mao voiced any significant disagreements with the leaders listed in his official obituary.

Why did Mao and his heirs, who foster his cult, feel compelled to retrospectively manufacture disagreements with his predecessors in the CCP leadership? The reason is simply that in its first fourteen years of existence the CCP suffered two immense defeats—the crushing of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27, and the annihilation of the so-called Kiangsi Soviet Republic in 1934. In both cases the defeat was the result of policies imposed on the Chinese CP by Stalin and the Communist International.

Before the Sino-Soviet rupture, Mao's concern was to absolve both himself and the Comintern from any blame for the disasters of the 1920s and early 1930s. This could be accomplished only by pronouncing the policies that led to defeat as correct and finding scapegoats in the party leadership for the failures. This required fabricating a history of opposition by Mao to policies subsequently proved wrong, in order to retain Mao's reputation for infallibility.

Since the Sino-Soviet split, the tendency of Peking's propagandists has been to eliminate all references to the Comintern, to give the impression that all decisions made by the CCP from the earliest days were made by its indigenous leadership in response to purely Chinese conditions, and that Mao from the very beginning led a distinct faction in the CCP that eventually overcame the various "opportunist" currents.

This account is also false, as the most important decisions of the CCP were made not in China but in Moscow. There is no record of Mao's opposition to Stalin's

Press, 1971); Party Leadership and Revolutionary Power in China, edited by John Wilson Lewis (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1970); and Histoire du Parti Communiste Chinois, by Jacques Guillermaz (Paris, 1968). policies, except insofar as each new zigzag of line required all Stalinist officials everywhere to publicly denounce the previous line as the work of secret traitors and hidden enemy agents.

China's first modern revolution, in 1911,



Laura Gray

CHIANG KAI-SHEK

failed in its attempt to graft onto the dcaying imperial system a parliamentary democracy modeled on those in the West. It did pave the way for the working class revolt of 1925-27, known as the second Chinese revolution. The events of 1911 destroyed the centralized government of the Ch'ing emperors, but instead of leading to a unified bourgeois state, the imperial system gave way to provincial warlord regimes that dismembered the nation for the benefit of the various colonial powers.

The infant CCP, founded in 1921 under the leadership of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, was compelled under Comintern discipline in 1922 to seek an alliance at any cost with the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) of Sun Yat-sen. Sun agreed to the alliance, but only on condition that the CCP would maintain no independent organization of its own. It was required to dissolve outright and its members joined the KMT as individuals.

Initially the intent of this dubious maneuver, opposed only by Trotsky in the Russian leadership, was to secure a recruiting ground among the ranks of the loosely organized KMT, which was like the CCP, an illegal organization in warlord China.

After 1924, however, with the rise of Stalin in the hierarchy of the Soviet CP and in the Comintern, the policy of submitting to the KMT was given a fatal "theoretical" justification. The Chinese revolution was to be made in two discrete "stages." In the first, the working class and its Communist Party were to be subordinated to the task of helping the capitalist nationalists of the KMT drive the foreign imperialists out of China. In the "second stage," to be begun only after the first was completed, the CCP would fight for anticapitalist measures and vie with the bourgeoisie for leadership of the Chinese masses.

In reality, as Stalinist policy in Spain and more recently in Chile and Portugal would show, the deferring of the socialist revolution to some remote future was not merely a "moderate" strategy for achieving socialism. The concern was not at all achieving a socialist victory, but bringing to power a liberal capitalist government friendly to the Soviet Union.

Trotsky fought a heroic battle in the leading bodies of the Soviet CP against the Stalin machine, trying to warn the Chinese Communists in time of the treachery of their bourgeois allies. On April 3, 1927, he wrote:

"Communists do not simply 'join' the Kuomintang but they submit to its discipline and even obligate themselves not to criticize Sun Yat-senism. Under these conditions, the petty-bourgeois intellectual center [of the Kuomintang] can only trail behind the nationalist-liberal bourgeoisie, which is bound up by imperceptible gradations with the compradorian, i.e., overtly imperialist bourgeoisie; and, in proportion as the struggle of the masses sharpens, go over openly to its side. Thus the Kuomintang is a party apparatus adapted for the political subjection of the mass movement through the medium of a top intellectual center to an out-and-out right, i.e., manifestly bourgeois leadership, which under these conditions unfailingly subjects the Nationalist government to itself, and will continue to do so."7

The "two-stage" theory, which meant acceptance of the political program and leadership of the bourgeoisie, was founded on a basically false class estimate. The defeat of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27, which began only a few weeks after the warning we have quoted, cannot be accounted for by ephemeral decisions of tactics or timing by this or that individual leader of the CCP, as Mao and Stalin would later allege. It was the dissolution of the CCP into the KMT in the first place that was fatal for the revolution.

Trotsky's prediction of the counterrevolutionary role of the liberal bourgeoisie was not based solely on the theories he

^{7. &}quot;Class Relations in the Chinese Revolution," in *Leon Trotsky on China* (New York: Monad Press, 1976), p. 137.

and Lenin had jointly elaborated for the colonial countries in the early days of the Comintern. It was also based on the clear warning signs, which Stalin chose to ignore, in the first two years of the second Chinese revolution.

The May 30 Incident in 1925, when British police fired on striking Chinese workers in Shanghai, sparked a nationwide strike wave and mass protest movement. The KMT, whose strength previously had been concentrated in Canton, saw a rapid spread of its influence. But the very growth of the Kuomintang's power caused it to draw into itself all the class contradictions of Chinese society, so that its hostility toward the working class could no longer be papered over with revolutionary phrases.

In March 1926, Chiang Kai-shek seized personal power through a coup at Canton, ousting the CCP from all positions of real authority in the KMT apparatus, and demanding a list of CCP members working in the KMT. The Comintern under Stalin not only ignored this portentous event, but hushed it up, denying in its public press that it had even taken place.

The decisive clash took place in April 1927 at Shanghai. The workers of Shanghai, the country's major industrial city, had seized power in a local insurrection while Chiang's troops were approaching the city as part of their antiwarlord Northern Expedition. On orders from Moscow, the CCP committee in Shanghai told the workers to welcome Chiang's troops into the city as liberators. The Shanghai workers were even ordered to bury their arms, to avoid any "provocation" of Chiang's forces. As a result Chiang was able to unleash a bloodbath in Shanghai, murdering thousands of worker-Communists.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern (ECCI), under the direction of Stalin and Bukharin, offered an explanation of Chiang's "betrayal" that would later be echoed by the Maoists. In a resolution presented to the Eighth ECCI Plenum in May 1927 it was said:

"The ECCI declares especially that the course of events has fully confirmed the prognosis of the enlarged plenum on the inevitable departure of the bourgeoisie from the national-revolutionary united front and its going over to the side of the counterrevolution."⁸

Later, Stalin and Mao would seek to blame the failures of Comintern policy in China on the leadership of the CCP. But that was an afterthought. Moscow's immediate reaction was to claim it had foreseen everything. At the plenum, Trotsky derided this coverup, declaring:

"Can one ever imagine a more malicious caricature and more ridiculous pedantry? The vanguard of the Chinese proletariat was smashed by the same 'national'

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bourgeoisie that occupied the leading role in the joint party of the Kuomintang, subordinating the Communist Party on all decisive questions to the organizational discipline of the joint party. After the



STALIN

counterrevolutionary overthrow, which struck the Chinese workers and the huge majority of the working class of the world like a bolt from the blue, the resolution says: It all took place in accordance with the best rules of the Bukharinist prognosis."⁹

Trotsky spelled out the essential difference between a Leninist policy toward the colonial bourgeoisie and Stalin's line:

"Foreseeing the inevitable departure of the bourgeoisie, Bolshevik policy in the bourgeois revolution is directed toward creating an independent organization of the proletariat as soon as possible, to impregnate it as deeply as possible with mistrust of the bourgeoisie, to embrace the masses as soon as possible in the broadest form and to arm them, to aid the revolutionary uprising of the peasant masses with all means. The Menshevik policy in foreseeing the so-called departure of the bourgeoisie is directed toward postponing this moment as long as possible, while the independence of policy and organization of the proletariat is sacrificed to this aim, the workers are instilled with confidence in the progressive role of the bourgeoisie, and the necessity of political self-restraint is preached."10

But Stalin, even after Chiang's bloodbath, sought to "postpone" the departure of some sections of the liberal bourgeoisie, compelling the CCP to remain submerged in the splinter Kuomintang government set up in opposition to Chiang Kai-shek at Wuhan under the leadership of Wang Ching-wei. As Stalin put it:

"Chiang-Kai-Shek's coup means that from now on there will be in South China two camps, two governments, two armies, two centres: the centre of the revolution in Wuhan and the centre of the counterrevolution in Nanking [the seat of Chiang's government]...

"This means that the revolutionary Kuomintang in Wuhan, by a determined fight against militarism and imperialism, will in fact be converted into an organ of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. . . . [We must adopt] the policy of concentrating the whole power in the country in the hands of the *revolutionary* Kuomintang. . . ."¹¹

Trotsky replied at the Eighth ECCI Plenum: "The leaders of the left Kuomintang of the type of Wang Ching-wei and Company will inevitably betray you if you follow the Wuhan heads instead of forming your own independent soviets. The agrarian revolution is a serious thing. Politicians of the Wang Ching-wei type, under difficult conditions, will unite ten times with Chiang Kai-shek against the workers and peasants. Under such conditions, two communists in a bourgeois government become impotent hostages, if not a direct mask for the preparation of a new blow against the working masses."¹²

The "revolutionary Kuomintang," in whose hands Stalin sought to concentrate "the whole power in the country," turned on the Communist Party in Wuhan in July 1927 in a massacre as bloodthirsty as Chiang's in Shanghai in April.

Stalin, unwilling to admit that he had made a mistake that had proved so costly for the workers of China, sought to shift the blame to the leadership of the CCP, particularly to its general secretary, Ch'en Tu-hsiu. Even then, he insisted that the CCP announce itself in favor of continuing the alliance with the KMT!

Ch'en was purged from the leadership at the August 7, 1927, CCP rump "Emergency Conference," attended by only a handful of the Central Committee members. He was accused in absentia of "right opportunism" for being too conciliatory to the KMT. The meeting ignored Ch'en's fight throughout the month of June and early July to force a break with the Wuhan KMT. He was supported in this by Peng Shu-tse, who was part of the central party leadership and would, with Ch'en, become a founder of the Chinese Trotskyist movement.

^{8.} Cited in Trotsky's "First Speech on the Chinese Question," May 1927. Ibid., pp. 222-23.

^{9.} Ibid., p. 223.

^{10.} Ibid., p. 224.

^{11.} Joseph Stalin, "The Questions of the Chinese Revolution," International Press Correspondence, April 28, 1927.

^{12. &}quot;Second Speech on the Chinese Question," in Leon Trotsky on China, pp. 234-35.

In a letter to the Comintern and the party leadership shortly before the anticommunist coup in Wuhan, Ch'en had written:

"On the one hand the Comintern wants us to carry out our own policies, and on the other it does not permit us to withdraw from the KMT. There is really no way out. . . ."¹³

The cynicism of the August 7 conference can be seen in the official resolution, which after condemning Ch'en's alleged opportunism, "corrected" the policy as follows:

"... under present conditions, unless the party wins hegemony within the Kuomintang, it cannot win the hegemony over the Chinese proletariat itself. We must reorganize the Kuomintang into a genuine organization of the working masses of town and country."¹⁴

And what of Mao Tsetung? Did he oppose Stalin's policy of collaboration with the forces of Chiang Kai-shek? Not at all. What the record does show is that after the purge of Chen Tu-hsiu, not before, Mao joined in the Kremlin chorus to heap the blame for the defeat of 1927 on Ch'en's head. Mao talked about his alleged differences with Ch'en for the first time in his famous 1936 interview with Edgar Snow:

"I began to disagree with Ch'ên's Right opportunist policy about this time [1925], and we gradually drew further apart, although the struggle between us did not come to a climax until 1927."¹⁵

Further:

"When the Fifth Conference was convened in Wuhan in May, 1927, the Party was still under the domination of Ch'ên Tu-hsiu. Although Chiang Kai-shek had already led the counter-revolution and begun his attacks on the Communist Party in Shanghai and Nanking, Ch'ên was still for moderation and concessions to the Wuhan Kuomintang. Overriding all opposition, he followed a Right opportunist petty-bourgeois policy. I was very dissatisfied with the Party policy then, especially towards the peasant movement."¹⁶

Everything Mao asserted to Snow as quoted above is false. He did not disagree with Ch'en in 1925, nor was the party under Ch'en's domination then or in May 1927. It was Ch'en who in July 1927 threatened to resign as head of the CCP because "the Comintern . . . does not permit us to withdraw from the KMT." And it was Stalin, not Ch'en, who insisted that the CCP remain submerged in the Kuomintang, up to and after the Shanghai massacre, and even after the debacle in Wuhan.

Mao's complicity in framing up the founder of his party was despicable, since it involved the victimization of dedicated revolutionists and trying to hide from the Chinese masses the real causes of the terrible defeat they had suffered. But by absolving Stalin and making scapegoats of revolutionary communists, Mao also



CHEN TU-HSIU. Photo taken in Nanking prison in 1937.

preserved the fatal policy that led to the defeat: placing political confidence in the national bourgeoisie, attempting to limit the revolution to reform of capitalism, and rejecting socialist demands such as the nationalization of industry under workers' control. This policy, advocated by the Maoists as well as by the pro-Moscow Stalinists to this day, has led to defeat after defeat—from the Spanish civil war of the 1930s to the crushing of the Indonesian CP by Sukarno's generals in 1965 and the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile in 1973.

It was not accidental that Stalin refused to learn from his "mistakes." The conservative Soviet bureaucracy, as does its Chinese counterpart under Mao a generation later, looked on new revolutions as a threat to its privileged positions and sought to maintain the status quo through pacts with existing capitalist governments.

But every social formation, whether it is a revolutionary workers' party, a bourgeois ruling class, or a petty-bourgeois bureaucracy in the workers' movement such as the Stalin apparatus or the American trade union hierarchy, selects as its most prominent representatives those who best exemplify its essential characteristics. What was there in background, training, and outlook that fitted Mao to rise within the Stalinized apparatus of the Chinese CP in the period of defeat after 1927? The answer can be sought in part in his role up to that time in the CCP.

Mao's role in the 1920s

Mao Tsetung was born into an upperlevel peasant family in 1893 in Hunan. He became an intellectual, immersing himself in the Confucian classics, the literature on China's historic peasant revolts and famous bandits, and the writings of the bourgeois reformists K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, who had unsuccessfully sought to Westernize the Manchu court at the end of the nineteenth century.

Mao served briefly in the Republican army after the revolution of 1911 toppled the Manchu dynasty. He was active among the petty-bourgeois nationalist intelligentsia in the years before the great nationalist upsurge touched off by the May Fourth Movement in 1919. (He spent 1918 and 1919 in Peking where he worked as an assistant librarian.)

Mao came to the embryonic Communist movement at its beginnings, in 1920. He could best be described at this time as a petty-bourgeois revolutionist. This is not a pejorative judgment but a scientific description of his politics. Many leaders of the workers' movement, especially in the colonial world, began with similar backgrounds. Some succeeded in assimilating proletarian class politics; others did not.

The distinctive features of pettybourgeois revolutionism are the tendency to blur over class distinctions; to try to reconcile the interests of capital and labor; to substitute vague categories such as "the people" for a clear proletarian orientation, and a nationalist in place of an internationalist perspective. Typical also of pettybourgeois revolutionists is a tendency to try to impose their own will on the masses they lead instead of the Leninist approach of using the revolutionary party as an instrument to lead the self-mobilization of the workers and their allies.

These views, which Mao by and large told Edgar Snow he had held, were modified by his experiences in the Communist Party but never really discarded. They provided the bridge to Stalinism, which has a similar outlook, flowing from its social roots in a privileged petty-bourgeois stratum in the Soviet workers' state.

Among the prominent CCP leaders of the 1920s, Mao Tsetung was the most enthusiastic collaborator with the KMT, so much so that he was looked upon with suspicion by his fellow Communists.¹⁷ At the First Congress of the Kuomintang, in January 1924, he was elected as an alternate member to the Central Executive

^{13.} Klein and Clark, Biographic Dictionary of Chinese Communism, vol. I, p. 143.

^{14.} Cited by Benjamin I. Schwartz, *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao* (New York: Harper & Row, 1951), p. 94.

^{15.} Edgar Snow, Red Star Over China (New York: Garden City Publishers, 1939), p. 144.

^{16.} Ibid., pp. 144-45.

^{17.} Schram, Mao Tse-tung, p. 76.

Committee (CEC) of the KMT, contributing four resolutions on how to improve organizational work during the first few weeks of his tenure.¹⁸ Later the same year he went to Shanghai, where he worked on the KMT bureau with Wang Ching-wei and Hu Han-min, who were soon to become respectively the leaders of the left and right wings in the KMT.

Mao came under heavy attack within the CCP for his excessive collaboration with the KMT, and was accused of sacrificing the CCP's independent work and neglecting his party tasks. Mao's later claim that he stood in the left wing of the CCP and was critical of collaborating with the KMT does not appear very convincing in view of the fact that in 1924 he was actually compelled to withdraw from political activity when others in the CCP accused him of being soft on the KMT right wing. Had Mao been known in the CCP as a "leftist" such charges would have had no effect and his political opponents would have sought their ammunition in another direction. As it was, Li Li-san's derision of Mao as "Hu Han-min's secretary" was sufficient to cause Mao to take a leave of absence and return to his native village of Shaoshan, Hunan, for a "diplomatic" rest.19

Mao often reminded his readers of his early interest in organizing the Chinese peasantry. What he did not mention was that his early organizing was done not for the CCP but for the Kuomintang, and around demands limited to Chiang Kaishek's program.

Mao first became involved in peasant organizing after the May 30 Incident in 1925. He was then thirty-one. He helped create peasant associations in Hunan, but was forced to flee when his activity came to the attention of the provincial warlord.

Mao returned to Canton toward the end of 1925, where he played an even bigger role in the apparatus of the KMT than previously. He became secretary of the Propaganda Department of the CEC of the KMT and presented the resolution on propaganda at the Second Congress of the KMT, held in January 1925. At this congress he was reelected an alternate to the CEC of the KMT. After the KMT congress, Mao was appointed editor of a new KMT publication, *Political Weekly*.

Even after Chiang Kai-shek's Canton coup of March 20, 1926, when most CCP leaders were purged from the KMT appara-

19. Cited by Conrad Brandt, Stalin's Failure in China, 1924-1927 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 37.



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tus, Mao continued to occupy the post of principal of the KMT Peasant Movement Training Institute (from May until October 1926). He thus collaborated with Chiang Kai-shek longer than any other prominent CCP leader.

This was later a source of great embarrassment to Mao. The official historiographers in Peking after 1949 sought to alter the chronology of these events, when as a matter of fact all of Mao's work with the peasantry up to July 1927 was carried out under the direction of the KMT.²⁰

Even Mao's celebrated "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," written in February 1927, was addressed to the KMT and not to the CCP. That Mao assumed a framework of Kuomintang leadership of the peasant movement two months before Chiang's bloodbath in Shanghai contradicts his later claim that he was opposed to cooperation with the KMT at this time.

