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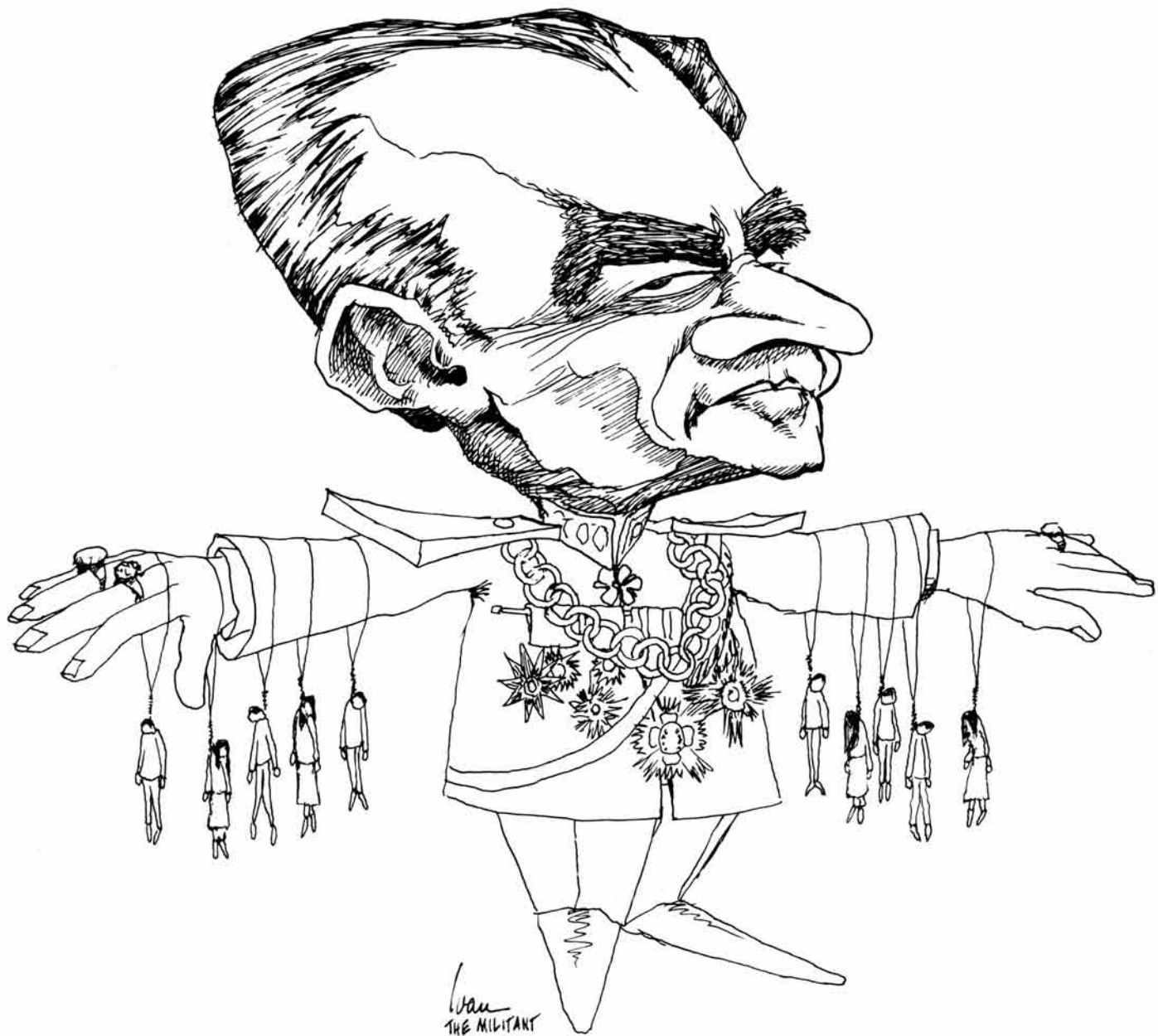
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**Reza Baraheni: Behind the Upsurge in Iran**

# NEWS ANALYSIS

## Bakke Decision—Minorities and Women Lose

By Matilde Zimmermann

On June 28 the U.S. Supreme Court issued its long-awaited decision in the *Bakke* affirmative-action test case. The court ruled that Allan Bakke had suffered "reverse discrimination" because he was white, and it struck down as unconstitutional a medical school's special-admissions program for Blacks and Chicanos.

This ruling was the most serious blow to the rights of oppressed nationalities and women in many years. The largest Black weekly in the United States, the *New York Amsterdam News*, said it bluntly in a banner headline: "Bakke: We Lose!!"

The case involved a thirty-eight-year-old white engineer's challenge to a program that set aside 16 out of 100 places at the University of California at Davis medical school for "disadvantaged students." Before the special program was instituted, no Black or Chicano had ever been admitted to the medical school—a publicly financed institution in a state where more than one-third of the population are members of oppressed nationalities.

Allan Bakke went to court after Davis turned him down, claiming that Blacks and Chicanos with lower test scores than his had been admitted to fill the sixteen special slots. The California courts agreed with Bakke that he had suffered illegal "reverse discrimination," and the U.S. Supreme Court heard the appeal in October 1977.

The *Bakke* case was the cutting edge of a drive by American capitalists to do away with the gains Blacks and other oppressed layers won through struggle over the last decade. In order to beat down the standard of living of all working people, the rulers need to be able to pit whites against the national minorities, and they need to do away with the concept that the most oppressed sectors of the working class deserve preferential treatment to make up for generations of discrimination.

It was clear from the beginning that the *Bakke* case involved much more than just whether one white ex-marine was going to get into medical school. Over the past year, defense of affirmative action and opposition to the *Bakke* ruling has been the central campaign of the civil-rights movement in the United States.

Demonstrations have been held across the country, the largest being a march of 10,000 in Washington, D.C., April 15.

An unprecedented number of friend-of-the-court briefs were filed in the *Bakke* case—many of them by civil-rights organi-

zations and student groups documenting the vital need for affirmative-action programs.

Mindful of this pro-affirmative-action sentiment, the Supreme Court waited until campuses had closed for the summer before issuing its ruling. The Court was also careful to nod in the direction of affirmative action in the abstract, while effectively outlawing any measures to implement it.

The news media has tried to portray the ruling as two-sided: on the one hand, throwing out the Davis special admissions program, but at the same time upholding affirmative action in general. The Court made sure there was something for everyone in its 200-page ruling, which included separate statements by six of the nine judges. Much has been made of two superficially conflicting 5-4 votes. In the first split vote, the majority ordered Bakke admitted; the second ruled affirmative action tolerable under certain circumstances.

But the real thrust of the decision is painfully clear. The majority ruling disallows not only fixed quotas such as existed at Davis, but the whole concept of affirmative action to redress what it calls "societal discrimination." Colleges will be permitted to notice the race of an applicant, along with various other characteristics, but only for the purpose of assuring a "diverse" student body.

Students did not fight so hard for affirmative-action programs because they thought student "diversity" was a nice idea. They fought because there was no other way oppressed minorities and women could get into the professional schools and skilled occupations that had systematically excluded them.

Through bitter experience students and workers found that the only way to implement affirmative action was through imposing fixed numerical or percentage quotas and then forcing schools, employers, and the government to meet them.

## SWP Suit Puts Attorney General Step Closer to Jail

By Ann Feder

In an unprecedented action, a federal judge has given the attorney general of the United States one week to turn over FBI files to attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance or else

Unfortunately, some civil-rights leaders have not been clear about the meaning of the *Bakke* ruling, which may make it more difficult to mobilize the necessary protests. At an emergency strategy session of Black leaders June 28, only Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH labeled the ruling "a devastating blow." Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP called it a "clear-cut victory for voluntary affirmative action," and others echoed him.

Students interviewed at the University of California at Davis were not so confused. One undergraduate considering medical school said, "We have to right past injustices, and this decision seems like a step backwards to before the '60's." A woman who works in the personnel office said, "They say it won't affect affirmative action, but I can't see how it won't. And then there goes all the progress, everything that's happened in the past 10 years." One premedical student complained angrily that the Supreme Court had waited until school was out, "and the students can't express their feelings, can't organize to show their opposition."

Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, who voted against Bakke, pointed to the far-reaching implications of the ruling in a separate statement: "It has been said that this case involves only the individual Bakke and this University. I doubt, however, that there is a computer capable of determining the number of persons and institutions that may be affected by the decision in this case." There are already between 2,000 and 3,000 "reverse discrimination" cases before the Supreme Court that could be determined by the *Bakke* ruling.

Marshall, the only Black on the Supreme Court, compared the *Bakke* decision to the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* case in which the Supreme Court made "separate but equal" the law of the land.

There were angry demonstrations in San Francisco and New York after the judges announced their decision. Before the *Bakke* ruling was announced, the National Organization for Women had called a national mobilization in support of the Equal Rights Amendment for July 9 in Washington, D.C. That demonstration has taken on added urgency now, since the fight for affirmative action must be won in order for women and oppressed minorities to have a chance at true social and economic equality. □

"automatically be in civil contempt of court."

The June 30 ruling by Judge Thomas P. Griesa came in response to a motion by the socialists in their \$40 million lawsuit

against government spying.

"... the issues in the case are grave in the extreme, involving charges of abuse of political power of the most serious nature," Griesa's ruling stated. "It is not only in the plaintiffs' interest but in the broad public interest that plaintiffs be afforded a fair opportunity to obtain and present the essential evidence about this alleged wrongdoing.

"The issues in this case relate to the most fundamental constitutional rights, which lie at the very foundation of our system of government—the right to engage in political organization and to speak freely on political subjects without interference and harassment from governmental organs."

Attorney General Griffin Bell—who likes his friends to call him "Judge"—has refused to obey Griesa's May 1977 order to turn over uncensored files on eighteen of the more than 1,300 informers used against the SWP and YSA. The order was twice upheld by the Court of Appeals and once by the U.S. Supreme Court. When Bell still refused to turn over the files, the socialists asked Judge Griesa to hold him in contempt and sentence him to jail until he decides to comply.

A June 27 court hearing on the contempt motion was packed with reporters and observers. The *New York Times* reported the next day that "Judge Griesa said that he was not indicating what decision he might reach, but his comments to both sides made it clear that he was seriously considering the contempt motion." The three television networks all covered the hearing, highlighting the unusual confrontation between the judiciary and the nation's highest law enforcement officer.

The issue that has brought Bell to the brink of a contempt charge is the "informer privilege"—the alleged right of the government to keep the identities and activities of its spies secret. At the June 27 hearing, attorney for the SWP Leonard Boudin spelled out why the informer files were so important. They would show, Boudin explained, the the FBI "used informers not for the purpose merely of gathering information, but for the purpose of actively disrupting the plaintiff organizations and for the purpose of engaging in burglaries, wiretapping, and a larger variety of activities all for the purpose, as I say, of destroying the plaintiffs' organization."

In his ruling on the contempt motion, Griesa said further government appeals "would create unjustified delay and obstruction to the production of evidence in a case involving serious charges of illegal use of informants." He rejected the SWP motion that Bell be imprisoned, but he did so "without prejudice," leaving open the possibility of using this measure to force Bell to comply. "Judge" Bell was given until 5 p.m. July 7 to decide what to do. □

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**Editor:** Joseph Hansen.

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

**Managing Editor:** Michael Baumann.

**Editorial Staff:** Jon Britton, Gerry Foley, Ernest Harsch, Fred Murphy, Susan Wald, Matilde Zimmermann.

**Business Manager:** Harvey McArthur.

**Copy Editor:** David Martin.

**Technical Staff:** Paul Deveze, Larry Ingram, Arthur Lobman, Kevin McGuire, James M. Morgan, Sally Rhett.

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## First Chapter in Iran's Third Revolution

By Reza Baraheni

[On February 18 in the city of Tabriz, 350 miles northwest of Tehran, hundreds of thousands of persons took to the streets to protest the shah's tyrannical rule. The uprising received scant coverage in the international press, despite the fact that it was the most massive to date in the current wave of protests and that it was crushed in blood, with hundreds of demonstrators gunned down and hundreds more arrested.

[The following report on the day's events, its roots in the decades of national oppression of the Azerbaijani Turks, and its impact on the political situation in Iran, is based in part on eyewitness accounts smuggled out of the country.

[The author, exiled Iranian poet Reza Baraheni, is himself a former political prisoner of the shah, having been imprisoned and tortured for 102 days in 1973. The immediate cause of his arrest was the regime's displeasure with his book *The Culture of the Oppressor and the Culture of the Oppressed*, which deals with the suppression of the rights of Iran's oppressed nationalities.

[Despite stringent censorship in Iran, under which anything written by Baraheni is officially banned, the present article is being circulated in the underground both in the original Persian and in an Azerbaijani Turkish translation. This has been done through photocopies and handwritten versions taken down as the article has been read aloud at opposition meetings. The article appears here for the first time in English, in a translation provided by the author.]

\* \* \*

Once again Tabriz, the pride of the Iranian revolution,<sup>1</sup> rose upon its feet and shook the entire monarchist apparatus to its roots with a tremendous upheaval.

1. The people of Tabriz played a central role in bringing about and defending the First Revolution, 1906-12, known in Iran as the Constitutional Revolution. The Second Revolution, or the Second Phase of the Revolutionary Movement in Iran, 1941-53, refers to the rise and fall of Democratic Azerbaijan, the Republic of Kurdistan, the movement for the nationalization of oil, the great uprising of the people of Tehran on July 21, 1952, the rise of Mohammad Mossadegh to power, and the temporary ouster of the shah. This period came to an end with American intervention and the CIA-triggered coup of August 19, 1953.



Washington Post

On February 18, the people of Tabriz, capital of Azerbaijan Province, rushed to the mosques<sup>2</sup> to commemorate the deaths of men, women, and children who had been massacred in Qum forty days earlier. The government had ordered the mosques closed to the public, posting police and SAVAK agents at the doors. Despite this, the mosques were engulfed by a torrent of people wishing to express their solidarity with those in Qum who had defied with empty hands the machine guns of the shah's army.

### The Massacre in Qum

The demonstrators in Qum had decided that they would let their voices be heard by all those in Iran who cared for freedom. The protest of the people of Qum was a smashing response by the anti-monarchist religious movement to the shah's policies of deception, conspiracy, and frame-up.

The government had placed an article against Ayatollah Khomeyni<sup>3</sup> in the semi-

official daily *Ettela'at*, slandering the anti-monarchist religious movement as treason to the ideals of the Iranian people. The tragedy in Qum exposed the shah's plot.

Ayatollah Shariatmadari, the best known religious leader in Iran, said from the pulpit a few days after the events in Qum that if the government officials had wanted the people to disperse, they could have used fire hoses or tear gas.

Instead, he said, "We suddenly saw that they began firing at the people; innocent people, defenseless people, shelterless people, were killed; religious students were killed; those who were not students were killed. Women and children were killed."<sup>4</sup>

To be sure, the tragedy of Qum was not a unique event. It was one of many related events that started several months earlier. These included frequent letters by Iran's prominent writers denouncing repression; individual and collective complaints by a great number of Iranian lawyers; continuous protests on university campuses and in the bazaars against incarceration, torture, and executions; the assembly of more than 40,000 persons on the Qaytariyyeh Plain early last fall; workers' strikes; the nights of poetry readings organized by the Writers Association of Iran, which attracted 20,000 persons; periodic lectures by members of the Writers Association in the Industrial University of Aryamehr in Tehran, which led to the sitdown strike of November 15-16 and the subsequent peaceful walkout and demonstration by the students; the savage retaliation of the government's truncheon-wielding detach-

against a bill the shah's government introduced to the parliament of Iran, granting extraterritorial status to Americans in Iran. On June 5, 1963, shroud-bearing religious students from Qum and peasants from Varamin and other adjoining cities marched on Tehran, joining the people of Tehran's bazaars. In the two-day confrontation that ensued between government forces, armed with guns, tanks, and artillery, and the demonstrators, between 6,000 and 10,000 persons were massacred. At present Americans in Iran enjoy extraterritorial status. Khomeyni was later deported to Turkey, and from there to Iraq, where he has stayed against all odds ever since.

