

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

Vol. 14, No. 48

© 1976 by Intercontinental Press

December 20, 1976

75¢

A Victory for International Campaign

Irish Court Rescinds Death Sentence of Murrays

Black Consciousness Leaders

On Trial in South Africa



VORSTER: Cites speeches, poems, and plays as evidence of "subversion."

Peking Reveals Issues in Purge of 'Gang of Four'

CP, SP Help Revive Claim to Japan's Lost Empire

Gloomy Prospects for Argentine Economy

Lungs Sacrificed in 'Compromise' With Polluters

Greek Trotskyist Group Gives Verdict on Healyite Frame-up

Irish Court Rescinds Death Sentences of Murrays

By Gerry Foley

On December 9, after the case had been under consideration for more than a month, a majority of the justices of the Irish Supreme Court voted to set aside the death sentences against Marie and Noel Murray.

Noel Murray's sentence was changed to life imprisonment at hard labor. In his wife's case, a mistrial was declared. She is to be tried again in a Special Criminal Court on the same charge.

This young couple had been sentenced to be hanged. The charge was that while escaping after a bank robbery, one of them shot an off-duty policeman who tried to stop them. Under Irish law, the death penalty is mandatory in the case of murder of police and prison officers, foreign diplomats, and visiting dignitaries. No death sentence has been carried out since 1954.

The government was obviously trying to establish a precedent for introducing the death penalty in political cases. Marie and Noel Murray were described in the press as "anarchists." But it was never made clear what this meant. What was clear was that they were members of no organization.

The Irish Supreme Court's decision to set aside the death sentences represents a major victory for the opposition to escalating repression in the neocolonialist Irish state.

The campaign to save the Murrays won wide international support. In the Netherlands, the Medical Judicial Committee for Political Prisoners, a group of 300 doctors and lawyers, took up the case. Socialist deputies raised questions about it in parliament.

More than 15,000 signatures were gathered on petitions for the Murrays in West Germany. Signers included Professor Ernst Bloch, Heinrich Böll, and Hans Magnus Enzensberger. Forty-three lawyers sent individual letters to the Irish Supreme Court. A resolution in support of

the Murrays was passed by a large meeting of Amnesty International in West Berlin.

French journalists, lawyers, writers, and trade unions sent protests. Three civil liberties organizations sponsored a delegation to Dublin to observe the hearings.

In mid-November, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey toured the United States, making an appeal for the Murrays, at meetings and appearances across the country (see p. 1817). In most large cities, her appeals were extensively reported in the mass media. Prominent civil libertarians and Irish-American groups began to take up the campaign to save the Murrays' lives.

McAliskey has broader credibility than any other Irish political figure. She was able both to take the case of the Murrays beyond Irish-American circles and begin to bring together dispersed and disoriented Irish activists in a campaign to save them. Activity around this case began to grow and to give new life and momentum to the American support movement for the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland.

The Dublin government, which is extremely sensitive to Irish-American opinion, must have seen this mushrooming of the campaign in defense of the Murrays and recognized its potential.

International support for the Murrays reinforced a groundswell of revulsion in Ireland against the attempt to reintroduce political hangings. This developed such momentum that the Labour party itself voted against capital punishment at its recent conference.

The campaign in defense of the Murrays struck the government coalition at a sensitive time.

The coalition's success in ramming through a bill in early September suspending constitutional guarantees in cases claimed to affect national security proved a pyrrhic victory.

Such broad opposition arose that the government was denied the mandate it needed to exercise its new powers with impunity. In fact, the mounting outcry against the new legislation, particularly from the trade-union movement, undermined the government itself.

The coalition includes the historically most proimperialist bourgeois party, Fine Gael, and the Labour party. It was voted into power in 1973 on a platform of peace and social reform. Since then, a severe economic depression has developed, for which the coalition has no answer.

Strains have increased in this bloc

between narrow trade-unionists and ultra-proimperialist business interests, both of which had set their sights on prosperity through cooperation with imperialism. Economically, labor has gotten nothing from the coalition. The special powers legislation tended to bring back memories of Fine Gael as the counterrevolutionary hangmen of the 1922-23 Irish civil war, embarrassing their Labour party allies.

In the fight to get through the latest special powers bill, the coalition obviously felt the ground shaking under its feet. That explains the outburst of the minister of defense on October 18, when he called the president's decision to refer the bill to the Supreme Court a "thundering disgrace." The president's resignation on October 22 was an indication of how isolated the coalition was becoming.

The authorities showed the same nervous irascibility in the face of the opposition building up against capital punishment and hanging the Murrays.

In November, the Department of Justice responded to a protest from a group of German lawyers with an official letter denouncing them for unprofessional behavior and for committing a "stupid impertinence." Such an action was clearly irrational from a political point of view. It could only be another sign that the government was losing its nerve.

The movement that developed around the Murray case tended to repeat the formula that enabled the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement to shatter the stability of the colonialist regime in Northern Ireland and undermine the stability of the neocolonialist regime in Dublin.

The Murray case once again raised an issue of democratic and human rights that could be understood by wide circles outside the traditional Irish anti-imperialist movement. The weight of international public opinion began to turn against the defenders of the status quo in Ireland, the stability of which depends on permanent repression and the denial of democratic rights.

The defense of the Murrays brought together people from a wide spectrum of political views. In particular, it provided an issue on which all the socialist and Irish nationalist groups that oppose imperialist and neocolonialist repression could unite.

At the same time, the successful campaign for the Murrays disproved the idea put forward by some moderates that only "respectable" civil rights work can be effective. That is, in order to be practical, defenders of civil liberties must concede the right of the state to repress those who threaten its order. They must show they are "reasonable." Moreover, civil liberties activity has to be confined to persons and groups regarded as respectable by bourgeois public opinion, as against uniting all who are willing to take a stand on the particular issue.

Schedule

This is a reminder that our last issue of the year will be dated December 27. It will contain our index for 1976. There will be no issue for January 3 or January 10. We will resume our regular weekly schedule with the January 17 issue.

The Murray defense campaign was far from "respectable" at the beginning. The "respectable" civil libertarians would not touch it with a forty-foot pole. The campaign was initiated by small groups of radical young people.

Nonetheless, the defense work developed and prospered, winning broad support, because a key issue was involved. The Dublin government had chosen this case to try to establish a precedent for introducing the death penalty in political cases, which would mark a qualitative escalation in its repressive drive. The relatively small radical groups were the only ones that responded actively to this threat. Larger groups that wanted to wait until what could be considered broad or respectable organizations took up the cause simply abdicated their responsibility.

Once the campaign began to develop, the very aspects of the case that the government apparently thought would help it get a hanging turned into obstacles. The fact that the Murrays did not belong to any political group did not prevent principled organizations from coming to their defense. But it did show that the government had no justification for trying them in a political tribunal without due process of law.

The witch-hunt campaign the government tried to whip up against so-called dangerous political fanatics began to be counteracted by the sickening sight of the state machine's brutality against an isolated young couple, awaiting death shut off from the world and refused permission even to see each other.

How reluctant the government was to retreat on this case can be seen from the contradictory nature of the Supreme Court ruling. An Associated Press dispatch December 9 on the decision probably reflected the attitude of the government when it said that the ruling "postpones a showdown over the death penalty." There is no reason to think the government coalition has accepted defeat on this question.

It made no legal sense to set aside Marie Murray's trial and not Noel's. They were tried together. She was accused of actually firing the shot that killed the off-duty policeman, for which both were sentenced to hang. Furthermore, it made no legal sense to send Marie Murray back to the same kind of tribunal that the Supreme Court itself admitted had proved incapable of giving her a fair trial.

Moreover, if Marie's trial was unfair, then Noel's must have been too.

The campaign in defense of the Murrays should not stop after winning its first victory. It should be continued until justice is won. Full victory in this case can deal a sharp blow to the whole monstrous system of special political courts and to the Dublin government's plans for more repression. It can help to revive the mass movement for democratic rights in Ireland that has been in retreat for four years. □

In This Issue

Closing News Date: December 13, 1976

CHINA	1812	Hua Kuo-feng Reveals Issues in Purge —by Les Evans
BRITAIN	1815	20,000 in London March Against Racism —by Jo O'Brien
SPAIN	1816	Women's Struggles Stir Growing Ferment —by Joanna Rossi
IRELAND	1817	Bernadette Devlin's Appeal for the Murrays
SOUTH AFRICA	1818	Black Consciousness Leaders on Trial —by Ernest Harsch
SOVIET UNION	1819	Mustafa Dzhemilev's Trial —by Lydia Chukovskaya
PUERTO RICO	1821	Trotskyists Analyze Elections —by Judy White
JAPAN	1822	CP, SP Help Revive Claim to Lost Empire —by Hideo Yamamoto
GREECE	1824	Trotskyist Group Gives Its Verdict on Healyite Frame-up
ARGENTINA	1826	Gloomy Prospects for Economy —by D. Marcelo
AUSTRALIA	1829	Let Commission Investigate Charges of Healyite Violence!—by Dave Holmes
ITALY	1836	The Lotta Continua Congress —by Livio Maitan
NEWS ANALYSIS	1810	Irish Court Rescinds Death Penalty of Murrays—by Gerry Foley
CAPITALISM FOULS THINGS UP	1830	Lungs Sacrificed in "Compromise" With Polluters
SELECTIONS FROM THE LEFT	1832	
AROUND THE WORLD	1834	
DOCUMENTS	1839	Interview With Leader of French LCR
DRAWINGS	1809	John Vorster; 1812, Chiang Ch'ing; 1813, Hua Kuo-feng; 1814, Teng Hsiao-p'ing; 1818, James T. Kruger; 1822, Emperor Hirohito; 1828, Jorge Rafael Videla —by Copain

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

Editor: Joseph Hansen.

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

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

Business Manager: Pat Galligan.

Copy Editors: Jon Britton, Sally Rhett.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

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

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

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

Hua Kuo-feng Reveals Issues in Purge

By Les Evans

When Chiang Ch'ing, Mao Tsetung's widow, and three other top leaders of the Chinese Communist party closely associated with the chairman were arrested and denounced in early October, there was no immediate indication of the political issues involved in the purge. The "gang of four" was accused of plotting to "usurp party and state power" and of seeking to "restore capitalism."

Now the Chinese press has launched a massive campaign to expose the "towering crimes" of the four. But instead of focusing on the alleged plot to seize power in October, whose specifics have yet to be revealed, the campaign has turned into a broadside attack on the economic and cultural policies of the Mao regime over the last decade.

Hua Kuo-feng and the veteran party and government bureaucrats who support him have chosen thus far to carry out this turn in the name of "Mao Tsetung Thought." But under this cover the new Chinese leadership is admitting that the "politics in command" line of the Cultural Revolution had brought severe economic setbacks. In its place they are reviving many of the economic slogans associated with Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. These have been long denounced in China and by Maoists throughout the world as the equivalent of "Soviet revisionism" and "capitalism."

The government is also broadly hinting that now that Mao is gone his austerity program will be scrapped and there will be a liberalization in culture and the arts.

Chiang Ch'ing was made deputy head of the all-powerful Cultural Revolution Group in May 1966. Her associates, Yao Wen-yuan, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, and Wang Hung-wen, were Mao's chief lieutenants in purging the "capitalist-roaders," who were accused of putting "production in command."

Veiled Attacks on Mao

Now the veteran administrators, humiliated by Mao, are taking their revenge. They did not dare to act while the old tyrant was alive, but now that he is gone they are "reversing the verdicts."

An article in the Peking *People's Daily*, reprinted by the government news agency Hsinhua on November 10 declared:

They [the four] were busy making intrigues and conspiracies and created splits, allowing only those who bowed before them to survive and casting out those who resisted them. For years, the "gang of four" have committed countless



CHIANG CH'ING

crimes against the party and the people, losing all popular support and becoming extremely isolated. The whole nation celebrates their downfall. [Emphasis added.]

This clearly does not refer to a plot hatched after Mao's death or to acts during the last few months of his illness. Chinese readers will have little difficulty in getting the message that if the dominance of the "gang of four" goes back "for years," the gang must have had a fifth member—the chief protector of the four, Mao Tsetung.

Now that Mao is gone, his successors appear to have arrested not only his widow, but most of his family as well. The list, besides Chiang Ch'ing, includes Politburo member Yao Wen-yuan, who is reportedly Mao's son-in-law; a niece, who was his regular translator and who has now disappeared; and his nephew Mao Yuan-hsin, who is being denounced as the "black hand" of the "gang of four," according to a report in the November 22 *Washington Post*.

Mao's dumping of many long-time officials during the Cultural Revolution, now

criticized as a vindictive act, was not just a personality clash between Mao and his subordinates. It involved policy disputes on a number of questions, above all economic strategy and the handling of dissent among the masses.

China, despite the overturn of capitalist property relations and the nationalization of basic industry, remains a poor and industrially backward nation. It lacks the industrial and cultural base for creating a socialist society, which is possible only on an international scale.

In an economy of general scarcity, the working masses resent the privileged life of the government and party officials and administrators. The bureaucracy, for its part, seeks to hold the masses in check by any means at its disposal while building up "its own" national economic base.

Viewed from the perspectives of world economy, the only long-term solution to the pressing contradiction between China's nationalized economy and its material poverty lies in an extension of the socialist revolution to one or more of the advanced industrial countries. In the interim, the best protection of the gains that have been made would rest on creating institutions of workers democracy in government and the economy.

China's Stalinist rulers have rejected this Marxist alternative. As a result the struggles that have erupted in the CCP leadership over the last decade have focused on two conflicting panaceas for constructing a narrow, nationalistic bureaucratic utopia.

The "two lines" have never been openly debated in China. The regime has vacillated from one to another in response to economic setbacks or resistance from the masses. Whichever "line" is out of favor is denounced, in recent years as "capitalist restorationism."

The first line, identified after 1966 with the name of Liu Shao-ch'i, was imported into China by Soviet economic advisers in 1953. It was in force, with the exception of the 1958-59 period of the Great Leap Forward, until 1966. It stressed "material incentives," rapid industrialization, production efficiency, and reliance on large-scale imports of technology from abroad.

In 1957 the regime was deeply shaken by the outburst of mass criticism in the "Hundred Flowers Bloom" episode, the sluggishness of grain collections from the peasant countryside, and the widening gap between the rising expectations of the city masses and the actual performance of the economy.

Forced March to Economic Disaster

Mao proposed a dramatic shift to a policy of "politics in command." In the name of "moral incentives," this line called for a drastic freezing of the standard of living of the masses to free up funds for investment. It sought to substitute a "voluntary" unpaid labor mobilization for

technology. And it placed top priority on the inculcation of "loyalty" to the regime, even at the cost of setbacks in industrial output. Because this line involved continuous "mass campaigns" and local meetings to denounce "class enemies," many apologists for Maoism have presented this policy as a socialist alternative to the bureaucratic practices of the government of the Soviet Union.

In fact, Mao's mind-over-matter tactics proved to be an economic disaster. The Great Leap Forward ended in an economic reversal in China that was not overcome until 1962. The setback was aggravated by bad weather and the withdrawal of Soviet aid in 1960, but many of the party leaders held Mao's policy largely responsible for the problems. Defense Minister P'eng Tehuai told a party plenum in 1959:

In the view of some comrades, putting politics in command was a substitute for everything. . . . But putting politics in command is no substitute for economic principles, much less for concrete economic measures. [Cited by Stanley Karnow, *Mao and China*, p. 110.]

P'eng was purged for his criticisms, but the Peking leadership today is echoing him almost word for word against Mao's imprisoned lieutenants.

A November 12 Hsinhua dispatch quotes a "veteran steel worker" at the Maanshan Iron and Steel Company in Anhwei province, who criticizes the "gang of four" as follows:

Experience in the struggle has taught us the profound lesson that, by merely raising empty revolutionary slogans without a powerful socialist economic base, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated and the modernization of China's agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology and the lofty goal of communism can never be realized.

A secretary of a workshop party branch is quoted as saying:

. . . The anti-party "gang of four" always tried to sabotage production by hook and by crook. They hurled such serious charges as "practising the theory of productive forces"* and "not

*The so-called theory of productive forces was first announced in China during the Cultural Revolution. It was a criticism not only of Liu Shao-ch'i but of the whole Marxist theory of the priority of objective conditions and material reality. This, it was alleged, led to fatalism, a substitution of "production" for "class struggle," and the preservation—or restoration—of capitalism. Marx, Engels, and Lenin were not criticised by name, but the official texts attributed the theory to Karl Kautsky, Leon Trotsky, the "Soviet revisionists," and Liu Shao-ch'i.

Essentially this view is an antimaterialist and subjectivist outlook, similar to but more crude than the views of subjectivist "Marxists" such as Herbert Marcuse, who hark back to the pre-Marxist utopian socialists.

Mao seems to have developed this notion at the time of the Sino-Soviet split as a means of overcoming—in the mind—the impossible problem of constructing "socialism" solely within the borders of China. One of his most explicit statements of this view appears in his "Reading

placing politics in command" at us. Actually these bourgeois careerists and conspirators were unleashing poisonous arrows of idealism and metaphysics at us with the obvious aim of fooling the masses so that they could usurp party and state power.

The November 14 Peking *People's Daily* generalized these accusations:



HUA KUO-FENG

The "gang of four" advocated metaphysics frantically. With ulterior motives, they opposed revolution to production, politics to economy, class struggle to the struggle for production, and the dictatorship of the proletariat to socialist construction. They were against promoting production and construction. This would not only impede the expansion of production, but inevitably undermine the great cause of the

Notes on the Soviet Union's *Political Economy*," a criticism he wrote in the early 1960s of a Soviet textbook. This was published in China unofficially in 1967 during the Cultural Revolution. There Mao wrote:

"Lenin said: 'The more backward the country, the more difficult the transition from capitalism to socialism.' Now it seems that this way of thinking is incorrect. . . . the more backward the economy, the easier. . . . the transition. . . . In western capitalist countries both the employment rate and the wage standard are relatively high and the bourgeois influence on the working people has been far-reaching. It looks as if it is not that easy to carry out socialist transformation in those countries. . . . The important question is the remoulding of human beings" (cited by Richard Levy, "New Light on Mao," *China Quarterly*, March 1975).

proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to their logic, when the "satellites go up into the sky", the red flag would inevitably "trail in the dust": If the 800 million people want to "make revolution", they should feed themselves only with northwest wind.

Such an appeal for giving economic construction top priority has not been heard in China since the fall of Liu Shao-ch'i a decade ago. The very suggestion of such a thing was grounds for being branded a capitalist agent. In the purge of Teng Hsiao-p'ing last April, for example, a major article in *Peking Review* lumped Teng together with Liu Shao-ch'i on these grounds:

Their vain attempt was to lure the masses and cadres to become engrossed in production and vocational work and forget class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat so that they could restore capitalism with ease. [April 23, 1976.]

The Case of Teng Hsiao-p'ing

Significantly, the criticism of Teng has virtually disappeared from the Chinese press. Since November 10, specific accusations against Teng have been dropped. The "campaign to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing" is now mentioned only to add the accusation that it was distorted by the "gang of four" for their own ends. The November 28 *New York Times* reported that wall posters have appeared in Canton signed by the city's foreign trade department staff, saying, "Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping is a warrior who opposed the gang of four." It was also reported that rumors are widespread that Teng has returned to Peking from a resort near Canton and is in discussion with party leaders.

There is no reliable information on which to base estimates of the personal and political relationships within the secretive inner councils of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. Differences can be judged only from the publicly announced shifts in policy and the denunciations of fallen bureaucrats. Nevertheless there is reason to believe that China's late premier, Chou En-lai, sought a revision of economic policy before Mao's death.

In his "Report on the Work of the Government" delivered to the Fourth National People's Congress on January 13, 1975, Chou declared:

On Chairman Mao's instructions, it was suggested in the report on the work of the government to the Third National People's Congress [held in 1964] that we might envisage the development of our national economy in two stages beginning from the Third Five-Year Plan: The first stage is to build an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system in 15 years, that is before 1980; the second stage is to accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology before the end of the century, so that our national economy will be advancing in the front ranks of the world. [*Peking Review*, January 24, 1975.]