Mao in February 1927 had been a member of the Communist Party for six years. And his report on the Hunan peasantry is not just a survey of local conditions but a general political assessment of where the peasantry fit into China's overall revolutionary perspectives. But except for recognizing the explosive potential of the rural areas, the Marxist concept of the class struggle is entirely absent from this work. Socialism is never once mentioned, even as a long-term objective of the Chinese revolution. Even the working class is not mentioned. It is lumped together in a category Mao calls "the urban dwellers and the military units," which he says will "rate only three points" on a scale of ten in future revolutionary events, "while the remaining seven points should go to the peasants in their rural revolution."²¹

The revolution the peasants are supposed to make is not directed against a ruling class-particularly not against the bourgeoisie, which is not mentioned-but against bad individuals. These are enumerated as "all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, and bad gentry," to which he elsewhere adds "illegitimate landlords."22 He does not even advocate confiscation of the landlord's land. The political line of this document can only be described as a kind of classless peasant populism. (Needless to say, all this refers to the original text and not to the version rewritten years later for the Selected Works.)

Part of the myth of Mao's opposition to Ch'en Tu-hsiu in the spring of 1927 includes the claim that Mao counterposed a call for peasant uprisings to the existing policy of collaboration with the KMT.

Hu Hua, a Peking historian, wrote in 1959 that Mao was the leader of a propeasant opposition at the Fifth Congress of the CCP, held at Wuhan in April and May 1927, after Chiang's Shanghai coup.

The other leaders of this alleged opposition were said to be Ch'u Ch'iu-pai, Liu Shao-ch'i, and Jen Pi-shih.²³ Mao himself, however, told Snow in 1936: "My opinions, which called for a rapid intensification of the agrarian struggle, were not even discussed."²⁴

What the Maoists do not mention-and this is the key to interpreting the meaning of Mao's alleged opinion in favor of agrarian struggle-was the unqualified support by this "opposition" bloc (which most accounts indicate was led by Ch'u Ch'iu-pai and not by Mao) for remaining within the left Kuomintang government at Wuhan. What kind of "agrarian struggle" was possible if it required the approval of the capitalist military government at Wuhan? Accounts differ on whether Ch'en Tu-hsiu raised the demand for withdrawal from the KMT at the Fifth Congress. Jerome Ch'en maintains that he did but was overruled by the pro-Stalin bloc. Most accounts say that Ch'en did not place the question on the floor at the Fifth Congress.

^{18.} Ibid. According to Schram, Mao was also one of three Communist representatives delegated to the nineteen-member committee for drafting the KMT constitution. This constitution, by creating a strictly centralized apparatus, placed the organizational weapon in the hands of Chiang Kai-shek that he needed to crush the CCP in 1927.

^{20.} Schram, Mao Tse-tung, p. 92.

^{21.} Cited from the original version of the text of Mao's "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan, translated from its 1927 source (*Chung-yang fu-k'an*, no. 7, March 28, 1927), in Brandt, et al., A Documentary History of Chinese Communism, p. 83.

^{22.} Ibid., p. 80.

^{23.} Cited by Jerome Ch'en, Mao and the Chinese Revolution (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 117.

^{24.} Snow, Red Star Over China, p. 159.



One of countless scenes of executions of worker militants following defeat of Shanghai uprising in 1927.

All reports agree, however, that Ch'en did renew the demand for withdrawal from the Kuomintang a few weeks after the congress, when pro-Wuhan military units at Changsha crushed the Communist-led labor union of that city.

Mao did not support the demand, and sided with Stalin. This was consistent with Mao's attitude toward the bourgeois government at Wuhan from the time it was set up at the beginning of $1927.^{25}$

Mao took part in the Third Plenum of the KMT's CEC, meeting in Wuhan in the middle of March, 1927, in his capacity as an alternate member. This KMT plenum in effect established a coalition government in which the CCP held two ministerial posts, that of Agriculture and of Labor. The chief function of the Communist ministers was to try to restrain the peasants and the workers from revolutionary action that would disconcert the landlord members of the KMT.

The KMT CEC also established a "Central Land Committee" of five members that included Mao and T'an P'ing-shan, the Communist minister of agriculture.²⁶

26. Schram, Mao Tse-tung, pp. 99-102.

This KMT Land Committee discussed various proposals for land reform, of which Mao's may very well have been one of the more radical ones—not surprising in a KMT committee!

Mao was also appointed a member of a five-member Standing Committee of the Provisional Executive Committee of the All-China Peasants Association, headed by T'an Yen-k'ai, a prominent KMT leader.²⁷ In 1936, speaking to Snow, Mao claimed that this body was a CCP unit and that he, Mao, was the "first president" of the "All-China Peasants' Union."²⁸ The function of this body was crystal clear: To choke off the peasant movement so as to keep the KMT-CCP alliance from rupturing.

This duty it performed so conscientiously that its directives were heavily censured in the resolutions of the August 7, 1927, Emergency Conference of the CCP, after the Wuhan KMT had paid off Mao's and the CCP's treachery to the peasant movement in kind. In hindsight the orders to curb the peasants to preserve the goodwill of the landlords were embarrassing indeed.²⁹ Even M. N. Roy, the Comintern

28. Snow, Red Star Over China, p. 162.

representative, held that Mao represented the "extreme right wing" of the CCP in restraining the peasants.³⁰

[Next: The Turn to Ultraleftism.]

versity Press, 1966) comments on Mao's role in the peasant association: "He was then appointed chairman of the All-China Peasant Association, and was given the distasteful task of suppressing the movement he had helped to build" (p. 62).

30. M. N. Roy, Revolution and Counter-Revolution in China (Calcutta, 1946), p. 615.

Nixon Finds a Publisher

Richard Nixon appears to have found a suitable publisher for his memoirs. Warner Books, a paperback publisher that owns DC Comics, Superman, Batman, and Mad Magazine, has reportedly agreed to pay Nixon \$2 million, plus expenses of up to \$300,000, for the book.

Warner Books is also the publisher of Xaviera Hollander's works. Hollander, a former madam, wrote the bestseller *The Happy Hooker*.

Among the incidents that will reportedly be described in Nixon's memoirs is the scene during his final hours as president when his wife tried to persuade him to go to the White House window to acknowledge the cheers of friendly crowds. Pat Nixon thought they were chanting "Hail to the chief!" but in fact they were saying, "Jail to the chief!"

^{25.} See Ch'en, Mao and the Chinese Revolution, p. 116; Thomas C. Kuo, Ch'en Tu-hsiu (1879-1942) and the Chinese Communist Movement (South Orange, New Jersey: Seton Hall University Press, 1975), pp. 166-69; and Ch'en Tu-hsiu's "Appeal to All the Comrades of the Chinese Communist Party" in Leon Trotsky on China, pp. 603-04.

^{27.} Ibid., p. 102.

^{29.} Brandt, Stalin's Failure in China, pp. 100, 111-12. It was at this conference that Ch'en Tuhsiu was deposed as CCP general secretary. John E. Rue, in his Mao Tse-tung in Opposition, 1927-1935 (Stanford, California: Stanford Uni-

Selections From the Left



Scandinavian Socialist Journal, published every other month in Lund, Sweden. The publisher is an association of independent socialists organized on an all-Scandinavia basis.

The August-September issue features a twenty-six page article by Signe Arnfred on "Women in Portugal." It is a detailed study, with a bibliography, of the history of the status of women in Portugal, their place in the economy, and the development of the women's liberation movement.

The article discusses the role assigned to the family under Salazar and his repressive laws against women. It stresses the different economic conditions the women's movement faces in Portugal compared to the rest of Europe, and contends that "the family [in Portugal] has not been made superfluous by economic development."

It mentions the role of the Three Marias in launching the movement, saying that they represented a "bourgeois layer."

There is a discussion of the movement for the right to abortion and of "women's struggle in the organizations of People's Power." The article also discusses attempts to organize domestic servants, as well as the role of women in the neighborhood committees and new agricultural cooperatives.



"Socialist Revolution," organ of the Socialist Bloc. Published weekly in Bogotá, Colombia.

An article on Mao's death in the September 17 issue points up all the eulogies by the capitalist press and the most reactionary bourgeois figures:

"Never have the bourgeois press and the imperialists devoted so many pages to such an event—not even to the death of the last pope, and it is not just the number of pages but what they say. Few persons on their death have merited such praise from these quarters as 'the Great Helmsman.'...

"If the imperialists and the native bourgeoisies in the colonial and semicolonial worlds have expressed themselves in such a way on Mao's death, it is out of gratitude for the favors they got from People's China and out of hope that Mao's successors will continue this line of class collaborationism.

"By its homage, Yankee imperialism not only recognized Mao's efforts to advance peaceful coexistence, but also the help offered by his policy based on characterizing the Soviet Union as social imperialist. Instead of having to confront a united front of the largest workers states, the imperialists have been able to make all sorts of deals with the two rivals fighting for the leading role in pushing the policy of peaceful coexistence."

The article points out that China's foreign policy was not unrelated to its domestic practice. "If this policy is reactionary, it is not because the Chinese masses want it that way. Quite the contrary, such a policy is possible only because it is not the masses that set the line, but the bureaucratic caste that rules them, of which Mao was the kingpin.

"Far from being guided in its actions by scientific socialism, which would condemn it, the bureaucracy follows the great idealogue Mao's revision of Marxism—the so-called Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tsetung Thought. With this pseudotheory, it not only maintains its caste privileges, but also justifies a history of errors and vacillations it would otherwise have to condemn. The foundations of this theory are the 'revolution by stages' (an invention of Stalin) and the famous 'bloc of four classes.'

"Because of the theory of revolution by stages, not only was the Chinese revolution delayed for twenty years, but even when he took power in 1949, Mao refused to carry out a socialist revolution" until forced to by the pressure of an upsurge of the southern peasants and the imperialist aggression in Korea.

"The 'bloc of four classes' . . . is the opposite of the 'political independence of the working class,' which is the keystone of Marxism-Leninism. With this theory, Mao ended up justifying the history of alliances with the bourgeoisie; the dissolution of the Communist party in the Kuomintang; and the need, in countries with weak capitalist development, for a bourgeois-democratic stage led by native bosses, separated from the dictatorship of the proletariat by a historical period. He also provided the 'theoretical bases' for justifying all sorts of capitulations to bourgeois nationalism.

"Mao later generalized on the role played by the peasants and the method by which he won his victory. He elevated temporary and special tendencies into a new theory, another 'road to socialism.' Maoist revisionism, which reached its height in the 1960s, was based on denying the role of the workers and the party. It held that the axis of the revolution was in the semicolonial countries, its driving force was the peasantry, and 'their' method was guerrilla warfare.... "The failure of this conception is obvious. Today the epicenter of revolution has shifted back to Europe, and in Spain and Portugal the urban working class is again playing the leading role.

"Today revolutionists everywhere recognize that a party is essential to assure that the new explosions end with the victory of the socialist revolution. In the semicolonial world itself, both in Latin America and Africa, we have seen that the proletariat plays a fundamental role and needs a party of its own (e.g., Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, Bolivia, and Angola). Today this experience is being repeated in South Africa."

Internationalen 🖗

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

In the September 24 issue, Jan Widell sums up discussions with members of the organization around the country on the results of the Swedish Trotskyists' campaign for the September 19 legislative elections.

"'For the first time, we have come into contact with whole new groups.' That was how Katarina in Malmö answered the question of what the campaign has meant for the comrades. And everyone we talked to in the Communist Workers League said the same thing. More than at any other time in the history of the League, we came into contact with whole new groups of people.

"When we decided in the spring to run the campaign, many wondered how it would go. Did we really have an adequate line? Could we handle a campaign of this scope? Would it interfere with our daily work?"

However, "The campaign was a big step forward for the League. This is true in the quantitative sense. Many people have gotten in contact with us, some to begin working with us, others who only want to find out what we are. For many branches the big problem today is how we are going to handle all the new contacts.

"We also made qualitative gains. . . .

"'We have begun to be taken more seriously,' the comrades in Malmö say.

"Perhaps our biggest gains have been in the high schools. We took part in a very large number of high-school debates, and in Uppsala, our comrades also spoke in many civics classes.

"'We got the most boos, but we also got the most applause,' one comrade said. "The League managed to sharpen and clarify the debate in the high schools. While the other parties mumbled about taxes and the Meidner fund [a project for transferring stock in the big corporations to the unions], we talked about what the students could do themselves to deal with their problems."

In some high-school preferential polls, the League got a significant vote for its first campaign, as in the large vocational school in Umeå, where it got 7%, and at Norra Latin in Stockholm, where it got 4.5%.



"Socialist Struggle," organ of the Revolutionary Workers party, a group that has declared adherence to the Fourth International. Published weekly in Lisbon.

In the September 17 issue, P. Roberto gives an evaluation of Mao's place in history. The writer maintains that there are several distinct stages in the evolution of the Chinese CP leader and his party, in which they played quite different roles. Through these stages, Mao's party went from representing "provincial revolutionary populism to finally being a completely bureaucratic and counterrevolutionary apparatus."

According to Roberto, up to 1927 Mao played a progressive role representing an ideological tendency in the CP leadership. After the defeat of the workers' and peasants' upsurge in 1927, he continued to play such a role as "an organizer of the revolutionary resistance of the peasants." Moreover, during the entire period up to the onset of the civil war in 1945, Mao maintained a "hesitant semi-independence from Stalin's orders and the strategy of 'revolution by stages.'"

After the 1927 defeat, "Mao began to develop peasant soviets. . . In November 1931 his armies created the Soviet republic of Juichin, confiscating the land of the latifundists and dividing up the lands of the rich peasants." On the basis of these achievements, Mao was able to hold the Kuomintang at bay for several years. "Only in 1934 were the armies of the Kuomintang able to defeat the peasant soviet republic."

The Japanese invasion in 1937 gave Mao a new opportunity. "The Kuomintang fled." The collapse of the economy led to a desperate situation in the countryside. The peasants were driven to create their own organs of power.

"There were, side by side, two district magistrates, two commanders, and two mayors. The Kuomintang's agents did not recognize the government elected by the people, and the people did not recognize the government of the Kuomintang. The war against the Japanese invader created a situation of dual power between Chiang Kai-shek and the peasant organizations." (Emphasis in the original.)

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Nonetheless, Mao, following Stalin's orders, continued to recognize the Kuomintang as the only government of China. "His merit, however, was that he partially went against the orientation set by Moscow, since he aspired to maintain the total independence of the CCP [Chinese Communist party] from the Kuomintang on the organizational, political, and military levels."

Mao tried to maintain this subordination to the Kuomintang after the war. However, he was caught between the pressure of a spontaneous peasant revolution and the clear intention of Chiang to destroy the CCP base. He was forced to open the way for agrarian reform and to launch a civil war against Chiang.

The state that resulted from this victory suffered from "profound bureaucratic deformations." The government "based itself fundamentally on the party and the army, and on the cult of Mao's personality," Roberto writes. "The peasants' organs of power functioned only on a local basis and therefore were never able to exercise a check on the political power."

In the mid-1960s, the Chinese bureaucracy went into crisis essentially as a result of the crushing of the Maoist Communist party in Indonesia, which "opened up the way" for the escalation of U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Also involved were the "contradictions generated by the growing strength of the proletariat and the difficult situation of the peasantry." This crisis was expressed by the Cultural Revolution and the factional struggle within the bureaucracy that it reflected.

According to Roberto, a right turn in Chinese foreign policy "began primarily after the defeat of the Indonesian proletariat." This turn continued to deepen and had reached a culminating point by the time of Mao's death.

Roberto concludes: "Only the mobilization of the masses of Chinese workers and peasants can take political power from the ruling bureaucracy and build workers democracy."



"Spark," published monthly by the Revolutionary Communist League in Reykjavík, Iceland.

An article in the September issue offers some proposals for the upcoming conference of the Raudhsokkahreyfing (Red Stockings Movement), a women's liberation group. It begins by pointing out:

"The organization is in a political, ideological, and organizational crisis.

"Politically it is heterogeneous. It includes women from the Althydhubandalag [People's Alliance, the CP], the Maoist groups (EIK-ml, KFI-ml), and other groups."

Such a movement, the article says, clearly needs some general principles all participants agree on and has to be organized democratically, with every tendency being able to present its views.

"The present organization of the Raudhsokkahreyfing offers no possibility for democratic methods of work, and is an obstacle to its development as a progressive women's movement.

"Work groups are set up with definite subjects to discuss, but their activity is more marked by 'spontanéism' than by organized purposeful work leading to results."

Moreover: "Ideologically the movement is in crisis. At the conference in Skogum, the slogan 'Women's Struggle Is a Class Struggle' was adopted. But there has been no discussion of what this involves and how the Raudhsokkahreyfing should put this conclusion into practice." The article proposes a series of concrete demands to do this:

"A living wage for an eight-hour day, equal pay for equal work, jobs for all with no discrimination, . . . free quality daycare for all children, free contraceptives, abortion on demand, equal access to education, cheap public eating facilities, cheap public laundries." The movement should also organize specific actions around such questions as abortion and child care, as well as support the struggles of workers, particularly working women, the article says.

On the organizational level, the article proposes a leadership elected in a congress with representation of tendencies; work groups with autonomy but which would report regularly to the whole organization; general assemblies to discuss important questions; and the right of membership for all those agreeing with the principles of the movement, including men.

INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES753

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

The September 1-8 issue contains an appeal on behalf of political prisoners issued jointly by the Association of Kurdish Students in Europe and the Association of Iraqi Students in France.

"Three Kurds were sentenced to death July 12 in Baghdad by a so-called revolutionary tribunal," the appeal states. "They were Chahabe Cheikh Noury, forty years old, a government employee, married, the father of four children; Jaaffar Abdul-Wahid, thirty years old, a teacher, married, the father of four children; and Anwer Zourabe. Twenty-one other Kurds received sentences ranging from six months to life imprisonment."

All opposition forces are under attack, the statement points out. "In a little more than a year, the death machine of the fascist-like dictatorship in Baghdad has swallowed up more than 300 Kurds, as well as some thirty Communists and dozens of Iraqi revolutionists, progressives, and democrats."

AROUND THE WORLD



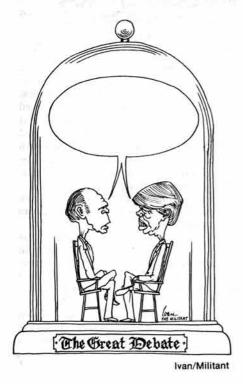
Use of Death Penalty Rises in Africa

Use of the death penalty against political prisoners is on the increase in Africa, Amnesty International said in its annual report published September 26. The racist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia remain the most notorious offenders, but other examples were also cited. In Nigeria, thirty persons accused of involvement in an attempted coup were summarily executed, and sixteen others were executed on similar charges in Sudan.

The report detailed violations of human rights in more than 100 countries, and the international council of Amnesty International, which approved the report, declared 1977 the year of the "prisoner of conscience."

TV Audience for 'Great Debate' Smaller than Expected

Pollsters for the major American television networks issued preliminary figures September 27 showing that the first Ford-Carter debate drew a smaller audience than first predicted—an average of 75 million persons per minute rather than the original estimate of 90 million to 100 million viewers. The debate was



watched in 53.5 percent of homes with television sets in the United States, compared to a 59.5 percent figure for the Kennedy-Nixon debates in 1960.

French Unions Call General Strike to Protest Wage Controls

A new austerity program was announced September 22 by French Prime Minister Raymond Barre. Barre, who is also minister of economy and finance, told a nationwide audience that "France is living beyond its means. For several years, incomes have been growing faster than production."

Barre's plan includes a number of tax increases and a 6.5 percent limit on wage increases. Since inflation in France is running at 12 percent a year, this would result in a rapid erosion of real wages. The following day both the Communist- and Socialist-led labor federations called for a 24-hour general strike October 7 to protest the wage controls.

Barre has also announced that prices will be frozen until the end of the year, and a 6.5 percent limit will be placed on price rises thereafter. But the experience of similar plans around the world has shown that while the capitalist government will do its best to hold wages down, it cannot and will not do the same with prices.