4. After the events in Tabriz, the government newspapers published a statement to the effect that Ayatollah Shariatmadari had asked the people to be peaceful and give up demonstrating against the government. However, statements printed by oppositionists in Iran proved that Shariatmadari had never made such a statement, and that the government was planning to set him up.

2. During the last 100 years the mosques have frequently been used as a gathering place for the masses and the members of the opposition. The mosques and the shrines played a major role during the Constitutional Revolution. The government could not touch those who took refuge in the mosques. Right before the Constitutional Revolution, Nasseruddin Shah, a brutal dictator for more than half a century, was assassinated in a shrine in Tehran.

3. Khomeyni became popular when he organized in 1963 groups of people and several rallies



ments, which resulted in the deaths of sixteen university students; strikes, demonstrations, and protests at the Qoba Mosque, Golzar Park, the Industrial University of Aryamehr, and the University of Tehran (all in Tehran); the strike of employees of Iran's private banks; the protests of the country's teachers, the *bazaaris*, and the religious dissidents.

All these are links in a chain of events that led first to Qum and then to the demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of people in Tabriz.

And yet these events are only a beginning. We can expect further insurrections, resistance, and dynamic displays of anger. Their meaning can be summed up as follows: The people of our country are aware that the government's grip on power is slipping; they are no longer prepared to remain under the banner of the monarchist regime.

The *New York Times*, that constant defender of the shah's crown, has written that "there are cracks in the Shah's regime." We can say with assurance that our people have seen these "cracks" with their own eyes and are no longer prepared to wait for them to heal. The "cracks" are not mere wrinkles on the monarchy's ancient face; they are wide open moats, which will one day be the burying ground of the Iranian monarchy.

#### Tabriz—An Eyewitness Account

Let us take a closer look at the events in Tabriz:

Marshal Azemoudeh, governor-general of Eastern Azerbaijan, is the uncle of Jamshid Amouzegar, the shah's prime minister.<sup>5</sup> This tottering dotard, relying on the words of His Majesty, issued an order, on the eve of the fortieth day of the

tragedy in Qum, to the effect that all mosques be kept closed. All the rest of the events in Tabriz followed. One of the leaders of the opposition has related the event to us in minute detail, and we quote his letter in full.

When the people arrive in front of the mosques, a police major named Haqshenas, a well-known hangman of the government, begins to swear at the crowd and at the religious leaders.<sup>6</sup> A young man, provoked, responds in identical terms. The officer attacks the man. The young man bares his chest, saying, "Shoot." The officer shoots and the young man is killed instantly. The people lift the body on their shoulders and walk out into the streets, and the insurrection begins.

But now the main features of the insurrection:

Nearly all the shops in Tabriz are closed. The people absolutely refrain from plundering anything. They attack only those shops that are open and suspected of belonging to SAVAK. The people attack all such buildings as well as institutions such as banks, particularly the Export Bank, the Construction Bank, and other private banks, which have been robbing the people.

But they refrain from taking even one small note from these banks. When a bank is located on the ground floor of an apartment building, the people break the windows on that floor but refuse to set fire to the bank, not wanting to endanger the lives of those living on the upper floors.

The insurrection is united and encompasses all sections of the city. Even shops located in the furthestmost quarters are closed. Because the soldiers and officers of the Tabriz garrison show little enthusiasm for cracking down on the uprising, the government brings in forces from the Marand and Ajabshir garrisons. *This is very significant.*

In the late hours of the afternoon, control of the city passes back into the hands of the military, with their tanks and artillery. People are machine-gunned.

The targets of the insurrection were liquor stores, luxury shops, banks, the shah's Resur-

gence Party, and government institutions (i.e., police stations and headquarters located on the streets). But no building or property belonging to the people was targeted. Even cars belonging to the people were left untouched, while cars belonging to the government and the Resurgence Party came under attack.

No school or educational institution was damaged. No plunder took place, in spite of the broken windows of the banks and shops identified with the government. The attacks were directed solely against those institutions that had not heeded the appeal of the Ulemas (the religious leaders of Islam) to strike.

The slogans were: Down With the Shah, Long Live Khomeyni; and There is no God but Allah (a famous Islamic slogan).

Tabriz remains under a state of siege. People are still being picked up in the streets by the shah's agents, and all communications and transactions are being controlled.

The number of dead, wounded, and arrested is not known. However, in view of the dimensions of the event, the breadth of the insurrection, the helplessness of the police in confronting the people, and the involvement of military forces armed with artillery and tanks, the number of dead must have exceeded 500. The lying media of the regime are, as usual, engaged in distorting the truth.

Following the events in Tabriz, the shops in Esphahan, Shiraz, Tehran, Mashad, Ahvaz, Qum, Marand, Reza'iyyeh, and Babol were closed, and demonstrations took place in all these cities. The University of Tehran, the National University, and all other institutions of higher learning are on strike. On Saturday [February 25] the city of Qum was under siege by the police and the military. [Letter from Iran, March 3, 1978.]

Twenty-four hours after the event, two Tabrizi women talked to their relatives abroad on the phone: "Shooting can be heard from everywhere. We can see the barrels of tank guns from the window. Even children do not dare to go out. The army has the city in its grip."

And a writer reported forty-eight hours after the event from Tehran: "The gates of the city have been closed. Nearly a thousand people have been killed, and more than three thousand have been arrested.

5. Familial relationships form the backbone of the ties existing in the fabric of the ruling elite in Iran.

6. The major was beaten up and was later transferred to Tehran with his skull in bandages. He was made a colonel by personal order of the shah.



Shah's troops on parade. Reluctance of workers and peasants in uniform in Tabriz garrison to crush uprising

forced shah to send in troops from other cities. In at least one incident, Tabriz soldier shot his own officer.

R. Norman Matheny/Christian Science Monitor

Martial law has been declared in the city. Of course, the people had actually revolted. All Resurgence Party branches have been destroyed. It is a great movement that reminds one of the Constitutional Revolution of Iran."

#### A Cover-up in the Press

Although the press of the capitalist world at first carried only brief reports of the events in Tabriz, it could not long overlook the significance of what had happened. The *Washington Post* printed several articles on the insurrection and related incidents. The *New York Times*, speaking of the "cracks" that had appeared in the shah's regime, raised its estimate of casualties from six to more than seventy, and admitted that the disturbances in Tabriz were complex. It did not, however, explain where the complexity lay.<sup>7</sup>

The government-controlled press in Iran distorted the aim and direction of the uprising in Azerbaijan, floating the rumor that the insurgents were "Islamic Marxists," or that the "Communists" had something to do with it, and that those who created the "disturbance" were not actually from Azerbaijan but had come from beyond the border.

But the regime failed to explain how the entire seven-mile length of Pahlavi Avenue, brimming with Azerbaijani masses (according to the foreign press), had been occupied by people from beyond the border.

Was it possible, with the government's close supervision of border-crossings, for even one person to enter the country without the knowledge of SAVAK and participate in this movement?

The Tehran daily *Kayhan* reported on March 5 that 645 persons had been arrested in Tabriz. But is there one single person among them that came from beyond the border? A day earlier, the same paper had written that "fifteen agitators who were behind the bloody events in Tabriz were arrested." But is there any among them who belongs to the other side of the border?

#### The Shah's Response

The account in the controlled press also fails to explain the following moves by the shah:

Four hundred new SAVAK agents were sent to the city from Tehran.

7. The *New York Times's* coverage of Iran has been extremely deficient. The *Washington Post* has provided better coverage. Both newspapers have said that the clergy are against the shah's land reform and women's liberation. However, the clergy have systematically denied such charges. The charges have been made by the shah and by the head of the Pars news agency, Mahmoud Ja'farian, who is now the shah's major propagandist.

Marshal Eskandar Azemoudeh, the shah's henchman-governor, was summoned from Azerbaijan and Marshal Shaf'agat, a royal sidekick, was dispatched to Tabriz to take his place; the provincial head of SAVAK and an intelligence officer were punished with demotions.

Then the shah launched an intensive control over traffic into the city. The city's gates were turned into screening points and travelers to and from Tabriz had to produce identity cards. The train station was thoroughly searched, and in all bus companies the shah's agents were assigned to check who went into and out of the city.

Above all, the shah made important organizational changes. He replaced the police chiefs of Eastern Azerbaijan, the province of Khuzestan (the oil province), and the city of Qum, and made sweeping reappointments in other cities. The extent of the changes in the higher echelons of the army and police in connection with Tabriz was so large that it could be called unprecedented since the CIA coup.

Since the Tabriz garrison had refused to seriously open fire on the people, exactly as in the tragic days of June 1963, when the government was forced to bring troops into Tehran from Saveh and other cities, the government rushed troops from other cities into Tabriz. The units of Ajabshir and Marand, who knew very little about the events in Tabriz, arrived in the city. Airborne troops fired on the people from machine guns placed in Bell helicopters, massacring a great number of demonstrators who had come out to commemorate those who had fallen victim in Qum.

#### Fingers Point in All Directions

It is sufficient to note the contradictions in the reports and words of government officials to realize the enormous significance of the uprising in Tabriz.

The daily *Kayhan* reported February 28: "According to Massahi, the attorney general of Tabriz, all those who have been arrested are from Tabriz or other cities in Azerbaijan. The former, who have settled on the outskirts of Tabriz, display greater vulnerability to provocations."

Another report in the same issue of *Kayhan* quotes Brigadier General Hassan-Ali Bayat, the deputy from Zanjan in the Majless (Iran's House of Representatives). Bayat, launching a severe attack on Marshal Azemoudeh, the deposed governor-general of Azerbaijan, said: "The majority of the rioters were young. They were not old enough to remember the evil events of Azerbaijan and the events before August 19, 1953."

Again in the same issue of *Kayhan*, the government announced that the payment of cash New Year's gifts to government employees in Tabriz had been started.<sup>8</sup>

8. That is, nearly a month before the Iranian

The uprising in Tabriz was so surprising to all the generals and ministers of the shah's cabinet that, according to press reports, when the shah himself first heard about the events from his governor-general, he asked: "Tabrizians? Tabrizians?" There is a hidden truth in His Majesty's consternation, with which we will deal later.

#### Biggest Upsurge in Thirty Years

But if we want to understand why the Tabriz uprising so unnerved the ruling class, we can simply refer to the scope of activities that the movement revealed during its first hours.

From around the bazaar and the mosque of Haji-Mirza-Yousef-Aga in the center of the city to the end of Shahnaz Avenue on the south; from Monajjem and Qareh-Aghaj on the west to the University of Tabriz (currently Azarabadegan University) and Qooyeh-Valiahd on the east; from Sorkhab, Davachi, and Sahebulamr to the furthestmost southern flank of the city, the masses of Tabriz were in the streets.

The city had not witnessed such a frenzy and excitement since the days of the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan (1945-46).<sup>9</sup> Turkish slogans appeared above the people's heads along with Persian slogans. The Turkish language, the language of the oppressed Azerbaijani nationality, was once again heard against the monarchy, loud and clear, through the lips of hundreds of thousands of people.

Tabriz, the city that had defied the monarchist regime during the Constitutional Revolution and had defeated the army of Mohammad Ali Shah,<sup>10</sup> the city that during the rule of the Democratic Party had opened a new chapter in the history of the movement of oppressed nationalities, was on its feet again with all its massive strength, succeeding for a time in freeing itself from the grip of the shah's army and police. The agitated masses showed the shah and his stooges that they have had only one thing to think about during these last three decades of silence: how and when to dig the monarchy's grave and liberate themselves from the bondage of a venal, murderous, tyrannical, and racist government.

There are several issues of essential political significance for us. To be sure, the

New Year, which begins March 21, the first day of spring.

9. The governing party set up in the area of northwestern Iran under occupation by Soviet troops at the end of World War II. It enjoyed mass support from the workers and peasants.

10. A Qajar king who with tsarist support overthrew the Constitutionalists in 1908, creating a period in Iranian history known as the "Brief Dictatorship." In 1909 he took asylum in the Russian embassy after the revolutionists regained power.



immediate motivation behind the Tabriz uprising of February 18-19 was religious. The shah tries to smash antimonarchist religion everywhere. And it is quite natural for the oppositional sentiments of religious people to assume a religious expression.

But one point should be kept in mind: The uprising in Tabriz was due to the calamities, poverty, and repression the people of Azerbaijan have suffered during the last several decades as an oppressed nationality. Thus the ultimate motivation behind any uprising or insurrection is to overthrow the tyrannical monarchy and to open a new chapter of revolutionary democracy in the country.

The second point of importance is that although the people of Tabriz are religious, the influence of religion there is not as intense as in Qum or Mashad. Since the last days of the premiership of Mohammad Mossadegh in 1953, there has never been a social movement in Qum, Mashad, Tehran, or elsewhere with the scope and significance of the February uprising in Tabriz.

Why did hundreds of thousands of people emerge into the streets of Tabriz? Why was the entire seven-mile-long Pahlavi Avenue brimming with masses of people? Where does the anger of the Azerbaijani and Tabrizian masses originate? Wherein lies that ultimate, internal and longtime motivation for this anger and insurrection, manifested this time in the form of a religious stimulus?

Why—and this we must carefully consider—was the government reaction so extremely severe at first, accompanied by the firing of artillery, tanks, and machine guns, the use of helicopters and planes, the dispatching of forces to Tabriz from other cities; and then followed by the adoption of seemingly conciliatory methods, such as the shah's pulling back in the face of the events in Azerbaijan, the dismissal of former stooges, the appointment of puppet functionaries, the immediate bribing of government officials in Tabriz with New Year's gifts?

And why was that reason of all reasons, the internal and ultimate motivation raging in the hearts of all Azerbaijanis, disregarded in both the Iranian and foreign press? How is it that when some members of the Iranian opposition abroad tried to explain that reason of reasons and raging motivation in the world press, particularly in the U.S., the press simply refused to print anything about it? They have simply declared that the problem is much more complex than the shah and Pars news agency are admitting.

Thus, the world press, concealing the actual truth, has come up with its own explanations, namely that the Iranian clergy are against the shah's reforms, that is, his "land reform" and his "women's liberation"; and that it is because of the opposition of the clergy to such measures that the recent "riots" in Tabriz have



A shah-loving people? Iranian peasants till fields with Iron Age tools.

taken place. Why do the shah, the imperialists, and the press of both hide the real reason from everybody?

#### A Revolutionary Heritage

Part of the answer is that Azerbaijan is the cradle of the Iranian revolution. Its revolutionary past has demonstrated this.

In the early period of the Constitutional regime of Iran, when Mohammad Ali Shah murdered Iranian revolutionists, gunned down the Majless, and sent Aynodoleh<sup>11</sup> to Azerbaijan to punish the people of Tabriz, it was the Tabrizian people who revolted against the central government and showed that they understood the meaning of liberty, democracy, nation, revolution, and nationality better than any other group in the country. They also showed that they were ready to suffer months of blockade; starvation; war; even hand-to-hand battle, the firing squad, and the gallows; but they would never be ready to give up the freedom of their own nationality and that of other oppressed nationalities of Iran.

This was the first revolutionary example and lesson the people of Azerbaijan and her most courageous heroes, Sattar Khan and Baqer Khan, offered the people of Iran.