This ambitious proposal, which con-

tained no details of how such rapid industrialization was to be accomplished, has come to be known under the slogan of the "Four Modernizations." This placing of economic construction as a high priority was noted at the time as a departure from the line of the Cultural Revolution. The "instructions" cited by Chou dated from 1964, from the period since denounced as under the revisionist sway of Liu Shao-ch'i. Mao did not attend the 1975 congress.

In the months following the congress, with Chou in a hospital dying of cancer, the "Four Modernizations" came under attack. They were ultimately identified with Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who had been rehabilitated by Chou after ten years in disgrace as Liu Shao-ch'i's chief lieutenant.

There is some evidence that Teng's downfall was precipitated by his raising sharp criticisms of Mao's economic strategy and calling attention—in the inner-circle—to the perilous state of the economy. A week before Teng was dismissed, wall posters were put up in Peking attacking him for his comments on the economy and recounting statements attributed to him. These quotations were supposed to be self-evident condemnations of his position. They included statements such as:

Throughout the country, in some counties and some districts, grain production is still not up to the level of the early days after liberation [1949]. This is an extraordinary situation and it's worth our while to watch closely. At present, in the rural areas, the economics of 15 per cent of the socialist collectives have collapsed and in some counties this goes up to around 20 per cent. [Translation from photographs of the wall posters, *Toronto Globe and Mail*, March 29, 1976.]

Now we have these people coming around and criticizing the study of [scientific and technological] theory even in scientific academies. We are making transistors but in Japan they take 2,000 transistors and replace them with only one [an integrated circuit]. This shows that our theoretical work leaves something to be desired. . . . At present scientific and technical experts don't even read books. How can we catch up to advanced world levels this way? [Ibid.]

There's nothing to be afraid of in being a little bit of a white expert [as opposed to a "red revolutionary"]. It deserves praise. . . . Everybody is afraid of following the white expert road. The young ones are afraid and the old ones are even more afraid. Thus our technology is backward. [Ibid.]

At present in our Party there's a very peculiar situation. Many comrades are afraid of this and afraid of that; the only thing they are not afraid of is that economic development will not be done well. I hope that everybody can follow the spirit of the Fourth National People's Congress and modernize this country within this century. [Ibid.]

Teng's dismissal for these heresies was attributed to no less than Mao himself. The Chinese press emphatically denied Teng's allegations and advanced the claim that not only was the economy prospering but that criticizing Teng improved produc-

tion. An article in the May 7, 1976, *Peking Review* declared:

The excellent situation in industry, communications and transport shows that the proletarian dictatorship is more consolidated than ever in



TENG Hsiao-P'ING

China, and that favourable political conditions have been created for further developing socialist production.

The criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the anti-Right deviationist struggle are powerful motive forces in promoting the development of production.

Today, however, the government has admitted that the situation has not been "excellent." In fact, it has been much as Teng Hsiao-p'ing described it. And more "criticism" campaigns are not likely to provide any solution.

The November 22 *Liberation Army Daily* reported that workers "are striving to make up for the losses in time and material wealth caused by interference and sabotage by the 'gang of four.'"

Provincial radio broadcasts picked up by Western reporters give more details of the slowdown than the Chinese press. A broadcast from Kwangtung Province, reported in the November 3 *New York Times*, announced a provincial growth rate of only 4.4 percent this year; the national average was reported at 7 percent. The average increase for the decade 1964-74 was reported by Chou En-lai to be 10 percent a year.

In part, of course, the four are being falsely blamed for China's mounting labor discontent. Wang Hung-wen, for example, is now accused of fomenting the massive Hangchow strikes that took place in the summer of 1975. The November 22 *New York Times* reports a broadcast from Kiangsi Province blaming the four for worker disputes there that closed a major

tractor factory for ten months this year.

On November 21, broadcasts from the coastal province of Fukien reported the most serious disturbances to date, announcing that the People's Liberation Army had gone to the assistance of local authorities:

. . . the party committee of the People's Liberation Army units on the Fukien front has organized large numbers of commanders and fighters into propaganda and mass work teams and dispatched them to various cities, rural villages, factories, mines, government offices, schools and neighborhoods of our province to vigorously support local work and enthusiastically propagate the instructions of the party central committee.

In October there were reports of armed clashes between local authorities in Fukien and unnamed persons.

As in the Cultural Revolution, as the authority of the central government declines it falls back more and more on the military as a bulwark of its rule. The new mayor of Shanghai, appointed by the center, is Su Ch'en-hua, head commissar of the navy.

Hua Kuo-feng has not limited his reorganization to the effort to get the economy running and to restore "law and order." His government is plagued with a crisis of legitimacy and a revolution of rising expectations among the Chinese masses.

People expect an improvement in their living standards after the long wage freeze under Mao. Now that Mao is gone they are impatient to see immediate improvements. Visitors to Chinese cities report a buying spree in expectation of wage raises and a renewal of material incentives.

So far, the government has made no genuine concessions, but it has broadly hinted that these are coming soon. A November 4 Hsinhua dispatch promised the long-suffering peasantry a "general advance along the road of common prosperity."

The most concrete promises have been for a relaxation in the field of literature and art. The Chinese press is now paraphrasing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's sarcastic comment that the cultural policy of recent years has been to "let a single flower bloom."

A November 5 Hsinhua dispatch made a wholesale attack on the government's policy on literature and art, which has been under Chiang Ch'ing's direction for the last decade:

They [Chiang Ch'ing, et al.] practised an unscrupulous sectarianism in literary and art circles, developed a coterie that ganged up to advance their own interests so that literary and art circles would become their "gang-dominated domain". . . .

They trumped up charges against a great number of revolutionary literary and art workers and persecuted them and suppressed a great number of good or fairly good artistic works, including [the film] "Pioneers", which were created at great effort by artists trying to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art. . . .

This doesn't sound at all like the odes to China's "art that serves the workers" we have heard so much of from Western Maoists in the last few years.

But no matter how bad things have been up until now, the author promises a change for the better in the future:

We must fight to usher in the bright springtime in which a hundred flowers of socialist literature and art blossom together.

This slogan, which has been rarely heard in recent years, is plainly intended to assure the Chinese people that a liberalization is in the offing now that the Mao-Chiang Ch'ing stranglehold is broken. We may have a glimpse of how far Hua is willing to go, however, in a report on "Northwest China peasant painters" issued by Hsinhua a few days later, on November 8. The blossoming Hua is prepared to encourage can be gauged from the new artworks on display in Sian. These include murals with titles such as "Down With the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao Anti-Party Clique" and "The Ferreting Out of the 'Gang of Four' Is Much to the Satisfaction of the People."

In junking the economic strategy of the Cultural Revolution, Hua leaves Maoist "theory" in a shambles. He has cut the ground out from under the principal Maoist theoretical justification for internal repression: that debate over economic policies contains the imminent threat of capitalist restoration, or that Liu Shao-ch'i's policies in particular were capitalist. By extension, this strips of all credibility the Maoist claim that the Soviet Union is a "capitalist" state.

Tightly Fitting Stalinist Straitjacket

Hua has more immediate concerns at the moment. Within the narrow options of "socialism in one country" he is trying to restore technical professionalism to China's blighted economy and to revive workers' enthusiasm with the carrot of material incentives. This approach gives more place to material reality than Mao's voluntaristic forced march. But it remains a mere technical shift within the Stalinist straitjacket. In rejecting support to the world revolution and the perspective of an international socialist economy, the Chinese bureaucracy turns inevitably toward aid from and dependence upon imperialism, at the price of an alliance against the world revolution.

In this area as in others, Hua has announced a change in policy following Mao's death. Mao, rejecting the very idea that productive forces are the necessary basis for the construction of a planned economy, proclaimed a xenophobic policy of "self-reliance." He sought aid and trade from imperialism, but feared going into debt to foreign creditors or becoming economically dependent on foreign suppliers. Hua is apparently less worried about this. A *People's Daily* article reported by

Hsinhua in a November 22 dispatch took on the "gang of four" (read: Mao Tsetung) for confusing "self-reliance" with a "closed door" policy."

The four are said to have "slandered the efforts to introduce some necessary advanced technologies and equipment from abroad in a planned way on the basis of self-reliance as the 'slavish comprador' philosophy and 'trailing behind at a snail's pace' and as advocates of the 'Westernization movement.' . . .

"Enterprises which import foreign equipment also keep to the principle of independence and self-reliance."

More concrete is a report by Christopher H. Phillips, president of the National Council for U.S.-China Trade, following lengthy meetings with Peking's foreign trade minister, Li Ch'iang, shortly after the purge. Li "indicated that China is interested in buying fully constructed American plants, machinery, technical information, lumber products and possibly cotton," according to a report in the

October 27 *Washington Post*.

When Hua announces that self-reliance is not a "closed door" policy he cannot be unaware of the significance of this slogan in China's history. It was under the call for an "open door" that American imperialism sought to carve up China in the nineteenth century and to lay its claim to a share of the vast Chinese market.

When Hua says that he is against a "closed door" he is not redefining "self-reliance" but making a bid to American imperialism. Peking has shown that it is willing to pay a high price for the privilege of being allowed to open its doors to American aid and trade. That is the main point of its endorsement of NATO and of Japanese rearmament and of American client dictatorships throughout the world.

This line is not only counterrevolutionary outside of China. It is a pipedream to believe that the capitalist masters of Washington will offer enough aid to solve China's economic problems no matter what Peking promises in return. □

First Major Action by Labour

20,000 in London March Against Racism

By Jo O'Brien

LONDON—Twenty thousand persons demonstrated against racism here November 21. The action was organized by the Labour party and Trades Union Congress (TUC). Speakers at the rally that followed included Michael Foot, deputy leader of the Labour government, Len Murray, general secretary of the TUC, and Merlyn Rees, the home secretary.

Participating in the demonstration were large contingents from some 120 Labour party constituencies, 30 major trades unions, and organisations of the Black and immigrant communities.

The banner at the front of the march read, "United against racism." A contingent of several hundred members of the National Union of Miners carried a placard stating, "We miners are black most of the time."

The demonstration was the first major mobilisation of the Labour movement over the question of racism. It reflects a growing conflict between the Labour government and its own supporters because of the government's increasing attacks on the immigrant community.

The government's latest move in this direction is the pending Nationality Bill. Its meaning was spelled out in March by Alex Lyon, then minister of state at the Home Office, when he said, "Within the next year or so we shall define a British citizen for the first time. A British citizen

will have free rights of entry. Anyone else, whether a Commonwealth citizen or an alien, will have to subscribe to the immigration rules, which will have to be re-defined so that they accord with our needs for labour and recognise family relationships."

This legislation is intended to restrict further the possibility of immigrants coming from countries that were previously colonies of Britain. It is also aimed at making it difficult or impossible for immigrant workers to be reunited with their relatives by having them join them in this country. The Labour government is interested in a cheap labour force but has no intention of receiving the young or the old who may become dependents on the state.

The increasing cruelty in the treatment of Black immigrants was made clear in the case of the Asian woman Zaharia Galiara. She recently arrived at London's Heathrow airport to join her husband who was working in England. She was pregnant and went into labour while being detained by immigration authorities. Because she was a "dependent" the authorities decided to deport her. They ignored the fact that she was in labour and gave her no assistance until the child was actually being born. As a consequence, her child died at birth in the airport. □

Women's Struggles Stir Growing Ferment in Spain

By Joanna Rossi

MADRID—An audience of 150, ranging in age from young children to older women and men, came December 1 to hear a talk by Linda Jenness, an American feminist and leading member of the Socialist Workers party, who is currently on a three-week speaking tour of Spain.

It was the first neighborhood meeting authorities had allowed. An earlier meeting had been banned (see box).

A representative of the community center explained that the evening's topic was to be "The Women's Liberation Movement in the U.S." Nothing else, he explained, apparently in a reference both to socialism and to Spain-related topics, had been permitted.

Jenness, informed of this only minutes before the meeting began, hastily made some changes in her original talk on "Feminism and Socialism." Nevertheless she ended by explaining that as a revolutionary socialist she believed that only a socialist revolution would lay the basis for the complete liberation of women. "In the United States, I mean," she added with a smile. The audience rocked with laughter.

Despite the presence of several policemen who were there to ensure the meeting did not stray from the permitted topic, the evening was the liveliest so far on the tour.

In the discussion following the talk, questions were asked on abortion rights, the hypocritical morality of the Catholic church hierarchy, and whether women are biologically inferior to men. One older woman, who disdained to adhere to the strictures on the meeting, voiced her anger at the position of women in Spain. She then asked about the rights of single mothers in the United States, touching on a topic that is being discussed in Spain today.

"Don't get me wrong," she said. "I'm not one of them." Then after a moment she added, "Maybe it's because I never had a chance."

An older man presented his opinion that women were inferior to men. He spoke about "men's superior strength" and "the problems women have because of their different hormones." Several young women in the audience burst into spirited rebuttal. They were typical of women Jenness has met everywhere on her tour, impatient with backward prejudices and reactionary laws, new adherents to the vigorous and growing Spanish women's liberation movement.

Madrid Meeting Banned



LINDA JENNESS

Huge posters have appeared on billboards all over Spain exhorting people to vote in the December 15 referendum, which is supposedly being held to move the country toward real democracy.

One reads: "Together we can build democracy. Let's vote December 15." The most eloquent is the one that says: "Speak, people. Put a stop to the demagogy. Vote December 15."

That Spain is not a democracy, and that demagogy abounds, is more than evident here today. Members of political parties opposed to the fraudulent referendum have been jailed for urging a boycott, and public meetings, which must have official governmental permission to be held, are frequently banned.

Such was the case with the first meeting scheduled to be addressed by Linda Jenness in a working-class neighborhood of Madrid on December 1. People arriving to hear her speech on socialism and women's liberation encountered a detachment of Civil Guards at the entrance to the meeting hall and quickly melted back into the side streets.

According to the letter from the Civil Government of Madrid sent to the Cultural Center where the meeting was to be held, the gathering was prohibited because it "could give rise to actions regarded as crimes under the Penal Code."

The day before, Jenness met with leaders of four of the main women's liberation organizations in Madrid at a round-table discussion held in the offices of a prominent Madrid feminist lawyer.

Discussion centered at first on adultery and divorce, two of the central issues which have emerged to date in the Spanish feminist movement. One of the women present pointed out that the feminist movement is also raising the broader demand of amnesty for women in jail for any so-called female crimes, such as adultery, abortion, or home abandonment. This last "crime" refers to women who leave their home without the permission or consent of their husband, or their father if they are under the legal age.

What followed was a lively interchange on the questions under debate in the Spanish and international feminist movements.

One leader of the Women's Liberation Front expressed the opinion that capitalist society can satisfy the immediate demands

women are raising. "I think it can grant equal salary, free education, child care, free abortions. I think it can accommodate demands around the family."

She said the women's movement should not concentrate too much on fighting for such reforms, but should advance demands that capitalism could not grant. Other women disagreed.

"I think the capitalist system can grant some reforms here and there," Jenness said. "For example, legal abortion in the United States. Some child-care centers exist and other things. But capitalism cannot grant, cannot guarantee, all the demands women are raising, and certainly not their complete liberty. I believe that capitalism cannot exist without the present family structure and the economic oppression of women."

"These reforms we win," she went on, "are not a gain for the capitalists and their system. They are a gain for women, for our freedom, for our struggle. The fight of women for their immediate demands, such

as child-care centers, equal pay, and abortion and divorce rights, is essential to the women's liberation movement and to the entire working class." Many women nodded in agreement.

Jenness also took issue with a leader of the Feminist Collective, who expressed the opinion that a feminist revolution will be sufficient to eliminate women's oppression.

"We must not forget that women are not the only ones oppressed or exploited under this society," Jenness said. She pointed to Blacks and Chicanos in the United States and spoke also of the exploitation of the working class, both male and female, under capitalism.

"We need two things," she said. "An independent women's movement, led by women, organized around our own demands, and forging alliances with other oppressed sectors. We also need a revolutionary party with a conscious leadership that can help direct all the struggles toward a successful socialist revolution."

A representative from the Democratic Women's Association started from another point of view. She believed that women should fight primarily as part of the struggle for democratic rights. "Only after we have achieved a democracy in Spain," she said, "can women fight for their particular needs." Jenness disagreed strongly.

"Women should wait for nothing. They should organize and fight right now. In doing so we of course participate in other, wider struggles." Some women agreed, others did not.

"But," Jenness pointed out, "this exchange of ideas is important. We should discuss all of our differences in an atmosphere of democracy and respect. And the crucial thing is to unite around all the demands—and there are many—that we can agree on." On this there was agreement.

These and related questions were taken up in the talk Jenness gave later that evening to 500 persons at the University of Madrid. On the speaker's platform with her were members of the Liga Comunista (Communist League) and the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Communist League), sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International, which are cosponsoring Jenness's tour.

While in Madrid Jenness has had many interviews with the Spanish press, including a long article published in *El País*, the leading Madrid daily. Her visit was announced on national television.

Earlier stops on the tour included Barcelona and Valencia. (For a report on meetings in Barcelona, see *Intercontinental Press*, December 13, p. 1784.) In Valencia she spoke to two university meetings, one of 700, the other, 200.

From Madrid Jenness goes on to Seville in the south, and to Zaragoza, Pamplona, and Bilbao in the north. □

The Case of Marie and Noel Murray

Appeal by Bernadette Devlin McAliskey

[Irish nationalist leader Bernadette Devlin McAliskey toured the United States in November, seeking to publicize the case of Noel and Marie Murray. The following remarks were made November 20 before an audience of 600 persons at Barnard College in New York.]

* * *

Two young people, Marie and Noel Murray, stand as the first two people in over twenty years to be convicted and sentenced to be hanged [in the Republic of Ireland]. The background to their conviction gives rise to such concern as to the direction in which the south of Ireland is moving that even newspapers like the *Irish Times* and *Hibernia*, leading papers in Ireland, but not known for their radical or subversive intent, have expressed real doubts as to developments within the past few years in the south of Ireland.

Marie and Noel Murray were arrested in their own home, interrogated for seven days, and denied access to a lawyer, or indeed to anybody outside of the police station at which they were interrogated.

After seven days the police emerged with a confession signed by Marie and Noel Murray, saying that they were guilty of bank robbery and the murder of a police officer. They were taken to a special criminal court.

The special criminal court is an arbitrary political court. It is a court where a person is tried by three judges and no jury. And the basis which determines whether or not you will be tried before this court is essentially the word of a police officer. If the police officer who arrests you says that you're a political person and that whatever crime you committed was committed as a political offense, then you'll be tried before the political court.

Marie and Noel Murray were not members of any organization, but they had expressed and were said to have personal political positions as anarchists. And it was on that basis, although they were members of no organization, that they were hauled before the special criminal court.

Not only were they tried in the absence of a jury, and on the sole evidence of confessions they claimed were extracted under torture, but they were tried in their own absence. The whole trial was such a farce that on conviction, when they were refused the right of appeal, their lawyer attempted to preserve what was left of his own integrity, to remove himself from the whole farcical trial. Not only did the judge refuse every democratic right of appeal to

the defense, but he refused the right of the lawyer to withdraw from the case.

The whole presentation of the trial, and even its more bizarre elements, where they didn't allow the lawyer to withdraw from the case, were indicative of the government's determination to hang the Murrays.

The reason they want to hang the Murrays is not that they have got anything personal against Marie and Noel Murray; it is quite brutally and starkly that the Murrays are the easiest people to hang. They are the easiest people to get away with hanging first. And having hanged the Murrays and reestablished the death penalty, it will be that much easier to hang the second person, and that much easier again to hang the third.

There are, of course, a number of recent happenings in Ireland, such as the killing of the British ambassador, that carry the death penalty and that will provide the police in the Irish Republic with a hanging in a very short time. If they get away with hanging the Murrays, they will pick someone else up and beat a confession out of them for the killing of the British ambassador, and they will hang them too.

So it is not simply a humanitarian question of the lives of the two people concerned. If we cannot mobilize sufficient opinion both inside and outside Ireland to prevent the Murrays from hanging, they are going to be the first of a very, very long list of people to hang in very, very rapid succession. And we will return most likely to a situation that we had before in Ireland.