British Pound Hits All-Time Low

Over the last year and a half, the British pound has lost one-third of its value against the U.S. dollar. It fell from \$2.40 in March 1975 to an all-time low of \$1.63 September 28, before rallying a few cents. One foreign-exchange dealer in London called the decline in sterling "a steady, unstoppable descent into hell."

Inflation in Britain is running at a higher rate than in any other industrialized country except Italy and Spain. The annual rate is variously estimated at 14 to 17 percent.

It is this inflation that is undermining the value of the pound, since companies that receive pounds in international trade are unwilling to hold a depreciating currency. At the same time, because Britain relies on imports for more than half of the goods it consumes, a declining pound contributes to further inflation, resulting in a vicious cycle. According to one estimate, for each 1 percent depreciation in sterling, British retail prices rise 0.25 percent.

The announcement September 29 that the British government would ask for a \$3.9 billion loan from the International Monetary Fund temporarily stopped the fall of the pound. With the support of its imperialist allies, the British ruling class is trying to solve the crisis of the pound by pushing through further cutbacks in government spending and driving down wages through the Labour government's incomes policy. But until the magnates of international finance are convinced the program is a success, they will continue to sell pounds.

South Korean Dissidents Face Harsh Prison Conditions

Kim Dae Jung, a former South Korean presidential candidate, is seriously ill and in need of immediate medical attention. According to Kim's wife, the fifty-one-yearold opponent of the Park Chung Hee dictatorship, who suffers from chronic neuralgia, is in pain and has had bouts of intermittent nausea.

Kim was sentenced along with seventeen other dissidents in August. He was given eight years in prison, and the regime has refused bail to its ailing opponent. His wife is allowed to see him for only ten minutes each week.

Another oppositionist, thirty-five-yearold poet Kim Chi Hah, was serving a life sentence for sedition when he was charged with praising an organization that the government has branded as being Communist. In the year and a half since then, Kim has not been allowed a single visitor.

Government officials have explained that this is Kim's punishment for smuggling antigovernment tracts out of prison.

Critic of Smith Regime Sentenced to Ten Years

Bishop Donal R. Lamont, a critic of the racist Rhodesian regime, was sentenced to ten years in prison October 1 for refusing to report the presence of African guerrillas in his diocese. Although Lamont is sixtyfive-years old, Judge William Hennings declared that "a deterrent sentence was called for." Lamont was released on his own recognizance pending appeal.

The day before he was sentenced, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia, a group headed by Bishop Lamont, released a ninety-fivepage document charging the Smith regime with systematically abducting and torturing civilians. The report, entitled "Civil War in Rhodesia," gave details and dates of beatings, interrogations by torture, and disappearances of civilians.

Zionists Debate Aid to Soviet Jews Who Decide Not to Go to Israel

A growing number of Soviet Jews who manage to get out of the USSR are not going to Israel. In 1975, 37 percent of all Jews who left the Soviet Union decided not to go to Israel, and the figure this year is about 47 percent.

Now, officials of the Jewish Agency, which is in charge of organizing immigration to Israel, are calling on American Jewish groups to refuse aid to any Soviet emigrants who choose to settle elsewhere. Such aid, according to one Jewish Agency official, "turn potential immigrants into refugees."

Most Soviet Jews who do not want to go to Israel settle in the United States. The Zionists call them "dropouts." One proposal, reported in a dispatch from Tel Aviv in the September 26 New York Times, is to ask the U.S. government to treat Jewish emigrants from the USSR as Israelis, and not as refugees. This would make them subject to normal U.S. immigration quotas, and effectively prevent their entry into the United States.

The primary interest of the Zionists is to build up the Jewish settler population in Israel, not to help the Soviet Jews suffering from Stalinist oppression. The *Jerusalem Post* put this in so many words recently when its editors said: "The dropouts undermine the entire rationale of Israel's fight for the rights of Soviet Jews."

As far as the Zionist organizations are concerned, the right of the Soviet Jews to live wherever they want does not enter the picture. This has been too much for some Israelis. One thousand Soviet immigrants signed a petition recently saying that "regrettable though it is, if part of them [the Soviet Jews] do not come to Israel, they must not be denied assistance."

An eight-person commission from various Zionist and Jewish aid groups has been appointed to study the question and report its recommendations, which are expected in October.

2,500 March at Letelier's Funeral

Some 2,500 persons attended a memorial procession and funeral in Washington, D.C., September 26 for Orlando Letelier. Letelier, a former high official in the Allende government, was killed by a terrorist's bomb five days earlier. He had been a prominent critic of the Chilean junta of Gen. Augusto Pinochet since international protest won his release from jail in 1974.

October 11, 1976

The tone of the funeral was set by the remarks of Michael Moffitt, whose wife, Ronnie, had also been killed in the explosion.

"If the purpose of the junta and its agents and henchmen is to silence the voice that speaks for a free Chile, then they have failed," he said. "They have not silenced that voice, they have multiplied it a hundredfold."



YOU FELLOWS THINK I SHOULD HAVE SENT A FLORAL PIECE?"

Prisoners Rebel in Canada

About 20 prisoners took over the main cellblock in the prison at New Westminster, British Columbia, September 27. The prison has been the scene of eight uprisings in the last nineteen months, the result of what inmates called "unbearable" conditions.

Among the demands being raised by the prisoners are medical examinations for prisoners in solitary confinement, and a public inquiry on prison guards.

The Canadian government has surrounded the prison with army troops and police and turned down a demand by the inmates that they be granted immunity from prosecution in the incident.

Peruvian Regime Bows to Pressure, Pays 'Compensation' to U.S. Firm

The Peruvian regime agreed September 23 to pay the San Francisco-based Marcona Corporation \$37 million in cash, plus \$22.4 million in the form of iron purchases, and \$2 million on a shipping contract—a total of \$61.4 million—as "compensation" for the nationalization of its assets in July 1975.

When it carried out the nationalization, the military government of Gen. Juan Velasco Alvaredo had accused Marcona of income tax evasion, irrational exploitation of iron mines, and monopolizing shipping contracts. A month later, Velasco was overthrown by Gen. Francisco Morales Bermúdez, who called the nationalization a "precipitate action."

Negotiations over Marcona's claim coincided with an attempt by the Peruvian regime to secure \$550 million in loans from a consortium of international banks. Peru is expected to have a balance-of-trade deficit of more than \$1 billion this year, and its economic problems made it particularly vulnerable to blackmail by the imperialists.

Imprisoned Polish Workers Released

Seven workers have been released from prison by order of the Polish Supreme Court. The seven had been sentenced to prison terms of three to five years for their participation in the massive protests against increases in food prices that shook Poland June 26.

The court ordered their sentences cut to one year and suspended. "There were certain factors that pushed them into participating in the demonstration," a defense lawyer argued. He noted that "the working class is sometimes surprised by decisions made by authorities."

Diplomatic Relations Renewed Between Lisbon and Luanda

Lisbon and Luanda reestablished diplomatic relations September 30. They had been broken off by the Angolan regime last May after a bomb exploded in the Angolan Mission in Oporto and after articles hostile to the Luanda government had appeared in the Portuguese press.

The Lisbon government views the change as an indication that "Angola is ready to take a more pragmatic approach toward the West," according to a Portuguese official.

Cuba Under Economic Pressure

Cuba faces serious economic difficulties, Prime Minister Fidel Castro reported September 28. Because of an 87 percent drop in the price of sugar on the world market, a two-year drought, and sharp increases in the price of imported petroleum, the Cuban government will cut imports of several basic goods.

Among the items affected will be coffee, milk, fertilizer, cattle feed, pesticides, spare parts, and a range of food products.

Castro pointed out that the drop in sugar prices was directly linked to a decision made in Washington to triple its import taxes on the commodity. That put more sugar on the world market and drove down the price.

Castro did not mention the source of Cuba's problem with rising prices of oil, but most of the island's imports of this vital commodity come from the Soviet Union. DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

Minority Resolution on Angola

[The following resolution has been submitted by the Leninist Trotskyist Faction for discussion by the ranks of the Fourth International in preparation for the next congress of the worldwide Trotskyist organization. A resolution presenting the International Majority Tendency on the situation in Angola was published in the April 12, 1976, issue of Intercontinental Press (p. 613).]

1. With the invasion mounted by South Africa and the utilization of mercenaries financed primarily by the CIA, imperialist intervention in the Angolan civil war reached a high point at the end of 1975 and beginning of 1976. For revolutionary Marxists and supporters of democratic rights, it was an elementary duty to offer material support to the military struggle against this intervention, and to organize an international campaign under the general slogans of "Hands off Angola!" "South Africa Out of Angola!" and, in view of the threat from American imperialism because of Havana's aid to the MPLA, "Defend Cuba!"

2. The three main organizations involved in the civil war in Angola (the FNLA-Angola National Liberation Front, the MPLA-Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, and the UNITA-National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) were nationalist in character.

It was incorrect to characterize the MPLA as more progressive than the UNITA or the FNLA, and to designate it as a "revolutionary petty-bourgeois nationalist current" that should be supported, not only in its military struggle against imperialist intervention but also in its political drive for leadership in Angola against the FNLA and the UNITA.

The civil war did not involve a fundamental confrontation between antagonistic class forces in Angola. The three groups were rooted in different nationalities located in different regions of Angola.

The MPLA's base was in the Mbundu areas in north-central Angola and among mesticos (people of mixed African and Portuguese background) across the country.

The FNLA's base was among the Bakongo people in the northwestern area of Angola.

The UNITA's base was among the Ovimbundu in the central and southern regions of Angola.

The three groups won these positions as a result of their participation in the struggle for independence from Portugal, which began in 1961. Each group contributed significantly to the struggle that eventually forced Portugal out of Angola.

The support offered by the Angolan working class, urban middle class, agricultural workers and poor peasantry, including the most militant layers, to one or another of the three nationalist groups in the 1975-76 civil war tended to follow national, not class differences.

A key element in the war in Angola was the power struggle between the pettybourgeois leaderships of the UNITA, the FNLA, and the MPLA. The imperialists sought to utliize the power struggle to advance their own objectives. They were aided in this by the frictions, fears, and antagonisms existing between the nationalities, and the exploitation of these divisions by the leaderships of the UNITA, the FNLA, and the MPLA.

The bitter conflict between the MPLA and its rivals did not serve to advance the cause of the working class or the struggle for national liberation from imperialist Portugal.

a. The rivalry tended to exacerbate animosities between the different national groups in Angola. The exploitation of these animosities by the three organizations represented a continuation of the divide-and-rule policy long employed by the Portuguese masters. To unify the Angolan masses in struggle against imperialism, an opposite policy was required defense of their national rights, including the right of self-determination.

It has been argued that the nationalities in Angola are merely ethnic and regional groupings—not fully developed nations and that therefore they had no right to self-determination. However, under Lenin and Trotsky the Soviet government guaranteed national rights to peoples who had barely emerged from historically primitive cultures and who lacked many of the national attributes that have developed among the Angolan peoples.

b. The factional rivalry facilitated continued intervention by the imperialists. This was further enhanced by the competition among the three organizations for support from the various imperialist companies in Angola and from other imperialist interests eager to move into Angola.

c. The factional struggle was utilized by the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders and by the imperialist powers to divert the Angolan working masses from fighting for their own class interests. Under cover of the factional struggle each of the groups stepped up attacks on sectors of the workers and peasants of Angola. 3. In the long-range interests of the international socialist movement, revolutionary Marxists had to maintain their political independence from all three groups. Their duty was to help unite the Angolan working class as a whole and seek to develop its class consciousness as the only social force capable of leading the Angolan revolution to victory. The goal was to advance the concrete struggles against imperialism, against capitalist exploitation, for democratic rights and for political independence.

During the civil war, the central task in Angola remained that of constructing a revolutionary-Marxist, working-class party supported by the peasantry and popular masses as the leadership of the national and social struggle. None of the three nationalist groups could be transformed into such a party. A task still to be achieved, the party will have to be built in conscious political struggle against these leaderships and programs, since all three, or possible new combinations of them stand for the maintenance of capitalist property relations, and are committed to defending the interests of the nascent Angolan bourgeoisie.

In the struggle against imperialist intervention a policy based on advancing the interests of the working class might place revolutionary Marxists in a temporary bloc with this or that nationalist grouping in Angola, depending upon the situation. But at all times revolutionary Marxists must retain their political independence from and opposition to the procapitalist and neocolonial policies of such formations.

4. Only the working class can lead the struggle for national liberation from imperialist oppression to a successful conclusion, inasmuch as this requires abolishing capitalism and carrying out the socialist revolution. Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist leaderships who defend capitalist property relations objectively defend imperialist domination, despite their nationalist pretenses. This sets them against the interests of the working class and the toiling masses, and forces them to tighten their links with world imperialism.

The defense of capitalist property relations by the MPLA, the FNLA, and the UNITA, as well as their attempts to win support from imperialist allies, placed them, regardless of the intentions or desires of any individuals, in the position of neocolonial opponents to completing the national liberation struggle.

This was shown in a graphic way when all three groups were in the transitional government from January to July 1975. The MPLA, along with the FNLA and the UNITA, agreed on government decrees imposing antistrike legislation, conscription of combative layers of the working class, and crackdowns against the democratic rights of the working masses.

All three groups showed in practice that they stood on a common neocolonialist program when they accepted the Alvor accords of January 1975, establishing a transitional government under the tutelage of Portuguese imperialism, with formal provisions protecting imperialist property and interests. The three groups reaffirmed this stand when they supported the Nakuru accords in June 1975, which tried to halt the civil war by reiterating the Alvor agreement and further limiting the rights of the masses.

This does not mean that the UNITA, the FNLA, and the MPLA continually carried out frontal assaults on popular mobilizations. At times, the leaderships of these groups, particularly the UNITA and the MPLA, which had more of an urban base than the FNLA, attempted to turn such mobilizations to their own factional advantage in the struggle against their opponents. However, all three feared these independent mobilizations, agreed on the need to bring them under control, and were ready to use the most brutal forms of oppression if necessary. An example was the MPLA's repression of workers and youth organized in neighborhood committees following the expulsion of the UNITA and the FNLA from Luanda in July 1975.

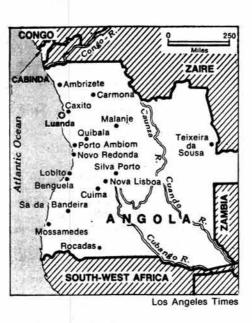
The MPLA's ties with Portuguese imperialism were shown with particular clarity during the period when the MFA designated Admiral Rosa Coutinho to serve as governor of Angola in late 1974.

During both the Fifth and Sixth provisional governments, the Portuguese armed forces provided military assistance and other aid to the MPLA. When the MPLA expelled the FNLA and the UNITA from Luanda by military force in June 1975, the Portuguese command threatened to use its troops to prevent these groups from reentering the city.

In fact, in a statement issued in March 1975, the MPLA attacked the "passivity of the Portuguese Armed Forces in Angola," implicitly calling on the Portuguese regime to play a more active role. In early May, MPLA President Agostinho Neto said that the Angolan "people continue to wait for the [Portuguese] high commissioner and the Portuguese troops to assume their responsibilities."

When the coalition transitional government in Angola collapsed during the summer of 1975, the Portuguese regime transferred administrative control of the country to MPLA-controlled ministries. And when formal independence was declared in November 1975, the Sixth provisional government gave military equipment to the MPLA regime.

5. The leaders of American imperialism did not see any appreciable difference among the three nationalist factions, either in class character, attitude toward imperialist economic penetration, or social and political program. Even at the height of the American-backed South African aggression in the fall and winter of 1975, the MPLA leaders boasted of their "warm" relations with U.S.-owned Gulf Oil and the



South African- and British-owned Diamang, the two largest imperialist concessions in Angola.

During the initial months of the transitional regime, Washington tended to give most of its support to the FNLA. Kissinger appeared to believe that this organization would win out because of its supposedly superior military organization. The State Department and CIA support to the FNLA was also based on the view that it would be more friendly to U.S. interests because of its close links with Peking and the Mobutu regime in Zaïre.

The U.S. government gave relatively small amounts of aid to the UNITA in early 1975. This was increased in the summer of 1975 when it appeared that the UNITA might emerge as a potential winner in the conflict because of its apparently broad popular support.

Among Washington's initial aims was achievement of a relationship of forces in which it could balance among the groups, pitting one against another. The Ford administration sought to keep the factional struggle going, the better to exact concessions from all sides and to weaken whatever Angolan regime eventually emerged from the strife.

After South Africa's military intervention, which led the MPLA to appeal to the Soviet Union and Cuba for more aid, the State Department escalated its aggressive moves, increasing its military assistance to the FNLA, the UNITA, and South Africa. Mercenaries were recruited, largely under the auspices of the CIA. U.S. military aircraft brought in supplies; U.S. naval and air units were deployed in a threatening way.

The Ford administration opened a bellicose diplomatic campaign against the Soviet Union, the MPLA, and particularly Cuba. The American imperialists feared the impact that Soviet and Cuban involvement could have on the rest of southern Africa, an area designated by Washington as part of the "free world." A South African defeat, especially following the withdrawal of Portuguese imperialism's governing apparatus, could inspire the oppressed African masses in Namibia, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and South Africa itself. Washington also feared that Moscow would increase its influence in Africa if its support to the MPLA appeared to be the decisive factor in the outcome of the struggle.

6. The UNITA and the FNLA leaderships initially opposed South African military intervention in Angola. In fact, both groups sought to counter the military thrust in the summer of 1975, as did the MPLA. The UNITA, the group having the widest popular support in the area where the initial South Africa attack occurred, and also the closest links with the Namibian liberation struggle, resisted the South African forces militarily in July and August 1975.

In September 1975, in an effort to advance their own factional struggle for power, the FNLA and UNITA leaders reversed their previous stance and allied themselves with the U.S.-backed South African military intervention. This was a gross betrayal of the Angolan and African liberation struggles.

The betrayal was facilitated by the course followed by the MPLA, which pressed the bitter factional struggle and rejected mobilizing the Angolan masses behind an appeal for united action against the invaders. Such an appeal could have been highly effective since large numbers of Angolans viewed the UNITA and FNLA as their leadership.

7. The Kremlin's decision to provide political support and military assistance to the MPLA during the Angolan civil war flowed from the possibility of gaining diplomatic and political prestige in Africa and internationally. The Kremlin also wanted to strengthen its bargaining position within the context of the détente with American imperialism.

In addition Moscow saw the possibility of gains in prestige at the expense of Peking (which supported the FNLA and the UNITA during the conflict) by assuring the victory of the MPLA.

Castro saw the possibility of bolstering Cuba's position in the international arena by responding to the appeal of the MPLA for material support. Castro's move, in bold defiance of the American imperialist giant, encouraged forces in Africa and elsewhere to step up their struggle for national liberation.

Both Moscow and Havana gave political support to the MPLA's petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership. In fact, long before the civil war, Cuba, the Kremlin, and the Stalinist parties that follow it, circulated slanders against the UNITA and the FNLA that hindered, weakened, and divided the Angolan liberation struggle and its supporters internationally.

Neither Moscow nor Havana has critic-

ized the MPLA's attacks on the working class, the youth, known Maoists, Trotskyists, and other political tendencies. They have said nothing concerning the neocolonialist policies of the MPLA leadership, which are opposite to the course that led to the victory of the Cuban revolution.

Despite these negative aspects, the Soviet and Cuban material assistance to the MPLA was decisive in overcoming South Africa's aggression and the pressure from Washington. If the requests of the MPLA for this military assistance had been denied, the imperialists would have been emboldened to launch further attacks on the Angolan liberation struggle.

8. Since the military victory of the MPLA, the trend of events in Angola has confirmed the correctness of this general analysis of the situation.