Years later the counterrevolution drew closer with its evil and ugly features. The conspiracies of a group of people in Tehran

were combined with the colonial interests of the British empire. A dagger was thrust out, beheading the genuine constitutionalists one by one, and a treacherous demon by the name of Reza Palani<sup>12</sup> arose out of the chaos and crisis. Nevertheless, the fire kindled in the hearth of revolution by the people of Azerbaijan never went out, and in later periods of Iranian history, after the constitution was established, the hearts of youth and other lovers of freedom in Iran were inspired by the examples of Sattar and Baqer.

The revolutionary passion of those days sent men and women to the trenches (the number of women who lost their lives disguised in the uniforms of men was not few). And that passion, even stronger than before, remains in the hearts of the Azerbaijani people. Unquenchable, it emerges periodically, reflecting itself in various forms and translating itself into many languages. But it can be summed up simply: The people of Azerbaijan are revolutionists, and the Iranian revolution is at heart and roots an Azerbaijani revolution.

#### A Half-Century of Humiliation

Reza Palani, otherwise known as Reza Shah, who in his early soldiering days had

12. The original surname of the present dynasty was "Palani," meaning "belonging to a horse or donkey saddle." Hating this word, which smelled of the stables in which Reza Shah's family worked, he dropped it in favor of "Pahlavi," a "prestigious" Aryan word.

11. A prime minister of the Qajar period.



tasted defeat behind the ramparts of the city of Tabriz, sought revenge after he managed to grab the throne from Ahmad Shah, the son of Mohammad Ali. The language and culture of Azerbaijan were forbidden; her intellectuals were arrested, deported, or killed; and a dark, humiliating, savage, and racist period began in the history of Azerbaijan. Abdollah Mostowfi, Reza Shah's governor in Azerbaijan, committed many foolish and brutal acts not unlike those later committed by Hitler's officials against other captive nations.

To please Reza Shah, Mostowfi coined the phrase "Turk-e khar" (a Turk = a donkey) and used it to refer to the people of Tabriz. Later, fearing for his life, Mostowfi vowed that he had meant the phrase to be applied to the Turks of Turkey and that he had no intention of hurting the feelings of the people of Azerbaijan (as if it was all right to call the people of another nation donkeys!). Nevertheless, he spread the epithet, which only a jackass like himself was worthy of, all around the country.

Since the people of Azerbaijan, who had in fact founded the first bilingual schools in the aftermath of the Constitutional Revolution, had been deprived of the practical use of their language, and were forced to learn only the language prescribed by Reza Shah, in a matter of a few years they found themselves without a language of their own. The likes of Mostowfi insisted that since the people of Azerbaijan could not understand the language of the masters, they must be ignorant donkeys. In other words, the Mostowfis first suppressed the language of Sattar Khan and Baqer Khan and then called the people of Azerbaijan *zaban-nafahm*, people who couldn't understand the language of human beings.

### The Democratic Party of Azerbaijan

The people of Azerbaijan voiced their opposition to all this even during the reign of Reza Shah. But the first real opportunity presented itself when Reza Shah was put on board a ship by his British masters and deported.

The people of Azerbaijan rose, demanding their legitimate rights outlined in the constitution. The Democratic Party of Azerbaijan, which had come to power through the support of the majority of workers and peasants, put forward the self-determination of Azerbaijan as its essential demand. Pishevari,<sup>13</sup> the prime minister of the government of Azerbaijan, made the local dialect of Turkish the

official language of the area. Azerbaijan, and at the center of it the city of Tabriz, regained and welcomed the language they had been deprived of.

Thus, Azerbaijan, the cradle of the Iranian revolution, became also the cradle of the revolution of oppressed nationalities. The fate of the Iranian revolution was welded to the destiny of oppressed nationalities in Iran. Indeed, Azerbaijan is the supreme example of the historical, social, and ideological fusion of revolution with the upheaval of oppressed nationalities. The inseparability of the destiny of the revolution from the democratic dynamism of Iran's oppressed nationalities was first witnessed in Azerbaijan. And now it is being reiterated once again.

The Democratic Party of Azerbaijan came under conflicting pressures in 1946. Stalin, wanting the northern oil concession, made a deal with Prime Minister Qavam behind the back of the Tabriz government. The Tudeh Party (the Iranian Communist Party) joined Qavam's cabinet.

Encouraged by the resulting divisions, the shah dispatched his army to Azerbaijan. Although the populace was prepared to defend the Democratic Party regime, the leadership of the party itself suffered a split. As a result, the party issued a statement, signed not by Pishevari but by other ministers in his cabinet, that asked the *Fedaiees* to give up fighting. Azerbaijan was invaded by the shah's army, and the massacre began. First the *Fedaiees* were killed and then the people in the streets and the bazaars. Terror reigned supreme. The language and culture of Azerbaijani Turkish were forbidden, and Persian replaced them.

From then until February 18-19, the people of Azerbaijan had shown great patience. It is true that the protests of Azerbaijan's courageous and heroic figures like Samad Behranji, Behrouz Dehgani, and Ali-Reza Nabel had reverberated throughout the country. Also, the bravery of Ashraf Dehgani, the Azerbaijani woman who escaped from the shah's torturers, had become a legend. And the intellectuals, poets, writers, and all baijan had continued to defend their linguistic, literary, national and cultural identity in spite of the repression imposed upon them by the racist central government.

Nevertheless, one must admit that the February uprising in Tabriz is of an entirely different nature. This was not the campaign of a few intellectuals and writers against repression. This was a mas-

sive upheaval against tyrants. This was not the battle of a lone individual; it was a battle in which all freedom-loving people, all those deprived of democratic rights, participated.

More than half a century of the Pahlavi dynasty's economic, intellectual, cultural, and linguistic tyranny has motivated the present anger in the people of Azerbaijan. The ultimate motivation for this national anger is the oppressed position of the Azerbaijani nationality. Whatever form the anger may have taken, there is no doubt that it is a genuine anger, in accord with the practical, long-term needs of the Azerbaijani nationality and based on its revolutionary credentials.

### A New Generation Takes the Lead

The insurrection in Tabriz has brought the people of Iran to the threshold of Iran's Third Revolution, or the third wave of revolutionary upheaval. This movement is erected on the shoulders of the young generation, which has not tasted the bitter flavor of past failures. If this generation has learned anything from the past, it has been from the revolutionary past rather than the past of political bankruptcies.

And General Hassan-Ali Bayat, the treacherous deputy in the Majless who did not think the age of the youth in Tabriz was sufficient to remember "the evil events of Azerbaijan and the events before August 19, 1953," was quite right. He was right, however, in exactly the opposite direction of what he really meant, and in the opposite direction of his own interests and those of his master, the shah. The young generation of Azerbaijan does not act on the basis of past failures, does not recognize the stigma of the failures of past generations.

The young generation of Azerbaijan stands facing the bright horizon of Iran's Third Revolution. Gaining the rights of all oppressed nationalities is the top priority in the program of this revolution. University and school students, workers, peasants, and the lower-middle class from the bazaars who created the February uprising of Tabriz are virtually committed to this revolutionary program.

What the shah and his press forgot to say, what the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* did not say, what the monarchy and its allies have covered up from the eyes of the people of Iran and the world, should be openly declared to the world: The uprising in Tabriz was the insurrection of an oppressed nationality against a regime that has suffocated it for more than half a century. The uprising in Tabriz was the first chapter of Iran's Third Revolution.

The events in Iran are spreading like an oil stain at the level of the cities. The impact of Tabriz is being felt in other cities. The colleges and universities are in chaos. The protests and

13. Seyyed Ia'far Pishevari, a member of the first generation of Iranian Communists, participated in many movements in the northern area of the country. Before the Second World War, he was imprisoned for a long time by Reza Shah. Released in a general amnesty in 1941, he stayed

in Tehran for a time as a journalist. He later went to Tabriz and founded the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan, which held power for one year, seeking self-determination for the province. He was mysteriously killed in the Soviet Union in 1948.

slogans are coming out into the open. Fear has been thrown out the window.

Unfortunately, the arm of the leadership is weak. People are ahead of the leadership. . . . Tabriz is still under martial law. Students swiftly react to events without the benefit of a central leadership. These reactions have disrupted the universities and have taken the control of events out of the hands of the authorities. [Letter from Iran, March 15, 1978.]

### Ferment in the Army

The reaction of the shah in the face of the uprising in Tabriz is quite different from his reactions to other protests against his rule in recent years. The Tabriz garrison was somewhat reluctant to use arms against the people. The shah ought to doubt the loyalty of such an army. But he immediately took action, bringing into Tabriz units from other cities. The police forces, closer to the pulse of movements by the people than the army, were afraid that in the case of risking fire they would be destroyed in the very first hours of the uprising. The truth is that they were simply frightened out of their wits.

The army units stationed in Tabriz were aware that had they made the people suffer on those two days, the people in turn would have made it difficult for them in the days to come. Because, after all, the people there do not belong to another territory, which an army invades for a few days and then departs. The soldier carrying the shah's rifle may fire the first bullet at the people, but he is quite aware that his sister or brother might fall victim to the second bullet. So it wasn't in vain that unfamiliar units were brought into the city.

But if the scope of the struggle is expanded, the soldier from Ajabshir and Marand will reach the same conclusion as the soldier from Tabriz. The February uprising has infected the shah's spirit with a canker. This army will require a blindfold in order to shoot to kill. The shah put this blindfold on the eyes of units from the garrisons of Ajabshir and Marand, but he had no luck with the army units in Tabriz.

The shah knows that in face of a national uprising his army will not fight with determination. It might turn its back to him on the very first days of the strife and lay its arms at the service of the revolution.

The fact is that the Iranian soldier experiences class tyranny. He understands that the whole fabric of the army is rotten inside and out, and that the generals and officers have turned him into the bottom stone of a gristmill. He may, in case of an actual showdown between the army and the people, fire the first bullet at the people. But he will discharge his second round into the hearts of his commanding officers.

American papers reported that the crisis in Tabriz is very complex, because later a soldier suddenly went "berserk" and shot

his own officer. Very soon we will have a great number of such "berserk" soldiers. A soldier, after all, is a peasant or a worker in uniform. His real enemy, too, is the monarchy.

### A 'Shah-Loving People'?

In June 1963 the shah not only massacred the people but took pride in the killing. In those days, there was no talk of



Jaq/Informations Ouvrières

a retreat in face of the people's struggle. In those days, too, the motivation for insurrection was religious, although behind this lay the great motivation of poverty, misery, and repression.

The shah has always been proud of his massacre in June 1963. But this time, in Tabriz, the situation is different. The shah is obliged, on one hand, to order his papers to claim that the inhabitants of Azerbaijan are "shah-loving people." On the other, he has replaced the head of SAVAK, the chief of police, the commander of the Tabriz garrison, and the governor-general with officials who are even closer to the heart of the royal court than their predecessors, and who will impose a greater control on the "shah-loving people" of Tabriz.

If the people of Tabriz love the shah, then why send Marshal Shafagat, the bull fattened on royal cuisine? Why send 400 additional SAVAK agents to the city? And yet, these are changes that have taken place on the surface. What of the new appointments that were made behind the scene? And what of the new military and security measures that were taken? They reveal that Azerbaijan is a powder keg

that once blown up will first blind the monarchy with its intense glare and then send shrapnel straight into the eyes of colonialism.

The crocodile tears shed constantly by the shah's sold-out press on the theme of Azerbaijan as the "head of Iran" will no longer have any effect on the people of Azerbaijan. These newspapers have not spoken out even once during the last three decades about the cultural strangulation imposed by the shah on Azerbaijan. They have not asked, even once, of what use a tongueless "head" will be for Iran or for Azerbaijan itself!

### A Time-Bomb Ticking Away

The Iranian press has endorsed the monarchy's repressive cultural policies for the last three decades, following the defeat of the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan. The oppressed nationalities of Iran, whether Azerbaijani, Kurdish, Baluchi, or Arab have, on the one hand, suffered linguistic and cultural repression, and, on the other hand, Persian chauvinism, nourished by the monarchy's Persianism. The racism of the shah and his gang has increasingly been inflated, shedding its ominously obese shadow upon all oppressed cultures in Iran.

The fact is that Azerbaijan no longer wants this shadow above its head. Azerbaijan wants to rid itself once and for all of the monarchy's supremacy and its Persian chauvinism. Azerbaijan wants to gain equal rights on all levels—economically, politically, culturally, and linguistically.

The shah and imperialism have entirely destroyed the rights of the oppressed nationalities in Iran. The long-term political motivation of Azerbaijan is to regain these rights. Azerbaijan is determined to annul once and for all and on all levels the degradations stemming from the monarchy's racist policies, the supremacy of the central government, and cultural and political inequalities. It is determined to play once again the historical role it played seventy years ago in Iran's first revolution, and then in the raging dynamism of the Second Revolutionary Phase (from 1941 to 1953). And, just as it succeeded twice in curtailing the power of the monarchy in Tabriz, Azerbaijan is determined that it will cut the shah's arm once and for all with the sharp sword of its massive uprising.

An essentially revolutionary motivation has uneven features, reflecting itself differently in every mirror. This time the motivation has crystallized itself externally in a religious form. The events of June 1963, the deportation of Imam Khomeyni, the government's frame-up of the Imam in the press, the catastrophic tragedy in Qum, and the speeches and statements by Ayatollah Shariatmadari, who is from Azerbaijan and whose words



carry significant weight in the eyes of the Moslem masses and religious leaders of the province, particularly in the eyes of those in Tabriz, have led the process of events towards a mobilization that is on the surface religious. But behind this very mobilization we can witness the enormous anger of the Azerbaijani nationality. The fact that Ayatollah Shariatmadari is an Azerbaijani himself has even augmented the national feeling among the Azerbaijanis.

The oppression suffered by nationalities in Iran has been twice that of the rest of the inhabitants of the country. Hence the doubly forceful anger of these nationalities, and, hence, the doubly oppressive brutality displayed by the shah in Tabriz. Recent reports indicate that more than a thousand people have been killed, thousands of others arrested, and the universities and mosques placed under the savage control of the military and SAVAK.

But the uprising is alive:

from Quri-Chai to Qarah-Aghaj  
from Monajjem to Maralan and Shah-naz Avenue

from Heydar-Takyesi to Qongra-Bashi  
from Yeka Tookanlar to Vawzal to the  
Railway Station

from the District of the Crown Prince  
(whose head will forever stay  
uncrowned) to the hearts of  
Sorkhab and Davachi<sup>14</sup>

the uprising is alive

Salute to the February uprising of  
Tabriz!

Salute to Tabriz and its people!  
Tabriz, the center of surprise attacks  
on the monarchy!

Yashasim Tabriz! [Long live Tabriz]  
Varolsoon Tabriz! [Forever be Tabriz]<sup>15</sup>

March 15, 1978

## Postscript

The events in Tabriz have opened a new chapter for the revolutionary movement of Iran. Indeed, they created a tremendous qualitative change in the country. My new observations after writing the March 15 article can be summed up as follows:

1. For the first time in several decades the workers, the peasantry, the students, and the lower-middle-class shopkeepers joined together to bring about an uprising. This had not happened anywhere else in recent years and has not yet recurred since. The working class and its allies spontaneously united in the capital of the country's largest oppressed nationality. The objective structure of Iran's future

revolution is now outlining itself before our very eyes.

2. The masses in Tabriz aimed at destroying all vestiges of royal rule. They tried to pull down the shah's statues, but did not quite succeed. Now the statues stand in the squares earless, crownless, and noseless. His Majesty is now the laughing stock of all people, the myth of his invulnerability shattered.

3. The shah's trust in the army is shaken. During the May demonstrations in Tehran, he had to postpone a planned trip (because of a "cold") and place himself in command of troops mobilized for the purpose of shooting the people.