As it is today, you can be imprisoned on the word of a police officer for being a member of a "subversive" organization—the word of a policeman is sufficient evidence to put you in prison for being a member of an illegal organization. But we can rapidly return to a position where you can be executed on the word of a police officer for being a member of an illegal organization. □

New Arrests in Bangladesh

More than 100 persons were arrested in Bangladesh during the first week in December, following the formal assumption of power by General Ziaur Rahman. Rahman, who has been de facto head of the government since November 1975, took the title of chief martial law administrator. His first move was to arrest eleven leading politicians, including former president Khandaker Moshtaque Ahmed.

Black Consciousness Leaders on Trial in South Africa

By Ernest Harsch

During the past two years—and particularly since the massive Black protests that began in mid-June—the racist white minority regime in South Africa has arrested hundreds of leaders and members of organizations that subscribe to the views of the nationalist current known as the Black Consciousness movement.

In addition to trying some of the leaders of these groups on various charges of "terrorism" and "conspiracy," the apartheid regime has also placed the very ideas of the Black Consciousness movement on trial.

The main political case now before the South African courts is that of nine leaders of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC). Originally known as the trial of the SASO Nine, it is now also referred to as the "Trial of Black Consciousness."

The nine defendants are Sathasivan "Saths" Cooper, Muntu Myeza, Mosiuoa Lekota, Aubrey Mokoape, Nkwenke Nkomo, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, Kaunda Sedibe, Zitulele Cindi, and Strinivasa Moodley.

All nine have been in jail for more than two years. They were arrested during a witch-hunt that was launched after 4,000 to 5,000 Blacks demonstrated in Durban September 25, 1974, in solidarity with the independence struggle in Mozambique.

Notably, none of the charges against the defendants under the broad provisions of the Terrorism Act relate to any actions against the regime. Instead, the nine are being tried for their political beliefs. The documentary "evidence" and exhibits in the trial run to more than 1,000 pages of speeches, poems, plays, resolutions, and other writings produced by the Black Consciousness movement over a period of several years.

Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons James T. Kruger may have had the advocates of Black Consciousness in mind when he referred to Pretoria's war against "terrorism of the spirit" in March 1975.

Under the Terrorism Act, the defendants are required to prove that their writings and speeches are not likely to "embarrass the administration of the affairs of State," "promote general dislocation, disturbance or disorder," "cause substantial financial loss to any person or the State," "cause further feelings of hostility between White and other inhabitants of the Republic," or "hamper, or deter any person from assisting in the maintenance of law and order." If they cannot prove to the satisfaction of



JUSTICE MINISTER KRUGER: Leads drive against "terrorism of the spirit."

the judge (there are no jury trials in South Africa) that these results are unlikely, they will be presumed guilty.

The main charge against the nine is that they conspired to "transform the State by unconstitutional, revolutionary and/or violent means." The prosecution also charges that the BPC cooperated and maintained communication with foreign-based organizations and individuals for that purpose.

Justice Boshoff, the judge hearing the case, said in April, "As I see it, the whole trial turns on whether BPC used Black consciousness to prepare the masses for violence."

These frame-up charges are only part of a broader smear campaign being carried out by the Vorster regime in an attempt to brand the Black Consciousness movement as violent, foreign-inspired, and "Communist."

In an earlier trial, the regime charged that the BPC was a "logical continuation" of the outlawed African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress. In addition, a report by the government-appointed Schibusch Commission tried to deny the indigenous character of the Black Consciousness movement.

According to *Black Review* 1974/75,* the report "starts off by pointing out the similarities in the enunciation of Black Consciousness by exponents like Steve Biko and Barney Pityana on the one hand and exponents of Black Power [in the United States] like Stokely Carmichael on the other. . . . Beyond this the Commission noted that Carmichael had an openly expressed admiration for the Chinese version of Communism. . . ."

The nine defendants in the trial have stood up to the frame-up charges and defended their right to their political views.

Zitulele Cindi told the judge, "We are charged with plotting violent revolution but it is we who have been the victims of institutionalised violence. . . . If building schools and dams throughout the country, and trying to instill a feeling of self reliance among Black people is terrorism, then I must plead guilty, but I do not believe it is terrorism."

During his five days of testimony in June, Muntu Myeza stated that the Vorster regime's passing of repressive legislation and the stepped-up war budget showed that it was "frantic, desperate and confused." He also asserted, "We insist there must be change."

Pandelani Nefolovhodwe declared, "For 300 years Whites could not solve the problems of South Africa. Blacks must now take it upon themselves to facilitate change in the country." He explained that the regime's policy of setting up African reserves, called Bantustans, was regarded as a "fraud" by the Black community and that the Bantustan heads were "atrocious opportunists" who had the "audacity and arrogance" to claim that they were true Black leaders.

Nkwenke Nkomo lashed out at the Bantustan officials as "traitors" to Blacks because they are part of a "puppet structure" manipulated by the white minority regime. He said that the BPC rejected every form of Black "representation" established by Pretoria.

Denouncing the apartheid regime's program of inferior "Bantu education" for Blacks, Nkomo said that "Blacks must be in a position to decide for themselves what education they want for themselves and their children." He also explained the policy of the SASO and BPC of excluding whites from membership: "It is impossible

*Edited by Thoko Mbanjwa (Durban: Black Community Programmes, 1975), pp. 131-132.

for us Blacks to sit around and plan our strategy of liberation with Whites. When we have closed our ranks, then we can talk to Whites, because Whites created divisions among us."

Steve Biko, a founder of the SASO and one of the leading proponents of Black Consciousness, appeared as a witness for the defense. The Christian Institute of Southern Africa was not permitted to quote Biko's testimony in a September 20 report on the trial, but it reported that "he gave an outstanding reflection of Black Consciousness, its principles and aims."

Another witness for the defense was Adam Small, a well-known Black poet and philosopher and a former lecturer at the University of the Western Cape. According to the Christian Institute report, "Mr. Small attacked the Government created institutions such as the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, the Indian Council and Homeland Governments stating that they had been established without Black approval and that there was 'no way at all' that Blacks could improve their lot through existing South African political institutions and that a man without a political voice in his own country was not a citizen of that country."

If the defendants are found guilty of the charges under the Terrorism Act, they face a mandatory minimum sentence of five years in prison. The maximum sentence could be death. □

Corrections

Owing to a technical error, a line of type was inadvertently dropped from the News Analysis section of last week's *IP*. The third paragraph of the United Secretariat resolution on Zimbabwe should have read as follows:

"U.S. and British imperialism and the Vorster apartheid regime require more flexibility from the Smith regime to enable them to remove the Rhodesian question as a source of instability and radicalization in the whole southern African subcontinent. They are united in wanting a negotiated settlement to ease the transition to a neocolonialist setup in Zimbabwe. This is also essential for Vorster's policy of détente and his plans for consolidating the inhuman apartheid system."

An error crept into the article "Miguel Antonio Bernal Denounces Pentagon's Grip on Panama" in our December 6 issue. We reported that Dr. Bernal had spoken at "a meeting of Chilean refugees" in California. However, a reader in San José has written to inform us that the event in question was actually a public community meeting, attended by some Chilean refugees.

Mustafa Dzhemilev's Trial

The Face of Inhumanity

By Lydia Chukovskaya

[The author of this article was expelled from the Soviet Writers Union in 1974 because of her support to persecuted dissenters. She has often focused her fire on the petty functionaries who enforce the decisions of the ruling caste, especially those in the publishing houses and newspapers who deliberately transmit lies to the Soviet people.

[She also denounced these methods in Stalin's time. A manuscript she wrote in 1939-40 condemning Stalin's terror was refused publication in 1964 because the Kremlin had decided enough exposés of the Stalin era had been printed. This manuscript is available abroad in English under the title *The Deserted House* (New York: Dutton, 1967).

[This article was printed in issue No. 40 (May 20, 1976) of the Russian-language samizdat journal *A Chronicle of Current Events*. It describes the cynical methods utilized by the Stalinist bureaucrats to sentence Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev to a new term of imprisonment, his fourth; this time to two and one-half years forced labor.

[The translation is by Marilyn Vogt.]

On April 14, 1976, Mustafa Dzhemilev was tried in the city of Omsk.

Why in Omsk? Because Mustafa was serving his last term in a camp not far from Omsk. That is one reason. Another is that Omsk is a city offering many conveniences for conducting a trial. There, far from the eyes of correspondents,¹ it is much easier to select who will enter the courtroom and who will be forced to remain outside.

A similar screening process takes place in all cities in our country, even in Moscow. But in Moscow, there is no way of protecting yourself against someone creating an uproar. Omsk is quite another matter. Who, there, cares about the Tatar Mustafa Dzhemilev? He is as alien to the local inhabitants as a cypress tree is to the pine forests surrounding Omsk.

But they did not succeed in staging a totally noiseless and closed trial for Dzhemilev, even in Omsk. Dzhemilev has not spent a quarter of his life (eight of his thirty-three years!) in prisons and camps to no avail. His trial was postponed three times, and three times his relatives and friends flew thousands of kilometers to Omsk. They came a fourth time, from Uzbekistan and from Ukraine, and two persons came from Moscow.

1. Omsk is closed to foreigners.

There were sixteen persons in all. But there was no room for them in the courtroom.

At first, none of them were admitted; later, only the closest relatives. But even they were not allowed in for the entire trial.

Think about it yourself: What good are the relatives and friends of the accused? This is not the kind of public that the court needs. Go away, citizens; don't hinder the work! The courtroom is not made of elastic. You didn't reserve enough places for all these people! See for yourselves how many people there are! (It is not just any sort of trial that we allow in our country; a trial must be open and public. How could the public be excluded? We observe the law. Our own, special, and selected public was admitted into the courtroom well in advance, through the back door.)

There are visitors? They will sit outside the door. The mother is here? Well, the mother, very likely, will be admitted, of course. She is, after all, the mother; and we, after all, are humanists. How could the mother not be allowed inside? Can you imagine! When it is necessary, we let people in; and when necessary, we show people out. Of course, the brothers and sister will be admitted. The others—outside. But if they get obstinate—they have bruises and a trip to the police station in store for them. They are keeping the court from doing its work. The public admitted in advance will twist their arms and drag them through the corridor. They are skilled at this, professionals. This is a routine matter for them.

Why am I writing about Mustafa Dzhemilev's trial? Am I hoping to help him? No. But the features of inhumanity at his trial were so obvious that it would be an egregious mistake to let them pass unnoticed.

I will begin with the end. It is the sacred right of every defendant, no matter whom, to make a final plea—to appeal for the last time to the hearts and minds of the people, to their sense of justice, duty, and honor. A defendant's right to a final plea, be it long or short, is guaranteed by law in all countries of the world. And it is guaranteed by Soviet law. On the books, that is. In reality, however, a defendant rarely receives a chance to complete this plea, particularly in cases where the defendants are concerned not with refuting the intricate slanders but with substantiating in this final plea the essence of their thinking—the ultimate reason for their actions.

The judge did not let Mustafa Dzhemilev deliver this final plea, although to cut Mustafa off was not only a violation of the law but a crime against humanity.

Dzhemilev stood before the court after a ten-month hunger strike. "Stood" is not quite the appropriate word; he did not have the strength to stand up. To answer the questions of the judge, prosecutor, and the defense lawyer, he somehow rose from the defendant's bench; escorting guards supported him on both sides. But still more difficult than standing was speaking. He moved his lips and murmured. Every word was torture, because for ten months, so that he would not starve to death, he was force-fed through a tube; and a tube inserted every day into one's throat could not but scratch the larynx. In addition, Mustafa was seriously ill: he suffers from a heart disease, a stomach ailment, and atrophy of the liver.

And the judge had atrophy of the human feelings. He is full, and does not comprehend a person who is hungry; he is healthy, with no understanding of someone who is sick. He is a judge whose magistrate's chair has all four legs firmly planted on KGB scaffolding. He is inhuman, capable of calmly cutting off the final plea of a defendant, knowing that this statement may perhaps be virtually the last statement Mustafa may ever make.

"Let him speak!" Mustafa's brother pleaded.

The judge removed him from the courtroom, as he had removed Mustafa's sister, for "disturbing the order."

The order!

When, at last, in the Soviet Union will there be violations of the order that allows the authorities to shut the mouth of someone who is speaking!

The constitution of the USSR guarantees citizens freedom of speech. Laws also guarantee this. But two formulas, of boundless emptiness and capacity—"anti-Soviet propaganda," and "anti-Soviet slander"—guarantee the annihilation of this freedom, and of the individual at the same time, regardless of whether that individual is telling the truth or a lie. That person is making public something that the authorities are concealing; silence him.

"People talk about what ails them." So, for example, Crimea is a painful matter for Mustafa Dzhemilev and he talks about it. The Tatars were forcibly and shamelessly deported from Crimea in 1944, and they want to return to this land that they cultivated and loved. Why, amongst the peaceful words of Dzhemilev, must we continually detect "anti-Soviet propaganda," rather than a completely natural call for an open discussion by all the people of this festering and burning problem?

Why is it necessary to continuously drive the pain deeper and the man into the grave? Why, generally, is every functional thought, born with bitter pain, an anti-Sovietism? The concept "anti-Soviet" is as



Times of London

MUSTAFA DZHEMILEV

vague as it is all encompassing. It is in truth an insatiable glutton devouring people's fates and thoughts, hundreds and thousands of fates—silently, utterly, in vain.

Now, in addition to Dzhemilev's fate, the fate of still another concerns me, a person who was involved in Mustafa's trial. His name: Dvoryansky. His age: twenty-six. The entire case hinged on him—on his testimony.

Dvoryansky was also a prisoner in the camp, but I do not even know if he was a common criminal or a political prisoner.² His past, prior to the camp, is not known to me; but what may be in his future makes one's hair stand on end.

Dzhemilev was tried for "anti-Soviet propaganda," which he allegedly continued to carry out while serving his term of confinement not far from Omsk.

Who heard him say the unlawful words? Dvoryansky. The new investigation of Dzhemilev, who was about to finish his previous term, was begun three days before his scheduled release. The gates of the camp were almost open before you, but it was in vain that you courted the hours. You will not see freedom. A new case has been launched against you.

To protest against this calculated, refined betrayal, Dzhemilev declared a hunger strike.

It did not help. He was force fed through

2. Dvoryansky had been sentenced to a ten-year term in 1973 for killing in a fight someone who had insulted his sister.

a tube and on April 14, half-dead, he was brought to trial.

And then a miracle happened; there is no better word to describe it: The witness, Dvoryansky—the very person on whose testimony the entire new trial was based—straightened himself up to his full size and in a full human voice declared to the court that the testimony he had given against Dzhemilev during the investigation was a lie (in surely the same way that a person emerges from hiding to face bullets). Dvoryansky stated that he gave the false testimony under pressure. Promises, punishment cells, and threats had been applied. He resisted. He was hauled off to the punishment cell five times.

"Give testimony against Dzhemilev and we will transfer you closer to home and shorten your sentence. Don't give it and things will be worse for both you and your family, and you will have only yourself to blame."

So he lied about Dzhemilev. But now he states that he never heard Dzhemilev say anything to defame the Soviet system.

I do not know who Dvoryansky was earlier, but in court he conducted himself like a human being. A heroic human being. But can the same be said for the judge?

I am not an expert on judicial matters but even without an education in law, on the basis of simple common sense, I know—firmly and precisely—what a judge is obliged to do in a case like this.

Immediately free Dzhemilev. After all, any charges have collapsed.

Immediately institute criminal proceedings against the investigator who extorted false testimony from Dvoryansky.

But such would have occurred where the court was to decide a case on the basis of truth and law. Then Dvoryansky's statement would have changed everything. But the judge made his decision on the basis of injustice and illegality and mainly upon an order issued beforehand from above.

Have I seen this order? No, I have not. No one ever sees such an order. We only experience the results.

The court has sentenced Mustafa Dzhemilev to two and one-half years in a strict-regime corrective labor camp for anti-Soviet propaganda. Two and one-half years plus three days—the three days remaining from his previous sentence, which he had not finished serving.

The court also delivered a "special decision": to initiate criminal charges against . . . Whom? You presume against the investigator who extorted false testimony from Dvoryansky?

No. Against Dvoryansky.

Why?

For giving false testimony.

Which testimony? That which he gave in camp?

No. That which he gave in court.

There you have it: The face of inhumanity.

April 23, 1976

Moscow

Puerto Rican Trotskyists Analyze Elections

By Judy White

Carlos Romero Barceló of the Partido Nuevo Progresista (PNP—New Progressive party) was elected governor of Puerto Rico November 2, ousting Rafael Hernández Colón of the Partido Popular Democrático (PPD—Popular Democratic party).

The PNP also swept control of both houses of the island legislature and of a majority of the city governments, depriving the PPD of its position as Puerto Rico's majority party for the first time since 1940.

Also presenting candidates were two independence parties—the Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño (PIP—Puerto Rican Independence party) and the Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (PSP—Puerto Rican Socialist party).

According to unofficial results, Carlos Romero Barceló (PNP) was credited with 671,837 votes; Rafael Hernández Colón (PPD), 635,798 votes; Rubén Berríos Martínez (PIP), 77,125 votes; and Juan Mari Brás (PSP), 10,615 votes.

The elections were hailed in the bourgeois press as a victory for forces on the island favoring statehood, since the PNP advocates that Puerto Rico become the fifty-first American state, while the PPD calls for commonwealth status for the island.

Catarino Garza, a National Committee member of the American Socialist Workers party, visited Puerto Rico shortly after the elections. While there, he interviewed Pablo Soto, a leader of the Puerto Rican Trotskyist organization Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (LIT—Internationalist Workers League). Garza asked Soto if he viewed the PNP victory as a turn among Puerto Ricans toward statehood.

"The status issue was a secondary one in the elections," Soto responded. "People were voting against the economic policies of the Partido Popular Democrático, which had adopted very unpopular positions.

"The PPD said the masses had to sacrifice in order to overcome the recession. They called for a rise in productivity.

"The PNP, on the other hand, said they would obtain more federal aid and that the government of Rafael Hernández Colón was responsible for the depressed economy, that the PPD could not hide behind the worldwide crisis."

"Then in your opinion a vote for the PNP did not signify a move to the right?" Garza asked.

"By no means," Soto replied. "The PNP promised a federal minimum wage of \$3,

unionization of public employees, and a reduction in income tax."

The workers in the urban areas voted massively for the PNP, Soto pointed out, and "most workers feel they won. They don't have much confidence in the politicians but they feel responsible for turning Colón out of office."

This sentiment is especially widespread among unionized workers, Soto said.

"The four largest unions on the island—the teamsters, the restaurant workers, a public employees union, and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters—all called for a vote against Colón and for supposedly prolabor legislators in the PNP and PPD, as well as for a vote for Carlos Gallisá and Pedro Grant of the Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño."

Several of the parties published lists of trade-union endorsers, Soto said. "The PIP received support from Andrés Miranda, the leader of the teachers union, an affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers. They were also endorsed by Felix Rivera Resto, president of the Association of University Teachers; José H. Hernández, president of the Independent Union of Telephone Employees; and many others."

In a leaflet issued after the elections, the LIT described the PIP campaign as follows:

The PIP campaign for Rubén Berríos was the campaign of a flag-waving political boss. They tried to create the image of the new *caudillo* of the Puerto Rican people in Rubén Berríos, that is, a new revised edition of Luis Muñoz Marín.

Former PNP governor Muñoz Marín was a populist demagogue who worked to convince the majority of Puerto Ricans that the island was better off as a colony of the United States.

The LIT leaflet continued:

The main slogan [of the PIP] was, "Now it is time for what is ours to be ours." Rubén Berríos never explained who he was talking about when he said "ours"—whether about the rich Puerto Ricans or the working class.

At no time did Berríos propose alternatives to alleviate the burden carried by the working people. On the contrary, the measures he proposed had a reactionary character. He told the workers that the only way to solve the crisis was to "produce more" and refuse food stamps.

The LIT gave critical support to the PSP's candidates.

"We supported the Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño although we did not agree with its entire program," Soto told Garza.