The correctness of supporting the military struggle against the South African military intervention has been shown by the setback dealt to South African imperialism. The inability of Washington to intervene more directly owing to the swiftly mounting domestic opposition in the United States was an important factor in Pretoria's failure.

This setback and the inability of Washington to directly intervene in Angola have given fresh encouragement to the struggle against South African imperialism in Namibia and in South Africa itself. In Zimbabwe the mass mood has become more militant against the Ian Smith regime.

9. On the other hand, the MPLA regime has not overcome the antagonism among the different nationalities and has not established a regime that has a real base of support among the Ovimbundu and Bakongo peoples.

The UNITA appears to have retained support among the 2.5 million Ovimbundu in southern and central Angola. The UNITA continues to carry out guerrilla operations in the countryside against the Benguela railway and other targets. MPLA officials have acknowledged that this was made possible by UNITA's significant base of support in this region. The support remains after military occupation of the area by the MPLA and the Cuban armed forces, after sending MPLA cadres who speak Ovimbundu languages into the area, after appeals to Ovimbundu traditional chiefs by the MPLA, and after the inclusion of some lower-level ex-UNITA leaders in some of the local administrative bodies.

Some of the FNLA's base among the Bakongo people in northern Angola was eroded by attacks on the civilian population carried out by mercenaries, Zaïre troops, and some of the FNLA forces. But thousands of Bakongo people fled with the FNLA into Zaïre at the time of the advance of the Cuban armed forces and the MPLA.

10. The MPLA's policy toward imperial-

ist investors in Angola is to collaborate with them and to encourage them along lines similar to those followed by other pseudosocialist neocolonial regimes in Africa, although they have carried out some nationalizations in accordance with the common economic program of the transitional government that was drawn up by the Portuguese authorities and agreed to by the UNITA, the FNLA, and the MPLA in June 1975.

The MPLA has encouraged Gulf Oil to resume its operations. The giant American imperialist monopoly can mount pressure on the MPLA government, since income from the Gulf operations alone makes up 80 percent of the foreign exchange of the Luanda regime.

In negotiations on the reopening of the diamond mines, the MPLA has left control of the operations in the hands of Diamang, a consortium of British, South African, Belgian, and American interests. Angola's diamonds continue to be marketed by the Central Selling Organization (CSO), part of the South African De Beers trust.

The MPLA has also agreed to protect the South African-owned Cunene river hydroelectric project located in southern Angola along the border with Namibia. In the past, Namibian freedom fighters had threatened attacks against this project.

11. Within the framework of neocolonial subordination to imperialism, the MPLA regime is attempting to strengthen its bargaining position with imperialism. To that end, the regime has projected more nationalizations in line with the 1975 economic plan.

However, the nationalizations up to now have been basically limited to Portugueseowned businesses that were abandoned. These have included the Champalimaud steelworks, a cement factory, textile and sugar companies and twelve agricultural complexes. Holdings of non-Portuguese investors in the abandoned businesses and farms are being protected by the MPLA government.

The only nationalization of a major enterprise not owned by Portuguese that has been discussed by the Luanda regime involves the Benguela railroad, which is owned by South African, British, and American interests as well as by the Angolan state. This nationalization is not projected until the railroad pays off its \$40 million debt. Currently, the MPLA regime is subsidizing the salaries of railroad employees at over \$1 million a month.

The MPLA's land policy includes a promise to indemnify Portuguese and other plantation owners who have not fled the country, under projected nationalizations of most plantations. The policy is to encourage former owners who wish to remain as managers and "experts."

Except for these instances, the regime has been campaigning to encourage imperialist investment.

12. In line with its neocolonial policy

toward imperialism and its defense of capitalist property relations, the Luanda regime has continued its attempts to suppress struggles by the Angolan masses for economic gains and elementary political and democratic rights.

The regime has tried to fetter the workers movement through trade-union and "people's power" bodies directly controlled by the MPLA, as well as by exhorting the masses to "sacrifice for the revolution." At the same time the MPLA has repressed those who continue to try to organize independently or to raise demands based on the needs of the working masses.

An important series of strikes took place in the spring of 1976. These strikes were condemned by the MPLA government and by UNTA (União Nacional dos Trabalhadores de Angola—National Union of Angolan Workers), the MPLA-controlled trade union. The regime arrested a number of strikers and has continued its campaign to speed up production and lengthen working hours.

The MPLA regime has also arrested many persons standing to the left of it or politically independent of it.

The regime has employed slanders and frame-ups such as marked its factional struggle against the UNITA and the FNLA. Political dissidents and labor leaders have been called "reactionaries," "ultraleftists," "traitors," "saboteurs," "racists," "divisionists," or "agents of imperialism." They have been arrested or removed from jobs or positions in mass organizations.

Victims of the repression include members of the Active Revolt opposition within the MPLA, various Maoist and other leftist groups, as well as activists in the MPLA associated with organizations among the working masses.

Leaders of the MPLA, such as Nito Alves, minister of the interior in the Luanda regime, have threatened execution of some dissidents. Detention camps have been established.

In line with its neocolonial policy, the MPLA has been consolidating its repressive apparatus. It has reorganized and expanded its police, militia, and armed forces, establishing a permanent military draft.

It has also organized the DISA (Angola Directorate of Information and Security), a secret police force that has played a prominent role in suppressing worker and leftist dissidents.

13. Like similar neocolonial regimes in countries such as Tanzania and the People's Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), the MPLA regime maintains a series of bureaucratically controlled committees and structures, used to keep the masses in check, although they are presented as organs of "popular power." Through a facade of mass involvement, almost powerless committees, organized from the top down, are used to mobilize and discipline Angolans for the needs of capitalist production and to guard the MPLA's political monopoly.

Although some of these committees arose as instruments of mass struggle during the period following the April 1974 coup in Portugal, they are no longer independent, having been crushed and placed under bureaucratic control.

The committees are empowered only to carry out a few civic tasks such as teaching people to read and write, instituting hygienic controls, and setting up markets for food distribution. They exist only on a local and regional level. All political decisions are made by the MPLA leaders—no nationally elected bodies of "people's power" are projected by the Luanda regime.

Candidates for the local committees are carefully screened by the MPLA. They can be nominated only by the MPLA or MPLAcontrolled mass organizations. Persons deemed by the MPLA leadership to be former members or sympathizers of the FNLA or the UNITA are not allowed to vote. Similarly, those whom the MPLA charges with practicing "racism," "tribalism," or "regionalism," such as those who might advance demands in the interests of one or another of the peoples of Angola, are also banned from voting under "people's power." Finally those deemed to be guilty of "economic sabotage" and "laziness," the MPLA's favorite terms for labor militancy, are banned from voting. Those likely to be at all independent or critical of the MPLA leadership are banned from "people's power."

14. The MPLA regime in Angola is a neocolonialist regime based on capitalist property relations that include substantial imperialist holdings. It subordinates the needs of the working masses to maintenance of private property. It strikes at any political activity not under MPLA control. The MPLA regime encourages foreign investments and the development of what it terms "the patriotic bourgeoisie" of Angola.

The only way to advance the liberation of Angola is to carry forward the democratic and social demands of the working class, the poor peasantry, and the urban poor of Angola through a socialist revolution. This is the only road to economic development and independence from imperialism.

The prime need is construction of a revolutionary Marxist party, a party adhering to the program of the Fourth International, the only type of party that can lead this struggle. Such a party can be built only on the basis of intransigent political opposition to the MPLA and its sister petty-bourgeois nationalist forces in Angola.

The Fourth International's most important task in relation to Angola is to help Angolan militants build such a party. And the first requisite for that is a correct line on the Angolan revolution. \Box

DOCUMENTS

The 'Peace Marches' in Northern Ireland

[On August 14, the first "peace march" took place in Belfast, organized by some Catholic women. Since then, there have been a series of such rallies in other cities in Northern Ireland and in the formally independent part of the country. The capitalist mass media have played up these marches as a new "beacon of hope in Ireland," evidently hoping that they represent the growth of mass sentiment for accepting the rule of British imperialism and for repression of the Irish Republican Army.

[The following two articles on the "peace movement" were published in the September issue of the Unfree Citizen, the monthly newspaper of People's Democracy, a socialist group centered in Belfast. People's Democracy played a major role in the mass movement for civil rights in Northern Ireland in 1968-69.]

There's no denying that the majority of people want peace. But the Peace Movement is not the way to get it. It takes two sides to make a war but the peace movement is only directed at one side—the anti-imperialist one.

At the start the Peace women were quite open about it; they talked about getting the IRA out of their areas. Now they've learnt a bit of sophistication and they call on "the men of violence" on both sides to lay down their arms. But the effect is the same. By "men of violence" they mean only the para-military groups, not the socalled security forces. However, the Loyalist para-military groups are only the shock troops of British imperialism You could disband both them and the IRA tomorrow and the British Army and the RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] would still be in control. Until such time as the Peace Movement calls for the disbanding of the RUC and British Army it will remain a one-sided, pro-imperialist movement.

Indeed some of the Peace People are quite clear about their role, like when the Catholics marched up the Shankill Road [which runs through a Protestant area] with a placard saying, "Sorry." They were publicly proclaiming that the Catholic minority were the cause of violence in the North. That may be why they got such a good reception. To many Unionists [proimperialist supporters of the union with Britain] the Peace Movement represents the Minority surrendering—rejecting Republicanism and accepting the Six County state.

If you want peace you must seek the cause of the violence, but the Peace Movement avoids that question. There have been four armed revolts since the Six County state was set up in 1921. People don't fight guerrilla wars for fun. The Nationalist minority have revolted time and time again, because they have been oppressed, exploited and discriminated against and because all attempts at reform have been met with batons, boots or guns of the RUC and Specials [a now defunct militia recruited from the pro-imperialist Protestant population]. The Six County state is inherently sectarian [communalist] and unreformable.

On a wider plane there are 62,000 out of work in the North [total population about 1.5 million] and 180,000 in the whole of Ireland [total population about 4.5 million], while almost 2 million people have emigrated from Ireland since the 1920s in search of work. Ireland has been a by-word for poverty and exploitation for 50 years, and all because imperialism controlled and controls—our economy and our natural resources.

The Peace Movement has no answer to these questions, but so long as they remain unresolved there will be no peace in Ireland, North or South. The road to peace is by struggling to end the sectarian state in the North and to break the stranglehold of imperialism over the country as a whole.

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It's easy to dismiss the Peace Movement and say they're all pro-British and never supported the struggle anyway. There's a militant hard-core in the Northern ghettos and they're probably more determined than ever. But despite the fact that the Peace Movement has been led by the church and the middle classes with copious support from the media, there's no denying the fact that it has mobilized thousands of working-class Catholics as well.

Only a political ostrich could ignore the crowds who marched in Belfast and Dublin, and for everyone who marched there were more who couldn't stomach the hymn-singing, anti-IRA histrionics, but who sympathised with the Peace campaign. And many of them were the Civil Rights or Anti-internment marchers of other days.

Marxists believe that revolutions can only be made with the active involvement of the masses, and it's clear that the antiimperialist struggle in the North has been steadily losing its mass support. That is of crucial importance, because it means the present struggle cannot succeed until it regains mass support, and because the imperialists and their local agents take advantage of waves of anti-IRA hysteria like this to rush through vicious repressive measures whose effect will be felt long after the Peace marches are forgotten.

It's no solution to jeer and call the Peace women names or to baldly state that the war goes on regardless. The Peace Movement must be fought politically and that means first of all understanding it. There are two basic reasons why sections of the Catholic working-class sympathise with this movement. One is war-weariness and the fact that they no longer believe that they can win. The other is the economic recession.

After 6 years of intense guerrilla war with its heavy death toll, and terrified by loyalist intimidation and assassinations, many Catholics have forgotten the origins of the struggle in resistance to Orange sectarianism and repression. Others see little chance of success and no longer see the struggle as worth the cost. But the economic recession is important too. It is only just beginning to hit the North really hard and the effect is devastating. Already unemployment is at its highest point since 1940 and it's rising steadily. As usual the Catholic working-class is the worst hit, with 36% and 30% unemployment in Catholic towns like Strabane and Newry, and close on 50% in some of the Belfast ghettos. Meanwhile prices are rocketing and everyone's struggling to survive.

In the midst of a slump people are more interested in food than in abstract ideals like a united Ireland or a republic, especially if there is no suggestion of a change in the class in power. They will support whoever has a programme geared to their basic needs. The SDLP [Social Democratic and Labour party, the old clericalist Catholic nationalist party], ICTU [Irish Congress of Trade Unions], etc., demand "peace" so there can be a renewal of foreign investment, tourism, etc. Their argument is wrong: foreign investment won't come in the foreseeable future whether there is peace or war because it is the crisis of capitalism, not the "Troubles," which stopped it. And foreign investment or economic imperialism is the basic cause of our problems in the first place. But it is an attractive argument in the short term and is winning more support, especially since the major anti-imperialist group, the Provos [Provisional IRA], have no class position, take practically no stand on economic issues, and subordinate all to the national question.

We have argued for months that the anti-imperialist mass movement in the North—seen at its height in 1968-69 and 1971-72—was disintegrating and, far from spreading to the South as it needs to do to win, Southern opinion is swinging against the Northern struggle. We believe that that mass movement has to be rebuilt and a movement built from scratch in the South. Until it is, the current military campaign is virtually irrelevant and can't succeed. The mass movement has to be rebuilt by convincing people again that the Northern state is inherently sectarian and unreformable and must be overthrown, and by mobilising the people on class issues as well. It can be done. The solid work of the Relatives Action Committee on the political status [of prisoners jailed for resisting British imperialist rule] issue led up to the big rallies on August 8th and 9th. But it means slow, hard work on a lower level of struggle than that of the last few years.

This is a turning point in the Northern struggle. Over 50 years ago the antiimperialist movement faced a similar turning point with the outbreak of the Civil War in the South. The Republican side then had a majority of the IRA,1 plenty of arms and experienced leaders and they were confident they were in the right-as they were.² But the people were tired and war-weary, they were going through a major economic depression and there was massive unemployment. The mass of the people had little interest in the abstract demand for a Republic whose social and economic policies seemed little different from the Free State. The Treaty seemed to offer them peace and a chance to

1. The Irish Republican Army was organized on a democratic basis, with unit conventions leading up to an army convention where major decisions were made. Whereas a majority in the insurrectionary parliament supported compromise with England, a majority in the IRA were opposed. The pro-Treaty sections of the IRA were incorporated into the Free State regular army that began to be built up under the provisions of the agreement.—IP

2. The British offered a compromise settlement to the Irish nationalist leadership in 1920 after about two years of guerrilla warfare. The bourgeois and probourgeois elements, which had been drawn into the struggle by the momentum of the masses, were quick to accept the proposal. Among other things, this right wing of the nationalist movement feared that the struggle was beginning to overstep the bounds of capitalist property relations.

The British "Treaty" provided for partitioning Ireland into two areas, one that would remain in the United Kingdom—the present Northern Ireland—and another that would be granted the status of a "free state" within the British commonwealth, formally under the English crown.

The majority of the guerrilla army, the Irish Republican Army (IRA), rejected the treaty and remained loyal to the aim of an all-Ireland republic. Two competing authorities arose, the Provisional Government of the Free State and the IRA command. Following the assassination of a field marshal in London, the British government pressed the Free State to attack the republicans.

On June 28, 1921, Free State forces attacked the republican center in the Four Courts garrison in Dublin, touching off a civil war that lasted officially until May 24, 1923, when Eamonn De Valera ordered the IRA to "dump arms" and wait for better times to resume the struggle.

In 1926, De Valera led a split from the IRA and set up a bourgeois parliamentary party, Fianna Fáil. Since that time, through several splits, clandestine armed forces have continued the tradition of the IRA.—IP get the economy going again.

Liam Mellows, the most radical of the republican leaders, realised that they were losing the bulk of the people. From Mountjoy jail he sent out an appeal to the Republicans to base themselves on the exploited and oppressed and adopt a programme based on their needs:

"The programme of Democratic control (the social programme) adopted by the Dail [the revolutionary parliament of Ireland] . . . in January 1919 should be translated into something definite. This is essential if the great body of workers are to be kept on the side of independence. . . . In our efforts now to win back public support to the Republic we are forced to recognise-whether we like it or not-that the commercial interest so-called, money and the gombeen³ man are on the side of the Treaty, because the Treaty means imperialism and England. We are back to Tone-and it is just as well-relying on that great body, the men of no property. . . .4 We should recognise that definitely now and base our appeals upon the understanding and needs of those who have always borne Ireland's fight."

Mellows' appeal was ignored, the Republicans went on fighting a purely military campaign for an abstract objective and they were heavily defeated. Fifty years on it is time the Republican movement began to learn the lessons of its history—the cardinal importance of political work to gain mass support and the need to base themselves firmly upon the oppressed and exploited classes. That is the only way to answer the Peace campaign.

3. Petty capitalists.-IP

4. Wolfe Tone was the leader of a Jacobin wing of Irish nationalism in the 1790s, based on an embryonic national bourgeoisie developing in the Protestant settler community. In response to the weak and vacillating line of the middle-class nationalists, he raised the idea that the movement might turn more to the plebeian masses, "the men of no property."—IP

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For the Right of the Tatars to Return to the Crimea!

[The following appeal to international public opinion was signed by 170 Crimean Tatars in the Soviet Union. Copies of the document, with an additional 125 signatures, were sent to numerous Soviet officials. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The entire world knows that all Crimean Tatars were exiled from their native land— Crimea—on May 18, 1944, and doomed to destruction and annihilation as a nation. But the people did survive in the most terrible conditions, and for almost twenty years now they have been stubbornly and persistently trying to obtain their right to return to their native land. Those who hold the fate of our people in their hands are subject to no laws and deal with us any way they wish.

To perpetuate the annexation of Crimea without the Crimean Tatars, they cruelly punish those who actively participate in this movement and those who return to Crimea. All our requests and demands are declared by Soviet organs to be antisovietism and slander.

During this same period, more than 200 persons have been thrown into prison for allegedly circulating documents "discrediting the existing social and political order." One of them, Mustafa Dzhemilev, has been doomed to certain death for his active role in the national movement. In April of this year, he was sentenced to his fourth term, confinement for two and one-half years in a strict-regime corrective labor camp.

On the basis of the decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of September 5, 1967, people began to return to Crimea, but it soon became clear that this decree was published not for us but for the foreign press. Simultaneously, a secret circular was issued, describing all the obstacles erected to prevent the return of Crimean Tatars to their homeland.

The government utilizes all of them and organizes every sort of provocation, preventing the return of Crimean Tatars in Crimea by any means necessary.

Leaders of the Soviet district, headed by the chairman of the district executive committee Pasyuta and police official Poberezhnyuk, commit outrages. On their instructions, leaders of the collective farms and enterprises humiliate the newly arrived in all sorts of ways.

The private plots of five families in the village of Vostochny were taken away, the lights and water were shut off, and the sale of kerosene to them in the stores was prohibited. For a long time, the children have not been allowed into the school, or if they got in, they have not been enrolled. Similar events have occurred in the village of Makovk and in other villages where Crimean Tatars have been arriving. In the village of Pushkino, for more than two and A rally and picket line to demand freedom for Mustafa Dzhemilev will be held in New York City October 18, outside the offices of the Soviet airline Aeroflot. Sponsored by the Mustafa Dzhemilev Defense Committee,* the protest will also demand that the Crimean Tatars be allowed to return to their homeland.

In one of Stalin's worst crimes, the Tatar population of several hundred thousand was deported from the Crimea to Central Asia in 1944. Over the past two decades they have fought for the right to return to the Crimea.

Dzhemilev, one of the outstanding leaders of this struggle, has faced constant persecution. In June 1975, just as his third prison term was ending, Soviet authorities fabricated new charges against him. The following April he was sentenced to his fourth term of imprisonment.