The shah cannot trust his generals even to break up a demonstration. The commander of the Tabriz garrison was taught a lesson by soldiers who would shoot their officers but not the people. There are rumors that the garrison commander has mysteriously disappeared. So the shah, the supreme commander, had to appear on the battlefield and order his men to machine-gun demonstrators.

The world press has romanticized the event, but the truth is that the uprising in Tabriz has affected the balance of forces in Iran. Tabriz matches the qualitative change it has brought with yet a further quantitative change. We have already set foot in a prerevolutionary phase of Iranian history.

4. The uprising in Tabriz triggered many important events in Azerbaijan and the other provinces. The prisoners in Qasr in Tehran went on strike for many days and succeeded in changing the filthy prison conditions. This led to a strike in Tabriz prison. For the first time the political prisoners of a city other than the capital went on strike. The letter they signed and sent abroad<sup>16</sup> is perhaps the first significant document reaching us from inside an Iranian prison, particularly a prison located in the territory of an oppressed nationality.

In a related event, an Azerbaijani prisoner, Behrooz Haghi Mani'e, wrote a long statement describing the tortures and degradation he has suffered in more than seven years of imprisonment.<sup>17</sup> He has been in all the prisons in Iran—from Tabriz in the northwest to the Persian Gulf in the south. This statement, the most rationally worded document to come out of any prison in Iran during the last few decades, could not have been written without the impact of the events in Tabriz.

But these are not the only consequences. The February events in Tabriz gave a new

dimension to subsequent happenings in Iran:

The government tried to organize a pro-shah demonstration in Tabriz, with the participation of Prime Minister Amouzegar's entire cabinet. Pro-shah members of the clergy were lined up to bless the shah in public and pray that he be given a long life to lead Iran toward the "gates of the Great Civilization." First Amouzegar and later the shah complained that the foreign press had not covered such "patriotic" actions, and instead had dealt only with the opposition.

At the same time, it was announced that the government was organizing "Action Committees" to deal with the "rioters." Later, these turned into "Committees of Revenge," which carried out a number of terrorist attacks. Bombs were planted at the homes of engineer Mehdi Bazargan, a famous oppositionist; engineer Rahmatollah Mogaddam Maragahe, a member of the board of the Writers Association of Iran; and Dr. Sanjabi, an old member of the National Front.

Bombs were also placed in the offices of three lawyers who had defended the incarcerated students from the November 16 events in Tehran. A dentist by the name of Peyman and a famous lawyer by the name of Abdul-Karim Lahiji were severely beaten by the shah's revenge squads.

Attempts were also made to kidnap the twelve-year-old daughter of Dr. Ali-Asghar Haj-Seyyed-Javadi, Iran's greatest social critic and a founding member of Iran's Human Rights Committee and the Committee in Defense of Political Prisoners in Iran. Threatening letters were sent to all oppositionists, in which they were accused of being, among other things, "pimps, gays, and American spies."

The executive board of Iran's Human Rights Committee sent an open letter to the shah about these threats on the lives of leaders of the opposition, laying the blame for the bombs and beatings at the door of the shah himself. In this letter the shah was called a "dictator" and was asked: "Hasn't the time arrived for His Majesty to think a little?"

The uprising of Tabriz was a call to action. Forty days later people in more than fifty cities demonstrated against the shah, including in Yazd, a desert city that traditionally has been famous for its conservatism.

Then on the fortieth day of the events in Yazd and other cities, during the first week of May, demonstrations and strikes burst out again. On the campus of the University of Tabriz alone more than twenty-five persons were gunned down. The overall death toll reached 300 during that week. This was when the shah took personal command of the repressive forces.

The demonstrations were most significant in Qum, in the bazaar and the poor southern section of Tehran, and in Tabriz.

14. Important districts in the city of Tabriz.

15. Revolutionary slogans, since 1908, of the people of Tabriz.

16. For an English translation of the text of this statement, see *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, June 12, 1978, p. 712.

17. For an English translation of the text of this statement, see *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, June 12, 1978, p. 712.



Martial law was declared in all three cities. On May 20, more than 50,000 persons appeared in shrouds outside the city of Qum, marching toward Tehran. The government cracked down on the marchers, beating them and shooting some of them, and finally succeeded in dispersing them.

The opposition is gaining momentum. But it needs political leadership. A crisis of leadership is not only the main feature of the ruling class in Iran, it is also the main characteristic of the opposition.

In the meantime the masses of Iran are being pulled into the field of revolutionary action. They are being increasingly radicalized during this great transitional period of Iranian history. What they need is a program that will outline the steps to be taken to dismantle the apparatus of the ruling class in Iran and make it possible for the underprivileged majority to gain power.

What the opposition needs is a party built on the needs and demands of the

Iranian masses. The building up of that party should be the task of all those who are committed to the Iranian revolution. The uprising in Tabriz has fully demonstrated that no revolutionist can be worthy of the name unless he fully, theoretically, and objectively understands the inner connections between the revolution and the democratic rights of the oppressed nationalities. Let no revolutionist neglect the lessons of the uprising in Tabriz.

May 22, 1978

## Begin Cracks Down on Opponents Within Israel

By Jan Vogt

The Begin regime has recently begun to step up its attack on democratic rights within the "green line" (inside Israel's boundaries). The prime target is the Palestinian population.

One of the first examples of the new wave of attacks was Knesset Member Flatto Sharon's call for banning the Communist Party-Rakeh. Sharon, who is notorious because of his criminal past in France, has also circulated petitions in support of the ban in Israel's major cities.

Another well-publicized incident involved the detention of a member of the CP Central Committee and a Cypriot colleague for buying the *Israel Statistical Yearbook* and obtaining Israeli ministry handouts. They were charged with "collecting information for the PLO."

Anti-Zionists are not the only victims of the assault on democratic rights. Supporters of the "Peace Now" movement have been harassed, and the Knesset is drafting a witch-hunt law directed against teachers.

Arab university students are also under attack. The clearest example was a call to ban "PLO-ers" from the campuses. On May 7 the editor of the student paper at Haifa University congratulated the student body president for his promise to "immediately work for the legislation of an act in the Knesset which will order the complete expulsion of elements who openly identify with the PLO from all the country's campuses."

The most serious victimizations followed a May 4 explosion in the central bus station of Acre. Eleven Arabs were arrested after this explosion, two of them students at Haifa University. The arrests were directed primarily against an independent anti-Zionist organization called The Sons of the Village.

All of those arrested were served with detention orders and held for fifteen days—most of it in isolation cells—before being released.

The explosion was used as an excuse to arrest people and search their homes. One of the eleven Arabs arrested was Raif

Hammud, who is a member of Sons of the Village. Hammud is an electrician, and the excuse for detaining him was that his tools included wire cutters that "could be used to cut iron nails, which are inserted into bombs." Hammud was beaten severely around the face by police and denied medical attention for his injuries.

Some of the other detainees also suffered beatings at the hands of police. Hasan Salim went on a hunger strike for three days to protest his detention and conditions in prison. He was beaten in the face and on the back, and one of his interrogators tried to drag him around the room by means of a belt tied around his neck.

Some of those arrested could prove that they were at work, with friends or relatives, or outside the city at the time of the bus station explosion. Nevertheless, they were held in detention. When the attorney Muhammed Na'amneh tried to present evidence that Omar Sihh was in Jerusalem at the time of the explosion, the judge refused to listen to him, saying, "You are not the investigator, I am."

At least one of those who came forward to substantiate the alibis of those arrested was himself beaten by police. Fiad Amara, a twenty-one-year-old Haifa University student, was severely beaten while trying to give evidence on behalf of Hasan Salim. Afterwards, Amara described how four interrogators had beaten him for more than an hour. He added: "They asked me what organisation hostile to the state I belong to, who I hate, what I think of the regime, and whether I am a CP member or a member of the Sons of the Village. They accused me of placing the bomb in the Acre bus station. I denied this. They said that this was a nice reception they had set up for me, that I must learn a lesson from it, that they can detain me for as long as they want, that if my studies interest me, I must tell the 'truth,' and that they will always know what I do. While beating me, they told me: 'This is our democracy.'"

The detainees were questioned about their political opinions, their membership

in the Sons of the Village, their national identity, their stand towards the regime and the state, and only in passing about the explosion. It was obvious that the list of detainees had been drawn up prior to the incident that provided the excuse for the arrests.

Following the detentions, a broad defence campaign was organised, involving the distribution of leaflets at schools and universities and in Arab villages. The campaign was organised by the Action Committee for the Defence of Democratic Rights, a committee recently formed at the initiative of far-left organisations to respond to the escalating assault on democratic rights.

Jewish and Arab students at Haifa University posted placards protesting the detention and providing information about the arrests. (Needless to say, the Israeli newspapers had provided next to no information about the detentions.) The placards stressed the fact that the detainees were being held because of their political views and not because of the explosion.

The detentions are clearly part of a general assault on democratic rights, the main aim of which is to intimidate all those who fight for the vindication of the Palestinian people.

The CP did not speak out in defence of the detainees and did not mobilise people in the struggle for their release. This was because most of the detainees identify with the Sons of the Village, which is systematically attacked, and even defined as "fascist," by the CP.

The CP continues its sectarian policy of defending only those who favour the imperialist settlement and is indifferent to the fate of the Palestinian people in general. The Palestinian people, on the other hand, are becoming more aware every day of the racist character of the Zionist state. There is also a growing awareness that the very existence of the Jewish state is irreconcilable with the Palestinian struggle for national liberation. □

# Selections From the Left

## rouge

"Red," revolutionary communist daily published in Paris.

Following the defeat of the workers parties in the March legislative elections, the French bourgeois government has gone on the offensive. In this context, the president, Giscard d'Estaing, made a special tour in early June of Corsica, where there is a strong movement for autonomy.

In its June 13 issue, *Rouge* interviewed Max Simeoni, one of the leaders of the Corsican autonomist movement. It asked him about the effects of Giscard's visit. Simeoni said:

"Personally, I think the results of his trip were disastrously negative. Giscard avoided all the questions. He did not even inspire a modicum of hope.

"Twenty five persons have just been arrested, and he comes here with his verbiage about violence and the authority of the state . . . he hasn't even tried to understand what is going on. He shut the door to the future and justified a dynamic of despair. He didn't even have the adeptness to offer some illusions.

"He thinks that the election results indicate that a majority of Corsicans favor the majority [the bourgeois parties]. But everyone knows that elections here are a fraud. The elections here are like those in all the colonies, like the Antilles. Of all those politicians whose hands he shook, there is not a single one who has not been disqualified at least once in his career for election fraud!"

*Rouge* asked how much the arrests and the pressures around Giscard's visit had affected the autonomist movement. Simeoni said:

"Everyone is at sea, that is true, and true of us more than anyone. But this is only temporary. This is only going to harden people up. We have reached a point where the development is irreversible, and people are now very committed.

"Our opponents are also very committed. Before Aléria [the occupation of a vineyard by autonomists in August 1975], we discussed with a subprefect. Now they are sending us the president of France. Well, when a president makes a trip just to counter us, that changes people's ideas. What they have done is create a real anti-autonomist front. We will have to make adjustments to deal with this new situation."

Simeoni went on to say:

"Nothing is easy in Corsica. But on the other hand, anything is possible. . . .

"We are going to demonstrate our capacity to mobilize, that we can get more people in our rallies than Giscard can at his."

On the question of independence, Simeoni said:

"There is more of a tendency in the direction of calling for independence today in the Corsican People's Union than there was. But I don't think we are going to change our position [from calling for autonomy to calling for independence].

"But people should not expect us to cut ourselves off from the fighters for independence in the Corsican National Liberation Front [a guerrilla group]. They are sincere Corsicans, patriots, they are being repressed and we will defend them.

"Our reaction is biological, first of all. We want to survive as a people. And for the moment we have no real existence as a people except in struggle. We will not retreat."

## ARRITTI

Weekly paper supporting autonomy for Corsica. Published in Bastia.

The editorial in the May 29 issue comments on the attitude of Corsican politicians to the use in Zaïre of the Foreign Legion, which is based in Corsica.

"We are concerned with . . . the problem of the vote of congratulations given to the Legion by the general councillors of both southern and northern Corsica. . . . We would like here to analyze the real reasons for this vote. The General Councils in Corsica were the only ones to adopt this attitude. This is certainly not something to be proud of.

"In reality the promoters of this gesture did not do it to give the Legion a combat award, which only it itself could win. The Legion is a body of mercenaries created for colonial war. When it is sent to Chad, to Djibouti, or to Zaïre, it justifies its existence.

"Those who are hailing the Legion now, it should be understood, are doing so with their minds on the massacre of Bustanica and on all the exactions committed by Legionnaires [in Corsica] whether on duty or not. J. P. de Rocca-Serra, Giacobbi, and the others have thought that they could use the humanitarian side of the operation in Zaïre as a means of whitewashing the crimes of the Legion here. They thought that in this way they could silence those who have been shouting "*Legione fora*" [The Legion Out] for years. This was a miserable and low political act. And it won't work.

"Objective Corsicans, Corsicans who watch and listen to what is happening are more uneasy than ever. What will these Legionnaires, who have been prepared for war and trained to live for war alone, do when they return to Corsica?"

"What they are doing in Zaïre is what the Legion was created for. . . . In Corsica, where they continue to be maintained as warmakers, they can only look for an excuse to use their skills. That is the reason for the crimes that some of them have committed in Corsica. . . .

"This is why the actions of the Legion in Zaïre cannot make us forget the exactions they have committed in Corsica. We think that the Legion has no business in Corsica. It should leave. *Legione Fora!*"

## ekphrase

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

The June 2 issue reports on developments in the Turkish Cypriot unions:

"A few days ago, the Revolutionary General Workers Union adopted some positions on the Cyprus question at its Fourth Special Congress that should be seen as very encouraging. They represent important steps in the direction of coordinating the struggles of workers in both communities [i.e., the Greeks and Turks].

"Specifically, the congress called for an 'independent, unaligned, bizonal, geographically unified, free federal republic of Cyprus without imperialist bases.' It was also maintained that the constitution of such a republic should be designed to avert conflicts between the two communities.

"The report of the leadership placed special emphasis on the economic situation that exists in the occupied part of Cyprus [i.e., the section under Turkish control]. It highlighted the way inflation is increasingly hitting the workers and peasants. It drew attention to the increasing unemployment and to the way that the capitalists are selling their goods at higher prices, but when anyone asks for higher wages they appeal to 'national unity' and call for 'sacrifices for the national interest.'

"Before we analyze these theses, we should mention briefly the character of this union. It belongs to De-Vis, the federation of progressive unions. . . . The other main union federation is Turk-Sen, which existed before the formation of the progressive union movement. With the founding of the progressive union federation, a large number of workers broke away from it and joined the new group. . . .

"The Revolutionary General Workers Union . . . has to its credit quite a few hard-fought strikes. On several occasions these have led to clashes with Denktash's police.



"While Turk-Sen claims to be unpolitical, the theses and activities of the Revolutionary General Workers Union have strong anti-imperialist and anticapitalist content. . . .

"The theses held by the progressive unions are still rather unclear. However, they are a reaction to the miserable economic conditions and capitalist exploitation that prevail. . . .

"Naturally the Revolutionary General Workers Union still has no concrete proposals for the political struggle of the workers, nor does it propose a program of cooperation between Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot workers. Its reference to a bizonal federation avoids the gigantic problem of the refugees.

"All this shows that they have not yet entirely overcome the feeling of distrust that exists between the two communities.

"Moreover, these unions are not a political party and naturally cannot be the instrument for leading the Turkish Cypriot masses in the liberation struggle and in the struggle for socialism. However . . . the theses of the Revolutionary General Workers Union facilitate the formation of such a leadership.