The LIT participated in the campaign

with sales of its paper, *La Verdad*, he said, "in front of work centers and at the main bus terminal, especially to the drivers in Río Piedras. We had supported them when they were on strike and they were open to buying the paper.

"In addition, we distributed our program. Because of our size, we had to concentrate on getting it into the hands of union members—most of them supporters of the PNP at the Autoridad Metropolitana de Autobuses [Metropolitan Bus Authority]. . . .

"We participated in discussions at the University of Puerto Rico, where a big struggle was taking place," Soto reported, referring to a recent strike of university personnel.

"We sold more than 200 issues of *La Verdad* at a PSP mass meeting at Muñoz Rivera Park in Old San Juan, and we distributed 300 copies of our platform to the 2,000 persons who attended."

Those attending this meeting were friendly to the LIT, Soto reported. They wanted to discuss the LIT's positions and bought \$50 worth of the group's literature.

"The PSP's participation was very positive," the LIT said in its leaflet assessing the elections. "It was the only party that offered a program at the polls that represented the interests of the working class," and "it brought the message of socialism to vast sectors of the working people."

The big weakness of the PSP's campaign, the LIT leaflet said, was that it "did not offer a program for the daily struggle of the working class," one clearly counterposed to the programs of the bourgeois parties.

As for the program of the victorious PNP, the LIT said:

In its election campaign the Partido Nuevo Progresista said the federal minimum wage should be applied in Puerto Rico. This would mean an increase in the minimum wage to \$3.00. But even if this promise were fulfilled, it would not be adequate. Inflation—the rapid rise in the cost of living—would wipe out the increase. What we need is to have our wages protected against inflation. To do this, our wages must rise on a par with increases in the cost of living. That is what is known as the sliding scale of wages.

The LIT leaflet pointed to the need to fight independently of such parties:

We say that the only way working people can force the rich to grant better wages, better living conditions, and to broaden and defend our democratic rights is through their independent mobilization and organization—independent of the control of the bosses. That is the only way we can guarantee we will win. Campaign promises every four years are not enough.

The LIT calls for a total break with the bourgeois parties and for the formation of a workers party that would participate and provide leadership in the daily struggles of the Puerto Rican masses. □

CP, SP Help Revive Claim to Japan's Lost Empire

By Hideo Yamamoto

TOKYO—A complex and longstanding dispute between Japan and the Soviet Union was the topic of a four-page article in the October 18 issue of *Sekai Kakumei* (World Revolution), the weekly central organ of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League, the Japanese section of the Fourth International.

The Japanese government has been demanding that the Soviet Union return "Japan's Northern Territories," four small islands in the Chishima Archipelago.¹ In the past two months several Japanese fishing boats have been seized by Soviet authorities in waters off the Chishima Islands, and a Soviet Air Force pilot has flown to Hokkaido in a MIG-25 fighter plane, defecting to the United States. As a result, diplomatic relations between Japan and the Soviet Union have soured, and the "Problem of the Northern Territories" has once again been played up by the Liberal Democratic party government and the bourgeois press in Japan.

Foreign Minister Kosaka has begun to speak out arrogantly, calling for "a resolution of all parties in the Diet" on this question. Day after day various right-wing groups are screaming for the "Restoration of Our Northern Territories." Not only the Socialist party and Communist party, but even part of the centrist New Left are adding their voices to this chorus.

What is the essence of this "Problem of the Northern Territories," this "fervent hope and universal aspiration of the Japanese race" about which so much noise is being made? It is important that we analyze this question in a correct, historical way, rather than getting carried away by all the impassioned nationalism.

The *Sekai Kakumei* article explains that the islands in the northern part of the Japanese Empire were occupied by the Red Army during the last days of World War II, under the terms of an agreement reached during the war by Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, and Chiang Kai-Shek. On August 15, 1945, the Japanese government unconditionally surrendered, relinquishing all claims to territory occupied by the Allied Powers. Since the Red Army occupied the various islands of the Chishima Archipelago from two days to two weeks after August 15, the Japanese government claimed that those islands were "stolen" by the Soviet Union. The United States backed Japan's claim to the four southernmost islands of the Chishima Archipelago in 1951 when the U.S.-Japan

1. Also known by its Russian name "Kurile" Islands.



EMPEROR HIROHITO: Claim to "Northern Territories" backed by Stalinists and Social Democrats.

Peace Treaty was signed in San Francisco. The Japanese government has refused to sign a peace treaty with the Soviet Union "until the territorial dispute is settled."

During the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 and during World War II, the Japanese imperialists used promises of new farmland and fishing grounds to whip up support for their war aims among the impoverished Japanese masses. The present campaign demanding return of the Northern Territories is motivated in much the same way in Hokkaido, especially among the former colonists who were evacuated from the Chishima Islands as the Red Army approached. Soviet authorities have sometimes allowed groups of former colonists to travel to the Northern Territories to observe the Japanese custom of visiting the graves of their relatives during the summer Bon holidays. The bourgeois press has given extensive coverage to the diplomatic wrangling carried out to arrange those visits, in order to inflame emotions against the Soviet occupation.

But what is the real purpose of the government's demand for return of the Northern Territories? It is clearly to recover the territories of the Japanese Empire. The bourgeoisie's first consideration is the value of the islands for military purposes, and the second is expansion of fishing rights in the northern waters.

They say that the total area of the four islands is about equivalent to Chiba Prefecture [5000 square kilometers]. They say that that area is one of the three largest fishing grounds in the world, with an abundance of salmon, snapper, and crab. They say that the islands' scenic beauty will make them an unsurpassed tourist attraction.

But in contrast to the image of "Islands of Peace" that the government projects, those islands are stained with blood, as our readers probably know. Etorofu was a military staging ground, Kunashiri the scene of massacres, Shikotan a prison island. . . .

Just look at the map. This map was published by the "Northern Territories Problem Policy Association," a government-affiliated body. Needless to say, Etorofu, Kunashiri, Habomai, and Shikotan are the same color as Japan. But why do you suppose the southern part of Sakhalin, and all the rest of the Chishima Archipelago from Uruppu Island northward, are white? Isn't this clearly an exact expression of the bourgeoisie's territorial schemes? It's just that they haven't yet advanced their territorial claims for the white zones. . . .

The *Sekai Kakumei* article analyzes the positions taken by the Socialist party and the Communist party on this issue.

Basing themselves on the assertion (identical to the government's claim) that "the Northern Territories are historically an intrinsic part of Japan," both of these parties are also demanding the "return" of the islands. They have a "lawyers' disagreement" with the government over two points, however.

The first point is that, in contrast to the government's demand for the simultaneous return of the four islands, the SP and CP positions call for a two-stage reversion procedure. They say that the signing of a Japan-Soviet Peace Treaty and the return of Habomai and Shikotan should be the first stage, followed by a second stage in which the rest of the Chishima Islands would be returned to a "peace-loving, neutral" Japan under a "democratic coalition government." On the basis of this procedural disagreement both parties stress their "realism," and condemn the Japanese government's "unrealistic" demand for simultaneous return of the four islands because it will "delay the signing of a Peace Treaty and thus prevent the return of the islands."

The second point of disagreement is that both the SP and CP declare that the return of the entire Chishima Archipelago is their final objective. The government, having declared in the Treaty of San Francisco that it abandoned its claim to the rest of the Chishima Islands, now finds it difficult to abruptly change that position. But the SP and CP, boasting that "it was for just that reason that we opposed signing a separate peace treaty [with the U.S.]," insist on "the return of all our intrinsic territory."

In this regard, viewed from the nationalists' standpoint, it is the government which is "selling out our country," while the SP and CP

uphold the patriotic position of "not handing away one millimeter of our natural territory."

Most of the centrist groups of the Japanese "New Left," including the large left-centrist factions of the SP youth group Shaseido, hold positions very similar to those of the SP and CP on this question.

The *Sekai Kakumei* article quotes at length from statements on the Northern Territories issue made by leaders of the Chinese bureaucracy and the Japanese Maoist currents. Mao Tsetung spoke out in full support of the Japanese government's recovery of the Chishima Archipelago. He also said that Japanese revolutionists should call for maintenance of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and strengthening of the Japanese military against the Soviet Union. The Chinese bureaucrats even expressed regret at the arrest of former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka (whom they once wined and dined in Peking) for taking bribes from the Lockheed Corporation.

Although the self-professed "Maoist" groups in Japan are small, the prestige of the Chinese revolution remains very high. The Maoist position on the Northern Territories has contributed to the confusion of broad layers of radicalized Japanese youth, making them even more susceptible to the pressure of imperialism on this question. The Japanese Trotskyists bitterly denounce the Maoist position as a betrayal of the Leninist principle that the first duty of communists is always to struggle against their own ruling class.

We have absolutely nothing in common with this position. The Chinese bureaucrats are acting as the "cat's-paws of imperialism" in the truest sense of the word. What else can you call people who—not mistakenly but consciously, deliberately—oppose the class struggle and call for strengthening imperialism? There is not a hairs-breadth of difference between them and the Great Japan Patriotic Party [a small, extreme right-wing neomilitarist group] on this question.

The line which China is presently putting forth can only be characterized as the treacherous line of bureaucrats of a degenerated workers state. It will become a theme of the factional struggle within the proletarian dictatorship in China. But those people who find themselves upholding the present position will find nothing but barricades between themselves and us.

A full page of the *Sekai Kakumei* article is devoted to an extensive analysis of the historical development of the Chishima Archipelago from the seventeenth century to the present. The Japanese bourgeoisie's position is evaluated in this light.

Is it true, as the government claims, that the Northern Territories are "historically an intrinsic part of Japan"?

Who stole the Chishima Archipelago from whom? As the government admits, the original inhabitants of the archipelago were the Ainu people (also called Kurile Islanders). They were a fishing and hunting people, who lived in villages on the various islands, governed by tribal chieftains. From the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, they came into contact not only with expeditions sent out by the Japanese feudal



Map published by "Northern Territories Problem Policy Association," a government-affiliated body. Arrow indicates the four Chishima islands claimed by Japanese government.

government, but also with those of the Russian tsars.

The article traces the process of Japanese settlement of the region. Hokkaido was annexed and settlers began to arrive in large numbers following the bourgeois revolution that established the Meiji government in Tokyo in 1868. The Chishima Archipelago and the southern half of Sakhalin were conquered in the Russo-Japanese War, and settled by Japanese between 1905 and 1945.

The native Ainu and Utari tribes possessed very primitive cultures, with religions based on worship of nature. They lacked any conception of ownership of land, forests, or fishing grounds. Japanese settlers often tricked or cheated Ainu and Utari people in order to acquire their land. Where deceit didn't work, force was used. Many tribes were driven to extinction, and Ainu women were forced to marry Japanese settlers.

Today there are very few full-blooded Ainu people left, and people of Ainu ancestry are subjected to many forms of discrimination in Japan. The Ainu Liberation League is struggling to preserve the remaining Ainu communities and their cultural heritage. They are fighting both the pervasive discrimination against Ainu people, and the Japanese government's policy of completely assimilating them into Japanese society.

As the *Sekai Kakumei* article points out, the Japanese government, the Chinese and Soviet bureaucracies, and nearly all the organizations of the Japanese left ignore

the struggle of the Ainu people as a factor in their positions on the "Problem of the Northern Territories." The article ends by spelling out the position of the Japanese section of the Fourth International.

We think it is clear from the facts described above what position communists should take in regard to the "Problem of the Northern Territories."

1. The Ainu people must be granted the historical right to establish their own freely self-governing system in the Chishima Archipelago (including Habomai, Shikotan, Kunashiri and Etorofu), and to use the natural resources of the islands and fishing grounds. We refuse to violate the will of the Ainu people, to call the Ainu people Japanese.

On the condition that it not obstruct the military defense of the Soviet workers state, these rights should be respected in practice immediately. The Japanese state must guarantee the right of the Ainu people, in accordance with their demands, to secede and become independent. Japan must unconditionally fulfill its obligation to make reparations for all the historic crimes against the Ainu people.

2. The Japanese working class and Japanese communists have the duty to support the demands of the Ainu people, and to offer aid and solidarity to the organizations of the Ainu movement. Of course the Japanese government will seek to suppress this struggle, and the bureaucrats of the Soviet workers state will certainly not comply with the Ainu people's demands. As we strive to carry through our struggle aiming to bring down the capitalist government of our own country, Japanese communists must patiently explain to the Ainu movement our firm belief that only the victory of the proletarian revolution in Japan, and the victory of a political revolution to overthrow the despotic Soviet bureaucracy, can guarantee a genuine solution to this problem.

3. We will struggle in firm opposition to the Japanese government's demand for the "return of the Northern Territories." The Chishima Archipelago must not become the territory of the Japanese and American imperialists. The military defense of the Soviet workers state is the duty of the Japanese working class. This means we must struggle against the war provocations of Japanese or American imperialism. And only for this reason, because it coincides with the interests of the world revolution, we must support the Soviet occupation of the Chishima Archipelago.

4. As for the former colonists of the Northern Territories, the Japanese government must fully guarantee them the means to earn a living and acquire homes. Furthermore, property abandoned by individual colonists (excluding capitalists' investments) should be fully compensated for. All losses incurred by coastal fishermen through seizures by Soviet authorities must be compensated by the Japanese government.

5. Following the victory of the proletarian revolution in Japan, the Japanese workers state, in accordance with the consensus of the Ainu people, will propose to the Soviet Union that the Chishima Archipelago become a jointly administered zone with a jointly planned economy based primarily on the fishing industry. Just as there are no historical grounds for "possession" of the Chishima Archipelago by a Japanese workers state, so there are none for "possession" by the Soviet Union. Until such time as there is no longer any need for borders anywhere in the world, both workers states should aid the

development of the socialist economy of this region, and at the same time defend it against imperialist aggression, while respecting the Ainu people's right to self-rule.

This, then, is our position in regard to the "Problem of the Northern Territories."

For communists there are no borders. There are no territories. For us it is enough to call islands, continents, and oceans as they were called by the human beings of ancient times who admired the natural beauty of those places, and gave them names.² The "Problem of the Northern Territories" confronts us humans not only with political arguments and judgments as to which political position is right and which wrong; it also poses the fundamental relationship between humanity and nature. We communists have to remain faithful to our original purpose. The "Problem of the Northern Territories" provides us with one more lesson in how quickly "communists" can roll into a muddy swamp when they forget that purpose.

- No annexations by Japanese imperialism!
- The Northern Islands belong to the Ainu and Utari peoples!

2. The way the names are written on the map (see arrow) reproduced by *Sekai Kakumei*, suggests that they are Japanese. The names of the four southernmost islands of the Chishima chain are written in Kanji, while those farther north are written in Katakana. In Japan, foreign words are usually written in Katakana script, while Japanese—and sometimes Chinese or Korean—words or names are usually written in Kanji. In fact the names of all the Chishima Islands are Ainu names. In each case, two or three Kanji characters were strung together to make a word whose pronunciation more or less resembles the Ainu pronunciation, though a Japanese reader could not pronounce the names correctly if they were not also written in Katakana.

In the text of the *Sekai Kakumei* article, all of the names (including Etorofu, Shikotan, Habo-mai, and Kunashiri) are written in Katakana.

Changing your address?

If you are, fill out this form right away and send it to us to avoid any interruption in your subscription.

Old address

New address (please print)

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

Greek Trotskyist Group Give Their Verdict

Healy's 'Political Bankruptcy' Shown in Frame-up of Hansen and Novack

A group of former members of the "International Committee" (IC) in Greece have examined the charges made by Gerry Healy and associates that the editor of *Intercontinental Press* and other veteran Trotskyists are "accomplices" of the GPU. The group published the results of their study in the October issue of their magazine, *Nea Poreia*, the organ of the Kommounistike Diethnistike Enosi (KDE—Internationalist Communist Union).

The KDE was formed this year by activists expelled from the Workers Internationalist League (WIL), the Greek organization affiliated to the "IC."

Following the fall of the dictatorship in 1974, the WIL was one of the larger groups in Greece claiming adherence to Trotskyism. It was one of the few groups of any significance belonging to the "International Committee." The IC now is little more than the rubric used for international operations by the English Workers Revolutionary party (WRP) of Gerry Healy.

At the beginning of 1976, however, the WIL suffered a shattering split. In its May 4 issue, *Newsline*, the organ of the WRP, said that one of the main leaders of the WIL, L. Sklavos, had been expelled for "engineering a provocation." What that meant, *Newsline* did not indicate. It ran this leader's picture under the caption, "The Renegade Sklavos." The differences that led to the rupture were outlined as follows:

"When LS [L. Sklavos] developed his philosophical differences, denying the conflict of opposites as the source of development, he took a course which was calculated to destroy all that had been built in Greece. . . .

"In essentials, he wanted a theoretical rationalisation for opportunist adaptation to the national political milieu, dominated as always by 'democratic' opportunism. For this it was necessary, just as it was for Wohlforth and Hansen in the United States and Thornett in England, to build up a smokescreen of lies and slanders about the 'intervention' and 'bureaucratic' dictatorship of the IC and WRP leadership. LS's resignation and disruption was designed to do exactly this. His conduct was a continuation of his previous opposition to publishing in Greece the material of the IC on Wohlforth.

"All sections of the IC, already forewarned by the work on Security and the Fourth International, which followed

the struggle against Wohlforth, are warned to be vigilant and completely firm against all such disruptions.

"They are not accidental, on the contrary, are characteristic of the period in which we now fight. Trotskyism has been successfully wrested from the hands of agents and those who capitulated to agents through theoretical neglect, political adaptation, and organisational softness. The middle class propagandists who want Trotskyism tied to the coat-tails of the reformists and Stalinists grow more hysterical and resort to sheer provocations, because they hate being politically defeated; they are caught like rats in a trap."

Clearly the group expelled from the WIL went through an intense experience with Healy's methods of dealing with political opposition. As a precedent for their campaign against this group, the Healyites cited their previous "exposures" of Tim Wohlforth, former leader of the American affiliate of the IC, the Workers League, and Joseph Hansen.

When Healy decided to remove Wohlforth from the Workers League leadership, he claimed that his experts on "security" had discovered that Wohlforth's companion was a CIA agent.

In escalating their attacks on Hansen in 1975, the Healyites claimed to have discovered that he had been an "accomplice" of the GPU, and possibly the FBI as well, for at least the last thirty-six years. As Trotsky's secretary and participant in his defense, Hansen was smeared as an accomplice in the murder of the revolutionary leader.

When George Novack denounced the Healyites' charges, he also was accused of being an "accomplice." Novack, like Hansen, has been a leading member of the Trotskyist movement for almost forty years. He was the organizer of the Dewey Commission, which found Trotsky not guilty of the charges levelled by Stalin in the Moscow Trials.

As victims of the same frame-up technique, the leaders and members of the Greek KDE were in a good position to understand the meaning of Healy's charges against Hansen and Novack. In the article on this case in the October *Nea Poreia*, the authors, D. Veros and S. Dharakis, made it clear that they continue to defend the general political outlook they learned in the "International Committee." "The KDE opposes Hansen and Novack,

their method, and the program of the SWP [Socialist Workers party] in general."

However, whatever their differences with the SWP and its leaders, the KDE writers said, "This is no reason to accept slander and character assassination as a method of combating political opponents. To the contrary, a genuinely revolutionary movement is obliged to keep the air clear, to remove obstacles from the way of a struggle on the basis of principled differences, differences that must be clearly defined and not obscured by personal attacks and foul slanders.

"Healy's method is the same as Stalin's—worthy of a bureaucracy that falsifies. Left without political weapons, he has no choice but to transfer the fight to a 'different level.' Trotskyism developed in the fight against bureaucracy, and the introduction of the method of this bureaucracy by people who call themselves supporters of the Fourth International is not only an attack on certain persons, organizations, or political currents, but an attack on the very principles of Trotskyism and on the Trotskyist movement itself.

"It is no accident that the bourgeois press (the *Washington Post*, *Ta Nea*) as well as the Stalinist bureaucrats have taken the opportunity presented by Healy's slander campaign to obscure the circumstances of Trotsky's murder and to present him not as a victim of Stalin but of his own collaborators."