*Room 414, 853 Broadway, New York, New York 10003.

a half years they have been making life difficult for Abdulkadyr Halich's family (with seven children), whom they have several times tried to evict.

The district executive committee and the head of the police as a matter of procedure state that organs of the KGB are in charge of Crimean Tatar matters.

Things are even worse in the Belogorsk region.

On May 4, three agents in civilian clothing burst into the home of Remez Zenabaddimov and, shoving him outside and into the police car, took him away to an unknown destination. The same thing happened in the village Bogaty, where a lone woman, Adzhire, fifty-two years old, was hauled off to an unknown destination. Their fates are still unknown.

On May 11, in the village Melekhovo, the authorities found out that a house had been sold to a Crimean Tatar, Yenver Ametov. They demolished it before he could even move in.

The house of a man named Anokhin was demolished by the same village council because Anokhin wanted to sell it to a Crimean Tatar.

On May 12, a group of bandits in a fivecar convoy, led by the chairman of the village council, G. Nikolaev, the police inspector, and Komsomol organizer Shkurin tried to evict the family of Shaver Chakalovaya (with four children). Breaking through the door with crowbars, they bound her hands, stuffed a rag into her mouth, and forced her into a storeroom so that she could not shout and call for help.

Neighbors came running in response to the noise, but the bandits carried out what they came to do. Some hauled things away, others runmaged through the rooms. Sarie Tokhal (mother of twelve children), who came running in response to the noise, was knocked down.

They knocked a seventy-year-old woman off her feet, and they pulled savagely at the ear of a four-year-old child. One of their group, in civilian clothes, pulled out a gun and shouted that if everyone did not shut up, every last person would be shot down. Seeing that the operation (which was supposed to be clandestine) had failed, the chairman of the collective farm was forced to call the whole thing off. Besides the moral and physical violence inflicted on the Chakalovaya family, more than 800 rubles worth of damage was done.

On May 13, eighteen members of the volunteer police, led by the chairman of the village council Talny, chairman of the collective farm Plekhanov, and party organizer Sidorov, attempted to evict the family of a seventy-two-year old woman, but were forced to flee under pressure from other villagers.

On the same day, in the village of Gorlinka, under Bogatinsky of the village council, they did succeed in evicting Mehmet Sietvel's family. Their belongings were thrown into the street, the house was boarded up, and the family of five was left outside, homeless. During the night, the small daughter began to freeze. Thanks to the neighbors, she was rescued; but the next morning, the child was taken to the hospital.

Then they showed up in the village Krasnaya Sloboda to tear down the house of Usein Umush (a family of nine). However, thanks to the international aid of the Russian and Ukrainian inhabitants, the crime was prevented. Many of those who had aided the family were not admitted to their jobs the next day, and registered Crimean Tatars with work permits who were at the scene of the incident were dismissed from their jobs.

All of this coincides with the following statements made by the chairman of the city executive committee Krutov: "Party organs, the police, and the organs of the KGB are studying the question of a new expulsion of Crimean Tatars who have returned to the Crimea. Don't forget 1944."

All of these operations are being led by the ardent chauvinist and chairman of the district executive committee N.L. Kravets: He sees himself as the law and the truth!

What is involved here is the survival of a nation and the defense of the principles of national self-determination and equality proclaimed by the Charter of the United Nations.

> May 16, 1976 Simferopol-Belogorsk

Smith Promete Gobierno de Mayoría Negra

Por Ernest Harsch

[El siguiente artículo apareció en el número del 4 de octubre de nuestra revista, bajo el título "Smith's Promise to Grant Majority Rule in Zimbabwe." La traducción es de Intercontinental Press.]

*

El pasado mes de marzo, el primer ministro de Rhodesia, Ian Smith, repitió la posición que el régimen de supremacía blanca ha mantenido durante tanto tiempo hacia la mayoría negra en el país: "No creo que se produzca nunca un gobierno de la mayoría negra en Rhodesia, no en mil años."

Sin embargo, en un discurso televisado el 24 de septiembre, Smith cambió el tono. "Rhodesia," dijo, "está de acuerdo en que se llegue a un gobierno de la mayoría en el plazo de dos años."

Diciendo por una vez la verdad, manifestó que esta solución a la creciente lucha interna no es la que el régimen de Salisbury prefiere. Su discurso siguió a una serie de charlas celebradas en Pretoria el 19 de septiembre con el Secretario de Estado de los Estados Unidos Henry Kissinger y con el primer ministro sudafricano John Vorster. Durante estas charlas, Smith dijo: "Me dejaron completamente claro . . . que mientras las actuales circunstancias en Rhodesia se mantengan, no podemos esperar ninguna ayuda ni apoyo de ningún tipo por parte del mundo libre. Por el contrario, las presiones que ejerce sobre nosotros el mundo libre continuarían aumentando."

Sea lo que sea lo que Smith pueda hacer en última instancia, su discurso es el indicador más claro hasta ahora del giro en la estrategia imperialista respecto del conflicto de Zimbabwe.

Este cambio se hizo evidente por primera vez a finales de 1974, durante el colapso del imperio colonial portugués en Africa; entonces, el régimen de Vorster ejerció cierta presión diplomática sobre Smith para que negociase con los dirigentes nacionalistas de Zimbabwe. En febrero, cuando terminó la guerra civil en Angola, Washington, Pretoria y las potencias de Europa Occidental, aumentaron sus esfuerzos para preparar la negociación de un acuerdo sobre Zimbabwe.

Este cambio de política indicó que las principales potencias imperialistas habían comprendido que los días del régimen de Smith están contados frente a una mayoría negra que tiene una proporción de veinte a uno sobre los colonos blancos. La concesión de independencia formal a las colonias portuguesas y el fracaso de la intervención sudafricana en la guerra civil de Angola, inspiraron a las masas de Zimbabwe para renovar sus esfuerzos en la lucha por la liberación.

Esto aumentó la dificultad política para apoyar abiertamente al régimen de Smith. Las potencias imperialistas calcularon que la caída de Smith era solamente una cuestión de tiempo. Este resultado tendría un profundo impacto sobre las luchas de liberación de los negros en Namibia y, aún más importante, en la misma Sudáfrica.

Frente a esta amenaza potencial a sus intereses en toda Africa meridional, Washington, Pretoria, Londres y los demás gobiernos imperialistas intentaron desactivar el conflicto de Zimbabwe presionando a Smith para que llegara a algún compromiso. Al mismo tiempo, consiguieron la ayuda de algunos regímenes africanos negros colindantes en un intento por refrenar las acciones guerrilleras de los luchadores por la liberación de Zimbabwe.

Como se expresó en el discurso de Smith, la finalidad es instalar, después de un periodo transitorio de dos años, un régimen negro neocolonial que quiera y pueda proteger los intereses imperialistas en el país. Smith señaló que compartía con Kissinger "un fin común y un propósito común; es decir, mantener a Rhodesia en el mundo libre y protegerla de la penetración comunista."

Lo esencial del plan imperialista, como resumió Smith, incluye el establecimiento de un "gobierno interino" que funcionaría hasta que se implemente el gobierno de la mayoría. El organismo supremo en este régimen transitorio sería el consejo de estado, que estaría compuesto por representantes negros y blancos a partes iguales, y presidido por un blanco. Este organismo deberá redactar una nueva constitución y organizar las elecciones. El consejo de estado también designará un consejo de ministros que, según Smith, será de mayoría negra, y cuyo principal ministro también será negro.

Aunque la proposición fue una concesión importante hacia la lucha por la liberación que realiza la mayoría negra del país, está muy lejos de abandonar la supremacía blanca. En el régimen interino que propone Smith, los colonos blancos seguirán siendo dominantes. Las decisiones del consejo de estado presidido por un blanco se tienen que tomar por una mayoría de dos tercios, con lo que la representación blanca tiene poder de veto. Como la nueva constitución se redactará *antes* de las elecciones, estos representantes blancos también tendrán poder de veto sobre sus términos.

Aunque los nacionalistas negros han unido desde hace tiempo su demanda de un gobierno de mayoría negra con la consigna "un hombre, un voto," Smith no mencionó para nada el sufragio universal. En vez de ello, definió el "gobierno de la mayoría," como un "gobierno responsable," término que se ha usado frecuentemente para justificar el sufragio restringido de los africanos, estableciendo altos requerimientos en propiedad y educación.

Además, todo el aparato represivo permanecerá en manos blancas. Smith planteó específicamente que los ministerios de defensa y de ley y orden estarían presididos por blancos.

La posposición de la independencia* hasta que se establezca un régimen negro dentro de dos años, es un aspecto clave de la propuesta. Smith y los imperialistas esperan ganar tiempo para organizar un régimen negro aceptable, que accediera a garantizar "derechos de minoría" a los blancos.

Informando de las conversaciones mantenidas en Londres entre el primer ministro británico James Callaghan y Kissinger, el corresponsal del *New York Times* Bernard Gwertzman escribió el 23 de septiembre:

El Sr. Kissinger pidió al Sr. Callaghan que asegurase el que se dieran rápidamente los pasos necesarios para llenar el vacío que el secretario piensa se desarrollaría en Rhodesia en caso de que el gobierno de Smith renunciase en una etapa posterior.

Según lo ve el Sr. Kissinger, es crucial que se dé prioridad en el gobierno interino a una dirección negra y favorable al occidente, mientras se espera la conclusión de una posible negociación retroactiva patrocinada por los británicos para una nueva constitución....

En sus conversaciones con el Presidente Kenneth D. Kaunda de Zambia y el Presidente Julius K. Nyerere de Tanzania, el Sr. Kissinger subrayó la necesidad de que los dirigentes negros africanos constituyesen un equipo negociador para Rhodesia que fuese aceptado por los suficientes negros rhodesianos como para limitar la capacidad de las guerrillas más radicales, equipadas con armas soviéticas, de bloquear el proceso.

Sin embargo, todo el plan depende de la disposición de por lo menos una parte de los dirigentes nacionalistas negros para seguirlo. Hasta ahora, ninguno ha acepta-

^{*}Rhodesia continúa siendo formalmente una colonia británica. El régimen neocolonialista blanco declaró unilateralmente su "independencia" de Gran Betaña en 1965, pero ningún gobierno del mundo lo ha reconocido oficialmente.

do los términos de Smith.

George Silundike, un representante de la fracción del African National Council [Consejo Nacional Africano] dirigida por Joshua Nkomo, dijo: "Las proposiciones dejan la esencia del poder en manos de la minoría; un gobierno interino en que el control efectivo del poder reside en la minoría no puede tener la capacidad de cambiar hacia un gobierno de la mayoría.

"O el plan se cambia, o se desecha totalmente, y entonces queda el campo abierto para la lucha armada."

Sin embargo, Josiah Chinamano, otro representante del grupo de Nkomo, declaró que "a pesar de algunos fallos, la propuesta fue bienvenida." (Nkomo es el único dirigente de Zimbabwe que se haya reunido con Kissinger.)

El principal rival de Nkomo, Ndabaningi Sithole, dirigente de la Zimbabwe African National Union [Unión Africana Nacional de Zimbabwe—ZANU], dijo que las proposiciones tenían la "intención diabólica de crear un régimen títere en Zimbabwe," y que le daban a Smith "un tiempo de respiro en el que pueda consolidar sus posiciones militares, económicas e internacionales."

En una declaración conjunta emitida el 26 de septiembre, los jefes de estado de

Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Angola y Botswana también rechazaron algunos aspectos de la propuesta de Smith, planteando que si se aceptara sería "tanto como legalizar las estructuras de poder colonialistas y racistas."

Anticipando que esta oposición continuaría, Smith indicó en su discurso que la guerra contra las guerrillas de Zimbabwe no se detendría. Dijo: "... si somos realistas, tenemos que aceptar que el terrorismo no se puede detener con un golpe de sombrero y que por lo tanto es de la incumbencia de las fuerzas de seguridad y de quienes viven en las áreas afectadas actuar en consecuencia."

Para subrayar la observación de Smith, se emitió un comunicado militar el mismo día diciendo que diez guerrilleros negros habían sido abatidos en las veinticuatro horas anteriores, elevando a cuarenta el total de guerrilleros muertos durante la semana.

Smith también puso condiciones para llevar a cabo realmente las propuestas, diciendo que su aceptación era condicional al levantamiento de las sanciones de las Naciones Unidas contra el régimen y al fin de la guerra de guerrillas.

En ambos puntos, dijo Smith, Kissinger había prometido "seguridades categóricas." Después, Smith continuó: "A la luz de experiencias anteriores habrá algún escepticismo comprensible respecto a que cesará el terrorismo, pero en esta ocasión se ha dado la seguridad, no sólo con la autoridad del gobierno de los Estados Unidos, sino también con la del gobierno británico."

¿Qué seguridades secretas han dado Washington y Londres al régimen de colonos blancos? ¿Que presionarán a los estados africanos colindantes para que aplasten a las guerrillas? ¿Que se va a enviar una fuerza extranjera para "mantener la paz"?

El discurso de Smith, y el intento para posponer la independencia durante dos años, deberían ser un claro aviso para que todos los que apoyan la lucha de liberación africana estén alerta.

El peligro a que se enfrenta la lucha de liberación de Zimbabwe de parte de las potencias imperialistas fue resumido por Tennyson A. Nyagumbo, dirigente del Sindicato de Trabajadores de Hoteles y Restaurantes. En un informe en el New York Times del 23 de septiembre, el corresponsal Michael T. Kaufman le citó: "Si los norteamericanos y los sudafricanos imponen un acuerdo, no tendremos verdadera independencia."

La Masacre del 5 de Abril

Narración del Incidente de Tien An Men

Por Hua Lin

[Segunda parte]

A mediodía, la multitud disminuyó considerablemente, pues casi todo el mundo se había ido a casa para comer. Al mismo tiempo, el número de milicianos continuaba aumentando, e incluso instalaron un puesto de mando provisional.

Ma Hsiao-lu, subcomandante en jefe del batallón de la milicia en la capital, junto con Jang Si-jung y Sao Lien-shung, oficiales del EPL [Ejército Popular de Liberación], vigilaban desde el edificio del cuartel donde se encontraba el puesto de mando provisional de la milicia. El edificio tiene tres pisos y ocupa un área de 1,300 metros cuadrados o más. Desde allí se podía observar fácilmente toda la situación en la Plaza Tien An Men. Por la mañana hubo un momento en que las masas invadieron el edificio, pero nadie esperaba que esto se repitiera.

Justo cuando Ma Hsiao-lu subía las escaleras del edificio del cuartel, se produjo una pequeña conmoción en la Plaza Tien An Men. Varios jóvenes que fueron identificados como estudiantes de las universidades Tsinghua y de Pekín trataron de aprovechar el hecho de que la multitud había decrecido para quitar las guirnaldas que habían sido colocadas por la mañana. Cuando la multitud descubrió sus intenciones, persiguió a los estudiantes y trató de obligarlos a devolver las guirnaldas. La multitud advirtió también a los guardias que vigilaban el monumento que deberían cumplir las órdenes del pueblo y no permitir que nadie quitara las guirnaldas.

Pero por fin a las 2:30 p.m., cuando la multitud era menos numerosa, los milicianos quitaron las guirnaldas y los retratos.

Entonces la situación cambió bruscamente. La noticia de que "otra vez habían quitado las guirnaldas" se extendió con una rapidez asombrosa por todo Pekín. Las masas, que habían estado comentando entusiásticamente su acción de la mañana, empezaron a preocuparse. El hecho de que las autoridades ignoraran repetidamente los derechos del pueblo, hizo que las masas se volvieran "peligrosas." No necesitaron arengas para volver a reunirse en la Plaza Tien An Men.

Algunos jóvenes que habían permanecido en la plaza todo el día, contaron a la multitud que empezaba a reunirse, la historia de cómo habían quitado las guirnaldas. Al hablar se iban poniendo más y más indignados, hasta que rompieron a llorar. Hubo gritos de que quienes habían quitado las guirnaldas quedarían marcados para siempre por ese delito. Repentinamente, la ira tanto tiempo contenida de la multitud estalló contra los milicianos y la policía.

A las 3:00 p.m., quemaron tres vehículos motorizados que llevaban agua y comida a los milicianos, y un auto de la policía. La tarde se inició con un motín. Olas de gente se movían de un lado a otro tratando de averiguar quién era el responsable de que hubieran quitado las guirnaldas.

A las 4:40 p.m., las masas rodearon el cuartel, tras descubrir que en él se encontraba el oficial de turno de la milicia. A las 5:00 p.m., las masas rompieron el cordón de los guardias que estaban frente al cuartel. La multitud sitió el cuartel, lo invadió, y exigió reunirse con el oficial de turno. Ma Hsiao-lu y los otros no se atrevían a salir. La multitud comenzó a destruir las bicicletas de los milicianos, utilizando los pedazos para romper las puertas y ventanas.

A las 5:05 p.m., Ma Hsiao-lu seguía terco en que no se reuniría con las masas. Para ese momento, la multitud ya había logrado romper las puertas y ventanas de la planta baja, y había prendido una hoguera en la calle con la ropa de cama y los libros. Ma Hsiao-lu estaba escondido cuando la multitud prendió fuego al cuartel. Un joven que usaba gafas gritó: "¡Veamos si esto los hace ceder!"

La "Heroica Compañía del Barrio Chin Hsin Teng," que se encontraba de turno en la Plaza Tien An Men, fue la primera que llegó a tratar de apagar el incendio. Wu Jiu-hsoi, un bombero de esa compañía, entró en el edificio con una manguera en las manos, pero la multitud lo rodeó inmediatamente y un joven le arrebató la manguera.

El fuego devoraba el primer piso. Ma Hsiao-lu y los otros, aunque el humo les llenaba los ojos de lágrimas, se seguían negando a reunirse con las masas. Cuando estaban a punto de morir quemados en el cuartel, tuvieron la suerte de que una cocinera, Liu Yi-wa, saliera del edificio de la Oficina Postal de Pekín, que está contiguo al cuartel. Llevaba una viga de madera de tres metros de largo, que hizo llegar a Ma Hsiao-lu, quien la usó para escapar del edificio y de la multitud junto con los otros.

A las 6:00 p.m., un numeroso grupo de soldados llegó a tratar de ayudar a apagar el fuego. La multitud que había iniciado el incendio se vio obligada a retirarse, algunos se subieron al techo del edificio que está frente al cuartel, desde donde lanzaban tejas y piedras contra los soldados.

Chungnanhai no quería demostrar su debilidad. Tampoco el pueblo. Había causado un gran incendio en represalia porque habían quitado las guirnaldas. Por la tarde, los dos lados habían llegado a un *impasse*, aunque el fuego estaba quemando la autoridad de Chungnanhai.

Sin embargo, la situación iba cambiando lentamente. Los guardias de la milicia que vigilaban el monumento se iban retirando gradualmente, dejando vacía el área alredor del monumento. En esos momentos, las masas seguían en el área que rodea al cuartel, de tal manera que nadie advirtió el cambio, ni su importancia.

Chungnanhai Moviliza sus Fuerzas

Al atardecer, los pálidos rayos del Sol iluminaban a las masas enojadas y las nubes de humo negro, como si el astro se negara a partir.

Alrededor de las 6:00 p.m., aún había en la plaza entre 50,000 ó 60,000 personas mirando el incendio. ¡Que se queme! Estaban furiosas y violentas, ¿pero qué otra manera tenían para expresar su protesta? De cualquier manera, se estaba haciendo de noche y había que cenar; muchos comenzaron a pensar en retirarse.

¡Al fin se presentaba la ansiada oportunidad!

A las 6:15 p.m., llegó por fin la orden de Chungnanhai. El cuartel general de la milicia de la capital estaba en permanente comunicación telefónica con las decenas de unidades locales: "Traigan sus armas y reúnanse para esperar instrucciones."