"An important factor in the advancement of this . . . process is the position of the Greek Cypriots. The Turkish Cypriot workers must be convinced that the perspectives of the Cypriot progressive forces are not nationalistic and that their struggles and aims do not correspond to those of the bosses."

## **Irish Republican Information Service.**

*A news bulletin published by supporters of the Provisional republican movement in Ireland.*

On May 19-21, a group of humanitarians and civil libertarians held a public inquiry in Dublin into mistreatment and torture of political prisoners in both Irish jurisdictions. The tribunal included Judge Etienne Bloch, a member of the French Judges' Association; Paul Bekaert, a Belgian lawyer and member of the Droits de l'Homme [Human Rights Association]; and Juan María Bandres, a Basque member of the Spanish Senate and of the International Commission of Jurists.

The Irish Republican Information Service described one of the cases examined by the tribunal:

"Tom McAllister, shot in the back and leg by an RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] patrol on 28 March, is in the infirmary of Crumlin Road Prison, Belfast. His right side is paralysed from the bullet which entered the base of his spine. His left leg is in plaster. Medical opinion is that unless he receives immediate intensive care and physiotherapy, he will be permanently paralysed. Yet the prison authorities will not transfer him to hospi-

tal, since to do so would confirm allegations that he should never have been moved from hospital care to undergo intensive interrogation at Castlereagh RUC station after only five weeks in hospital.

"Twenty-one-year-old McAllister was shot while walking along Finaghy Road North in West Belfast. He was taken to the Royal Victoria Hospital where he was placed under police guard. When his mother came to see him, she was refused admission. However, Mrs. McAllister, who works as a lobotomist in the hospital, put on a white coat and with a syringe in hand entered the room on the pretext that she was taking a blood test. . . .

"On entering Tom's room, she found him lying in a pool of his own urine, since the bullet which paralysed him has also ruined his bladder control. She attempted to change the bed clothes herself, but was informed by the policeman on duty that the hospital's nurses would not like her to interfere with the patient. She could not find one to perform the task, so she continued."

Tom McAllister was transferred to a military hospital and kept there for four weeks but did not receive the treatment necessary to restore his ability to walk. Although still paralyzed, he was shifted to the police "interrogation" center at Castlereagh:

"Mrs. McAllister rang Castlereagh and told the officer in charge that she was fully aware that her son was about to be admitted there for interrogation and that she was sending her doctor to examine him. The police assured her that Tom would 'not require a doctor' as there already was a police doctor there.

"In fact, the family doctor was called in by the police doctor to Castlereagh. There he found Tom, leaning against the wall in a standing position and in extreme pain. Police were seeking confessions to a total of 17 murders from a man who could not even stand.

"For the remainder of his time in Castlereagh, Tom underwent constant interrogation. His mother claims that he was put sitting in a chair which his interrogators kicked from behind every now and again, thus jolting the injured spine and inducing permanent paralysis. . . .

"Finally, Tom was moved to Crumlin Road prison where he was immediately referred to the hospital wing. He remains there still, although the prison admits it does not have the facilities to care for him. On her last visit to him, Mrs. McAllister was told by her son that he was in terrible pain and could not bear to take further visits. For these visits, Tom is taken from his bed, placed in a wheelchair and carried down flights of spiral steel stairs to the visiting rooms.

"Tom McAllister has never been convicted. His mother maintains that the only way she could have him removed from

prison and restored to hospital care, would be to have a medical consultant overrule previous medical 'diagnoses.' So far, she has been unable to get a consultant to visit her son."

## **LE PEUPLE BRETON**

*"Breton People," magazine of the Democratic Union of Brittany, published monthly in Brest.*

The Democratic Union of Brittany has been in the general orbit of Stalinism for at least a decade. In recent years, there have been signs of friction with the French Communist Party, which "patriotically" opposes any tampering with "eternal France, one and indivisible."

However, the Breton group's response to the March elections and the reports to its congress held afterward indicate that it has not changed its basic orientation.

One of the guests at the congress whose presence was played up was Tomás Mac Giolla of the "Official" Irish republican movement, an organization that on the basis of adopting Stalinist politics moved to an economic position, opposed in reality to any struggle on the national question.

At the same time, the main political report to the congress published in the May issue of *Le Peuple Breton* indicates that the Breton Democratic Union leaders find themselves increasingly in a blind alley in their attempt to orient to world Stalinism. It says in part:

"We noted also the power of the French position in the world and the difficulty for the socialist bloc or the third world of supporting the struggles in Brittany against French interests. . . .

"Moreover, it seems that in the anticolonialist struggle we are running into the direct or indirect presence of the international Communist movement, and that this movement finds itself bound by the principle of noninterference in what the French Communist Party considers an internal affair of the French state. . . ."

The Breton Democratic Union, unlike most of the other nationalist groups in the French state, was a participant in the Union of the Left, gaining some local government posts as a result. The breakup of the Union of the Left and the defeat in the legislative elections have evidently cast something of a cloud over this Breton group's perspectives:

"Our support for unity, which was laid out at our last congress, was applied in an intransigent and exemplary way. And while the left and the Breton Democratic Union made gains in Brittany, notably in the municipal elections, we must recognize that we have also been affected by the setback for the left. We will have to draw the conclusions from this."



## The Meaning of the Election Results in Peru

[The following interview with Hugo Blanco, obtained in Paris by Christian Parker, was published in the June 21 issue of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist daily. The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

\* \* \*

*Question. Looking at the first partial results of the [June 18] elections to the Constituent Assembly, what can you tell us about their meaning?*

*Answer.* Before anything else, I'd like to talk about the restrictions put on these elections. In the first place, illiterates did not have the right to vote, which excluded some of the most conscious sectors of Peruvian society, such as the Indian peasants who do not speak Spanish, the colonial language. In other words, those who carried out the agrarian reform, who have increased production and improved their standard of living, are treated like subhuman beings.

Second, soldiers do not have the right to vote, in a country where the military junta rules "in the name of the armed forces."

Finally, to obtain the right to run slates in these elections, you had to gather 40,000 signatures, a very high figure. You have to realize that the authorities did everything possible to obstruct signature-gathering by organizations belonging to the workers movement. They constantly arrested comrades collecting signatures on the street and stole their petitions. To top it all off, ten days before the filing date, they rejected half of the FOCEP's<sup>1</sup> signatures, about 20,000, that is. With a great deal of determination, the comrades were able to gather 20,000 more in a few days.

Meanwhile, many people were being held, and the Jujuy Thirteen had already been deported.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the FOCEP was finally able to get on the ballot, and I

was able to run as a candidate.

As for access to the major means of communication—radio, television, and the press—it had been agreed that space would be reserved for each electoral slate. After having been able to judge our first appearances, the ruling military junta arbitrarily withdrew our right of access to the media, and then gave it back. For example, I was able to speak on television three or four hours before being arrested and deported to Argentina.

You must not forget that as of the eve of the May 22-23 general strike, the military had decreed a curfew, a state of emergency, and the suspension of constitutional guarantees. They even considered these measures to be retroactive up to forty-eight hours, claiming that they legitimized the repression that occurred just before the outbreak of the strike. Among those detained in this wave of repression were many candidates in the elections, as well as people with other responsibilities in the campaign.

After the general strike, which was an enormous success, the curfew and state of emergency were lifted, but not the suspension of constitutional guarantees. This meant that we could calmly hold meetings and rallies, but that just as calmly, we could be arrested, searched without warrants, and so on.

They insisted on prerecording television and radio programs, and that was how an entire speech of ours, and an excerpt from another by the UDP,<sup>3</sup> simply got censored.

The FOCEP and the UDP held a final joint campaign rally in Lima the Friday before the elections. This proves that we are not electoralists, but that this campaign was a campaign to defend the masses. Since a permit for this rally was first refused, then granted, then refused again, the FOCEP and UDP tried to call a demonstration, which resulted in the sending of light armored vehicles, fire engines, and cops equipped with tear-gas grenades and clubs to break up the demonstration.

To give an idea of the disparity in resources between us and the parties of the right, you have to keep in mind the enormous resources at their disposal. They had no restrictions of any kind, and even went to the point of running advertisements on both television and radio during the broadcasts of the World Cup football matches.

This is what gives full meaning to the FOCEP's vote total, and, in a larger sense, to the vote for the other candidates of the

workers movement, the UDP and CP.

*Q. What were the central themes of the FOCEP's electoral campaign?*

A. Within the FOCEP, my organization, the PST,<sup>4</sup> stressed the fact that the crisis Peru is currently undergoing is the crisis of a rotten capitalist system, that the country needs a social, economic, and political reorganization.

That is why we drew up a general draft of a constitution that includes nationalization without compensation or indemnity of all industrial enterprises, cancellation of the foreign debt, and the planning of public works to be chosen by the popular sectors—workers, peasants, and shantytown dwellers—to solve both the question of unemployment and development.<sup>5</sup>

Of course, we explained that all these measures could be put into effect only by a workers and people's government, that such a government can be based only on assemblies of workers', peasants', and shantytown-dwellers' committees. We even added that the members of such a government should not earn more than a worker, and that they should be recallable at any time. The armed forces should be set up on the basis of committees to defend the workers, peasants, and so on. It was this draft constitution that was our central weapon in the campaign.

Furthermore, we constantly explained that these elections amounted to an electoral farce, and that there should be no illusions about them. Because in Peru, the tanks are the real voters, even though they are illiterate and do not speak Spanish.

*Q. How was FOCEP's campaign carried out?*

A. The recent, and even less than recent, history of Peru shows that all the gains made by the workers had to be won by their organizations in struggle. So each FOCEP committee had to be organized with this in mind. To take one example, in one shantytown the committee organized a struggle for drinking water, electricity, and transportation.

The FOCEP support committee in a factory would mobilize the workers for the general strike, around the specific demands in that plant, and for the rehiring

4. Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers Party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.

5. For an English translation of the draft constitution, see *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, June 19, p. 750.

1. Frente Obrero, Campesino, Estudiantil, y Popular—Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front, an electoral coalition of workers parties and union organizations that includes Blanco's party, the PST.

2. On May 25, Hugo Blanco and twelve other Peruvians were deported to an army barracks in San Salvador de Jujuy, Argentina. As a result of international protests, Blanco was released and allowed to return to Sweden, where he has been granted political asylum. Ten of the twelve other political figures, trade-union leaders, and journalists were also given asylum in countries of their choice. The cases of two others are still pending. See *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, June 26, 1978, p. 756.

3. Unión Democrática Popular—Democratic People's Union.

of fired workers (5,000 were fired throughout the country after the general strike on July 19, 1977).

For this reason, we consider the vote for our slate to be a vote for socialism, for the mobilization and organization of the masses to struggle, a vote against the electoral fraud.

*Q. How were the FOCEP support committees set up?*

A. A sympathizer would come to the headquarters, for example—not a sympathizer in the sense in which it is understood in France, in the LCR<sup>6</sup>—but someone who was interested in what they had heard about us. We would help that person to set up a support committee in their workplace or neighborhood. A comrade would be sent to give a hand, and a meeting would be called, which would lead, after discussion, to the election of two or three officers of the support committee.

*Q. Why did the far left campaign within two electoral fronts instead of a single one?*

A. As far as we were concerned, we were ready to join the UDP coalition from the start, but the Maoist comrades who dominate the UDP made a precondition of accepting their governmental formula of a "people's revolutionary government," which in our understanding was nothing but a concretization of the Maoist concept of the bloc of four classes. In case we had not succeeded in gathering the 40,000 signatures, we would have given critical support to the UDP slate.

The FOCEP platform contained three central points—class independence, the struggle against the government, and giving an impulse to popular struggles. In addition, each organization taking part in the FOCEP could put forward its own program, which seemed to us a correct conception for carrying out an election campaign.

Several Trotskyist organizations took part in the UDP, not because they agreed with the governmental formula, but because they felt it was very important to establish a united front with the working-class vanguard in the mines represented in the UDP. In my opinion, there is no need for an election campaign to put the revolutionary united front into practice. For example, in the leadership of the Peruvian Peasants Federation, I rub shoulders with comrades who are practically all connected to the UDP.

Our opinion is that the comrades in the leadership of the UDP are making eyes a little too eagerly at what they call the progressive bourgeoisie, and that they

6. Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire—Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International.

## For a Mass Workers Party in Peru!

[The following is excerpted from a June 21 telephone interview with Hugo Blanco that appeared in the June 23 issue of *Amauta*, a leftist weekly published in Lima. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

\* \* \*

*Question. What do you think are the immediate tasks at this time?*

*Answer.* We compañeros in the FOCEP have an especially great responsibility now, I think. I have heard that the FOCEP and the UDP are preparing to hold a joint meeting.

The FOCEP and the UDP represent the popular sectors that are struggling and that want to continue to struggle, so I think it is our obligation to form a big party, or front, of the masses—the FOCEP and the UDP together. We should call on other sectors such as the Communist Party, for example (and if

they don't come along it will be because their leaders don't want to), and on the ranks—not the leadership—of the PSR, to form a big mass party on the basis of two or three elementary points: class independence, no pact with bourgeois sectors, support to the people's struggles, and intransigent struggle against capitalism.

I think that a big political organization of the masses must be formed around these points, with the FOCEP and the UDP as its basis. Each of our small parties could be a current inside this party.

It has to be understood that the masses are not going to come in the course of a few months to any of the small groups that make up the left parties. Nevertheless, the masses have shown that they are generally in a combative position, so our obligation is to call for a big workers party where each one of our parties could be a current of opinion.

perceive the PSR<sup>7</sup> as a governmental alternative. When I say that, they call me a divider.

After General Leonidas Rodríguez came back from exile for the election campaign,

7. Partido Socialista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Socialist Party, a bourgeois-nationalist group led by former members of the military government.

he went on television once just before me. He dwelt on the fact that the PSR intended to uphold small- and medium-sized private ownership, and that he by no means wanted to divide the armed forces. When my turn came to speak, I had an obligation to explain that those military officers from the first phase of the military junta after 1968, who today pose as progressives, did not shrink from firing on the people when things started to go badly for them. □

## 'Le Monde' Interview With Hugo Blanco

[The following article by Marcel Niedergang appeared in the June 22 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

\* \* \*

Can one be a parliamentary deputy and political exile at the same time? That is the question facing Mr. Hugo Blanco, leader of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. Expelled from Peru by military force on the eve of the June 18 elections, together with several other political and trade-union leaders, he was elected on Sunday to the new Constituent Assembly, which is due to meet for the first time on July 28.

Once again, he took refuge in Sweden, his "second home." He is waiting impa-

tiently. "As soon as possible, I will return to Lima." He has kept intact a gut-level taste for struggle, despite imprisonment and exile. A force of nature—sturdy, firm on his feet, strong in the torso like the rough peasants of the Altiplano, bending their backs under the great cold wind of the high plateaus, but tireless.

It was while struggling with them, near Cuzco in the valley of La Convención, that he began to make a name for himself in the 1960s. He organized peasant unions, challenging the power of the *terratenientes* (landowners) and mestizo foremen. Hotly pursued, he took to the jungle. Arrested, taken to Lima, implicated in the murder of two policemen, and condemned to death, his sentence was commuted to



twenty-five years in prison, and he was incarcerated in El Frontón prison outside Callao. Amnestied at the end of 1970 by the government of General Velasco, he spent nine months in Lima, forbidden to leave the capital, and was then exiled to Mexico. Escaping to Argentina, where he was imprisoned, he then lived in Chile until the fall of Allende. He escaped the military, who were circulating his photograph, and hid out in the Swedish embassy. Then a brief return to Peru in 1975, and again exile to Sweden.