Veros and Dharakis state that Healy's use of such methods led him deeper and deeper into a campaign against the entire historic Trotskyist movement: "The only way Hansen can defend himself against such charges is to turn to the old practice of revolutionary parties and cite the testimony of Trotsky's closest collaborators, such as James Cannon. The logic of the lie leads Healy into attacks not only against Trotsky's unworthy epigones, but against the Fourth International in Trotsky's day and those closest to its founder. It is revealing how Healy is now moving closer and closer, in this campaign, to the Belgian Vereeken and other such types who broke with Trotsky and polemicized and fought against the building of the Fourth International. It is the duty of every Trotskyist to refute and reject the method of Healy. This is not a matter of defending Hansen, Novack, and the opportunist line of the SWP and the United Secretariat, but of defending the Trotskyist movement itself!"

Vereeken disagreed with Trotsky's criticisms of the POUM in Spain, among other things, and left the Trotskyist movement in the 1930s. He has developed the theory that the differences between him and Trotsky arose because Trotsky was fooled by GPU agents planted in the Fourth International movement. Vereeken wrote a book to support this claim, which the Healyites translated and published under the title, *The GPU in the Trotskyist Movement*.

The Healyites apparently found Vereeken so useful that they were willing to overlook some articles of faith of the "IC," to say nothing of the logic of their



Workers Press

GERRY HEALY

arguments about "agents," in order to avail themselves of his services as a "historian" of Trotskyism. Veros and Dharakis note this:

"Vereeken was an official speaker at the WRP rally on the thirty-sixth anniversary of Trotsky's murder. He said quite a lot about the GPU in the Fourth International. What he neglected to inform the audience about . . . was that he is a follower of Michel Pablo—the Pablo that Healy has also accused of being a possible GPU agent in the Fourth International, the Pablo that the International Committee was built to fight."

As for the "evidence" presented by the Healyites to support their charges, Veros and Dharakis write: "After constant and diligent research, it says, in the U.S. official archives, Healy's 'Committee' recently published a series of articles against Hansen and Novack. With half-truths, insinuations, and slanders, they claimed to support their charges. Healy's concept of 'impartiality' can be seen from the following unbelievable phrase in the statement of his 'Committee,' which has been published in the Healyite press: 'Until they answer before an international commission of inquiry, our charges are proved and they are guilty as charged.' This is the concept of justice maintained in reactionary bourgeois courts. . . . This is the kind of justice that was practiced

under fascism as well as Stalinism at the time of the worst persecution of the opposition and of the frame-up trials."

Veros and Dharakis deal with Healy's call for a "commission of inquiry." They note that the Healyite press claimed that Hansen's answer* to the IC's charges amounted to a "confession." They comment:

"If Hansen 'accepted' the charges, what is the need for a commission of inquiry? If Hansen did not accept the charges, then by saying he did, Healy lied to the activists who work for his press. If he is not lying to them, and Hansen did 'accept' the charges, then the proposal for a commission of inquiry is a maneuver, or a deception of his own activists.

"Healy is falling into contradictions and exposing himself. In making this claim about Hansen's 'confession,' he lied again. In fact in his article in *Intercontinental Press*, Hansen incontrovertibly refuted these charges and did an excellent job of making their author a laughing stock."

In their eleven-page-long article Veros and Dharakis examine Healy's charges in detail and show them to be without foundation.

These former members of the "IC" argue that Healy resorted to this campaign because he could not respond to the crisis that opened in England in 1971. In a situation that demanded that he get out of the rut of routine propaganda activity and apply his proclaimed revolutionary principles in practice, they write, Healy lost his bearings. He had to invent conspiracies to explain his failures. The expulsion of Wohlforth in the U.S. was also an example of this. Healy invented a conspiracy to explain the losses the Workers League suffered because it tried to follow a sectarian line set from London.

"This is not a simple slander campaign and still less is it a campaign for 'security' in the Fourth International against infiltration by agents. It is the expression of political bankruptcy. . . . Healy and his followers are turning away from dialectical materialism to an un-Marxist method that resembles the method of the worst reactionary bourgeois journalism. It is a method that does not focus on the class struggle but explains history by the conspiratorial activity of obscure forces."

The reason for the campaign against Hansen and Novack is that "only by such methods can sectarian leaders deal with their own internal problems and strangle all criticism within their own ranks."

The KDE has had a vivid experience of such methods.

It is to be hoped that they will disclose the details to the Trotskyist movement along with the conclusions they draw from it. □

*See the article published in the August 9, 1976, *Intercontinental Press*, p. 1188, entitled "Healy Caught in the Logic of the Big Lie: More Facts on a Stalinist-Type Frame-up."

Gloomy Prognosis for Argentine Economy

By D. Marcelo

BUENOS AIRES—After less than six months in power, the Argentine military dictatorship faced in early September all the elements that shape a serious governmental crisis.

All sectors of the capitalist class identify with the "basic aims" of the March 24 coup.¹ But for a time the strikes and protests² that erupted in September converted that support into a welter of criticism and opposition—in tones ranging from the most timid to the most outspoken.

With a mixture of cynicism and ignorance, the front page of *Correo de la Semana*, the newspaper of the right-wing followers of Francisco Manrique, proclaimed, "The Wave Has Receded."

In effect, the wave has receded. With the explicit and repeated support of the three commanders in chief, Economics Minister José Martínez de Hoz spoke over the government radio and television chain to make it clear his economic plan was still in effect. He explained that the slightest wage increase would destroy the plan, and asked for patience with current wage levels until January 1, 1977.

The strikes were halted through a combination of promises, layoffs, jailings, kidnappings, and the active presence of army troops in all the big automobile factories. The criticisms from different sectors of the bourgeoisie were muted by the political support brought into play by Martínez de Hoz.

But if the wave has receded, the storm is just beginning. Furthermore, the climatological metaphors of the Argentine press cannot hide or blur the evident origin of this crisis—the resistance of the working class to the offensive of Martínez de Hoz's economic plan.

At the beginning of September, in terms of buying power the wages of the working class were down 40% from what they were in March. According to the phony official statistics, inflation rose from 4% in July to 9% in August.

El Economista, a newspaper that presented Martínez de Hoz as the national salvation in March, announced in large type on its front page September 17, "Wholesale prices are a bad omen." The

1. The date General Jorge Videla seized power.—IP

2. A wave of strikes, mainly among auto workers, took place in early September protesting an insufficient wage increase granted by the Videla regime September 1.—IP

Real Wages			Cost of Living		
The following chart shows how wage gains negotiated by the unions have been eaten away by inflation. (Source, <i>La Opinión</i> , December 5, 1976. November 1975=100.)			The following chart shows the monthly increase in price of an average item that cost 10 pesos on January 1, 1975. (Source, <i>La Opinión</i> , December 5, 1976.)		
Month	Nominal Wages	Real Wages	Month	% Increase	New Price (in Pesos)
1975			1975		
November	100.0	100.0	January	8.5	10.85
December	101.3	84.8	February	4.9	11.38
1976			1976		
January	129.1	99.3	March	8.4	12.33
February	131.0	84.6	April	10.2	13.58
March	156.5	73.4	May	4.8	14.23
April	156.5	54.9	June	21.3	17.26
May	156.5	49.0	July	34.9	23.28
June	180.1	54.7	August	23.8	28.82
July	180.1	52.5	September	10.9	31.96
August	180.1	49.9	October	12.6	35.98
September	201.7	50.5	November	8.1	38.89
October	201.7	46.6	December	11.5	43.36
			1976		
			January	14.8	49.77
			February	19.3	59.37
			March	38.0	81.93
			April	34.6	110.27
			May	13.1	124.71
			June	2.8	128.20
			July	4.3	133.71
			August	6.7	142.66
			September	10.7	157.92
			October	7.4	169.60
			November	7.1	181.64

paper said, "What is causing the sharp rise is the constant readjustment in the farming sector. Between March and August its products have risen 81%, whereas other products have risen only 55%."

At the same time, the September 26 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* reported one of former President Onganía's³ economics ministers as saying, "Keeping in mind the anticipated evolution of prices in the fourth quarter and assuming that it will be decided to fix a minimum for the lowering of wages somewhere around the current level, the year will close with a loss to wage earners as a whole of greater than 20% of the national income."

The obvious unrest among the ranks of the working class led the government to grant a 12% wage increase starting September 1. However, the step backfired and provoked a reaction among the workers that shook both the economics minister and all the government's plans.

The most important reason why the bourgeois opposition subsequently toned down its criticisms of the junta was

3. Juan Carlos Onganía was military dictator of Argentina from 1966 until 1970.—IP

precisely the confirmation—to them surprising—that the workers movement had not been defeated. They realized that a show of political weakness by the government, revealing the deep divisions among the bourgeois forces and the military command, could have unforeseeable consequences.

This in and of itself shows that the crisis has at best been postponed, not resolved.

Gloom in High Places

At a recent panel discussion on the recession and inflation, with representatives present from three important companies—Fiat, Pasa (Petroquímica Argentina), and Alpargatas Textiles—one of the most esteemed bourgeois economists stated:

We must be conscious of the fact that we have a model that is essentially unstable, as it is set up now. We cannot consider a reduction of real wages on the order of 20%, 30%, or 40% in one year. That is impossible. Thus, the question is not whether we increase wages. Rather it is, if we increase wages, what do we do with the economy? [Carta Política, September 1976, p. 37.]

This declaration of helplessness sums up perfectly the situation facing the dictatorship.

Seen from the point of view of the economics minister, his aims have already been met. That is, there has been a merciless shift of income favoring the big land holders, and finance capital has negotiated some juicy deals. It should not be forgotten that in his earlier experience, first as a functionary and later as minister of the economy under President Guido between 1961 and 1963, Martínez de Hoz showed his mettle. A surprising source confirms this:

In 1963 it was estimated that close to 50% of industrial capacity was idle and unemployment among the labor force reached 10%. . . . This gave rise to factory shutdowns and bankruptcies. And, although there is a lack of sufficient information, it can be assumed that during this period a good number of companies fell into the hands of foreign investors, who could acquire them at ridiculously low prices in comparison to the real value of their assets. Nonetheless, the inflation could not be checked.

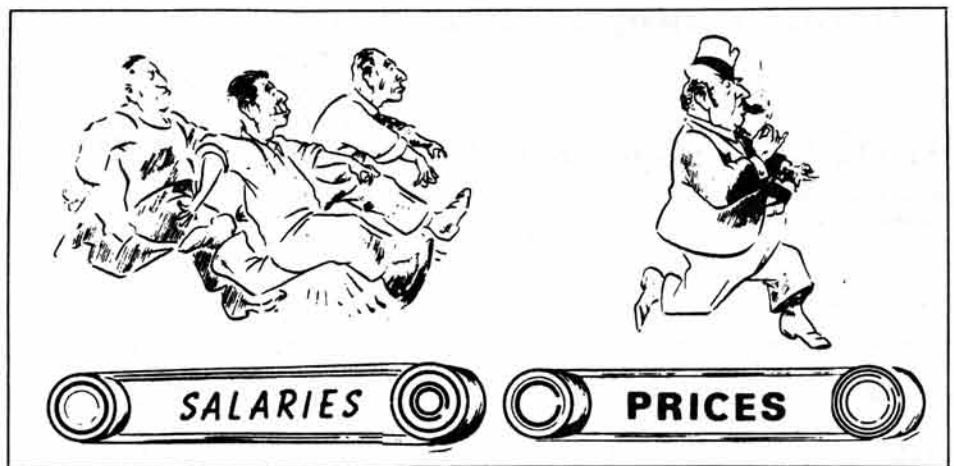
This was said by Aldo Ferrer, one of the ministers of the military dictatorship in 1970, in "Los Planes de Estabilización en la Argentina" [Stabilization Plans for Argentina].

But seen from the bourgeois vantagepoint of the needs of the national economy as a whole and even the very objectives posed by the minister, the economic plan has already failed on all counts. And during the coming months the situation will get worse.

A rapid glance will show that the program has failed on three fundamental questions—inflation, the national budget, and the foreign sector.

Finance Secretary Juan Alemann recently caused a crisis in the economics ministry by publicly stating that far from having carried out the "rationalization" plan for state employees, the number of civil servants had been allowed to grow substantially in recent months. The decline in wages, which are especially low in this sector, and the increase in taxes, which went from 9.79% in 1975 to 11.52% this year, were not enough to overcome the budget deficit. It will be sixty-five trillion pesos (US\$2.6 billion), an unmanageable figure for the national economy.

At the same time, prices are rising after some months in which the minister had succeeded in confusing a paralysis of the economy with containment of inflation. Even during the recession of June, July, and August, the monthly increase in the money supply hovered around 18%. And the inflation rate for September appears to



Vadillo/Siempre

be substantially higher than in the previous months.

In the coming months, inflation will be fed from three basic sources:

- The forty-eight trillion pesos (US\$1.9 billion) of the deficit that is not financed and must be covered strictly by printing currency.

- The reduction of export taxes for farming products from 40% to 10%, which means a devaluation of the dollar (for these products) on the order of 70%. This will have an immediate effect on the cost of living by generating a sharp rise in the price of food products.

- The increase in transit fares and charges for public services, which—according to official announcements—will tend to rapidly become self-financing on the basis of a rate of price increases greater than the general price index.

In foreign trade, the only success Martínez de Hoz can show is the positive balance of trade in the first eight months of the year—\$500 million. But this is a dubious success because it is based on a \$700 million reduction in imports—a result of the industrial recession—and a liquidation of cattle that forced the minister to take steps to restrict the process.

With regard to foreign investment, all that is necessary is to quote one paragraph from a document by Arturo Frondizi and Rogelio Frigerio, the two main leaders of the Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo [MID—Movement for Unity and Development]:

Concretely, there is not the slightest perspective for foreign investments or for a favorable evolution of the trade balance in the coming fiscal year (*La Opinión*, September 23).

And while the voice of the opposition is categorical, that of the government is no less pessimistic:

In the course of the last few weeks a setback to future international loans for Argentina has come from organizations the United States is part of. It is thought that the American vote, based on a U.S. congressional amendment

dealing with countries supposedly contravening human rights, could block some plans (*El Cronista Comercial*, September 28).

The refinancing of the foreign debt, moreover, has been little more than the offer of rope to a hanging man. Even the firmest supporters of the government and economics minister agree that this is the weakest point.

In the September 24 issue of *La Opinión* Lorenzo Raggio, minister of agriculture and stock raising under the previous military dictatorship, said, "The danger of a suspension of payments, which faced the country until March of this year, has not completely disappeared. The deadlines for payments have simply been shifted to make them come due in the future or in the not-too-distant future."

At the same time *El Cronista Comercial*—an old and prestigious daily paper recently acquired by a financial group that unconditionally supports the dictatorship, and particularly Martínez de Hoz—pointed out in its September 28 issue:

More than 70% of the total foreign debt comes due within four years. This payment schedule poses a serious challenge to the financial administration and to the foreign exchange reserves and must be restructured.

The same newspaper, quoting a document published in Washington on the Argentine economy, announced a deficit of more than \$1 billion in the balance of payments for this year.

Frondizi and Frigerio complained:

A continuing decline in production will worsen the drop in wages and employment. It will accelerate inflation through increased issuing of currency. It will heighten the general impoverishment of the country. It will rapidly strangle Argentina's economic relations with other countries and return everything to zero, or less than zero, since each crisis is more acute than the previous ones.

Those who favor industrial development [the MID], who naturally support the military dictatorship, and who hope only

to take over the economics ministry, ended their reprimand by stating:

We face a situation that is unmanageable with the procedures that have been customary up to now. The gap is too wide for it to be "bridged" with a recession. If there is no change, the recession will result in generalized social conflicts and forms of collective violence totally different from the current subversion.

Working-class Resistance

Part of the offensive against the workers movement has been a steep increase in speedup. For example, at General Motors the workers complain that 1,000 men are now turning out eighty-four vehicles a day, while two months ago 2,000 workers produced seventy-four a day. At Ford, workers in the different divisions report that the tempo of production has increased between 20% and 45%.

Moreover, troops are stationed inside the factories, the workers have no representation or trade-union rights of any kind, and they live under the constant threat of being laid off without compensation.

In this context, the importance of the recent mobilizations of the working class after six months of inaction cannot be minimized. On the contrary, their actions take on heroic dimensions. The workers who headed the struggle were conscious of the fact that they faced being laid off, jailed, tortured, and quite possibly killed at the hands of the paramilitary gangs. They acted without any sort of legal guarantees and without any sort of national, regional, or even factory organization.

This inspiring example of resistance by the working class punctures the predictions of those who rushed to say that our class had been defeated for a long period.

The proletariat has shown with these mobilizations that the coup did not break either its class structure or the course of radicalization it has been on for several years. In addition, while it is possible to speak of "passivity" during the first six months of the dictatorship, there were innumerable signs of resistance.

During that time, what we could call *passive resistance* won two important victories. First, it prevented the layoffs, which were very numerous, from becoming massive enough to resolve the crisis. Second, through constant and growing pressure, it prevented the bureaucracy from negotiating with the military officials who had taken over the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] and the trade unions. It forced the bureaucracy in an indirect way to raise demands that were unacceptable to the dictatorship.

As a result, like a character off stage on whom the whole plot of a tragedy depends, the proletariat placed limits on all the steps taken by the dictatorship.

The September mobilizations were only a signal that this central character was coming on stage. Nonetheless, they managed to shake the very underpinnings of the military regime.

Although we have not as yet been able to



VIDELA

make a precise evaluation of the national impact of the mobilization, we can certainly draw a few conclusions:

1. The movement was not limited to the auto workers union or to the region of the Federal Capital or Greater Buenos Aires. Rather, it extended to several different trade unions and to other industrial centers, such as La Plata, Rosario, and San Lorenzo.

2. The fact that the vanguard of the resistance was located in the industrial belt of Buenos Aires is of major importance. This sector represents the overwhelming majority of the proletariat.

3. As the mobilization began to develop, the government hurriedly sought out the bureaucracy for help. Many former delegates surfaced again, trying to divert and slow down the struggle. The power of the movement on the one hand and the disagreements within the government on trade-union policy on the other prevented any negotiation from being concretized.

4. The mobilization provoked a crisis at all levels of the government, exacerbating the differences within the bourgeoisie. For some days, this completely obstructed their ability to respond.

5. A resolute counteroffensive by the government was possible in part because the mobilization completely lacked organization. Each factory was isolated from the rest. At times, even sections within a given factory were isolated from each other. Closely linked to this was the lack of a *political plan* with a working-

class perspective that would have been capable of uniting the broad movement for wage increases with all oppressed sectors of society.

Martínez de Hoz's reaffirmation of his economic plan came one week after the movement had been stopped through repression and the promise of raises in the form of awards.⁴

6. It also took place at a time when the main companies had granted raises in the form of bonuses or other benefits to circumvent the official ban. This represented an objective gain of the mobilization.

One week later Martínez de Hoz made a special announcement that there would be no raises until next year, expressly prohibiting any concealed form of wage increase. Although he made some companies pull back, this merely confirmed the tremendous weakness of his economic plan and of the entire political plan it rests on. For fear of a "wage avalanche," it cannot even tolerate the raises the companies themselves were willing to give.

Hatred for the dictatorship is growing in the thousands of workers who had registered a wage gain only to see the government take it away from them.

The Fight for Democratic Rights

To rebuild the organizations of the workers movement and to develop a political response to the dictatorship, it is essential to halt the repression. It is clear that more than a year ago the bourgeoisie came to the conclusion that the political crisis would not be reversed without the physical elimination of the vanguard of the working class. Using the convenient excuse of the fight against the guerrillas, they have adopted the methods of civil war to eliminate that vanguard and then to attempt to crush the class as a whole.

The defense of human and democratic rights is a banner the proletariat must take up and place in the forefront in all its struggles. The majority of the country's population views with horror the average of ten deaths a day, the concentration camps in army outbuildings, and the unknown number of political prisoners—estimated at 20,000. They must be lined up behind that banner.