A las 6:30 p.m., Wu Te¹¹ pronunció un discurso que iba dirigido a quienes se



CHIANG CH'ING: "Emperatriz Dowager."

encontraban en la plaza: "Hoy, hay elementos malos que están quebrantando el orden, causando alboroto y realizando un sabotaje contrarrevolucionario en la Plaza Tien An Men. Las masas revolucionarias deben abandonar la plaza inmediatamente y no dejarse engañar." En el discurso se enfatizaba que el Comité Central consideraba que el incidente tenía abiertamente el objetivo de conseguir apoyo para Teng Hsiao-p'ing y que estaba dirigido directamente contra el Presidente Mao.

A estas alturas, después de un día de lucha, las masas podían ver claramente que no se les daría el derecho de poner guirnaldas para honrar al Primer Ministro Chou ni de expresar sus opiniones. Las autoridades habían dejado claro que movilizarían una fuerza represiva tan grande, que las masas no podrían enfrentarla con éxito. Un sentimiento de profunda impotencia comenzó a cundir entre la multitud, y muchos comenzaron a irse.

Pero a las 8:00 p.m., aún había unas 3,000 personas o más que insistían en quedarse, reunidas en torno al monumento. No se daban cuenta de que las autoridades les estaban preparando el lugar. Sólo sabían que estaban protegiendo las guirnaldas que quedaban. Y en aras de su lucha estaban dispuestas a tomar una decisión trascendental: estaban dispuestas a enfrentar lo que viniera. El viento de la noche soplaba sobre la multitud. Todos juntos cantaron la *Internacional*, canción que entonaron sus antepasados revolucionarios al combatir hasta la muerte por la justicia. "Agrupémonos todos en la lucha final. . . ." Al cantar, esos miles de personas pensaban en el futuro. También pensaban en la larga noche que tendrían que pasar antes de llegar al mañana que esperaban. Su canto, fuerte y melancólico, profundo y poderoso, se podía escuchar hasta muy lejos en la ciudad silenciosa.

En medio de su canto, colocaron el último lote de guirnaldas y pegaron en las paredes sus poemas, uno de los cuales decía:

Los demonios aúllan mientras nosotros derramamos nuestro dolor,

Nosotros lloramos pero los lobos ríen, Vertimos nuestra sangre en memoria del

héroe, Levantando la cabeza, desenvainamos

las espadas.

China ya no es la China de antaño

Y el pueblo ya no vive en la más completa ignorancia.

Jamás volverá la sociedad feudal de Ch'in Shih-huang.¹²

¡Creemos en el marxismo-leninismo!

Lo que queremos es el verdadero marxismo-leninismo.

¡Al diablo con los académicos que castran el marxismo-leninismo!

Por el verdadero marxismo-leninismo

No tememos derramar nuestra sangre ni entregar nuestras vidas.

El día que se realice la modernización en cuatro campos,

Volveremos para ofrecer

Libaciones y sacrificios.

Este poema, aunque sin pulir, tenía un aire de naturalidad y grandeza. Impregnado de ánimo decidido y logrado de un solo golpe, estaba escrito en un estilo adecuado para un crítico momento de vida o muerte. El poema pintaba muy bien la China actual, el pueblo chino y el día 5 de abril. Quizás el autor permanezca para siempre en el anonimato, pero su espíritu encontrará un eco en los corazones del pueblo chino que empieza a despertar.

La Masacre

Una vez que el Mando de la Milicia hubo calculado el número de personas que había

^{11.} Wu Te es el alcalde de Pekín, miembro del Comité Central del PCCh, y conocido partidario de la "Fracción Chou-Teng."

^{12.} Ch'in Shih-huang (259-210 a.c.) fue el primer emperador de China y generalmente se le considera uno de los mayores déspotas de su tiempo. Como partidario de los duros filósofos legalistas, ordenó que se enterrara vivos a los académicos que seguían a Confucio y que se quemaran sus libros. Durante la campaña contra Lin Piao y Confucio que comenzó hace dos años, Mao dijo que los métodos de Ch'in Shih-huang para suprimir las ideas disidentes eran modelo para un régimen revolucionario.

alrededor del monumento, envió decenas de miles de milicianos al área que rodea la Plaza Tien An Men. Se reunieron en diez puntos diferentes y se prepararon para lanzar un gran ataque a las 9:30 p.m. Habían escogido bien la hora, pues en la oscuridad no habría testigos del baño de sangre.

El momento señalado estaba cada vez más cerca. Los 5,000 milicianos de la Vigésima-sexta Fábrica de Vehículos Motorizados de Pekín, que habían permanecido emboscados fuera de la plaza, observaban atentamente su objetivo. Quienes quedaban estaban casi escondidos por la oscuridad, pero seguían cantando, y su canto llegaba al corazón. Algunos milicianos estaban conmovidos. Todo el mundo en Pekín sabía que las cosas por las que peleaba esa gente, incluso arriesgando la vida, era lo mismo que deseaba todo el pueblo chino.

A las 9:30 p.m., Ma Yung-shun y Ma Hsiao-lu dieron la orden a los jefes de la milicia en los distintos puntos de reunión: ¡Adelante!

Decenas de miles de milicianos, armados con garrotes largos, se acercaron a Tien An Men desde diez direcciones diferentes. Los seguían soldados del EPL con los fusiles cargados, la policía y, finalmente, los carros-cárcel del Buró de Seguridad Pública.

El fin estaba próximo. Las sombras oscuras de los milicianos estaban cada vez más cerca. La multitud subió la voz y cantaba cada vez más fuerte. Los últimos segundos parecían el principio de un gran cataclismo natural.

Los primeros en entrar a la plaza fueron los cuarenta milicianos de la Segunda Fábrica de Pekín. Entraron golpeando a la multitud con sus garrotes, lo que causó un gran derramamiento de sangre. Un joven se retorcía en el suelo, sin poder volver a ponerse en pie. Llegó un segundo grupo de milicianos, y en un momento la zona en derredor del monumento se llenó con el sonido de golpes de garrotes, cuerpos que caían y gente que gemía.

Por cada persona inerme había diez milicianos con garrotes y soldados armados. Al principio la multitud se tomó de las manos formando una cadena, pero pronto se separaron en la lucha.

En poco tiempo, los garrotes los hicieron retroceder hasta el Viejo Palacio. Algunos jóvenes sacaron sus cuchillos para enfrentarse a los garrotes de los milicianos. Fueron asesinados a garrotazos.

Otro grupo que se negó a entrar en el Viejo Palacio fue encerrado en los carroscárcel. "¿Van o no van? ¡Si no van, están transformando la contradicción!"¹³ Los milicianos y la policía mataron a golpes a quienes se negaron a entrar en los carroscárcel.

Renmin Ribao [El Diario del Pueblo] no ha informado verídicamente cuántas personas fueron asesinadas a golpes. Incluso ha evitado decir que hubo muertos, utilizando en cambio una hermosa frase: "fueron debidamente castigados." ¡Qué hipócrita y cobarde es matar a golpes al pueblo y luego tergiversar las palabras! Las armas que describían tan espeluznantemente resultaron ser sólo unos pequeños cuchillos ante los largos garrotes. Y algunos de los que fueron matados a golpes ni siquiera tenían cuchillos.

Ese fue un día en que el pueblo fue a entregar la vida en el Monumento a los Héroes del Pueblo. También fue un día en que se asesinó al pueblo en la Plaza Tien An Men por defenderla. Guirnaldas y sangre. Así escribió el pueblo chino su página el 5 de abril.

Arrestos Masivos

Después de la represión del 5 de abril, *Renmin Ribao* publicó también algunos "poemas revolucionarios." Uno de ellos decía:

Cinco de abril, ¡Guardémoslo En nuestros corazones! Recuerden este día, Debemos tomar el cincel Y esculpir cada piedra de la plaza.

Estos poemas, escritos por personas apáticas, eran completamente inferiores a los poemas profundos y enérgicos que brotaron durante los días anteriores del corazón del pueblo tanto tiempo reprimido. De cualquier manera, estos poemas muestran cuánto odian las autoridades aquellos días. No podrían descansar en paz hasta que no hubieran aplastado completamente a todos los sospechosos de ser opositores. Ma Yung-shun llevaba setenta y dos horas sin dormir. Después que dirigió la represión, se puso a estudiar las pilas de datos. Sus ojos enrojecidos parecían decir: "Tengo que encontrarlos y arrestarlos, aunque me quede ciego."

En los días que siguieron, muchas personas fueron arrestadas, además de las que fueron detenidas la noche del 5 de abril. Durante los primeros días de abril, las oficinas de la policía en los barrios ordenaron a los cuadros de los "Comités de Residentes" y a los miembros del "Comité Administrador Xiang-yang Yuan," que vigilaran las actividades que se realizaran en sus calles e informaran inmediatamente a la policía sobre cualquier persona de quien se descubriera que había estado en la Plaza Tien An Men.

Un día, cuando los cuadros del comité de la Calle Nueve patrullaban su calle, descubrieron que un joven obrero que vivía allí había ido a Tien An Men y había llevado guirnaldas. Inmediatamente informaron al cuartel de la policía, y movilizaron diez o más personas para rodear el departamento del obrero para esperarlo. El joven obrero fue arrestado a las 7:00 p.m., cuando entraba a su departamento.

Muchos otros fueron arrestados de manera similar. La policía realizó eficientemente la redada. Casi todos los veintiséis policías de la Estación de Policía de Tien An Men pasaron esos días buscando entre la población, y sólo tres o cuatro permanecían en la estación.

Cuando la multitud incendió el cuartel, los policías habían visto a un joven con gafas que hablaba a la multitud por medio de un altavoz. Inmediatamente hicieron una descripción del muchacho, lo buscaron, encontraron donde trabajaba, y lo arrestaron.

La policía siguió la pista de un obrero que había participado en la volcadura del sedán, ya que habían anotado el número de su bicicleta. Tampoco él logró escapar al maligno control de la dictadura.

Las autoridades descubrieron la dirección de varios de los oradores y los arrestaron. En sólo pocos días, la Estación de Policía de Tien An Men entregó cientos de páginas de informes al Buró de Seguridad Pública, ganándose una felicitación pública del Buró que decía: "[La policía de la Plaza Tien An Men] ha comprendido de manera oportuna la nueva tendencia de la lucha de clases, y ha hecho una contribución importante al aplastar el incidente contrarrevolucionario de la Plaza Tien An Men."

La Estación de Policía de Tien An Men es sólo una de los cientos de estaciones de policía que hay en Pekín.

Al mediodía del 5 de abril, justo cuando el Autobús Popular de la Ruta No. 5 iba a salir de una de las estaciones, un hombre de mediana edad mostró su identificación al chofer: "Buró de Seguridad Pública de Pekín, Primera Patrulla, Mou Tsin-shan." Ordenó fríamente: "Vamos al cuartel de la policía."

Cuando llegaron a la estación de policía, arrastraron a un joven fuera del autobús. Posteriormente el chofer se enteró de que el joven había brincado sobre el auto de propaganda que fue volteado en la plaza.

Por la tarde del día 5, el policía Jia Jin-hsi descubrió a un joven que había ayudado a incendiar el cuartel. Cuando el joven abandonó Tien An Men y se dirigió a un lugar donde había menos gente, Jia Jin-hsi lo alcanzó y lo arrestó.

Cinco días más tarde, la situación era incluso más tumultuosa.

Cuando el Equipo Unido de Seguridad de las Masas de la Calle Cuatro Nororiental estaba patrullando, sus integrantes vieron de pronto a un joven que había entrado por la fuerza al Gran Salón [el 5 de abril]. Los miembros del Equipo de Seguridad lo rodearon, lo golpearon y luego lo llevaron sangrando a la estación de policía.

El equipo de vigilancia de la milicia del Distrito Jong Shu, al ver que varios

^{13.} Esto se refiere a la distinción que hizo Mao en su folleto Sobre la Contradicción, entre las contradicciones "no antagónicas" en el seno del pueblo, que pueden resolverse por medio de la discusión, y las contradicciones "antagónicas" entre clases hostiles, que deben resolverse por la fuerza.

jóvenes hablaban en voz baja en la calle, enviaron a alguien a espiar. Cuando descubrieron que los jóvenes estaban conversando sobre lo que habían oído y visto en la Plaza Tien An Men, corrieron a arrestarlos.

Cuando un obrero conversaba en casa con su familia sobre el incidente de Tien An Men, su voz impulsiva se oía del otro lado de la puerta. Inmediatamente, los miembros del Comité de Residentes de Calle y obreros de la milicia rodearon su puerta.

Pero las autoridades aún no estaban satisfechas. Estos eran sólo arrestos individuales. Tenían que encontrar a las 100,000 personas que estuvieron en Tien An Men.

El Comité Municipal Revolucionario de Pekín dio la siguiente orden a todas las fábricas, hospitales, tiendas, secciones del EPL, departamentos y calles: "Apóyense en las masas. Movilicen a las masas. Aprovechen esta victoria para avanzar. Investiguen a fondo la contrarrevolución, descubran la conspiración de los elementos contrarrevolucionarios y desentierren al instigador oculto del incidente contrarrevolucionario."

Más de 100,000 personas participaron en los interrogatorios. Quienes habían llevado guirnaldas tenían que explicar claramente sus motivos.

Durante este periodo se realizaron muchas reuniones de crítica. Cada individuo tenía que manifestar sin ninguna ambigüedad su posición sobre el incidente "contrarrevolucionario." Se convocaron desfiles masivos en todo el país. No sólo en Pekín había que arrestar a los "elementos contrarrevolucionarios," sino también en otras partes: ya habían comenzado a surgir en Cheng-chou, Kunming, Nankin, etc.

"Apóyense en las masas. Movilicen a las masas." El régimen todavía se jactaba al utilizar esas consignas. Las 100,000 personas que se apoyaron en sí mismas y que se habían movilizado eran las verdaderas masas. La represión anterior y posterior al 5 de abril había desenmascarado la fanfarronería del régimen ante esas 100,000 personas y ante las masas de todo el país.

De hecho, ambos lados sentían que la situación de China había entrado a una época sin precedentes. La sociedad se estaba polarizando lentamente, y la dominación del actual gobierno sólo se podría mantener intensificando la dictadura.

Lo que Siguió

Las paredes rojas de Tien An Men tenían un tinte morado. El suelo estaba oscuro. El Monumento a los Héroes del Pueblo apuntaba directamente hacia el profundo azul del cielo. Milicianos con garrotes largos patrullaban la plaza, que ahora estaba desierta.

Ocasionalmente aparecía algún transeúnte, que no podía resistir la tentación de echar una mirada a Tien An Men. Lo que antes era tan familiar se veía ahora muy extraño. Había cambiado.

En realidad, el cambio había ocurrido hacía mucho tiempo. El 5 de abril sólo lo hizo más explícito para el pueblo.

Durante veintiséis años, Mao Tsetung había estado diciendo que el pueblo gozaba de la mayor libertad, una verdadera libertad que era mucho mejor que la del capitalismo. La dictadura estaba dirigida sólo contra los enemigos de clase.

Claro está que alguna vez el pueblo se contentó con esa libertad, por la cual algunos derramaban lágrimas de agradecimiento. Pero particularmente en los diez años que siguieron a la "Revolución Cultural," el pueblo empezó a descubrir gradualmente lo que esa libertad le había traído. Descubrieron esto por los innumerables pronunciamientos hipócritas, absurdos y falsos que podían ser refutados por el simple sentido común, y por la interminable situación represiva que resultaba intolerable incluso para los que no pedían sino las más modestas reivindicaciones. ¿Qué clase de libertad es ésta? Es un tipo de libertad que requiere que el pueblo acepte sumisamente su destino, y que confiere a una sola persona el derecho de ejercer el poder sin ninguna restricción. Lo que es más, si lo seguían aceptando, este insoportable modo de vida sólo se deterioraría, y si uno no expresa su opinión, no existe en realidad ninguna libertad. ¡Qué buen poema era ése! ¡El pueblo ya no se encuentra en la más completa ignorancia! Han pasado veintiséis años y el pueblo ha crecido. Ha comenzado a aprender a criticar y a imaginar. Debe tener el derecho de escoger sus alternativas para el futuro.

"¿Qué muestra el incidente contrarrevolucionario de Tien An Men?"¹⁴ He aquí lo que muestra:

Al principio, parecía que la dictadura realmente estaba dirigida contra algunos enemigos pasados. Pero como el poder era monopolio de una minoría, se corrompió inevitablemente. Finalmente se convirtió en una dictadura de un solo hombre, tras una larga lucha interna por el poder, que es lo que demuestran los diez años a partir de la "Revolución Cultural." Con más poder que los antiguos emperadores, este hombre se cree todopoderoso. Quiere "remodelar" toda la vida social de 800 millones de personas según su voluntad y su entendimiento limitado y, al mismo tiempo, espera poder utilizar su tipo de "revolución" para consolidar su posición suprema. El deseo irrefrenado de mantener el poder absoluto y la arrogancia que resultó de la posesión de ese poder, le permiten considerar a cualquiera como enemigo.

¡Qué buen poema era ése! ¡Señala con el índice el surgimiento de este nuevo Ch'in Shih-huang! Hoy, cuando el pueblo ha ido más allá del reino del "Hacer las cosas como se ordena," se arranca inmediatamente la máscara de dictadura del proletariado y ejerce abiertamente su "dictadura feudal-fascista."¹⁵

El 5 de abril marca el despertar de la conciencia del pueblo chino sobre la democracia socialista y la completa bancarrota de la "dictadura del proletariado" de Mao Tsetung. Este es un cambio revolucionario para el futuro destino de China. Aunque la acción del 5 de abril es ahora reprimida y calumniada, es indiscutiblemente el punto de partida más importante para el proceso de la lucha por la realización del verdadero socialismo, que es realmente democrático y libre.

Después de esa batalla, la dictadura ha apretado aún más sus garras de hierro sobre el pueblo. Pero, ¿qué va a lograr con eso? Permítanme citar un párrafo de una de las cartas que hemos recibido:

"Nuestra unidad convocó una reunión para criticar el 'incidente contrarrevolucionario de Tien An Men,' pero salvo unos cuantos cuadros, nadie quería hablar por propia iniciativa. Una especie de silencio formidable ensombrecía la reunión. Incluso cuando alguien levantaba la mano y gritaba consignas, lo hacía sin expresión. Actualmente, en Pekín, hasta las conversaciones privadas están llenas de ironía, y el refrán popular es: '¡Los bandidos tienen el poder!'"

Este proverbio tan "respetuoso" hace superfluo todo comentario. Ahora el pueblo sabe a ciencia cierta cuál es su reivindicación. Lo que es más, ahora está más decidido, en la medida en que ya no espera nada de ese hombre [Mao] ni siente más amor por él. De hecho, su fracaso es definitivo. Es sólo cuestión de tiempo antes de que el pueblo pueda anunciar esto públicamente.

La noche es cada vez más oscura. Tien An Men se ve como un monstruo morado. Su morado es una forma del rojo más extremo, un rojo mezclado con negro, que finalmente se volverá completamente negro, conforme Tien An Men se suma en la oscuridad.

Sin embargo, el mañana vendrá. Un mañana que ha sido buscado perpetuamente durante tantas noches tan largas y que se ha venido acercando gradualmente estos últimos veinte años. Un mañana que se manifestó por primera vez el 5 de abril y que comprende una forma libre y democrática de verdadero socialismo.

Entonces el pueblo ofrecerá nuevas guirnaldas en el Monumento a los Héroes del Pueblo para conmemorarte en silencio ja tí, heroico 5 de abril!

^{14.} Es el título del editorial de *Renmin Ribao* poco después de la manifestación.