The amnesty decreed in April 1978 by the Morales government enabled him to return long enough to run as a candidate on the FOCEP slate, which, to everyone's surprise, has just won 12% of the vote in the elections. Heading the slate was Hugo Blanco, the eternal wanderer, whose breathless itinerary over twenty years is symbolic of his fight. The years have planted a strip of white in his full head of hair.

Is he satisfied with his victory? "Mainly happy to be alive. When I stepped off a Peruvian military plane in Jujuy, in northern Argentina, I thought it was all over. Argentina is a slaughterhouse. They killed

the Chilean Prats, the Bolivian Torres, and so many others. But the local press reported our expulsion. Then we spent ten more days in a Buenos Aires police station, then the plane to Stockholm."

What about the FOCEP's unexpected electoral victory? "A result of the dramatic economic crisis. In the *barriadas*, the vast encroaching shantytowns of Lima, the residents set up FOCEP support committees. The working class of Lima is now playing a role, but the bulk of our support has come from the unemployed, those on the edge of starvation who have come down from the high plateaus toward the sprawling city to look for some sort of job. The social question is in the forefront in Peru. It's a time bomb."

Mr. Hugo Blanco thinks that the agrarian reform has not seriously improved the living standards of the peasant masses, most of whom are illiterate and thus do not have the right to vote. "Their crime is that they speak Peruvian, not the language of the Spanish conquerors," he says. "The peasants are struggling now against the state bureaucracy and occupying the cooperatives set up by the reform." According

to the Trotskyist leader, "the nationalizations decreed in the first period of the Velasco government have been stripped of all meaning, for example, in the fishing, petroleum, and copper industries.

"Within the current system, it was obviously impossible to withstand the pressures from the International Monetary Fund. The only solution is socialism, which is what we propose. I believe in the contagious power of examples. A socialist Peru would speed up the thawing-out process elsewhere in South America. And today the United States government is in no position to send in marines."

In the medium term, he is pessimistic. "The situation is explosive. The army is willing to let APRA\* play the parliamentary game, but it still holds the reins. But within three months they will feel like doing some 'housecleaning' and kicking out the far left in one way or another." □

\*Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana—People's Revolutionary American Alliance, a bourgeois party that won the largest percentage of votes in the June 18 elections.

## Claim Refugees Were 'Persecuted'

# Anticapitalist Measures in Vietnam Draw Peking's Fire

By Matilde Zimmermann

Peking's saber-rattling over the flight of ethnic Chinese from Vietnam has raised the specter of armed clashes on the China-Vietnam border.

According to Peking's Department of Overseas Chinese Affairs, more than 130,000 Chinese left Vietnam between mid-April and June 14. The Chinese government insists that the refugees were expelled from Vietnam, the victims of racist social and economic discrimination.

The claims of "persecution" and "expulsion" have been used as an excuse to cut off desperately needed aid to Vietnam. Economic development projects including an important bridge over the Red River have been canceled, and almost 1,800 Chinese technicians have been called home. Two Chinese ships have already been sent to Vietnam to evacuate refugees, and Peking intends to send more. On June 17 Peking demanded that Vietnam close its three consulates in southern China.

Pro-Peking newspapers in Hong Kong attack Vietnam as "a new Cuba" and as Moscow's "Trojan Horse" in Asia.

Hanoi's repeated calls for negotiations have been rejected by Peking. Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-ping told visiting journalists

in Peking June 7 that there was "still no foundation for such negotiations either with Vietnam or the third country behind the conflict" (an obvious reference to the Soviet Union). In the same interview, Teng said of the trickle of assistance provided Vietnam: "The only thing wrong with our aid to Vietnam, if there is anything wrong in it at all, is that we have given Vietnam too much."

Most ominous has been the buildup of military force along the border between China and Vietnam. According to unconfirmed reports, border fighting occurred even before the recent sharp deterioration in relations. Thirty Vietnamese were said to have been killed in a February clash, which, according to the *Washington Post* of May 26, "diplomats have concluded was a calculated attempt by the Chinese to 'discipline' Hanoi."

Warning the Vietnamese to stop "persecuting" the Chinese or "bear full responsibility for all the consequences," Peking reportedly has added fifteen new army divisions to the troops stationed along its southern border.

The Vietnamese have expressed fear that "all the consequences" might include

military confrontation or an attempt by Peking to establish control over contested oil-rich islands in the South China Sea. Hanoi has announced that border and coastal defenses are being strengthened and that plans are under way to mobilize a sizable part of the population into military units.

When Peking unilaterally announced it was sending ships to evacuate all the remaining "persecuted Chinese" from Vietnam, Hanoi reminded them that the days of "the flotilla policy of imperialism" were over. Vietnamese authorities at first refused to give permission for the ships to dock because Peking demanded they admit the refugees were "victims of ostracism, persecution and expulsion." *New York Times* reporter Fox Butterfield commented that "it appeared to some diplomats in Hong Kong that Peking's demands were made as tough as they were in order to present a deliberate challenge to Hanoi rather than a careful negotiating position."

For all the furor about Vietnam's "persecution" of Chinese, there is no proof that any anti-Chinese campaign is actually under way. Rather, the evidence suggests



that the refugees are fleeing the economic measures through which Vietnam recently did away with capitalist control over trade and commerce in the south.

There are well over a million ethnic Chinese in Vietnam; some estimates run as high as two million. The great majority live in the south, with about 800,000 in the Cholon district of Ho Chi Minh City. The families of many have lived in Vietnam for generations.

The ethnic Chinese enjoyed a relatively favored position during the colonial period, and Chinese merchants came to control much of the foreign trade as well as the distribution and sale of basic necessities such as rice, meat, and fabrics. Commerce remained largely in private hands after the liberation of South Vietnam, and it is likely that Chinese predominance actually increased because so many Vietnamese capitalists fled with the retreating Americans.

To do away with the hoarding, black-marketing and corruption that were disrupting the economy, Hanoi recently drove through two measures that effectively abolished capitalism in the south. On March 23, 30,000 large and medium-sized businesses were nationalized. About 90 percent of them had been owned by ethnic Chinese merchants. Businessmen were compensated for their goods, but only for the relatively small portion they could prove was acquired legally.

The currency reform of May 3 for the first time united the north and south in a single monetary system and dealt a deathblow to hoarded wealth. Legal savings were simply exchanged into the new currency, but money hidden away became without warning so much worthless paper. (See *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, July 3, 1978, p. 792.)

The flight of ethnic Chinese began soon after the March 23 decree. The director of Overseas Chinese Affairs in Peking referred in an April 30 speech to "those overseas Chinese who for various reasons have in recent days hastily returned to China" from Vietnam. The flow seems to have picked up sharply after the May 3 currency reform; Hsinhua, the Chinese news agency, reported that 11,000 persons crossed the border in a three-day period the week of May 21.

Peking considers the abolition of capitalism in south Vietnam as just an example of anti-Chinese persecution. As part of a list of atrocities allegedly committed in Vietnam, Hsinhua said May 28 that "most Chinese living in Ho Chi Minh City had their property searched and impounded before they left and were in a pathetic state." A June 9 statement from the Chinese Foreign Ministry complains that "properties and possessions which many Chinese residents had accumulated through many years of hard work were illegally confiscated."

Peking denounces as "malicious slander" the idea that the Chinese fleeing Vietnam are capitalists and says that Vietnam's claim to be carrying out a "socialist transformation" is designed only "to cover up their crimes of persecuting Chinese residents in South Viet Nam."

Hanoi has commented on this lack of understanding from a regime that was itself forced to abolish capitalism in order to make economic progress. *Nhan Dan*, the newspaper of the Vietnamese Communist Party, asks: "Must the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce—a universal law of socialist revolution which has been applied in China—stop in Socialist Vietnam before the wealth of a number of capitalists of Chinese origin (and Vietnamese capitalists too!) [is confiscated], even though this wealth was wrung from the sweat and tears of the Vietnamese working class and people, including quite a few Vietnamese of Chinese descent?"

Many of the Chinese refugees apparently fled to avoid resettlement in the New Economic Zones. The Vietnamese government has an ambitious program designed to repair war damage and increase food production by resettling ten million people in sparsely populated areas over the next twenty years. So far 1.33 million have relocated, just over half of them from Ho Chi Minh City.

An article in the March 16 *New York Times* entitled "Vietnam's New Look: Green and Growing" describes some of the achievements of the rebuilding campaign: "Roads have been repaired . . . homes have sprung up in areas that two years ago still resembled lunar landscapes. Thousands of acres, abandoned because of the war, are again under cultivation." The reporters saw green rice fields in areas where "two years ago it was like a desert because of the bombing."

Life is hard in the New Economic Zones, however—even harder than elsewhere in the war-ravaged country. Some recent refugees have complained bitterly about being pressured to "volunteer" for the New Economic Zones, and Chinese Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping on June 9 cited the resettlement campaign as one way in which Chinese were being persecuted in Vietnam.

After the nationalizations of March 23, residents of Cholon reportedly held protest demonstrations in which they held up posters of Mao Tsetung and demanded repatriation.

But the Cholon merchants who decided to leave Vietnam tended to choose places more friendly to capitalist trade than China. If they could afford the boat or plane fare or had relatives with the necessary influence, they fled to Hong Kong, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, or Taiwan. Thirty thousand have reportedly applied to Taiwan for entrance visas.

Interviewed by Western journalists, these refugees have been angry about the expropriation of their shops and have said that times are hard for everyone in Vietnam, but they do not claim to be victims of racial persecution. A *Washington Post* reporter in Hong Kong interviewed refugees who "willingly told of longtime Chinese residents suffering food shortages along with many of their Vietnamese neighbors, but they were particularly hard-pressed because their traditional livelihood of small trading has been denounced as capitalism."

*New York Times* reporter Fox Butterfield says interviews with new arrivals in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Thailand "suggest that part of the trouble is simply that the Chinese got caught in Hanoi's drastic effort to abolish private business and move middle-class residents out of the country's cities. Many native Vietnamese have also been swept up in this campaign. . . ."

Representatives of the National Council of Churches who spent three weeks in Vietnam in late May said on their return to the United States that they had been given the impression "that the recent flight of Chinese from Vietnam was not based on economic or ethnic persecution, as some reports have said, but had resulted as 'fallout' from necessary shifts in economic policy."

*Far Eastern Economic Review* reporter Nayan Chanda has concluded that "as far as merchants in south Vietnam are concerned, there is no evidence that the communist authorities have discriminated between Chinese and Vietnamese in their anticapitalist drive."

Most of the refugees who have gone overland into China come from northern rather than southern Vietnam. Some of them, like the southerners, are fleeing stricter control of their economic activity. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* of May 5 says that "controls reportedly have also been stepped up against Chinese traders and shopkeepers who dominate Hanoi's small private sector," and refugees from the north have reported increased attention from tax collectors and security forces.

Another factor is the fear that ethnic Chinese will suffer because of China's support to Cambodia in its border war with Vietnam. Hanoi has accused "bad elements" of spreading false rumors about the danger of retaliation against Chinese in Vietnam.

Some of the overland refugees fled from the region of Vietnam closest to China and had traditional ties to the peoples across the border. They may just prefer to be on the stronger side in the event fighting breaks out.

Chinese newspapers run daily accounts of atrocities against ethnic Chinese in Vietnam. A June 10 statement by the Foreign Ministry said these "miseries" were "appalling and rarely seen in international relations." One report, cited in the

*Economist* of June 3, claimed things were better in Vietnam under the Thieu regime.

Peking complains at length about the fact that Chinese born in Vietnam are under pressure to become Vietnamese citizens; the *People's Daily* has accused Hanoi of "continuing the policies of the traitorous and reactionary clique of Ngo Dinh Diem."

There have been special programs on Chinese television with scenes purporting to be river-crossings by refugees and emotional interviews with "escapees" from Vietnam. The Chinese press claims that ethnic Chinese have been discriminated against in jobs, housing, and education, punished for speaking Chinese or distributing Chinese newspapers, and beaten by gangs of thugs.

This kind of pervasive anti-Chinese oppression has not been reported by refugees who have fled to other countries besides China. But it is certainly the dominant theme of media coverage within China about the Vietnam issue.

This propaganda campaign is designed to turn the Chinese masses against the Vietnamese by portraying them as brutal racists. It is an effort to counter the admiration and solidarity the people of China feel for the Vietnamese revolution, so that they will accept whatever actions their government might decide to take against Vietnam.

Hanoi denies any mistreatment of ethnic Chinese or any attempt to expel them. A Vietnam news agency release May 28 claimed that "the overwhelming majority of the working people, including Vietnamese of Chinese origin, had enthusiastically taken part" in the moves to abolish private businesses. "The Vietnamese people," commented *Nhan Dan*, "are not so stupid as to seek trouble with China."

#### A Stalinist Betrayal

Peking recently "rehabilitated" the overseas Chinese—frequently denounced as "capitalist roaders" during the Cultural Revolution. Some reporters have speculated that Peking is encouraging the exodus from Vietnam in order to fill its own needs for educated and skilled workers.

The conflict with Vietnam is also a by-product of Peking's propaganda war with Moscow. The Chinese press insists that "Soviet social-imperialism is the behind-the-scenes provocateur and the supporter of the Vietnamese authorities in ostracizing Chinese residents and attacking China." Peking has charged the Soviet Union with setting up a military base at Cam Ranh Bay, although this is denied by the Pentagon—which should know since it has Vietnam under continuous photographic surveillance.

Peking's opposition to the anticapitalist steps recently taken in Vietnam, and its misrepresentation of these measures as racial persecution, represent an act of

betrayal of the socialist revolution in Vietnam. This betrayal is an extension of the policy that led Peking and Moscow to wine and dine President Nixon while the U.S. warmakers were escalating their murderous bombing of Vietnam.

There are some indications that the Stalinist bureaucracy in Peking has even reached the point of opposing the reunification of Vietnam. *Far Eastern Economic Review* reporter David Bonavia describes Peking's version of the conflict with Vietnam as follows:

The stages of the quarrel with Vietnam, as analysed by Peking, began after the death of former president Ho Chi Minh in 1969. Vietnam decided then to rely on Soviet support against what it regarded as the age-old threat of Chinese domination. Ethnic Chinese were progressively expelled from the Vietnamese party and Hanoi decided to push for forcible reunification of Vietnam, at Soviet instigation, after the withdrawal of American troops.

Peking's propaganda war—and threat of a shooting war—against Hanoi has delighted Washington, which can now add

anti-Chinese persecution to its list of excuses for not providing Hanoi the \$4.75 billion in reconstruction aid promised by President Nixon.

The capitalist press has picked up Peking's charges against Hanoi. An anticommunist editorial in the May 31 *Christian Science Monitor*, for example, asserts that "Chinese have been fleeing [Vietnam] under particular harassment, including racially motivated violence and persecution. . . ."

The same editorial includes one of the more cynical remarks to come out of the imperialist press in a while: "After all the help China gave Hanoi during the Vietnam war, now comes the spectacle of Chinese being oppressed in Vietnam."

But the real spectacle is that of Peking attacking the unfolding of a new stage in the Vietnamese revolution, chiming in with Washington's propaganda war against Vietnam, and in effect joining imperialism's economic blockade by cutting off the aid Vietnam so desperately needs. □

## Open Letter to Erich Honecker

## Release Rudolf Bahro!

[We are printing below an open letter to Erich Honecker, chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, signed by fifteen British socialists. We have taken the text from the May 11 issue of *Socialist Challenge*, the weekly newspaper sponsored by the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

On August 23, 1977, the state security forces of the German Democratic Republic arrested Rudolf Bahro on a charge of 'espionage,' and since that date no further information has been forthcoming on Rudolf Bahro's fate. We, the undersigned, wish to express our grave concern about this case and appeal to you to take immediate steps to secure Rudolf Bahro's speedy release.