The defense of democratic freedoms is the most effective way to gain ground in the political struggle against the dictatorship. It is an inescapable duty for the preservation of the workers' right to organize and, moreover, a magnificent chance to advance the consciousness and political education of the workers movement. □

4. The most significant of the "awards" granted was the return to a five-day workweek. Following the March 24 coup, auto manufacturers had cut the workweek and implemented forced, unpaid "vacations."—IP

Let Commission Investigate Charges of Healyite Violence!

By Dave Holmes



John Percy/Direct Action

Healyite leader Greg Adler scatters SWP literature following assault.

[The following article appeared in the November 25 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in Sydney, Australia.]

* * *

For some weeks now *Direct Action* has extensively covered the defence campaign of the Socialist Workers Party and the Spartacist League against the physical violence of the Socialist Labour League (publishers of *Workers News*).¹ On October 17 SWP and SL members were assaulted by SLL toughs outside Sydney Trades Hall. Participating in and directing the assault were top leaders of the SLL.

This attack was completely unprovoked. The SWP and SL were peacefully and nonobstructively selling their papers and

distributing literature outside an SLL-sponsored meeting.

In the attack Dave Deutschmann, a member of the SWP and the editor of the Socialist Youth Alliance newspaper *Young Socialist*, was punched to the ground. While he was lying on the ground trying to protect himself he was kicked in the head and body by an SLL leader and another SLL member. Deutschmann had to be taken to hospital for treatment. Keith Olerhead of the SL was also viciously beaten during the attack. He was punched and elbowed violently in the face. Full details of the attack are contained in a pamphlet being circulated nationally by the SWP and the SL.²

This wanton attack by the SLL has met with a strong response from activists in the labor and radical movement. A large and very representative number of people have endorsed a statement expressing concern at the SLL's violations of the

norms of workers democracy.³

In articles in *Workers News* the SLL has attempted to dismiss these very serious charges. They claim that only minor "scuffles" took place. They allege that the SWP and SL were provocative in having cameras outside the Trades Hall. These claims have been exposed as lies in previous articles in *Direct Action*.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Spartacist League have proposed the establishment of an impartial commission of inquiry to determine the truth of the October 17 incident before the whole radical and labor movement. Such a commission would be made up of respected and authoritative figures from the left and working-class movement belonging neither to the SWP, the SL or the SLL.

The SWP has already stated that it will publicise the findings of such a commission whatever its verdict.

The SWP and the SL propose a commission made up of, or at least including, the following labor movement figures. They have all agreed to serve on a commission of inquiry:

George Petersen, Labor member for Illawarra of the NSW Legislative Assembly and a well-known figure on the left for many years;

Ted Wheelwright, associate professor of economics at Sydney University and author of several books on political economy and a leading proponent of the campus movement for political economy;

Lester Bostock, administrator of the Black Theater in Sydney and a long-time activist in the Black movement and the Labor Party.

The SWP and SL would like to know the views of the SLL on the idea of a commission of inquiry, the above specific proposals for commissioners, and the details of its operation.

If the Socialist Labour League has any confidence that it can substantiate its account of the October 17 incident and back up its motivations, then let it do so before such an independent labor tribunal.

Such a commission of inquiry would do far more than establish the truth of the Trades Hall incident. It would demonstrate the seriousness with which the labor movement views democracy in its internal life and its determination to stamp out all tendencies to substitute hooliganism and gangsterism for the free debate of political differences. □

1. See "Australian Healyites Revive Stalinist Methods" (*Intercontinental Press*, November 8, p. 1588) and "Healyites Continue to Claim Right to Beat Up Working-Class Opponents" (*Intercontinental Press*, November 22, p. 1656).

2. For copies of this pamphlet, write to *Direct Action*, P.O. Box 151, Glebe 2037, Australia.

3. See statement and partial listing of endorsers in *Intercontinental Press*, November 22, p. 1657.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



Lungs Sacrificed in 'Compromise' With Polluters

Polluters in the United States can rejoice. They have won a most profitable concession in enforcement of the law.

John R. Quarles, Jr., deputy administrator of the federal Environmental Protection Agency, announced in a talk November 10 at the Fifth International Pollution Engineering Exposition, held in Anaheim, California, that the EPA has decided on a policy of "compromise" with industrial polluters.

The "compromise" policy consists of permitting new plants to be constructed even though they fail to meet the standards set by the Clean Air Act of 1970.

According to that law, minimum air-quality standards were to have been met on a national scale by mid-1975. However, the EPA took a benevolent attitude toward the polluters, normally granting them generous extensions of time, so that the mid-1975 target date was not met.

Under the "compromise" policy, the EPA will now OK the construction of new sources of pollution. All that will be demanded of the companies is that they show reductions of pollution in the area equivalent to what would be added by the new plants.

For example, if a company has lowered production in a plant because of lack of orders, resulting in a fall in the emission of pollutants, the company will be permitted to make up the difference in pollution in a new plant it may construct in the area.

As Quarles explained it in his talk: "We have developed a trade-off policy where the new industrial plant is permitted to build if sufficient additional emissions reductions can be obtained from existing sources so as to produce no net increases."

The "compromise" policy was assailed by the National Clean Air Coalition as "a

legally questionable undercutting and distortion" of the Clean Air Act of 1970. The NCAC is an environmental group that includes the League of Women Voters, the American Lung Association, the Sierra Club, and Friends of the Earth.

EPA Finds It Easier to Breathe

The Environmental Protection Agency announced December 8 that air quality in the United States improved over the five-year period ending in 1975. The statistics cited were a year old, but are the latest available.

The improvement resulted from the introduction of antipollution equipment, the reduction of trash-burning, and the slowdown in industry caused by the recession.

The relative weight of each of these factors in making pollution levels more acceptable to members of the EPA was not reported.

It was admitted, however, that improvements in sulfur-dioxide pollution had leveled off. This was ascribed to industries moving to rural areas instead of reducing their emissions of pollutants.

In urban areas sulfur dioxide levels decreased by 30 percent. But nationwide sulfur-dioxide levels "have declined only slightly."

'Excessively Exposed to Solvents'

After 100 workers at the Essex International electronics assembly plant in Kittanning, Pennsylvania, complained of unusual symptoms, the company furloughed 300 employees last October 7 and closed down.

The symptoms were headaches, nausea, stomach pains, some difficulty in breathing, and sensations of being intoxicated.

Shelva Koleck, president of United Steelworkers Local 8259, said: "We won't go back to work until a cause is found."

At the Rola-Jensen electronics plant in Punxsutawney, Pennsylvania, 70 employees complained of similar symptoms.

After an investigation, David Rhone of the Federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration said that the cause was probably chemical fumes.

"The employees were excessively exposed to solvents," he said. He named ethanol-toluene, n-butylacetate, and n-butanol at the Kittanning plant and trichloroethane in Punxsutawney.

Essex International reopened October 27 and is operating at half strength while improvements are made in ventilating and exhaust systems. According to management, there have been no new reports of sickness.

Meanwhile, similar cases have been reported in widely separated areas.

At the Robertshaw Controls Company plant in Grove City, Ohio, Katherine Francis has been feeling sick since August. According to the November 16 *New York Times*, "It is frequently hard for her to stay awake. . . . Headaches have become commonplace in her life in recent weeks, as have upset stomachs and more than the usual degree of nervousness." Other employees at this plant, mostly women, have experienced the same symptoms.

Similar episodes of illness have been reported among workers at the Litton Industries plant in Grants Pass, Oregon, the Control Data Corporation in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and the TRW in St. Petersburg, Florida.

"Because of the vagueness of the episodes of sickness," the *New York Times* reported, "some company management officials at several of the locations affected and public health officials have suggested that the widespread contraction of the symptoms of a few are purely psychosomatic. Several company and public health officials interviewed, insisting that they not be quoted, suggested this. And it has angered health consultants for the unions."

"There's no question that there are chemicals making people sick," said J. William Lloyd, epidemiologist for the United Steelworkers of America. "A lot of



Stevenson/Los Angeles Times

people look upon these symptoms as not being serious because there's no evidence of immediate serious damage to internal organs,' he said. 'But we don't know what the long-term effects will be.'

The Phosvel Zombies

Former employees of Velsicol Chemical Corporation's plant at Bayport, an industrial suburb east of Houston, Texas, have filed a \$12 million suit against the company, which manufactured an organic phosphate pesticide called leptophos and sold it abroad under the brand name Phosvel.

The workers charge that the company did little to warn them of the dangers of the pesticide or to provide safety equipment. They say they suffered muscle paralysis, nervous-system disorders, vomiting, excessive sweating, dizziness, blurred vision, difficulty in swallowing, and speech and memory blocks.

According to an article by James P. Sterba published in the December 5 *New York Times*, "Raymond David, a 38-year-old former supervisor at the plant, said workers in the Phosvel section were dubbed 'the Phosvel zombies' because of obvious nervous afflictions.

"'It was a nightmare situation,' Mr. David said in an interview. The company, he said, 'knew people were getting sick.' He added, 'They [management] told me all those guys smoked marijuana. They said the guys were acid freaks.'"

Leptophos kills insects by attacking their nervous system. While it is illegal to sell the poison in the United States, it was sold to foreign countries, including Egypt and Indonesia.

According to Sterba, "Federal officials said they believed the pesticide was linked to the crippling of some 1,200 water buffaloes in Egypt, where the pesticide was used to fight insect pests in cotton fields."

A company official said that production of Phosvel was suspended in January, 1976. The National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health is testing the ten persons who have reported nervous disorders and is looking for others who may have worked in the plant.

While that search is going on, other federal officials are investigating whether 300,000 gallons of leptophos, currently being stored in barrels in warehouses around Houston, constitute a source of contamination.

Safe on Johnston Island?

A dozen stainless steel cylinders of dioxin, the deadly poison used by the Pentagon as a defoliant in the Vietnam war, were flown on December 8 from Portland, Oregon, to Johnston Island in the South Pacific.

The same chemical forced the abandonment of Séveso in northern Italy last July when an explosion released a small cloud

of the substance into the atmosphere.

The dioxin was taken to Johnston Island in response to a protest lodged by Senator Mark Hatfield, who demanded that the twelve cylinders be removed at once from Oregon and from the country.

It was learned that the dioxin had been stored in a warehouse near Arlington, Oregon, since September 21.

UPI reported: "A spokesman for Oregon's Department of Environmental Quality said the decision to store the chemical there was made by a mid-level engineer without consulting his superiors and without knowing the political implications."

Safe in Utah?

The Pentagon announced December 10 that it plans to move two shipments of arms amounting to 290 tons to new storage sites in Utah. The munitions include phosgene, nerve gas, and mustard gas chemical warfare agents.

One shipment of 175 tons is to be moved fifteen miles from the north to the south area of the Tooele Army Depot "through a sparsely populated area" outside the depot.

The second shipment of 115 tons will be taken fifty-five miles from the Dugway Proving Ground to the south area of Tooele. The Tooele area is not far from Salt Lake Valley, the most populous area of the state.

"Selected segments of the convoy route would be cordoned off to preclude any unwarranted interruption of the convoy movement," the announcement said. "Sufficient security and technical personnel would accompany the convoy to insure safe movement of the materials."

Safe Anywhere?

An agency of the U.S. government, the Energy Research and Development Administration, announced December 2 that it is going to study thirty-six states as possible sites for burial of radioactive waste.

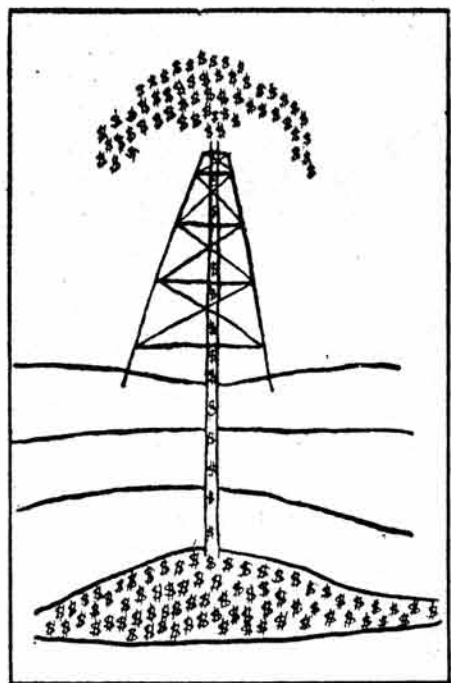
The ERDA is rather enthusiastic about thirteen of the states, regarding them as having "high potential."

Assistant Administrator Richard W. Roberts said that the agency hopes to have the first two storage sites designated by the end of 1978 and in operation by 1985, and six by the year 2000.

The government will build six of the disposal units. Placed several thousand feet below the surface, they will be used to store used commercial nuclear fuel rods or solidified nuclear waste.

Oil From Alaska . . . into the Sea

Jack Anderson and Les Whitten revealed in their December 7 syndicated column that a secret study undertaken by Alaskan state authorities has shown that the huge tankers scheduled to be used in transporting oil from the terminal of the pipeline "may not be able to navigate



Stuart Leeds/New York Times

safely through the state's main seaport of Valdez."

In fact, the "treacherous wind and weather conditions around Valdez may make it impossible."

The confidential study was conducted at a ship model basin in the Netherlands. It simulated the conditions around Port Valdez.

"Results of the study were startling," the columnists continue. "The Alaskan state pipeline coordinator's office concluded that transporting oil through Valdez would be a tricky and dangerous operation at best.

"First, the tankers must sail through the Valdez Narrows. Those experienced with the tight passage claim that winds often whip through at speeds up to 200 miles per hour.

"Going through the narrows in a mammoth tanker, say our sources, would be like threading a needle through a moving hole. To make matters worse, there's a dangerous rock barrier in the middle of the narrows.

"No ship as large as the giant oil tankers has ever attempted to navigate this perilous passageway."

When test runs were made in the Dutch laboratory, the test ships had many accidents and near disasters.

"Going through the 'narrows,' several ships 'crashed' into the rock barrier. Some couldn't even make it through with simulated tugboats leading the way."

The Coast Guard, the federal institution holding jurisdiction, has failed to make its own study. According to Anderson and Whitten, "When Coast Guard experts were briefed by Alaskan officials on the results of the secret study, they dismissed the findings as 'garbage.'"

Selections From the Left

COMBAT SOCIALISTE

"*Socialist Fight.*" Twice-monthly publication of the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire of Québec, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. Published in Montréal.

The November 24 issue features several articles assessing the victory of the Parti Québécois in the November 15 Québec elections.

A front-page article states: "The striking victory of the Parti Québécois is seen by many as a victory of the workers movement and the masses of people. The hopes and illusions will fall away rapidly. Even though it has won the support of the overwhelming majority of the workers movement and the whole working class, the Parti Québécois, as a bourgeois party, has only one choice: to manage the capitalist crisis."

After the general euphoria fades away the PQ will show its true face as a party caught between its base and its bourgeois plans, caught between its desire to carry out negotiations with American imperialism and the Canadian state, and the aspirations of the masses for national independence."

As for the PQ proposals for elections, referendums, and various negotiations that could ultimately lead to independence for Québec, the article warns: "This party has neither the interest, the will, nor the power to end national oppression once and for all."

At the same time, other articles in the issue point out that the PQ victory was "a significant political setback for the imperialist bourgeoisie, particularly for the Canadian bourgeoisie."

It was a "stiff blow" to the Trudeau government's plan to maintain a centralized Canadian state. "The perspective of seeing Québec separate from Canada is unacceptable to the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie. Independence for Québec would mark the end of the Canadian Confederation."

libération

A socialist monthly published in Montréal. Presents the views of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action.

In the December issue editor Colleen Levis writes on "The Left and the Elections in Québec."

The two groups in Québec associated with the Fourth International, the Ligue

Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO) and the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR), both presented candidates. The GMR supported the LSO's candidate, Paul Kouri, while the LSO supported the three candidates offered by the GMR.

The two main themes of the LSO campaign were "For an independent and socialist Québec," and "For a mass labor party based on the trade unions."

The LSO called for a vote for twenty-one candidates presented by a coalition of the Québec New Democratic party (NDP)—a small group of supporters of the mass reformist labor party in English Canada—and the Regroupment of Trade Union Activists (RMS), a group of unionists campaigning for the unions to launch a labor party.

While Levis notes that the coalition's call for a labor party was positive in relation to the support given to the procapitalist Parti Québécois by most unionists, she characterizes its program as "reformist."

She points out, "On the national question, while the NDP-RMS defended the right to self-determination of the Québécois, it proposed in place of national independence the elaboration of a new Canadian constitution." This position—particularly in view of the federal New Democratic party's stand against Québec nationalism—"tends to place the coalition on the side of federalism against the masses' sentiment for independence."

The coalition supported the LSO candidate.

Levis notes that while a third Trotskyist organization, the Socialist Workers Group of Québec (affiliated to the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International), supported the LSO candidate, and backed the NDP-RMS slate "without conditions or criticisms," it refused to support the GMR's candidates.

As for the Stalinists, the pro-Peking Communist party of Canada/Marxist-Leninist denounced the elections as a "farce" and called for abstention. The pro-Moscow CP ran candidates in fourteen ridings, calling for the formation of a "mass, federated workers party," so as to "exert pressure on the PQ with the aim of forming an alliance with it."

ΣΟΣΙΑΛΙΣΤΙΚΗ ΕΚΦΡΑΣΗ

"*Sosialistike Ekphrasē*" (Socialist Expression), central organ of the youth affiliate of the Cypriot Social Democratic party. Published fortnightly in Nicosia, Cyprus.

The November 4 issue has a two-page

article on the Russian revolution. The author, Sophokles Rousos, presents a favorable view of the revolution, the Bolshevik party, and its leaders. The article concludes with a section on the soviets under the title "Organs of Workers Struggle and Workers Power."

"Above all, the soviets represented the form of workers power. Very quickly the leading figures among the Russian Marxists understood this. In 1905, Lenin wrote: 'I think . . . that politically the soviets of workers deputies must be seen as the embryo of the future workers government.' . . . Trotsky also said that fundamentally the soviets were a workers government in embryonic form. . . ."

"After March 1917, the soviets began functioning as a second government. . . . For the workers, they represented their government, existing side by side with the provisional government (the government of the bourgeoisie). In essence, they were the embryo of the new government and existed alongside the old until the working class organized itself to overthrow it, until the counterrevolution was defeated. . . ."

"The Russian soviets were not unique. Such bodies have generally arisen in conditions where in its struggles the working class was on the advance and preparing to take power."

Guardian

An independent radical newsweekly, published in New York.

The December 1 issue includes a page-long article by Shepherd Bliss on the situation in Panama. It conforms to the Maoist outlook of the editors. Bliss's attitude to the Torrijos regime is rather ambiguous:

"A correct assessment of the Torrijos government is no simple matter. There is considerable controversy on this question, among Panamanians and Panama's anti-imperialist supporters here in the U.S. and throughout Latin America.

"Torrijos himself claims to be 'neither with the left nor the right but with the Panamanian people.' His government is often described as 'nationalist' or 'progressive,' though some dispute the description. In the Latin American context of rising reactionary governments it is definitely one of the most progressive governments, next only to Cuba among Spanish-speaking countries. But the Torrijos government is not socialist or revolutionary."

One question on which Bliss did take a clear and unambiguous stand was on Trotskyism.

"In this crisis period, the Panamanian left has not yet developed a unified leading force. Nonstudent leftist political

formations—such as the Moscow-line People's Party—are reformist or revisionist. They provide considerable technical skills to the Torrijos government, but they compromise any revolutionary role by remaining uncritical of Torrijos.

"Student-based groups, such as FER, are actively attempting to expand their base into the urban and rural proletariat and the peasantry. There is also a move to unite the various revolutionary groups. But these emerging groups are quite young and inexperienced and have made many crucial mistakes.

"Trotskyism remains a strong influence within these groups, weakening their ability to move forward. One of Latin America's most active affiliates of the Trotskyist Fourth International is Panama's Revolutionary Socialist League (LSR). One of its leaders, Miguel Antonio Bernal, was exiled in January to Mexico and is currently on a U.S. speaking tour.

"This strong Trotskyist influence on Panama's revolutionary left has produced forms of ultra-'leftism' and splits within the revolutionary forces which have seriously retarded Panama's revolutionary process."