^{15.} Esta última frase está entre comillas porque es una de las acusaciones típicas del régimen maoista contra todos los dirigentes destacados del PCCh que son purgados. Se suponía que esto era lo que pretendían Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao y más recientemente, Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

iLibertad para los Trotskistas Chinos!

Por Michael Baumann

[El siguiente artículo apareció en el número del 4 de octubre de nuestra revista bajo el título "Demand Mao's Heirs Free the Chinese Trotskyists!" La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press.*]

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Tras la muerte del Gran Timonel, sus sucesores se han embarcado en una campaña para aumentar la productividad bajo la consigna "Transformemos el dolor en fuerza."

Se está animando a los trabajadores a aumentar entre 20 y 30% la producción, y se han alabado especialmente esfuerzos modelo, como el de los obreros de una planta de acero en Shangai que "permanecieron en su puesto las veinticuatro horas."

No hay nada que indique que Mao lo pudiera haber desaprobado. ¿Pero no sería más indicado seguir el ejemplo de algunos de los más represivos gobiernos capitalistas cuando muere un dictador autocrático, es decir, la liberación de los prisioneros políticos?

El destino de los militantes revolucionarios que se han estado pudriendo durante años en las celdas de las prisiones políticas de Mao, exige una atención inmediata. Su persecución fue uno de los peores crímenes de Mao.

En el caso de los trotskistas chinos, muchos eran veteranos de la guerra de resistencia contra el imperialismo japonés y de la lucha contra la dominación reaccionaria del Kuomintang. Se les encarceló exclusivamente por sus posiciones políticas. Fueron víctimas del régimen de Mao por su abierta defensa de la democracia socialista.

Años de Persecución

La detención y encarcelamiento de los militantes trotskistas comenzó casi al mismo tiempo que la llegada de Mao al poder. En el otoño de 1949, fueron arrestados docenas de trotskistas en Shangai y Wenchow, y dos de ellos fueron ejecutados. En 1950, un grupo similar fue arrestado en las provincias de Kwangsi y Kwangtung. Algunos fueron fusilados bajo cargos falsos de ser "agentes del Kuomintang."

El nuevo régimen realizó redadas en varios locales trotskistas. En agosto de 1949, la mayoría de los miembros del Comité de Emergencia de Kiangsu-Chekiang (trotskista) fueron arrestados. En este caso, se les ordenó que cesasen toda actividad, y se les puso en libertad. No se sabe lo que les sucedió después.

Las organizaciones trotskistas que no fueron atacadas en estos años eran perseguidas constantemente de diversas maneras. Se vigilaba permanentemente sus actividades y su correspondencia.

Las mayores redadas se realizaron tres años después de que Mao llegase al poder. En grandes operaciones por toda China, el 22 de diciembre de 1952 y el 8 de enero de 1953, la policía política de Mao arrestó prácticamente a todos los trotskistas conocidos. En muchos casos se detuvo también a sus amigos y familiares.

En total, se cree que alrededor de 200 personas fueron detenidas en las redadas finales. En los veintitrés años que han pasado desde entonces, la muralla de silencio impuesta por la censura maoista ha impedido que cualquier noticia precisa de su destino llegue al mundo exterior. Algunos han muerto, según informaciones fragmentarias e inciertas. Se cree que los supervivientes todavía están tras las rejas.

¿Cuáles son los cargos contra ellos? Es imposible decirlo. Nunca se hicieron públicos ni juicios ni acusaciones, si es que los hubo alguna vez. Las detenciones no se mencionan en absoluto en la prensa oficial.

¿Qué fue lo que hicieron realmente para ganarse la enemistad de Mao?

Li Fu-jen, un periodista de Shangai en ese tiempo que conocía personalmente a algunos de ellos, contestó esta pregunta en el número del 29 de junio de 1970 de *Intercontinental Press.** Después del triunfo de Mao, "continuaron manteniendo, en la medida de lo posible, una actividad de grupo. Se reunían. Propagaban sus ideas políticas oralmente y por medio de la palabra impresa. No cometieron ningún acto que razonablemente se pudiera tomar como contrarrevolucionario."

Hay que señalar que todas esas actividades son derechos de todos los ciudadanos, tanto según la constitución de 1954 como la de 1975.

Trayectoria Intachable

Si no se llevó a cabo ningún juicio público contra los trotskistas chinos, fue en gran parte debido a que su trayectoria como luchadores de la revolución lo hacía extremadamente difícil. Durante veinticinco años lucharon por la independencia nacional de China, por la liberación de las masas obreras y campesinas, y por una perspectiva socialista.

Debido a su actividad, sufrieron la brutal represión de las fuerzas reaccionarias. Muchos de sus camaradas fueron asesinados por la policía política de Chiang Kaishek o sufrieron en las celdas de sus cárceles. Muchos de ellos murieron en la guerra de resistencia contra el imperialismo japonés o fueron enterrados vivos con militantes del Partido Comunista chino en vísperas de la liberación. Otros, pasaron largo tiempo en los campos de concentración de Chiang junto con cuadros del PC.

Después de la revolución, los trotskistas participaron en algunas de las campañas emprendidas por el régimen de Mao. Esto es del conocimiento público, ya que a veces se alabó su actividad revolucionaria en la prensa maoista.

Tomaron parte en la campaña para eliminar las fuerzas de Chiang Kai-shek que aún quedaban. Trabajaron en el movimiento de la reforma agraria. Tuvieron un papel activo en la campaña contra la ayuda norteamericana a Corea. Estuvieron dispuestos a defender con todas sus fuerzas las conquistas de la revolución contra cualquier potencia imperialista, especialmente contra Washington y su títere Chiang Kai-shek.

Representaban varias generaciones de militantes. Algunos, como Chen Chao-lin y Ying Kwan, tenían más de cincuenta años cuando fueron detenidos. Habían sido dirigentes en la revolución de 1927; muchos de ellos habían sufrido condenas en las cárceles de Chiang.

Otros, que tenían alrededor de treinta años, habían luchado contra los imperialistas japoneses. Los más jóvenes, que tenían alrededor de veinte años, tuvieron un papel activo en la lucha de posguerra para derribar el régimen del Kuomintang.

El inconmovible apoyo que sus camaradas de otros países dieron a la revolución china, es una indicación más sobre el temple y las posiciones de los trotskistas chinos.

En los Estados Unidos, el periódico trotskista *The Militant* se opuso continuamente al apoyo que Washington le daba a Chiang Kai-shek, y a la agresión contra Corea que emprendió Truman. *The Militant* pedía que la Casa Blanca reconociese diplomáticamente a la República Popular China, y se opuso a los preparativos para una guerra contra el nuevo régimen.

En Ceilán, el movimiento trotskista hizo

^{*}Este y otros artículos sobre el caso de los trotskistas chinos se han recogido en el folleto *Revolutionaries in Mao's Prisons* [Los Revolucionarios en las Cárceles de Mao] por Li Fu-jen y Peng Shu-tse (Pathfinder Press, Nueva York, 1974. 23 pp. \$0.50).

propaganda en apoyo de la revolución china. Sus representantes en el parlamento propusieron acuerdos comerciales con el nuevo gobierno chino.

Las masas chinas, silenciadas por la represión política y la estricta censura, no pueden pedir que se haga justicia a éstos y otros revolucionarios que siguen tras las rejas. Por lo tanto, es el deber de todo el movimiento obrero internacional y de todas las organizaciones que defienden las libertades civiles, pedir su liberación.

Llamada de la Cuarta Internacional

En una declaración con fecha del 16 de abril de 1972, la Cuarta Internacional llamaba al movimiento obrero y socialista internacional a que pidiese la liberación de los trotskistas chinos encarcelados. Una parte de la declaración decía:

"Habría que presionar al régimen de Mao para que diese información sobre el destino de estos prisioneros políticos. ¿Todavía están vivos? ¿Se ha sometido a alguno de ellos a juicios secretos? ¿De qué crímenes o infracciones de la ley se les acusa?

"El secreto que rodea a su encarcelamiento no es una buena muestra de la forma en que se observa la constitución en China. Por el contrario, indica que se les encarceló violando flagrantemente una constitución que 'garantiza' el derecho de libre expresión. Si éste no es el caso, ¿por qué no les dio el gobierno un juicio público?

"¡Pedimos que el gobierno de Mao respete los derechos que garantiza la constitución! ¡Pedimos que se respete la democracia proletaria en China! ¡Pedimos la libertad de los trotskistas chinos!

"Pedimos que todas las organizaciones que han defendido la República Popular de China contra sus enemigos, que han apoyado la revolución china, tomen una posición sobre este problema para contribuir a romper la muralla de silencio."

Algo más de un año antes de su muerte, Mao comenzó a liberar a criminales de guerra convictos; casi todos ellos habían sido lugartenientes o agentes de la policía de Chiang Kai-shek. Es una violación monstruosa de la democracia proletaria dejar a antiguos revolucionarios tras las rejas, mientras que estos carniceros andan libres. Se debería presionar a los sucesores de Mao para que alterasen la política del que fue su maestro y liberaran a los revolucionarios trotskistas inmediatamente.

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¿Quiénes Son los Trotskistas Chinos?



CHEN CHAO-LIN

La trayectoria de los trotskistas chinos como socialistas revolucionarios basta en sí misma para refutar los argumentos infundados del régimen de Mao de que son agentes "contrar revolucionarios." A continuación damos algunos datos sobre los militantes encarcelados.

Chen Chao-lin. Miembro fundador del Partido Comunista y del movimiento trotskista chinos, Chen trabajó en París con Chou En-lai al final de la Primera Guerra Mundial. Después de la revolución bolchevique fue a Moscú, donde estudió en la Universidad Comunista para los Trabajadores del Este. Volvió a China en 1925 para trabajar en el Comité Central del PCCh. Durante el auge de la revolución de 1925-27 tuvo una importante participación en el trabajo del partido en el área de Wuhan.

Después de la derrota de la revolución, Chen se volvió trotskista. Fue arrestado por la policía del Kuomintang y cumplió siete años de prisión hasta que fue liberado en 1937, al comienzo de la guerra chino-japonesa.

En los años siguientes, Chen dedicó la mayor parte de su tiempo a la traducción al chino de las obras de Trotsky. Después de la rendición del Japón en 1945, publicó una revista quincenal, *La Nueva Bandera*, hasta que fue prohibida por el Kuomintang.

Cuando el Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo tomó Shangai, Chen continuó realizando su trabajo hasta que fue detenido. Si está vivo, ha permanecido treinta y un años como prisionero político: siete años bajo Chiang Kaishek y veinticuatro bajo el régimen de Mao. Ahora tendría alrededor de setenta y seis años.

Chiang Tseng-tung. Como obrero comunista, Chiang fue un activista dirigente del movimiento obrero de Shangai. Tomó parte en el levantamiento de 1925 y continuó su trabajo como revolucionario proletario bajo la dictadura del Kuomintang. Fue detenido por la policía de Mao en 1952; si vive, tiene ahora alrededor de sesenta y seis años.

Ho Chi-sen. Dirigente estudiantil en Pekín a principios de los años veinte, Ho se unió al Parido Comunista chino poco después de su formación. Durante la expedición al norte del ejército revolucionario de Kwangtung, tuvo un papel dirigente en la actividad revolucionaria junto con Mao Tsetung, primero en la provincia de Wuhan y después en la de Hunan. Tras el golpe de Chiang Kaishek en Shangai en 1927, trabajó en la clandestinidad para reconstruir el PC chino.

Cuando su antiguo colega Mao le encarceló, su salud estaba en mal estado; si aún vive, Ho tiene alrededor de setenta y nueve años. Se teme que haya muerto en un campo de trabajos forzados.

Ling Hwer-hua. Veterano en la lucha revolucionaria, Ling era miembro del Comité Ejecutivo del Sindicato de Impresores de Cantón cuando fue arrestado en 1952. Se le sentenció a una condena indefinida en un campo de trabajos forzados. Si vive, tiene más de cincuenta y seis años. No ha llegado al mundo exterior ninguna noticia sobre él.

Ying Kwan. Fue estudiante en Francia después de la Primera Guerra Mundial; Ying tomó parte en la revolución de 1925-27 como activista dirigente del PC en la provincia de Anhwei, en China central, de donde era originario. En 1929 se convenció de la corrección de los puntos de vista de Trotsky y trabajó para unificar a los cuatro grupos trotskistas que existían entonces.

La policía del Kuomintang lo detuvo en 1932 y pasó dos años en la cárcel. Lo liberaron en 1934, pero fue arrestado de nuevo, y puesto una vez más en libertad poco antes de que estallara la guerra chino-japonesa en 1937. Durante los años de la guerra, trabajó entre los estudiantes.

Después de la rendición del Japón, Ying reanudó su trabajo político en Shangai hasta que fue detenido por la policía de Mao. Si aún vive, tiene alrededor de setenta y seis años. No ha llegado ninguna noticia de él al mundo exterior.

Protestas contra Alza de Precios en Panamá

Por Judy White

[El siguiente artículo apareció en el número de nuestra revista del 4 de octubre, bajo el título "Panamanian Students Protest Price Increases." La traducción es de Intercontinental Press.]

A mediados de septiembre, la Guardia Nacional atacó a manifestantes en la ciudad de Panamá con gases lacrimógenos, cachiporras de caucho y balas de hule antimotines. Quinientas personas fueron arrestadas cuando las tropas intentaron aplastar una ola de protestas de once días que comenzó el 10 de septiembre. Muchas más fueron heridas.

La manifestación del 10 de septiembre había sido convocada originalmente con motivo del aniversario del golpe militar de 1973 en Chile. Sin embargo, se transformó en una protesta contra el gobierno cuando las autoridades anunciaron aumentos en los precios del arroz y la leche el 9 de septiembre.

Varios miles de personas, principalmente estudiantes universitarios y de escuelas medias, participaron en lo que la prensa ha descrito como el primer enfrentamiento abierto de Torrijos con el movimiento estudiantil.

Las siguientes manifestaciones tomaron un tono más claramente antigubernamental. Los manifestantes llevaban pancartas que decían: "Alto a la represión del gobierno burgués" y "Reducción del coste de la vida."

Además de enviar a la policía y a la Guardia Nacional, Torrijos prohibió todas las manifestaciones públicas, ordenó el cierre durante cinco días de todas las escuelas primarias y secundarias, y suspendió por tiempo indefinido las clases en la Universidad Nacional.

A la vez, el gobierno panameño detuvo a tres personas a quienes acusó de ser agentes de la inteligencia norteamericana. Radio Libertador, la emisora oficial, anunció que "la Agencia Central de Inteligencia de los Estados Unidos ha organizado cuidadosamente un complot para desestabilizar a nuestro país y a nuestro proceso revolucionario."

Una nota formal que el ministro del exterior panameño Aquilino Boyd entregó al Embajador de los Estados Unidos William Jorden el 17 de septiembre, acusaba a las fuerzas armadas norteamericanas que se encuentran en Panamá de interferencia en los asuntos internos del país, y decía que un militar norteamericano y dos empleados civiles del Departamento de Defensa habían sido arrestados por "participación activa" en las manifestaciones estudiantiles. Los grupos comprometidos en las protestas rechazaron los cargos de Torrijos como "una campaña del gobierno para confundir a las masas," informaba un comunicado en el *New York Times* del 21 de septiembre.

Otras acciones del régimen confirmaron esta opinión.

Se produjo una ráfaga de quejas sobre la obstaculización por parte de Washington a las negociaciones acerca del canal. Torrijos había acordado suspender las conversaciones en mayo pasado, en interés de la campaña electoral de Ford. Sin embargo, en vista de la oposición hacia su política económica, de repente le resultaba ventajoso revivir el problema del canal lo más rápidamente posible, para tratar de desviar la atención de las masas panameñas de las acciones represivas que estaba realizando para aplastar las protestas estudiantiles.

En consecuencia, Torrijos desempolvó algo de su retórica con verborrea radical. Una información del periódico neoyorquino en castellano *El Diario*, en su número del 21 de septiembre, citó al general diciendo: "El gobierno panameño está dispuesto a llevar hasta las últimas consecuencias su decisión de lograr la recuperación del canal," agotando todos los medios, "pero primero los pacíficos."

Una información sobre la nota de protesta de Boyd a los Estados Unidos mencionaba que ésta incluía una demanda por la inmediata cancelación del tratado.

Sin embargo, ya el 19 de septiembre el régimen suavizó su linea. "No estamos acusando a ningún gobierno de participar en los disturbios," dijo el vicepresidente panameño Gerardo González a la Federación de Estudiantes de Panamá (FEP), "pero decimos que elementos de este gobierno estuvieron implicados, y tenemos que juzgarlos según la ley."

En el New York Times del 23 de septiembre, Alan Riding describía la inquietud como "la más seria crisis" que ha enfrentado Torrijos en sus ocho años de gobierno. Comentaba:

"Una ola de inquietud estudiantil le ha dejado con muy poco apoyo popular fuera de la Guardia Nacional, que controla el país. E incluso dentro de la Guardia, la única fuerza armada del país, de 10,000 hombres, la continuación de la supremacía del general de cuarenta y siete años no parece estar muy asegurada..."

Riding señalaba el golpe que representaron las protestas estudiantiles para el prestigio de Torrijos. Hasta hace muy poco, la Federación de Estudiantes de Panamá funcionaba como un organismo semioficial del gobierno. Ahora, según Riding, ha perdido el apoyo del movimiento estudiantil a favor de "una serie de grupos trotskistas y otros ultraizquierdistas que ignoran la retórica radical del gobierno y lo descartan como oligárquico y burgués."

Los trotskistas de la Liga Socialista Revolucionaria (LSR) han funcionado en Panamá durante más de un año. Un artículo de Gerardo Solórzano publicado en Intercontinental Press el 3 de mayo decía:

"El análisis que los camaradas de la LSR realizaron durante su congreso [en febrero de 1976] señalaba el giro hacia la derecha disimulado bajo el 'nacionalismo de izquierda,' en que se encontraba el régimen bonapartista, y señalaba la represión que amenazaba a los revolucionarios panameños en los siguientes meses."

Entre las víctimas de esta represión está Miguel Antonio Bernal. Opositor destacado del régimen de Torrijos, y profesor de derecho y ciencias políticas en la Universidad de Panamá, Bernal fue deportado a Ecuador el 19 de febrero de 1976. Aún no se ha dado una sola razón para su deportación, pero ésta se produjo al mismo tiempo que otras once personas de izquierda y de derecha que criticaban al régimen de Torrijos eran forzadas al exilio.

En una entrevista después de su deportación, Bernal resumió sus críticas del régimen de Torrijos:

". . . el gobierno panameño se presenta al público en el interior y en el extranjero como un gobierno 'nacionalista revolucionario.' De esta manera, se las ha arreglado para crear una visible confusión sobre el verdadero contenido de su política. Su política gira alrededor de la modernización del capitalismo dependiente que domina en nuestro país, renegociando los términos de la dominación imperialista, y suavizando las aristas más duras de la presencia norteamericana en la llamada 'Zona del Canal,' pero sin atacar la esencia básica del problema ni respetar las evidentes aspiraciones históricas del pueblo panameño."

El United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners [Comité de Estados Unidos para la Justicia con los Presos Políticos Latinoamericanos—USLA] está llevando una campaña contra este flagrante caso de persecución política. El comité llama a que se envíen a las embajadas panameñas de todo el mundo, mensajes pidiendo que se le permita a Bernal regresar a Panamá. Se debe enviar copia de los mensajes a USLA, 853 Broadway, Room 414. New York, New York 10003.

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'Mundo' Entrevista a Trotskistas Españoles

[La siguiente entrevista con dos dirigentes de la Liga Comunista (LC), organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional en España, apareció en el número del 18 de septiembre de la revista semanal española *Mundo*.