What are the facts as known to us West European socialists? Rudolf Bahro's arrest followed the announcement of the publication of his book *Die alternative. Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus* [The Alternative—A Critique of Existing Socialism] by the Europäische Verlagsanstalt, the publishing house owned by the West German trade union federation DGB, and the publication of several interviews with Bahro by various West German news media.

Could it be that this man is an agent of the Federal Republic's intelligence service? We have never heard of 'imperialist spies' openly announcing their dissident views and writing and publishing books which they expect to result in their arrest. And the sad fact is that Rudolf Bahro could and did expect his arrest for publicising his political views, since all previous expressions of any criticism of your party's and your government's policies have been met by immediate police action resulting in long prison sentences or the expulsion from the German Democratic Republic.

Article 20 of the Constitution of the GDR states that 'Every citizen of the German Democratic Republic has, irrespective of his nationality, race, his philosophical or religious convictions, his social origins and position, the same rights and duties. The freedom of conscience and belief are guaranteed.'

Why are Rudolf Bahro and others like Robert Havemann and Wolf Biermann then prevented from submitting their views to an open and democratic debate with the same rights as are exercised by the leaders and propagandists of your party? Rudolf Bahro, at the time of his arrest, was a member of the SED (and has been a member since 1952).

The Statutes of the SED declare that 'the organisational structure of the party is



based on the principle of democratic centralism' and that 'all party organs are democratically elected from the bottom to the top' (Clause 23). But how can genuine internal party democracy function if party members have to fear arrest before they have an opportunity to submit their criticisms to other party members, if they are jailed, expelled from the party, deprived of their livelihoods or expelled from the GDR for the only 'crime' of holding critical views?

We believe that, far from 'defending socialism,' such repressive measures only serve to discredit and therefore weaken it, in both East and West. Socialism is not only the nationalisation of the means of production and a centrally planned economy, it is also a higher form of political freedom than the political freedom even the most liberal bourgeois democracy can offer its working masses.

Unless socialism can be seen to mean the broadest working class democracy, with the freedom of political expression, debate and organisation at all levels of society, including within the socialist and communist parties, the Western working classes will continue to prefer bourgeois democracy as the devil it does know to socialism, the devil it does not know, and dissidents in Eastern Europe will continue to be forced to look to phoney defenders of human rights such as President Carter in

their despair over the absence of meaningful socialist democracy in their countries.

As is clear from the printed evidence, Rudolf Bahro wrote his book as a communist militant committed to genuine socialist democracy. We may not all agree with every aspect of Bahro's views, but we agree that every citizen of the German Democratic Republic should have the right to form his or her own opinion and discuss it freely and openly with the author's participation in such a public debate.

We therefore demand the immediate release of Rudolf Bahro from prison, the publication of his book in the GDR, and a public discussion of his views in the mass organisations, the political parties and the media of your country.

Robin Blackburn  
Ken Coates  
Tamara Deutscher  
Ferenc Feher  
Trevor Griffiths  
Quinton Hoare  
Agnes Heller  
Tom Litterick, MP  
Denis MacShane [President National Union of Journalists]  
Ralph Miliband  
Stan Newens, MP  
Tom Nairn  
Bruce Page, Editor New Statesman  
E. P. Thompson  
Raymond Williams

## U.S. Nazis Call Off Planned March in Skokie

The National Socialist Party of America, a Hitlerite group based in Chicago, has called off its previously announced plans to march June 25 in the largely Jewish town of Skokie, Illinois.

The Nazis' decision to retreat came in the wake of massive support for a counter-demonstration called by a coalition of Chicago-area Jewish groups on the same day and site as the planned Nazi march.

In the weeks leading up to the Nazis' retreat, announced June 22, support for the action had come from District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America, the Chicago Federation of Teachers, Lodge 214 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the civil-rights group Operation PUSH, the Metropolitan Black Caucus, the Socialist Workers Party, and many other organizations.

At the same press conference where he announced cancellation of the Skokie march, Nazi fuhrer Frank Collin reported plans to march July 9 in the Marquette Park area of Chicago.

Because this all-white neighborhood has been the scene of large racist mobilizations in the past, the Nazis—who have had a headquarters in the area for years—consider it friendlier ground than Skokie.

Collin said he would prefer to march "among white people" there, rather than face "a mob of howling creatures" in Skokie.

However, a Chicago civil-rights coalition including the Jewish Council on Urban Affairs, NAACP, Operation PUSH, and other groups has called for a counterdemonstration July 9, and if enough support can be built the Skokie victory may be repeated.

Marquette Park has long been a battleground in the fight for Black rights in Chicago. Open-housing marches, led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., were viciously attacked when they entered the area.

When the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Movement tried to demonstrate in Marquette Park in 1976 to revive that struggle, they faced organized racist violence in which the Nazis participated.

A massive, united demonstration by Black, Jewish, Chicano, and Puerto Rican groups, and by the trade-union movement, would thus not only give a fitting answer to the Nazi hate propaganda. It would also be a blow against the racist opponents of school desegregation and housing desegregation in Chicago.

On the legal front, the Chicago Parks

Department announced June 26 that it will appeal a federal court decision allowing the Nazis to march in Marquette Park. The court decision, handed down June 20, struck down a requirement that a \$60,000 insurance policy be posted before any demonstration could be held in a park. The Park District is seeking a stay of *all demonstrations*—including the planned antiracist, anti-Nazi counterdemonstration—until its appeal is decided.

Meanwhile, a June 24 picket line by twenty Nazis from around the country, held in downtown Chicago, drew 1,500 counterdemonstrators. Various left-wing groups, the right-wing Jewish Defense League, and a number of anti-Nazi activists who had come to demonstrate in Skokie participated.

More than 900 Chicago cops were mobilized. They sneaked the Nazis into the federal plaza, and surrounded them in a ring of cops six-deep. Thirteen of the anti-Nazi protesters were arrested.

One anti-Nazi demonstrator, Rich Kaufman, commented: "I've been involved in civil rights demonstrations and peace demonstrations. The police never gave us the protection they're giving these lunatics. When I marched with Martin Luther King in Marquette Park in 1967, the crowd was throwing bottles and rocks at us and there were no police."

On June 25, a rally against Nazism called by the Jewish Community Relations Council drew about 1,000 protesters in New York City. Numerous capitalist political figures in the state, including Governor Hugh Carey, showed up to speak.

The rally was endorsed by major religious organizations in the New York area, the Hellenic-American Neighborhood Associations, the Irish Societies, and 100 Black Men, an organization of Black civic leaders.

Many speakers, including Carey, demanded a government ban on pro-Nazi demonstrations. The capitalist politicians and Zionist leaders who spoke also affirmed their commitment to Israel and sought to equate anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism.

Dr. Mohammed Mehdi of the Action Committee on Arab-American Relations came to the rally to express his opposition to anti-Semitism and his solidarity with the anti-Nazi struggle. But because Mehdi is an Arab and a supporter of the rights of the Palestinian people, he was attacked by a gang of Zionist thugs. Police finally rescued Mehdi.

Socialist Workers Party members at the rally carried a banner saying, "Stop Racist Terror—from Crown Heights to Skokie" and petitioned against the racist police murder of Black Crown Heights community leader Arthur Miller. This sparked sharp debates with others at the rally who denied any connection between anti-Black racism in New York City and Nazi anti-Semitism. □



Fred Murphy/IP-I

## Seabrook: 20,000 Demonstrators Say 'No Nukes'

By Fred Murphy

SEABROOK, New Hampshire—Twenty thousand persons rallied against nuclear power in this Atlantic Coast fishing and resort town on June 25—the high point of four days of actions organized by the Clamshell Alliance to protest the 2,300-megawatt nuclear plant that is now 12 percent complete on what was once a rich salt marsh here.

The rally was the largest antinuclear action yet held in the United States.

The weekend of protest opened June 23 as several thousand activists began moving onto a site adjacent to the nuclear construction area, setting up campgrounds and alternative energy displays. About 8,000 persons camped on the site throughout the weekend.

The actions were called last November by the Clamshell Alliance—a network of almost fifty local antinuclear groups throughout New England that has made the Seabrook plant its central focus.

The protests were originally to have involved nonviolent civil disobedience in the form of an occupation and "restoration" of the construction site similar to the April-May 1977 protest in which 1,414 persons were jailed for "trespassing" on the property of the Public Service Company. The PSC is the principal owner of the nuclear plant.

Several thousand persons were trained for the occupation by the Clamshell Alliance during the past several months. But a few weeks before the action was to begin New Hampshire authorities and the PSC offered to set aside an area of land near the construction site for demonstrations, provided these would be limited to a four-day period.

The Clamshell Alliance discussed this

offer and agreed to accept it provided the PSC in return would comply with all local laws, prove that safe permanent storage existed for the plant's nuclear wastes, assume full liability for damages resulting from construction or operation of the reactors, and suspend construction until these demands were met. The PSC responded that such conditions were "ridiculous."

New Hampshire authorities then stepped up threats to deploy fire hoses, tear gas, police dogs, and even "deadly force" against demonstrators. Local property owners sympathetic to the protest were warned of increased tax assessments and even confiscation of their land. On June 12, at the urging of local Seabrook opponents of the plant, the Clamshell Alliance called off the civil-disobedience aspect of the protest and accepted the offer made by the state and the PSC. The group said this would provide "an unprecedented opportunity to bring the question of nuclear power to a large public forum and to build local and New England support for the anti-nuclear movement."

That proved to be the case. The attendance of 20,000 at the rally exceeded the organizers' expectations and undoubtedly included many who would not have been there had the threat of arrest remained.

In contrast, a pronuclear "clambake" in Manchester, New Hampshire, the same day drew fewer than 1,000 persons.

The mood and composition of the crowd was reminiscent of the movement against the Vietnam War—a parallel that was not lost either on the news media or on the speakers who addressed the rally.

Longtime social activist and mainstay of the antiwar movement Dr. Benjamin Spock was among the first to speak on

June 25. Terming nuclear power "the greatest threat short of nuclear war," Spock called for "bigger demonstrations every year."

Black entertainer and activist Dick Gregory was met with a standing ovation and chants of "No nukes!" when he said, "After we force them to shut down the nuclear plants we'll tell them 'No more nuclear war' and we'll move on that too."

Three well-known environmentalists and energy experts spoke at the rally: Dr. John Gofman, Dr. Barry Commoner, and Amory Lovins. Gofman, an expert on the medical effects of radiation, blamed nuclear pollution on those with "power and privilege" and said it "would be hard to dream up a more stupid way to provide energy than by creation of astronomical quantities of persistent, indestructible poisons."

The speakers platform also reflected growing support for antinuclear positions within U.S. trade unions. "The environmental movement needs the labor movement and the labor movement needs the environmental movement," said Joe Frantz, representing District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America.

Jerry Gordon of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union stressed the need to counter "the big lie that the labor movement is the enemy" of the environmental movement.

"The enemy is the same as the enemy of the labor movement," Gordon said, "the big corporations and the politicians who carry out their desires."

As a national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, Gordon was a key figure in the movement against the war in Vietnam. He urged antinuclear activists to reach out to the labor move-



ment, "especially in rallies like this."

"That's how a movement of thousands can transform itself into a movement that embraces millions."

Other speakers included representatives of the United Mine Workers, the National Organization for Women, Native American groups, and local opponents of the Seabrook plant.

Greetings and messages of solidarity were received from antinuclear groups in France, Australia, Hong Kong, West Germany, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, Japan, Britain, and Canada.

Actions against nuclear power plants were also held during the June 24 weekend at five locations in New York State and in Florida, Illinois, Kansas, Minnesota, New Jersey, Missouri, New Mexico,

Oregon, Texas, California, Vermont, and other locations.

Residents of the New Hampshire seacoast area have been fighting the \$2.3 billion Seabrook nuclear project through legal challenges and other means since 1969. Seabrook citizens have voted against building the plant, against transport of nuclear materials through the town, and against supplying water for construction. The U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission and Environmental Protection Agency have nevertheless allowed work to proceed.

Further NRC and EPA hearings on Seabrook were in progress in Manchester, New Hampshire, on June 26. Two thousand persons marched through Manchester that day, calling on the agencies to withdraw the plant's construction permit.

## Seabrook Stopped

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission announced June 30 that it is suspending the construction permit for the Seabrook nuclear power plant.

The NRC voted 2-to-1 to order all work halted by July 21. The suspension will remain in effect at least until the Environmental Protection Agency makes a final decision on the plant's cooling system. The EPA is not expected to rule for at least six months.

"We view the ruling as a historic breakthrough for the entire antinuclear movement in this country," said Clamshell Alliance representative Robert Cushing.

## Declare Opposition to Mining 'Unrealistic'

### Australian Stalinists Knife Antiuranium Movement

[The following article, by Jim McIlroy, appeared in the May 25 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist news-weekly published in Sydney, Australia.]

\* \* \*

"Opposition to the mining and processing of uranium, and through it the production of nuclear power, is unrealistic and flying in the face of the facts."

Is this a statement by the mining moguls of the Uranium Producers Forum? Not at all. It is the opening sentence of a leaflet issued in Brisbane by the Socialist Party of Australia!

"Those who oppose the use of nuclear power, and demand that uranium be left in the ground, could be using their talents and energies in demanding that a realistic policy be followed by present and future Governments of Australia," the leaflet continues.

The pro-Moscow Stalinists of the SPA go on to say that they are campaigning for the "public ownership of Australian uranium resources under the control of a democratic people's energy commission." (Emphasis in original.)

"The defeat of the representatives of the multinationals, such as the Fraser Government, is the best way of ensuring that no new mines will be opened, and only present commitments fulfilled, in accordance with the decisions of the recent Federal unions conference," the leaflet goes on.

"Only under socialism will our nation's natural resources and raw materials be used for the benefit of the Australian people."

"The foremost method in achieving such

goals is to mobilise total support for the February 10th decisions of the A.C.T.U. special conference on uranium."

So there you have it. The SPA, in line with its slavish backing for every diplomatic turn of the Kremlin bureaucrats, is knifing the antiuranium movement at the very time that the movement needs the utmost solidarity and unity of purpose.

At the very time when, on the one hand, the situation internationally is moving in favor of opponents of nuclear power (as shown by successful protests in Europe and the US), and when the ACTU and ALP tops, particularly Bob Hawke, have stepped in to attempt to derail the growing antiuranium movement in Australia, Hawke suddenly finds his strongest allies among the "Marxists" of the SPA.

At a time when, despite the victory of the Fraser government last year and the ACTU setback, antiuranium activists are gearing up to fight harder than ever around August 6, Hiroshima Day, for an end to all uranium mining and export, the SPA have consciously decided to undercut the movement.

And all this is done in the name of the facts. What about the fact that every expansion of nuclear power anywhere in the world increases the chances of a disastrous accident endangering thousands, even millions of lives?

What about the fact that nuclear accidents have already occurred on a significant scale, a number of which went close to having disastrous consequences?

What about the fact that no safe means of disposing of or storing radioactive waste, with a life span of hundreds of thousands of years, has been found or even

looks like being found anywhere in the world—including the Soviet Union?

Far from being "unrealistic," a policy by the antiuranium movement of a *total ban on all uranium mining and export* is the only valid and realistic one.

The ACTU policy of recognising existing contracts merely places the labor and antiuranium movements on a slippery slope to accepting unrestricted mining in the future.

Because the Soviet bureaucrats have continued with their criminal policy of building and expanding nuclear power plants despite the enormous risk to the working people of the USSR and other countries, the SPA is forced to try to justify a program of uranium mining "under the control of a democratic people's energy commission."

In reality, the first task of any "democratic people's energy commission" in Australia would be to demand the immediate banning of all uranium mining and export.