Socialist Action

Published twice monthly in Wellington, New Zealand.

The November 19 issue has a number of articles describing further developments in the New Zealand government's racist campaign to deport Pacific Islander "overstayers," as well as the growing opposition to it. (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 1, p. 1570, and December 6, p. 1765.)

"Public outcry has put an end to police random checks of suspected unregistered overstayers," Hugh Fyson reports. "But with special squads to track these people down in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch, the harassment of Islanders continues."

In Auckland, with a Samoan community of 20,000, the Samoan Advisory Council warned that "the mood in the Samoan community is electric." The council demanded a general amnesty for all overstayers and charged that the government's statements and actions are very racist in spite of endless denials."

One member of a parliamentary delegation from Tonga complained that the New Zealand regime might as well send Tongan overstayers back in coffins. "There is no work, no food, no hope for them in Tonga," he said.

An interesting sidelight on the reaction of the left to the government's racist campaign is reported by George Fyson.

Fyson notes that in Wellington, unlike many other areas, there were public meetings but no marches organized to protest the deportations. He points to the opposition of the New Zealand Maoists to such demonstrations. One Maoist leader



explained that "the time is not right" for such actions.

Fyson concludes: "Their actions reflect the Maoist line that if oppressed nationalities such as Pacific Island peoples in New Zealand and Maoris go 'too far' in pushing their demands, it will cause 'divisions among the working class.' This line is nothing but a concession to the worst racist prejudices of pakeha [white] workers."

DIRECT ACTION

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

The November 25 issue reports: "Two Socialist Workers Party candidates will contest the seat of Denison in the Tasmanian State elections to be held on December 11. The two candidates are John Tully, president of the Tasmanian Student Teachers Association, and Rosanne Fidler, an Arts and Crafts tutor at Tasmania University. Under the Tasmanian electoral system, seven members are elected to represent each of five electorates."

The SWP scored the failure of the Labor party government of Billy Neilson, the Tasmanian premier, to protect workers' interests.

"The Neilson Labor Government has a disgraceful record of refusing to support the struggles of working people to protect their rights. In addition it has not lifted a finger to prevent the despoliation of Tasmania's environment by big companies and it displays a callous disregard for the safety of all working people by welcoming the United States nuclear warship *Enterprise* into the port of Hobart. Nevertheless in the elections, the SWP candidates will be calling for a return of a Labor government. This is because the ALP is the party built by the trade-union movement to represent it politically."

The socialist candidates distributed a campaign program outlining their solutions to Tasmania's problems. In contrast to the procapitalist policies of the Labor leadership, they focused central attention on the demand, "Jobs for all," to be provided by reducing hours of work with no cut in pay, and by the institution of a massive program of socially useful public works.

Internationales

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

The December 10 issue carries an interview with the Ukrainian antibureaucratic fighter Leonid Plyushch, who has been visiting Sweden at the invitation of the local Amnesty International.

On the strength of the opposition in the Soviet Union, Plyushch said: "That is hard to estimate. There is no united opposition either. For example, it includes representatives of religious and national minority groups. But those of us who make up the Marxist opposition are the ones considered most dangerous. We are the ones they put in so-called mental hospitals."

As to the perspectives of the opposition, Plyushch said: "We can only succeed if the opposition becomes a mass movement. Today it consists mainly of isolated intellectuals like me, who often have gotten their start from studying Lenin's *State and Revolution*. There is, or was, a more organized group of Marxist oppositionists in Moscow, but for the most part we cannot speak of any organized Marxist opposition.

"It seems that the opposition is continuing to grow. It is hard to know for sure. Most information comes in the form of rumors. . . . But there are signs that the opposition is reaching the level of its high point in 1968."

Plyushch said that he thought the social base of the opposition was widening. "I think that the opposition is beginning to penetrate into the factories more extensively than before. We know that there have been strikes, although it is hard to confirm such reports in most cases. . . . Most of these strikes, of course, have been crushed. In other cases, the government has accepted some demands, and then jailed the workers who played the leading role. Workers who are popular in the factories and show an oppositionist attitude end up in a 'mental hospital.' Those with less support have their working lives made a hell. They are shifted to the worst jobs and subjected to constant harassment."

Plyushch is campaigning in defense of the imprisoned dissidents Valentyn Moroz and Vladimir Bukovsky. He pointed out that the Soviet authorities are sensitive to certain types of pressure, in particular from scientists and trade unionists, as well as from the Western CPs. He said that some CPs have helped but that they could do much more: "The Italian and French Communist parties have made some statements, but these have always been very general. They have never raised any specific demands."

AROUND THE WORLD



Victory for Morgentaler

The three-and-one-half-year ordeal of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, the courageous Canadian fighter for women's rights, has finally come to an end. On December 10 the minister of justice in Québec's newly elected Parti Québécois (PQ) government announced the withdrawal of all charges against Morgentaler and urged the federal government in Ottawa to change its abortion law because the ban on abortion cannot be enforced.

The PQ minister, Marc-André Bedard, made clear that this did not mean that his government was giving approval to the right of women to choose abortion. "I have ordered the police to maintain their surveillance on all abortionists, especially those whose judicial situation is not the same as Dr. Morgentaler," Bedard said.

However, the decision to drop the charges against Morgentaler is a clear—although belated—victory. Morgentaler was arrested in 1973 for operating an abortion clinic in Montréal in defiance of Canada's reactionary abortion law.

Facing separate trials for each of the dozen abortions the government was trying to jail him for, Morgentaler was acquitted three times in jury trials. But the Canadian Supreme Court, in an unprecedented move, upheld the decision of a Québec appeals court overturning one of the jury verdicts and sentenced Morgentaler to jail. He served ten months in prison, and his case became a rallying point for feminists throughout Canada.

Dissident Vigil in Moscow Attacked

A silent vigil by a small group of Soviet dissidents in Moscow ended in a violent melee December 5. Dissidents have gathered for the past ten years on December 5—Constitution Day—in front of the monument to Aleksandr Pushkin, the great nineteenth-century poet and opponent of

tsarist repression. The monument is on Gorki Street, one of Moscow's main thoroughfares.

This year, the protesters were jostled and pushed away from the monument by a surging crowd. Nobel prize winner Andrei D. Sakharov, who took part in the vigil, accused the secret police of engineering the attack. "Such things cannot happen [here] without the approval of high-placed people," he said. "I consider this a provocation designed to create the impression that the demonstrators were disturbing public order."

Egyptian Students Demonstrate for Right to Organize Party

About 500 students demonstrated in Cairo outside the People's Assembly November 25 to demand the right to form a political party outside the control of the ruling Arab Socialist Union. The students, reportedly members of the Egyptian Communist League, denounced the three sham parties recently established by President Anwar el-Sadat.

Sadat has indicated that the Arab Socialist Union will continue to control the finances of his "parties" and review their programs to ensure that they remain within limits acceptable to the regime.

LDP Jolted in Japanese Elections

Japan's Liberal Democratic party (LDP), badly shaken by the Lockheed bribes scandal, was dealt a setback in the general elections December 5. The number of seats it held in the House of Representatives, the lower house of the Diet (parliament), fell from 265 to 249. The share of the popular vote it received declined from 46.9 percent to 41.8 percent.

After the elections, eight independents pledged their support to the LDP, giving it a bare majority of 257 seats in the 511-seat

house. For the past 21 years, the LDP, the country's only major bourgeois party, has ruled Japan with a comfortable legislative majority.

The second largest party in the house is the Socialist party, which now holds 123 seats, an increase of 11. The Communist party's representation dropped from 39 to 17 seats.

The Komeito (Clean Government party), the Democratic Socialist party, and the New Liberal Club all scored gains in the elections. The Komeito, the political wing of the Soka Gakkai Buddhist sect, jumped from 30 seats to 55. The DSP, a right-wing split-off from the Socialist party, increased its representation from 19 to 29 seats. The New Liberal Club, which split from the LDP earlier this year, won 17 seats, compared to its previous 5.

Carmel Budiardjo Barred from U.S.

The State Department has denied a travel visa to visit the United States to Carmel Budiardjo, a British citizen who is an outspoken opponent of the repressive U.S.-backed regime in Indonesia. Budiardjo was herself imprisoned for three years without trial after the 1965 military coup during which between 500,000 and one million Indonesians were slaughtered by rightists.

Budiardjo had previously visited the United States in 1975 to speak out in defense of Indonesian political prisoners and was scheduled to lecture in the United States again this fall.

According to syndicated columnist Jack Anderson, a State Department official admitted that the Indonesian regime had requested that Budiardjo be barred from the United States, although he denied that the request was the reason for the denial of the visa.

Four-Month House Arrest Ends for Raymonda Tawil

Raymonda Tawil, a Palestinian activist in the West Bank town of Ramallah, was released from nearly four months of house arrest by an Israeli military governor December 10. No formal charges were ever lodged against Tawil, who had frequently served as a source of news for foreign reporters about events in the occupied West Bank.

"They say I have been poisoning the foreign media with false news," Tawil told *New York Times* correspondent William E.



Stevenson/Los Angeles Times

Farrell on November 5. "But isn't it up to the press to determine, whether it is false or not?" she asked.

During her ordeal, Tawil was not allowed out of her house at all. A policeman was stationed outside her door and her telephone was disconnected. Visitors were required to give their names and proof of identity to the guard, a move intended to discourage visitors from dropping in.

Sri Lanka Political Prisoners Stage Two-Day Hunger Strike

During the student and labor protests that swept Sri Lanka in November, a group of political prisoners, led by Rohana Wijeweera, carried out a two-day hunger strike in solidarity with the actions. They issued a statement demanding the resignation of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike's government and calling for continued struggles against the regime.

Wijeweera, the central leader of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front), is now serving a twenty-year prison term for his alleged role in the 1971 uprising led by young JVP members. About 2,000 other JVP members and sympathizers are in jail with him.

Mexican Judge Voids Land Expropriation

A federal judge in Mexico City has ruled that the expropriation of 250,000 acres of farmland and the distribution of the land to poor peasants in the state of Sonora was illegal. The ruling, made public December 11, overturned a decision by former President Luis Echeverría Alvarez. It clears the way for the use of force against the 8,000 peasant families that have occupied the expropriated land in Sonora, as well as against thousands of other peasants who have carried out land occupations in the neighboring state of Sinaloa.

Protests on West Bank

Israeli occupation authorities imposed the third curfew in five days on the West Bank city of Nablus December 12 in an attempt to stop a new wave of protests there. Demonstrations throughout the occupied West Bank were set off December 6 after the extension of an 8 percent sales tax to the area.

Amnesty International Charges 20,000 Murders in Guatemala

More than 20,000 persons, many of them political dissidents, have been murdered by Guatemalan death squads over the last ten years, according to a report by Amnesty International released December 11.

The report charges that "massive killings" began in the 1960s in the name of counterinsurgency and anticommunism. They were carried out by official police and military groups as well as by paramilitary

forces, which operated with "the knowledge and, at times, close cooperation of government authorities."

Effects of Angolan Civil War

One million persons—one out of every six Angolans—are estimated to have been uprooted by the country's civil war. Jaime Balcázar Aranibar of Bolivia, the chief United Nations representative in Luanda, reports that "Malnutrition is very prevalent, especially in the north. The people ate their seeds, so now they have none to plant. In some places, the workers did not harvest the crops after the Portuguese owners fled, and the coffee crop especially is hard hit. It's down to 20 percent of normal."

Widespread malnutrition has led to the rise of endemic diseases such as tuberculosis, intestinal infection, and tetanus.

"In some areas," Balcázar reports, "people are in danger of starving."

Seoul Students Protest Bribe Scandal

About 300 students began a protest at Seoul National University December 8 to protest the Park regime's bribery of American congressmen and to demand the lifting of an emergency decree that bans all demonstrations. They also called for revision of the constitution. Riot police quickly moved in to disperse the demonstration and arrested at least six students.

Although the bribery scandal has never been reported by the heavily censored South Korean press, the manifesto distributed by the students declared, "Tens of millions of dollars have been stuffed into the pockets of Ford, Kissinger and many U.S. Congressmen to ask them to help support the present Government." The manifesto also stated that the bribery scandal had "brought to the ground the self-pride of the Korean people."

It was the second recent attempt by students at Seoul National University to stage a protest against the Park regime. In October, 300 students stood up during a campus festival to demand the lifting of the emergency decree.

SWP Condemns Supreme Court's Attack on Women's Rights

In a decision hailed as "a big victory for employers" by the *Wall Street Journal*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled December 7 that employers could exclude pregnancy from disability compensation plans. Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president in the November elections, denounced the ruling in a statement to the press December 13:

"It is a matter of simple logic and justice to treat pregnancy like any other medical condition requiring a worker to be absent from his or her job. Anything short of this is blatant sex discrimination.

"Why was justice blind to the simplicity of this issue? The wording of the majority decision shows that the court was moved by the General Electric Company's assertion that paid maternity leaves would cost employers \$1.6 billion annually. Plainly stated, the Supreme Court put profits before women's rights."

\$76 Million Boondoggle

The Pentagon has set out to increase the flow of dollars to the munitions industry—which hasn't had a war to supply in more than two years—by ordering new guns for the U.S. Navy.

Because they are armed to the teeth with missiles, most Navy warships now carry one or at most two rapid-firing five-inch guns of the same caliber used by destroyers in World War II.

To correct this, the Pentagon has spent \$76 million to develop a heavier, eight-inch gun for its ships. It now plans to spend \$718 million to produce forty of the new guns and install them on its newest cruisers.

The only problem with the new weapon is that recent tests "raised serious questions about the gun's operational effectiveness and suitability," according to a government report by the General Accounting Office (GAO). In other words, it didn't work.

The GAO produced evidence that the new gun, intended for the long-range bombardment of fortified targets, "will expend all of its ammunition" in attempting to destroy such targets. According to officials who studied the classified GAO report, the gun would use five magazine loads of ammunition before scoring its first hit on a target more than ten miles away. The gun is supposed to have a range of up to twenty miles.

For cartoonist Herblock's comment, see below.



Herblock/Washington Post

The Lotta Continua Congress

By Livio Maitan

[The following article appeared in the November 25 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The second national congress of Lotta Continua (LC—Struggle Continues), one of the largest organizations of the Italian far left, was held in Rimini October 31–November 4. The first congress of the group had been held at the beginning of 1975 (before that there had been various national assemblies).

A very lively discussion opened up in Lotta Continua after the elections of June 20, 1976. Various positions were expressed during meetings held on all levels of the organization and in the columns of the daily newspaper, also called Lotta Continua. At the end of July a national assembly was devoted to a discussion of the causes of the electoral failure of Democrazia Proletaria (DP—Proletarian Democracy)¹ and to a new analysis of the political situation in the country. The national congress was prepared by two long internal bulletins, which included the documents and discussions of a whole series of national meetings (the assembly of late July, the national workers assembly held at the beginning of October, and others). No document was submitted by the outgoing leadership nor by any other body of the organization. A document published in the daily newspaper in mid-October was limited to posing some organizational and leadership problems. It put forward a proposal to nominate a new national secretariat excluding some of the best known leaders (among them the secretary, Adriano Sofri), who had themselves attempted “to win over the rank and file again” in various cities.

The congress was attended by 1,000–2,000 delegates, observers, and invited guests. Discussion was opened by a long report by Sofri. Immediately after this report the congress divided up into four separate assemblies, the aim being to foster broader participation in the discussion. But from the very outset another, more substantial division occurred. On the one hand the women—some of whom were no longer members of the organization—

met to discuss their problems and their intervention at the congress; on the other hand the workers acted basically within the same logic. At the same time, other gatherings were held on sectoral bases (youth, particular sectors of intervention, and so on).

The discussion, very extensively dominated by the women militants, was extremely fragmented. In the end no text was voted on. It was decided to continue the congress in the local bodies. The only vote concerned the election of a National Committee, a vote in which delegates, invited guests, and observers all participated with the same status! This committee has sixty members, of which about twenty are workers. The women decided not to participate in the vote (the only woman elected was Lisa Foa, a longtime militant and former member of the Communist party). The national secretariat has not yet been elected as of this writing.

Some ‘Shake-ups’

In an attempt to grasp the elements that lay at the root of the crisis of the organization, which broke out just after June 20, Sofri spoke in his report of several “shake-ups”: November 25 in Portugal, the December 6 women’s demonstration in Rome,² the June 20 elections, and the Chinese crisis after the death of Mao. At the same time, he tried to set down some reference points for the congress discussion and to define a few lines of orientation. This attempt failed completely. The report was taken up in only a few interventions. The congress unfolded according to a dynamic that completely escaped the effort at political recomposition made by the reporter. It must be immediately added that Sofri did not even sketch out a response to some of the great problems posed by these “shake-ups” (especially as far as Portugal is concerned), and when speaking of China he reduced Maoism to the dimensions of a method. Which was frankly too little. Worse yet: the definition of this method was based on certain variants of Maoism of the time of the “cultural revolution” much more than on

2. During this demonstration a Lotta Continua defense guard tried to impose the presence of a contingent of male militants in a contingent that was supposed to be limited to women. In the wake of the incidents that followed, the women militants of LC occupied the party’s national headquarters during a meeting of the National Committee and forced a public self-criticism.

1. Democrazia Proletaria was the far-left slate in the June 20 elections. It was composed of militants of several organizations, including Lotta Continua.

historical Maoism. It was extremely revealing that Sofri emphasized “the preponderant subjective character of Maoism, which is not only opposite to Stalinist economism, but also far from the objective realism of the Leninist theory of the crisis and the revolution” (in spite of some voluntarist features he noted in Lenin).

The Report Falls in a Vacuum

The section of the report dealing with the situation in Italy and orientations after June 20 was mainly devoted to two problems: the evolution of the Communist party (PCI) and the role of the trade unions. Sofri was rather clear: the PCI is henceforth a government party and is rapidly evolving toward the party of the system (some speakers maintained that it had already become such a party). According to Langer, another member of the outgoing secretariat, the PCI acts as an “instrument for the promotion of Italian imperialism.” As for the unions, according to Sofri they are “articulations of the capitalist state” and instruments of governmental policy. The mass organizations for the present and future struggles will have to be built on the basis of these premises, in a logic of opposition to the existing organizations (even though this does not rule out utilizing these organizations partially and temporarily). We will not repeat here the reasons why Sofri’s analytical premises are either so one-sidedly deformed or so radically erroneous and why their possible translation into practice would bring on major defeats. It is interesting to stress that to the extent that there was discussion of these problems, Sofri’s orientation was contested and sometimes explicitly rejected. This was done not only by two members who are traditionally critical-minded and considered by the great majority of LC as advocates of rightist positions (for example, Luigi Bobbio, who made one of the rare comprehensive interventions posing a series of real problems), but also by a not inconsiderable number of workers from Milan, Turin, Venice, etc. These workers stressed the necessity of not characterizing the relations between the PCI and the masses schematically. They reaffirmed that the trade unions remain the only viable mass organs in the eyes of the overwhelming majority of the proletariat. On the question of workers coordinating bodies, which have arisen on several occasions in some big factories and in some cities during past years, the erroneous positions of those who view these bodies as mass organs outside and against the trade unions were countered by the more correct positions of those who emphasized their role as instruments of liaison and organization of the vanguard with the aim of waging a more effective battle of clarification and mobilization both among the masses and within the real mass organizations.

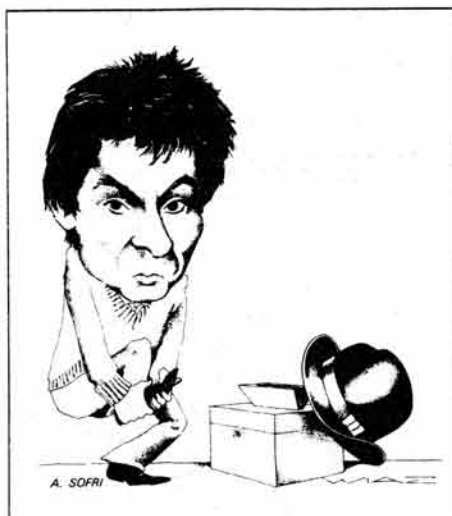
The congress offered no response to these questions, which were considered of capital importance by at least some of the delegates. Nor can Sofri's report be lent any authority; in fact, it was not even submitted to a vote. The negative consequences will inevitably be felt by militants engaged in the difficult struggles of this period, who will not be aided much by the rhetoric published in the daily newspaper on the "congress that continues."