[Juan Zuriarrain, secretario político de la LC, y Angel Tubau, uno de los dirigentes de la LC en Cataluña, fueron entrevistados por Lluís María Bonet i Llovet en esa revista semanal de circulación masiva, a pesar de que la Liga Comunista sigue estando proscrita en España].

*

En la actualidad, y desde comienzos de esta década, existen en España tres principales organizaciones políticas que se reclaman del trotskismo: Liga Comunista (LC) y Partido Obrero Revolucionario Español (PORE).¹

Juan Zuriarrain, como secretario político del Secretariado del Comité Ejecutivo español de LC, no sólo expone aquí la línea oficial de su partido en la actualidad, sino que antes nos hace un breve bosquejo de lo que significa el trotskismo en 1976.

Como elementos teóricos básicos apunta los de la revolución permanente y el internacionalismo proletario, conceptos ambos que exigen una mínima explicación para entender luego su línea política. "La revolución permanente es una teoría elaborada por Trotsky y Pergus² basada en que la clase obrera es la única clase progresiva en el avance hacia la democracia real. Y ello no sólo en los países capitalistas sino también en los estados obreros degenerados."

Esta concepción de único protagonismo de la clase obrera lleva lógicamente a que "no existe ningún sector de la burguesía que sea progresista, ni siquiera tímidamente, lo que se ha demostrado trágicamente muchas veces: la revolución española, Chile, ahora en Portugal, etc. Otros sectores sociales, como la pequeña burguesía o el campesinado, que basculan entre la clase obrera y el gran capital, políticamente no tienen independencia en su enfrentamiento con el imperialismo y la burguesía. En resumen, la clase obrera es la única capaz de hacer la revolución, es la única fuerza motriz capaz de arrastrar por este camino a los demás sectores sociales y a las nacionalidades oprimidas."

Y respecto al internacionalismo proleta-

rio, LC lo define y defiende como "la obediencia y fidelidad a los intereses de la clase obrera. El socialismo no se puede hacer en el marco de un solo país."

"Puede decirse," concluye Angel Tubau, en toda la entrevista complemento de Zuriarrain, "que el trotskismo hoy es la síntesis entre la teoría leninista de la organización y la teoría defendida por Trotsky sobre la revolución permanente. Es la continuidad del marxismoleninismo."

Esta teoría leninista sobre la organización, a la cual LC no ha renunciado, implica, como es sabido y hasta hace relativamente poco seguido por otros partidos denominados marxistas, el centralismo democrático en su seno, la subordinación en la acción de la minoría a la mayoría (máxima unidad en la acción), tras discusión en completa libertad de todo punto de vista. Esto lleva a LC a admitir las tendencias en su interior, defendidas y expuestas en sus órganos internos y debatidas en sus Congresos (ver cuadro).

LC no ha abandonado la tesis de la dictadura del proletariado. "Lo que pasa es que el estalinismo ha desprestigiado el término, en la medida en que en los países del este europeo existen dictaduras policíacas. Sin embargo, lo correcto es definir a la dictadura del proletariado como la dictadura de la mayoría sobre la minoría explotadora y como la profundización y extensión de la democracia a niveles muy superiores. Es la democracia real, en contraposición a la democracia burguesa que sólo lo es formalmente."

Otros grupos políticos abonan también el mismo concepto. Pero de diferente manera, según Zuriarrain. "Los maoistas no hacen un análisis correcto de lo ocurrido en los países del este europeo. Ellos dicen que en la URSS se ha restablecido el capitalismo. Nosotros, por contra, creemos que son estados obreros deformados. En ellos ha habido conquistas decisivas de la clase obrera y avances históricos respecto al capitalismo que los posteriores cambios en las relaciones de producción no han suprimido." El punto clave de la divergencia está en que para LC "la burocracia no es una nueva clase social burguesa, no es una nueva burguesía."

Consecuencia que LC, y en general todos los trotskistas, deducen del internacionalismo proletario es la necesaria construcción de un único partido mundial, de un partido centralizado internacional, con "obediencia de clase" frente al capital internacional que "no actúa localmente, por lo que todo este cuento de las obediencias nacionales en los partidos políticos no son más que falsedades."



El órgano central es *Combate*, de periodicidad quincenal, precio 15 pesetas, tirada de 8,000 a 10,000 ejemplares y reparto a través de los militantes (que cobra un 60% de lo que reparte y el resto se regala).

El órgano teórico-político es *Contra la Corriente*, que se quiere sea pronto mensual y que contiene temas de más o menos actualidad.

Otro órgano, más teórico, es *Cuader*nos contra la Corriente, que reproduce textos clásicos.

La publicación que aprece en Cataluña es *L'Espuma* (La Chispa), sin periodicidad fija, y la que sale en el país vasco es *Korrontearen Aurka* (Contra la Corriente), también irregular.

Sin embargo, reconocen no haber llegado a que este partido mundial que preconizan sea reconocido como una necesidad por las masas. Y tras las explicaciones históricas inmediatas, la aseveración tajante: "Ahora, sin embargo, existen posibilidades tremendas para el trotskismo, superiores incluso a las de los años treinta, dada la situación revolucionaria que se está abriendo en Europa. Sólo la bandera de la Cuarta Internacional, bandera sin tacha, sin mancha, será la futura bandera de las masas proletarias."

LC se declara "organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional" y forma parte del Secretariado Unificado de la Cuarta Internacional que, según Zuriarrain, agrupa al 95% de las organizaciones trotskistas mundiales. Los núcleos reconocidamente más importantes son los franceses (Liga Comunista),³ norteamericanos (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores) y argentinos (del mismo nombre que sus vecinos del norte). También afirman implantación en países del este y en China.

Tras la guerra civil no existió en España ningún grupo trotskista y no fue hasta finales de los sesenta en que un grupo de militantes surgido de las organizaciones Frente (FLP, FOC, ESBA)⁴ constituyó el grupo "Comunismo." En el verano de 1970, este grupo se proclamó ya trotskista y su núcleo fundamental fundó a principios del año siguiente la LCR, como organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional.

Fue a finales de 1972 cuando LCR se escindió "prácticamente por la mitad,"

^{1.} Mundo parece haber olvidado anotar el nombre del tercer grupo, que es la Liga Comunista Revolucionaria-Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (VI)—LCR-ETA(VI).—IP

^{2.} Se refieren obviamente a Parvus.-IP

^{3.} La sección francesa de la Cuarta Internacional es la Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire.— *IP*

^{4.} Frente de Liberación Popular, Frente Obrero Catalán.-IP

adoptando la tendencia "Encrucijada" la denominación de LC tras su primer congreso en junio de 1973. Esta escisión fue básicamente como consecuencia de un debate central: cómo construir el partido de la Cuarta Internacional en España (construcción que, por otra parte, el PORE la reclama como ya realizada) y tras la celebración del Noveno Congreso de la Internacional un año antes.⁵ En este tiempo, los seguidores de la línea allí adoptada experimentaron en sus respectivos países su ajustamiento a las realidades y de ello surgió LC, por disconformidad con la línea oficial.

Esta misma divergencia sobre la línea aprobada se plasmó a nivel internacional con una tendencia mayoritaria, o mandeliana (de Ernest Mandel, su líder más conocido) a la que pertenecía LCR y la minoritaria, con el norteamericano Hansen y su partido a la cabeza y a la que se adscribió LC.⁶

En el Tercer Congreso (ver cuadro), LC aprobó su línea política de frente único o de alianza obrera. Esta alianza estaría compuesta por todas las fuerzas obreras, desde el PSOE⁷ hacia la izquierda. "Con la hegemonía de PSOE y PCE,⁸ entrarían todos sus delfines saltarines," dice Zuriarrain, como "MC, PTE y ORT.⁹ También entran en su composición las fuerzas sindicales, las nacionalistas revolucionarias, etc."

La improbabilidad de su formación de una manera inmediata es analizada por LC como que "a medida que el pueblo vea los inconvenientes de la alianza de aquellas organizaciones con la burguesía,¹⁰ se irán creando corrientes en su interior partidarias de nuestra política."

Esta alianza debería proponerse la huelga general como medio de imponer un gobierno provisional que garantizase las necesarias elecciones para una asamblea constitucional.¹¹

7. Partido Socialista Obrero Español, una organización socialdemócrata.-IP

8. Partido Comunista de España.-IP

9. Movimiento Comunista, Partido del Trabajo de España y Organización Revolucionaria de Trabajadores.—IP

10. Referencia a la Coordinación Democrática frente-populista, a la cual pertenece la mayoría de estas organizaciones.—IP

11. Lo más probable es que se trate de la asamblea constituyente.-IP

Tercer Congreso de la LC

Asistentes

Ochenta y cuatro delegados elegidos en asambleas

Comité Central saliente (con voz y sin voto)

Un representante de LCR-ETA (VI)

Un representante del Secretariado Unificado de la Cuarta Internacional.

Localidades

El país vasco, Cataluña, país valenciano, Canarias, Madrid, Valladolid, Burgos, Asturias, Murcia, Zaragoza y Andalucía.

Composición

80% eran hombres. La media de edad: 24 años.

41% eran asalariados, más el 28% obreros.

46.5% procedían de otros partidos. Tendencias: Tendencia Obrera, con cinco delegados representando el 5% del partido, propugnaba la utilización revolucionaria de los eslabones representativos de la CNS [Central Nacional Sindicalista] (enlaces y jurados) y la construcción del sindicato obrero a partir de las Comisiones Obreras.

Tendencia 1, con cuatro delegados representando un 2 ó 3% del partido, se constituyó en torno al balance sobre la

La originalidad de la propuesta de LC reside en la composición que proponen de este gobierno provisional. Ni más ni menos que PCE y PSOE, "porque son los dos partidos mayoritarios más representativos ahora de la clase obrera y los que por tanto mayor responsabilidad tienen en el avance hacia el socialismo." Su actual pacto con la burguesía y por tanto improbabilidad de cambio de táctica es replicada con la misma anterior argumentación.

"Esta propuesta está hecha partiendo del hecho de que son mayoritarios, y de la necesidad de que no haya un vacío de poder tras la huelga general. De la necesidad, asimismo, de la constitución de un gobierno de los trabajadores."

La asamblea constitucional formada tras las elecciones se encargaría de elaborar la constitución adecuada. El gobierno obrero consiguiente, consecuencia del avance del movimiento de masas, tendría cuatro tareas principales "desmantelar el franquismo y todas sus instituciones, elaborar un programa democrático en el camino hacia un gobierno constituyente apoyado de otros gobiernos constituyentes en las nacionalidades, satisfacer de manera inmediata las necesidades de las masas y poner en marcha una política de relaciones internacionales antimperialista."

Y este gobierno tiene, según LC, posibilidades de tomar el poder. "Lo que no trayectoria del partido desde el Segundo Congreso.

Resoluciones

Situación política, cuestión sindical, LCR-ETA (VI), balance desde el Segundo Congreso, táctica de construcción del partido, lanzamiento de las juventudes comunistas, modificación en estatutos.

Lugar

Clandestinamente en un punto del estado español.

Relaciones con LCR

Se afirmó la necesidad de la constitución de un partido trotskista único, pero se señaló que ahora no es posible la unificación con LCR con el nivel de divergencias existente. Las divergencias afectan a puntos centrales de la táctica general de construcción del partido, a la alternativa general a la crisis de la dictadura, a la actitud frente a organismos unitarios, a la utilización o no de los eslabones representativos de la CNS, a la actitud ante las Comisiones Obreras, a la intervención en movimientos como el de la mujer y al papel de las juventudes en la construcción del partido. Se aprobó la necesidad de mantener un debate sobre todo ello público e interno.

podemos hacer es esperar a que nuestro partido sea grande para entonces tomar el poder. Por eso proponemos lo que proponemos."

El número de militantes de LC, lógicamente entra dentro del secreto del sumario. No así su grado de militancia. "Existen diferentes niveles de militancia. No es la misma la de un dirigente, la de un cuadro, la de los que nosotros llamamos profesionales de la revolución y que no hay que confundir con los permanentes del partido, que la de un militante de base. Los primeros son los miembros del Comité Central e incluso de diversos comités inferiores. Los de la base, por su lado, sólo están obligados a sus reuniones semanales, a militar en alguna de las centrales sindicales-UGT o CNT12-repartir nuestro periódico y cotizar."

Quinientas pesetas al mes es la media de las cuotas de los militantes y de ahí salen todos los gastos. Entre éstos uno de los capítulos más importantes es el de la propaganda. Quedó en el aire, como otros detalles aún no revelables, el número de permanentes y su financiación. Al fin y al cabo, todos los partidos tienen permanentes, LC no iba a ser menos y en todos las finanzas son secretas. LC está en la extraña normalidad del posfranquismo. \Box

12. Unión General de Trabajadores y Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores.—IP

^{5.} En realidad, el Noveno Congreso Mundial de la Cuarta Internacional tuvo lugar en 1969.—IP

^{6.} Esta es una mala referencia a la Tendencia de la Mayoría Internacional y a la Fracción Leninista Trotskista, los dos principales agrupamientos dentro de la Cuarta Internacional o de partidos que simpatizan con sus objetivos, que actualmente tienen discrepancias políticas. Ernest Mandel es un dirigente prominente de la TMI y Joseph Hansen lo es de la FLT.-*IP*

iSalvar la Vida de los Exilados Políticos en Argentina!

Según las Naciones Unidas hay en Argentina 14,000 asilados políticos, en su inmensa mayoría chilenos y uruguayos. La cifra, a pesar de lo considerable de la misma, está muy lejos de ser exacta porque no incluye una cantidad seguramente mayor de luchadores políticos que se encuentran en Argentina pero que no han optado por el asilo político.

La persecución a quienes han debido huir de las dictaduras vecinas a la Argentina, no comenzó con el golpe militar acaecido en ésta el 24 de marzo. Ya bajo el gobierno supuestamente democrático de Isabel Perón se había iniciado. Para recordar sólo dos ejemplos, mencionaremos la prisión bajo estado de sitio del ex senador Erro¹-que aún continúa-y la del ex vicepresidente de la CNT [Convención Nacional de Trabajadores], compañero Hugo Cores; y recordemos también las seis personas que después del asesinato del coronel uruguayo Trabal en París,2 fueron masacradas en la Argentina y transportadas clandestinamente como presente sangriento a tierra uruguaya.

Tomamos estos ejemplos no porque sean exclusivos sino simplemente porque fueron de los más notorios. Ya en tiempos del peronismo no sólo funcionaba la macabramente célebre AAA [Alianza Anticomunista Argentina], sino una verdadera internacional gorila destinada a perseguir, encarcelar o asesinar a los luchadores políticos latinoamericanos.

En muchos círculos de exilados en Buenos Aires se temió que el golpe del 24 de marzo en la Argentina fuera a reditar la siniestra persecución a los extranjeros, los célebres llamados radiales que lanzó el "pinochetazo" llamando a la caza del extranjero.

Las primeras declaraciones del gobierno militar disiparon algunos temores: se haría más estricta la vigilancia sobre los exilados pero no se organizaría su "caza" indiscriminada. Más aún, en sucesivas declaraciones el General Videla y sus ministros se encargaron de remarcar que incluso a los exilados incursos en violaciones a las disposiciones vigentes no se les enviaría a su país de origen sino a otro.

No obstante los hechos han desmentido

rápidamente las palabras. O la internacional gorila cuenta con muy fuertes influencias también dentro de este gobierno o algunos de los hechos que pasamos a relatar resultan directamente inexplicables.

Los asesinatos más sobresalientes, del ex presidente boliviano Torres, del ex senador y ministro uruguayo Zelmar Michelini y del ex presidente de la Cámara de Diputados del mismo país, Gutiérrez Ruiz, no constituyeron una excepción. Fueron simplemente los asesinatos de las más notorias personalidades burguesas y, en consecuencia, los que más han conmovido a la opinión pública mundial.

Mientras la costa del Plata y los aledaños de Buenos Aires se pueblan de cadáveres supuesta o realmente irreconocibles, y en la capital porteña arrecian las denuncias sobre militantes políticos y luchadores sindicales desaparecidos. Una de las más recientes y notorias ha sido la del ex dirigente del gremio gráfico, la Convención Nacional de Trabajadores y la agrupación político-sindical Resistencia Obrera Estudiantil, el compañero Gerardo Gatti. El caso de Gatti tampoco es aislado: prácticamente todos los días distintas organizaciones políticas denuncian el secuestro, la desaparición y, en los casos que aparecen, la muerte de alguno de sus activistas o simpatizantes.

Esta persecución no se limita a aquellos refugiados que no se encuentran bajo la protección de las Naciones Unidas. Por ejemplo, uno de los hoteles donde viven parte de los refugiados bajo la protección de las Naciones Unidas fue tomado por asalto por cuarenta hombres armados que secuestraron a veinticinco personas. Este desplazamiento de sesenta y cinco hombres es poco probable que haya pasado inadvertido en una ciudad con un tan alto grado de patrullaje policial y militar como lo es Buenos Aires. En este caso la presión internacional logró que varios días después los secuestrados aparecieran vivos, luego de ser brutalmente torturados.

Pocos días antes, los archivos de una organización religiosa de solidaridad con los refugiados—y reconocida por las Naciones Unidas—fueron tomados por asalto: 2,000 fichas fueron extraídas. ¿Con qué objetivos? Dados los antecedentes de estas bandas, es fácil predecirlo: aumentar el número de cadáveres que aparecen en los zanjones del Gran Buenos Aires o en las aguas del Plata.

Para ilustrar aún más sobre la situación

de los refugiados quizás baste un nuevo dato: un exilado fue raptado y devuelto en las puertas de las oficinas de las Naciones Unidas. . . con la cara desfigurada por las quemaduras de ácido que le derramaron sus raptores.

La situación ha adquirido tamaña gravedad que la propia Organización de las Naciones Unidas se ha dirigido a múltiples países solicitándoles que reciban a los exilados políticos en la Argentina.

Pero esta campaña no debe quedar en manos del Príncipe Aga Khan y demás feudales o burgueses. El movimiento obrero y revolucionario mundial debe movilizar todas sus fuerzas en defensa de la vida de los exilados políticos chilenos, uruguayos y de todas las nacionalidades que se encuentran hoy en Argentina. Hay que hacer una campaña mundial de denuncia, exigiendo a todos los gobiernos que dicen respetar los derechos humanos que se pronuncien, haciendo que tomen posición los sindicatos y las centrales obreras y que allí donde se pueda, se realicen acciones prácticas de solidaridad y de bloqueo del gobierno argentino. Por ejemplo, frente a pronunciamientos correctos como el de los dirigentes socialdemócratas europeos, exigir que no se quede en la mera denuncia: que si son gobierno interrumpan inmediatamente las relaciones diplomáticas y comerciales o, si son grandes partidos de oposición, que promuevan inmensas movilizaciones que obliguen a sus gobiernos a seguir el mismo camino.

¡Por el respeto a la vida, a la libertad y al trabajo de los residentes y asilados políticos latinoamericanos en Argentina!

¡Por el derecho irrestricto a emigrar a cualquier país bajo cargo y costo de las Naciones Unidas!

¡Por una campaña mundial de solidaridad con los exilados en Argentina y por la libertad de todos los presos que pagan cárcel allí por supuestos delitos cometidos en su país de origen!

Buenos Aires, junio 28 de 1976

Intercontinental Press te dará semana a semana un análisis de los más importantes acontecimientos mundiales.

Suscribete ya!

^{1.} Enrique Erro, ex senador uruguayo, miembro del Frente Amplio, fue arrestado en su casa de Buenos Aires a principios de 1975.

^{2.} Ramón Trabal fue asesinado en París el 19 de diciembre de 1974.