A Pyrrhic Victory

All the commentaries have stressed that the feminist militants were the winners at the congress. The future will tell whether their victory was a Pyrrhic one. For our part, we are convinced that the women's liberation movement would have much to lose and nothing to gain by a weakening or disintegration of LC or other components of the far left. But it is undeniable that the women militants imposed their conception on the congress, forcing everybody to deal with their problems and acting more or less as an organized fraction (with the anomaly, compared to "classical" fraction models, that a not negligible portion of the fraction had already left the organization).

The logic that had already taken shape in some provincial congresses, particularly that of Turin, became the logic of the national congress. Its development may be synthesized in the very long separate meetings held by women on the one hand and workers on the other and in the confused and contradictory confrontations in the plenary assemblies. The effort to translate this counterposition into a counterposition of "workers centrality vs. feminist centrality" led inevitably to a total impasse and practically blew up the congress. Especially since the leading group which had convoked the congress and had, through the vehicle of Sofri's report, sought to set a framework for the discussion disappeared from the scene almost completely.

The explosion of feminist dissent at the congress reflects a phenomenon that goes well beyond the limits of Lotta Continua. While in the past LC was the most representative expression of the movements of dissent and radicalization that developed after 1968, the Rimini congress appeared as a reflection of varying social situations and expressed real phenomena and needs, even if in extreme and most often mystifying forms. The most disparate problems were raised during the five days of the congress; some interventions, such as that dealing with the struggle in the prisons, were marked by great human tension. But the battle of the women militants, in the form in which it developed, had no political result. In the end the congress limited itself to registering realities and to deciding that "the contradiction must remain open." The extremely arduous problems, genuinely



Wiaz/Inprecor

Lotta Continua leader Adriano Sofri

new to a large extent, which the explosion of the women's movement has posed for the workers movement as a whole and particularly for the revolutionary organizations—problems of theoretical generalization and of comprehension of the practical dynamic, problems of definition of strategic convergence in the overall anticapitalist struggle, problems of determining the most immediate objectives—were not formulated in their real terms, not even approximately.

The worker militants, initially opposed to the women, found themselves in a completely false position. The most sensitive of them understood this after several hours and preferred not to engage in an absurd battle or else limited themselves to making self-criticisms inspired by a guilt complex which is after all justified. Others, both in their interventions and in the discussion on the fringes of the assemblies, did not avoid exhibiting their male chauvinism, thus heading into a shameful defeat and personal and political crises that could lead them to leave the organization. The whole series of problems advanced in Rimini by the women militants and outside Rimini by significant components of the feminist movement could obviously not be exhausted in the framework of a single congress. Nevertheless, to avoid this impasse the congress, beginning from the explosive impact the women's movement has now acquired in the crisis of the system, should have clearly reaffirmed that a revolutionary strategy absolutely must take up the problems posed by a movement which represents a mobilizing anticapitalist political force. It should have recognized more explicitly (and this concerns not only LC, but the whole revolutionary movement) that the man-woman opposition has profoundly marked the workers movement itself. This movement has paid and is paying the price for ignorance and historic underestimation. It should have been recognized that problems

of morals and revolutionary behavior have been completely mystified without any development of consciousness of the ravages patriarchal society has inflicted on male revolutionary militants as well. The conclusion should have been drawn that the mass movement of women must have a *specific* independence of all the other mass movements and that independent bodies of women militants must exist within the revolutionary organizations.

This being clarified, it was necessary to broach the confrontation with some more or less explicitly formulated theories and vigorously defended orientations. In our view in the final analysis certain positions of the feminist current manifested at the congress lend priority to biological elements as opposed to concrete historical elements. The logical consequence, whether this is the intention of the militants or not (to be precise, some of them overtly reject Marx and Lenin), is a negation of materialist conceptions on the theoretical level and the inevitable impasse of seeking personal solutions on the practical level, sometimes accompanied by moral-mystical tendencies (some interventions almost took the form of confessions of sins).

On the other side, a number of interventions, beginning from the correct idea that the overthrow of the capitalist system will not automatically eliminate all forms of the oppression of women, nevertheless wound up turning a deaf ear to the primordial importance of this overthrow and instead stressed the transformation of consciousness, habits, and morals, with a turn away from the Marxist materialist conception. The development of consciousness and the organization of movements which contest on all fields are necessities for the revolutionary battle and it is imperative for revolutionaries to struggle against any sort of mentality and behavior marked by prejudices and conservatism. But if the transformation of consciousness is considered the priority, there inevitably follows an idealist deformation which implies an objectively reformist outlook from the political standpoint. This danger had been understood during the pre-congress discussion by one woman militant who had written in the newspaper: "Our choices cannot make an abstraction of the political phase we are in. I am convinced that the overthrow of capitalism will not take place through the destruction of the family by virtue of the struggle of women taken individually, but through the destruction of the social system, to which women can make a fundamental contribution, provided they take a correct class position." But nobody at the congress recalled this elementary truth.

Impasse of Neo-Spontaneism

The fact that a whole series of important political problems posed in the report and taken up again in the most valuable interventions by worker delegates were

never answered indicated the heavy negative heritage under which the congress functioned. This could not be wiped out by the neo-spontanéist rhetoric of the commentaries published in the daily newspaper about "the richness of the contradictions opened" and "a congress that only Lotta Continua could have held."

We have spoken of neo-spontanéism. A tendency of this variety has been manifested in the most recent period, even outside LC. In hailing all the movements, not only for their independence but also for their divisive effects, and in renouncing, even in the report itself, the projection of any overall political outlet, the congress stimulated an objectively and subjectively centrifugal dynamic by making considerable concessions to a spontanéism that is partly new and partly nostalgic. This sort of return to LC's origins—which had, incidentally, been rejected by the leading group during the period leading up to the congress—was exhibited particularly in a commentary published in Lotta Continua on November 6: "The men and women comrades who have found their reference point in LC all these years have once again experienced the independence that is born of struggle. A few years ago it was the workers who shouted 'We want it all' (*Vogliamo tutto*—one of Lotta Continua's main slogans in its early period—*Inprecor*). Now the women also 'want it all,' as do the unemployed, the people who lack housing, and the youth. Ans soon it will be the turn of the handicapped, the children, and the old people." It had appeared that experience had made LC understand that the 1968 conception "we want it all" was primitive. It had seemed that especially since 1972 LC had begun to understand the necessity of developing a

strategy and tactics and that the organization's first national congress (held in 1975) had represented the most systematic effort yet made in this direction. But now the second congress appears as the negation of the first. LC has again begun to flirt with "we want it all" and once again to underestimate the hard work of building an alternative and a revolutionary party and has instead decided to take another bath in the "spontaneous" movement. Although a document published in the daily newspaper on October 17 had denounced "the bankruptcy of a composition of leading bodies that would ascribe preponderant weight to representation by social position, sex, generation, sector, and region" and instead emphasized the criteria of "overall personal political qualification in relation to the decisive problems of political line," the congress accepted a diametrically opposite solution, leading the organization back to a *stage of being a sum of components*.

The feverish neo-spontanéist pressure was accompanied by a basic mystification. The congress presented as "the movement" what is in the best of cases only a limited section of the movement. It attributed to the masses states of mind and orientations that are in fact shared only by certain layers or even rather limited nuclei. This deformation appeared in the interventions of some Fiat workers who identified their own rage and their own way of reacting with the reflexes of the entire working class, without bothering much about making distinctions. But it appeared even more strikingly in all the interventions that confused the level of the limited feminist groups with the level of the mass movement of women. The spontanéist error was thus intensified, for while

spontanéism that reflects a mass tendency at a given stage can permit a linkup with the masses even if it does not define overall political objectives, spontanéism that mystifies the concrete reality of the movement inevitably leads to confusion and isolation for those who accept it.

There lies the nub of Lotta Continua's impasse. The experiences of the past several years should have convinced everyone—and before Rimini LC seemed convinced as much as anyone else—that it was no longer possible to win real successes on the basis of spontaneous movements. The very character of the current situation requires comprehensive responses, organized vanguard initiatives, mass mobilizations with a political dynamic. Even during the discussions at Rimini, many interventions by workers highlighted the fact that the October days of struggle in the factories, which played a central role, were not spontaneous explosions but mass responses made possible by the initiative of broad vanguard elements capable of understanding the state of mind of the masses and stimulating effective struggles. But all this was forgotten in the tempest of a chaotic discussion.

It is not in anyone's interest for the capital of militants represented by Lotta Continua to be paralyzed or to risk dangerous erosion precisely at this time. That is why it would be desirable if reality would force LC to reflect more deeply and to carry out political initiatives that would permit its cadres to play a valuable role in the difficult battles now under way in the Italian workers movement, in which the vanguard that has matured during the past ten years has an important part to play.

November 16, 1976

定期購読で

インターコンティネンタル・プレスを!

"Regularly buy and read the periodical INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS!"

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

Right on!

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

So fill out the blank and mail it in.

Intercontinental Press

P.O. Box 116

Village Station

New York, New York 10014

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Enclosed is \$12 for six months.

Enclosed is \$24 for one year.

Interview With Leader of French LCR

[The following interview with René Yvetot of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International) was conducted by Hervé Hamon and published in the November 15-24 issue of the Paris weekly magazine *Politique Hebdo*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Despite the relative rigidity that is both its strength and its weakness, the LCR, which is now in a pre-congress period, has not escaped the (temporary?) crisis rocking the far left.

This crisis is a moral one. For many, political activism has become unbearable. The eruption of the women's revolt, among other factors, is turning upside down the social relations that have prevailed up till now in the revolutionary left.

It is a crisis of organization. Copying the Bolshevik model, even restored to its pre-Stalinist "purity," has led to dysfunctions. A proliferation of documents and the freezing of thought in overinstitutionalized stereotypes has produced a phenomenon of rejection. This has resulted in an underpoliticalization of the activists and in the intermediary cadres becoming mired in bureaucratism; it has increased the gap between the top and the base.

The crisis is also a political one. The contrast between the political marginalization of the far left and its real base in the unions (where war has been officially declared on it) inspires a retreat into a sectarian siege mentality or else opportunism, which may be either open or disguised. The failure of the unity moves toward the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party] has provided the archeo-Trotskyist faction once again with arguments. Finally, laying out an orientation heedful of the real mass movement, one freed from the mythology that minorities can outflank the mass organizations, involves deepgoing strategic and theoretical reassessments.

The Ligue is going through its "moment of self-criticism." We asked René Yvetot to explain how and why.

* * *

Question. In its desire to avoid a certain drift, isn't the LCR falling back on incantatory propagandism, using voluntarist and futile formulas such as "We aren't waiting for 1978" [the date of the upcoming legislative elections, which

some polls indicate the Union of the Left may win]?

Answer. I don't deny that there is a crying contradiction between the political crisis the regime is experiencing and the difficulty the far left finds in intervening effectively to take advantage of this crisis. But this contradiction is not inherent in the far left. It reflects a more fundamental contradiction between the political crisis of the bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the relative weakness, and above all the dispersed nature, of response by the working class, even though the Barre [austerity] plan represents the sharpest bourgeois attack since 1958 [when de Gaulle took power].

This said, I think that May 1968 marked the end of the iron grip of the PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist party], and what awaits us when the left is in the government is not a repetition of June 1936 or May 1968, a strike with rather passive factory occupations. I think that what we will see is a prolonged process of the extension of workers control, a "creeping May" in the Italian style.

What must be done, what must be said before we reach that point? We would no doubt agree that if any response is an unrealistic one it is that of the union leaderships who think the fight against the Barre plan has to be fought on a shop-by-shop, industry-by-industry basis, and through national days of protest. The workers themselves who vote for the SP and CP understand that this tactic is totally ineffective and prefer to conserve their strength until the elections. They go into action only under pressure of a factory closure or a deterioration in their working conditions. You could be tempted to think: "Let's wait, along with the workers." But the problem is not whether to wait or not. After all, since the Paris Commune, we have all waited quite a while. The question is whether this tactic weakens, whether it divides, the working class.

So, what is happening? The "backward" sectors of labor don't understand this "political" attitude on the part of the unions, they don't understand these big demonstrations without unifying slogans. The victims of unemployment don't accept this patience, and for better or worse, they are trying to achieve coordination on their own for lack of any national trade-union support. The militant workers, in particular the young workers, are becoming demoralized. And the traditional middle strata are getting caught up in

lobbying for their special interests. So, can we just grit our teeth and wait for better times?

Q. You still have to offer some sort of alternative, which has not only to be coherent but also understandable to those to whom it is addressed. Isn't that so?

A. We put forward our slogans along three axes. The first is the need for a national, united response to the Barre plan. Of course, you can't create a general strike by words. But the way for one can be prepared by setting objectives that can unite the class, rather than a plethora of "negotiable" demands. The second axis is workers control, which is the kingpin. Why don't the French unions put out special tax stickers bearing the old rate, as their Italian counterparts have done? Why don't they set up a workers inquiry commission at Dassault? Collective refusal to pay rents, experiments in keeping a check on prices—is this something abstract?

The third axis is offering a central political perspective. Let's remember what Chirac [former premier] told the postal workers: "There is no question of a government elected democratically by the nation as a whole giving in to one category of workers." If Barre started talking the same language, what would be a realistic response that would be understood by the workers? Wouldn't it be: "You are a minority; everything indicates that. You'd better give in to our demands, or make way for an SP-CP government." Isn't that a credible response?

Q. In practice, the October 7 demonstration [against austerity] didn't even take up the slogan "They are a minority, we are the majority." And this brings us back to the previous question.

A. It's wrong to make an across-the-board statement that what we propose "isn't working." Of course, the results are limited. Some tenants committees have blocked rent increases, some unemployed committees have won free transportation, some plants have been started up again.

Q. Are we going to jump head-over-heels again into "exemplary" struggles when conflicts with "significant" implications arise?

A. But these partial offensives will prepare the way for the extension of workers control once the left is in the government. Moreover, Séguin and Maire [the reformist union leaders] make no mistake about this. They also are preparing. They are preparing to block this current, to oppose the workers demanding nationalization of their own plant. We saw a trial run of their plan at the time of the repression of the soldiers committees.

The paradox is that while the far left's capacity for political mobilization is weak,

it has a stronger base than ever in the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the CP-controlled federation] and the CFDT [Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, an independent federation of Catholic origin]. Otherwise, there would be no reason for Maire's violent, public attack in which he called for counting the "kooks."

Q. Isn't he more afraid of "unionist leftism," "rank-and-fileism," than he is of the organized revolutionary left?

A. The Thirty-Seventh Congress of the CFDT marked the fusion of both.

Q. Nonetheless, the organizations of the far left, and the Ligue in particular, are going through a severe crisis. Political activism is being challenged, the leaders, the language, and the organizational model itself.

A. That is true, it is so true that our pre-congress discussion has centered around this problem. What started this off was a severe observation. The LCR is supposed to be an inhospitable place for worker comrades and women activists. To begin with, there are reasons for this attitude that go beyond our own organization—the discouraging effect of the initial defeats of the vanguard in Latin America and of the partial defeat in Portugal, the present "lull," the relative weakness of the working-class base that enables the reformists to maintain their exclusionism, activist deviations, and the divorce between activity on the economic level and on the political.

And then there is the impact of the general crisis of values, which is hitting not just the bourgeoisie but also the workers movement, which is incapable today of offering any "counterinstitutions." The remedy for these general causes lies in the extension of workers self-organization, which as we saw at Lip is reordering social relations, including as regards women's oppression. From this standpoint, we have a three-fold task. It involves theoretical analysis, changing the relationships that exist in the organization, and getting the trade-union movement to take up these new questions.

Next, we have to solve our specific problems. First, we have to draw up a balance sheet of our post-May errors. These include the following: underestimating the economic margin for maneuver open to the bourgeoisie; underestimating the possibilities for growth of the reformists and failure to see the need to project a policy of unity with them in connection with the real mass movement; and far too long a delay in adopting unity moves directed at the far left. In a nutshell, we have to reverse a policy that was generally sectarian. Secondly, we have to revise our

system of organization and the language we use publicly and internally—including our theoretical elaboration—in line with what we call in our jargon "intervening in the mass movement."

Q. What lines of difference have shown up in the pre-congress discussion?

A. One tendency criticizes our policy of unity directed at the reformists and wants us to put more stress on denouncing them. These comrades, for example, analyze the Union of the Left as a popular front and draw the conclusion from this that it would be better to cast a blank ballot than to vote for a slate that is to include the Left Radicals in towns of more than 30,000 inhabitants. Moreover, they disapprove of the analysis we make of the "new mass vanguard," that is, the workers tending to break with the working-class leaderships. This implies a challenge to our unity proposals to the PSU, which are considered incorrect. These comrades think we should give priority to debating with formations that claim to be Trotskyist, even though we have no common work with them inside the mass organizations.

Other comrades have formed a tendency based on their thinking about social formations. They think that we underestimate the importance of the new strata of petty-bourgeois professionals, and that because of this our line has gotten off the mark. They don't draw all the consequences of their analysis as regards the struggle against hierarchical forms of organization, class alliances, the nature of the SP, or the proletarianization of our party. The debate has only begun.

Q. "Politique Hebdo" has spared no effort to promote a recomposition bringing together the far left. But it decided to suspend the "discussions about unity," so as not to artificially maintain an illusion, until the conditions are assembled again for a coming together. How do you view your prospective partners.

A. Organizations such as the PSU, Lutte Ouvrière, and Révolution are in a sense political expressions of the new mass vanguard. They have, moreover, made this explicit in their theory, and present themselves more as representatives of this vanguard than as parties. The PSU wants to be the representative of the "self-management supporters," and seeks to become the left wing of the Union of the Left. Révo and L.O. confine themselves to rank-and-file struggles, the former in the name of the "worker and peasant left" and the latter using the argument that "the workers are fed up with politicians" and accusing everybody, with us at the head of the list, of capitulating to the reformists.

Q. So, any rapprochement with the PSU is excluded?

A. On the basis of its present line, yes. But we will continue to put forward our proposals. While it is following an opportunist course, the PSU has not changed its nature and has not integrated itself into the Union of the Left.

Q. Is this course opportunism or realism?

A. Taking this perspective, it is the CERES [the SP left] that is more realistic.

Q. What attitude will the Ligue take following an electoral victory by the left?

A. In our opinion, the Union of the Left is a class-collaborationist front, as attested by the recent statements François Mitterrand made to the bosses. But, this being true, we will have to take into consideration the workers' feeling that their parties are in power. So, we will support the initiatives by the workers who will want to assist this government in their own way by taking their own affairs into their hands and establishing workers control inside the plants and outside them. We will fight to assure the extension and coordination of this rank-and-file movement of self-organization.

At the same time, we will fight to make sure that all working-class organizations can participate in this movement without any exclusionism (whether this is directed against the reformists or the ultraleft sects), and to make sure that democratic debate takes place within it. This is the only way the exploited classes develop politics and test the various strategies put forward in action.

It would be illusory, dangerous, even suicidal, to proclaim "power to the councils" while the majority of the workers continued to place their confidence in the left government. Our first concern will be to combat any policy of compromise with the bourgeois parties, with Giscard, or with the bosses. But, on the other hand, we will support any governmental measure, even of limited scope, that goes in the direction of workers power. Our short-term objective will be to press the government to counter the bourgeois offensive by basing itself on the mass movement and thus to recognize the new legality that will begin to emerge. □

200,000 Blacks at Zimbabwe Rally

The increasing expectations of the Black masses in Zimbabwe were indicated by a rally of 200,000 persons December 12. The cheering, chanting throng greeted Bishop Abel Muzorewa, one of the nationalist leaders negotiating with the Smith regime in Geneva, at the headquarters of the United African Council in the Black township of Highfield. The demonstration was twice as large as a similar gathering three months earlier that welcomed Muzorewa back from exile.