Why doesn't the SPA support a demand for a "democratic people's energy commission" in the USSR? I'm quite sure such a body in the workers' states, faced with these same facts, would immediately order an end to nuclear power generation also!

The SPA leaflet states that "A simple 'leave it in the ground' policy can do nothing to unify the Australian people in this struggle against monopoly's obsessive desire for profits from the mining and export of uranium."

Absolutely the reverse is the case! It is that very policy of "leave it in the ground" which *can* unify the great majority of the Australian people around a simple and clear issue: the threat to human life posed by the nuclear power industry.

The ACTU and SPA policy of retreat before Fraser and the uranium mining monopolies can only *divide* the antiuranium struggle and leave the way open for a complete victory for the imperialist forces which are willing to endanger the entire human race for a quick buck. □

## Chile—'General Amnesty' and a New Straitjacket

By Fred Murphy

"This is the first time in Chile's history that a general amnesty has been given," Justice Minister Mónica Madariaga Gutiérrez said April 19. "No Chilean government had ever sought this type of reconciliation and I venture to say that no government in the world has either."

The U.S. State Department was almost as enthusiastic. Using what the *New York Times* called "friendlier words than any department spokesman had used previously," Tom Reston said April 20 that Pinochet's move was "a positive contribution by the Government of Chile to improvement of the human rights situation in that country."

The Chilean junta's April 19 amnesty fell considerably short of the billing given it by Madariaga and Reston, however.

Part of Decree Law 2,191 granted pardons to all persons sentenced by military tribunals under the state of siege declared September 11, 1973. This unquestionably represents a victory. As a result of this and a more limited amnesty declared April 6, 224 persons were reportedly released from prison in Chile, 950 persons in conditional liberty had the restrictions on their freedom lifted, and 1,121 persons whose sentences had been commuted to forced exile were to be allowed to return.

But other aspects of the law ran directly counter to demands for human rights:

- Persons sentenced as "common criminals" were excluded from the amnesty. That category undoubtedly includes many political activists and trade unionists framed up by the junta.

- Legal proceedings to force disclosure of information about "disappeared" persons were terminated.

- Charges against police officials for homicide, kidnappings, and other crimes committed under the state of siege were nullified.

- Investigations of terrorist acts committed by the secret police abroad were to be terminated. (Although inquiries into the murder of Orlando Letelier are reportedly continuing.)

- Persons who have "disappeared"—since they were never formally charged—were not included in the amnesty.

There is also a major condition on the declared "right" of exiles to return. Persons wishing to go back to Chile must submit a formal request at a Chilean consulate and sign a statement pledging "to respect the existing regime, refrain from all political activity, and obey the laws in force" and to "work for the glory of

the fatherland in a dedicated and loyal fashion." The requests are then sent to Santiago for evaluation by the Ministry of the Interior.

By mid-May, 100 such requests had been turned down. Among those refused permission to return to Chile have been former Socialist Party government ministers Clodomiro Almeyda and Jaime Suárez; ex-SP deputies Maria Elena Carrera and Erick Schnacke; Communist Party leader Luis Valente Rossy; SP leaders Hugo Facio and Aniceto Rodríguez; Christian Democrat Claudio Huepe; and Arturo Montes Larraín, a scholar exiled in France.

CP youth leader Gladys Marín's request for reentry was simply rejected by the junta's Paris embassy, and when seventy-seven-year-old CP leader César Godoy Urrutia tried to enter Chile in April he was sent away on the same plane on which he had arrived.

In addition to these cases, five persons released from prison under the amnesty were immediately rearrested and deported from Chile.

The amnesty ploy was part of a broader effort on Pinochet's part to improve the junta's image abroad and at the same time shore up his own position.

The dictator's unilateral decision last December to hold a rigged plebiscite asking if citizens would "support President Pinochet in his defense of the dignity of Chile" rankled with his fellow junta members. They have also been concerned that Washington's probe into the Letelier murder may implicate Pinochet directly.

The most vocal complaints have come from air force General Gustavo Leigh, who voiced his objections to "one-man governments" to a magazine interviewer and has made a number of other public declarations focusing on the need to restore "constitutional" rule.

Pinochet reorganized the cabinet in mid-April, appointing right-wing attorney Sergio Fernández to the key post of interior minister and adding enough other civilians to put the military in a minority. He also moved to concretize the vague pledges made last year to "institutionalize" the regime and restore civilian rule.

As far as any real democratization is concerned, this is as spurious as the so-called general amnesty.

What is involved is actually an effort to create structures for the long-term preservation of the dictatorship and establish channels for mediating conflicts that arise within it. The moves are also aimed at

allowing the bourgeoisie more direct influence in the government.

Pinochet has appointed a study commission to draft a new constitution, which is to be ready for submission to a plebiscite by the beginning of 1979. The president of this select body, Enrique Ortúzar, gave the press a detailed summary of the new constitution on April 7.

There will, he said, be a "strong impersonal executive of the Portales type"—a reference to Diego Portales, who ruled Chile with an iron hand in the 1830s as minister of the interior.

The president will serve a single eight-year term and will have the power to dissolve congress at any time. The congress will have two chambers: a house of deputies elected by direct vote every four years; and a senate, two-thirds of which will be elected every eight years. The other third will be appointed.

Members of the congress, Ortúzar said, "will not be able to exercise any undue influence in public administration or commerce or be involved in trade-union, business, or student organizations." Such restrictions would appear to exclude most candidates, except for officers in the armed forces.

Standing guard over the whole authoritarian structure will be the "security power": "It would be ingenuous," Ortúzar said, "not to count on an organ charged with vigilance over the institutions, in the event they should be exposed to destruction in the future as they were in the past."

A four-to-five-year "transition period" is envisioned before what Pinochet has termed the "new democracy" goes fully into effect. During this time the entire congress will be appointed and not elected. Political parties will be allowed to function only toward the end of the transition, and "Marxist" parties are to be totally excluded by the new constitution.

The constitution will be submitted to a plebiscite sometime in 1979. Meanwhile, the state of emergency remains in effect. (This replaced the state of siege, which was allowed to lapse on March 11.)

Under the emergency, political parties and political activity are banned. Trade unions may not hold elections, strike, or bargain collectively. Colleges and universities are under military rector and are run like regiments. Persons arrested may be held for five days without being charged.

If all this weren't enough, further attacks on the workers and peasants are



being prepared. New legislation drawn up by the junta's Office of Planning reportedly includes the following provisions:

- Wages will be determined on the basis of the employer's judgment of the em-

ployee's qualifications and output.

- All protection for workers against arbitrary dismissal will be abolished.

- Family allowances will be eliminated except for workers in the very lowest wage

categories.

- Restrictions on the size of landholdings will be lifted, state landholdings will be sold, and the land rights of the Mapuche Indians will be abolished. □

## Chile Hunger Strikes Win International Support

By Eduardo Medrano

[The following article appeared in the July 3 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in New York. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

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A widespread hunger strike against political repression in Chile ended June 7. The strike had begun May 22 in Santiago, and focused on demands that the Pinochet dictatorship (1) clarify the situation and whereabouts of 2,500 "disappeared" political prisoners, and (2) grant an unconditional general amnesty to all political prisoners and allow the unconditional return of all exiles.

The strike was suspended as a result of an agreement reached between Catholic Church officials and the Pinochet government. According to the U.S. Ad-Hoc Committee to Support the Demands of Chilean Hunger Strikers, the accord provided that in a "short period of time" not yet specified the government will review and clarify each of the cases of disappeared persons.

According to the committee, these verifications are to be carried out jointly with a commission named by the church. This body is to include Chilean Cardinal Silva Enríquez and the president of the Roman Catholic Episcopal Conference.

The strikers have announced that they will renew the protest if the government fails to carry out the agreement.

The strike began May 22 when more than sixty Chileans, all relatives of "disappeared" political prisoners, occupied the UNICEF offices and three churches in Santiago (La Estampa, San Miguel, and San José Obrero).

The military junta's unwillingness to recognize the cases of the "disappeared"—despite innumerable habeas corpus requests submitted by relatives, inquiries by the Catholic Church, and the efforts of international human-rights organizations—is well known.

Eleven days after the strike began the number of participants reached more than 150. Priests and monks, among others, at more than twenty-seven Santiago churches joined the strike. Thirty-one political prisoners confined at the Santiago Penitentiary courageously joined the movement.

The strike did not stop there, but spread

beyond the borders of Chile. By June 4 there were about fifty hunger strikes taking place—in ten cities in West Germany, five cities in Britain, four in Sweden, three in the Netherlands, two in Italy, two in Norway, two in France, and seven in Canada. There were also strikes in Belgium, Austria, Switzerland, and Australia.

In Latin America also such efforts began. Hunger strikes of solidarity took place in Caracas; Buenos Aires; Bogotá; Cuernavaca, Mexico; San José, Costa Rica; Panama City; and Quito.

In the United States there were hunger strikes in Chicago, Washington, El Paso, Albuquerque, Seattle, Denver, Eugene, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San José, Tucson, Boston, New London and Hartford, Connecticut, and New York City.

In all these places almost all the hunger strikers were exiled Chileans. But they enjoyed the solidarity of diverse organizations and individuals in the respective countries.

Rev. William Sloane Coffin of Riverside Church in New York City traveled to Chile to verify personally the condition of the hunger strikers. Representatives of the World Council of Churches and of the National Council of Churches in the United States declared their sympathy with the strikes. The press reported that Sen. Edward Kennedy visited striking Chileans in Geneva, Switzerland, to express his support.

The Santiago government's first response was to refuse to negotiate with the strikers. Official statements during the strike gave veiled encouragement to anti-strike attackers. Rightists stoned three churches where hunger strikes were taking place.

As the movement broadened, Pinochet threatened to take reprisals against the strikers. And he declared: "If anyone starves to death, the instigators will be the ones to blame."

Five persons were hospitalized during the strike and a number of others had to be fed intravenously.

The hunger strikes occurred just after the Chilean government had announced a new "amnesty" that would supposedly free the remaining political prisoners. The reality was rather different, however. A close reading of the conditions of this "amnesty" showed that what Pinochet actu-

ally was doing was to free and protect the prison guards and torturers of the DINA-CNI [the secret political police] who had been sentenced for using "excessive violence" against political prisoners. The regime also hoped to close the cases of the "disappeared" through this amnesty.

The relatives reacted immediately to such a somber prospect.

The strikers received broad support from other sources within Chile. Among the most outstanding were the following:

- Three women—Matilda Urrutia, the widow of poet Pablo Neruda; Mónica Araya, daughter of Bernardo Araya (founder of the main Chilean union federation, the CUT); and Ana González—went on a twenty-four hour hunger strike at the U.S. embassy in Santiago on May 31.

- Sixteen Chilean trade-unionists signed a statement in support of the hunger strike and expressed concern for their members who have disappeared in Chile.

- A petition signed by 1,000 Chilean women supporting the hunger strike was sent to General Pinochet.

- On June 3 more than 100 persons marched silently to the Supreme Court of Justice in Santiago carrying placards demanding the appearance of the disappeared.

- Also on June 3, another demonstration by trade-union leaders took place, echoing the demands of the hunger strikers.

Two actions were held after the strike in Santiago was suspended, in order to maintain the spirit of struggle. On June 8, Chilean refugees in Geneva, Switzerland, held a rally against the dictatorship. Ninety persons picketed the Chilean consulate in New York City on June 9.

Actions such as these after the suspension of the hunger strike are indispensable to keep the pressure on the military dictatorship in Santiago. No confidence can be placed in Pinochet's promises.

It should be recalled that on June 14 of last year another hunger strike by twenty-six persons took place in Santiago. On that occasion, after the intervention of U.N. General Secretary Kurt Waldheim, Pinochet promised to provide information about the disappeared relatives of the strikers. As of now, that year-old promise remains unfulfilled. □

## Giscard—Imperialist Cop in Africa

By Claude Gabriel

France was, with Great Britain, the principal colonial power on the African continent. This was not without consequences for the way in which the French bourgeoisie recounted its "colonial adventures." From elementary school to literature and the media, the do-gooding enterprise of the "man in the white helmet" is complacently drilled in to justify the civilizing mission of the metropolis. The colonial novel, a popular literary genre in France, testifies to this endless conditioning of French workers.

Traditionally, the overwhelming majority of French people were educated to the idea that "without France," the Africans would still be in the Stone Age. Obviously, no dent in this ideology was made by the Social Democratic and Stalinist parties.

Even today, the "Africa" columns in the big press leave no doubt as to the persistence of this phenomenon. Sketchy and oversimplified, they vacillate between a naturalist image of Black Africa, making it out to be a vast national park, and a terrifying picture of a tribalized mass from whence bloody despots like Idi Amin and Bokassa emerge. While a few journalists try their hand at stylistic exercises on the subject of "Africa, land of contrasts," readers remain ignorant of the essential point: French imperialism controls, organizes, exploits, and supervises a large part of the African continent.

### The Private Domain of the Fifth Republic

Gaullist policy on decolonization was conceived not only as a tactical retreat to preserve imperialist interests by means of formal independence. De Gaulle shaped his foreign policy in keeping with his domestic project. The development of modernized capitalism and restructuring of the productive forces needed to be extended to the empire.

However, the bulk of colonial industries consisted of small, family-owned processing or transporting businesses. To all evidence, French big business had not yet really set foot in Black Africa. The Gaullist project of a Franco-African and Malagasy community sought to create a huge economic bloc—the Franc Zone—which would enable French investors to make more rational choices than in the past.

To that end, de Gaulle set up a "private domain" based on the networks of Jacques Foccart [a key French intelligence figure in Africa], hoping in this way to permanently

control African politics and bolster the puppet politicians he had put in power. The Elysée palace became the center of gravity for a dozen or so states. The Elysée's monopoly was covered by an ideological smokescreen that was all the more transparent because de Gaulle used the prestige accruing to him for having ended the war in Algeria. But the operation did not meet only with success. In 1958, Guinea declined to enter the community, and was subsequently forced to undergo a virtual economic embargo. The regimes installed in 1958 turned out to be quite shaky, and the ruling classes that had emerged from the petty bourgeoisie remained incapable of stabilizing the neocolonial states. French imperialism had to call on military juntas to preserve some states. In even more perilous situations, as in Gabon in 1964, it had to stick its fingers in the pie and dispatch its own troops to restore order. Finally, the attempt to bar the way to European and American investment in the former colonial empire was hardly compatible with the economic projects of the big bourgeoisie. The system had to be made more flexible to accommodate partners. The networks set up by Foccart, which hardly corresponded any longer to the intricacies of African politics, and which still depended too much on the old colonial lobby, had to be put in abeyance.

It was Pompidou who carried out this transition. On the economic plane, first and foremost, French bilateral aid to the African states was substantially reduced in favor of joint aid from the European Economic Community, relayed by the European Development Fund.

But Pompidou retained Foccart, and held on to several Gaullist conceptions concerning political relations with the neocolonial leaderships. The stabilization of the African states and their ruling classes, interimperialist rivalry, and the social struggles that were beginning to arise made it impossible to remain satisfied with everlasting reminders of the bonds of friendship between France and the African peoples. The politicians in Dakar, Libreville, and Yaoundé wanted something more tangible. They now possessed the political and administrative tools enabling them to command respect for their wish to increase their share of the pie, even if they did so only timidly. Some withdrew from the Franc Zone or the Organization of the African and Malagasy Community, whose objectives had less to

do with economics than with diplomacy and politics.

Giscard's mission, then, was to resolve a certain Gaullist dispute and usher in a new era of "cooperation." But his African policy has wavered between growing pressures from the Common Market and the demands of the African ruling classes.

The big oil crisis and the emergence of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries enabled the neocolonial leaderships to go on the offensive to win a more equitable distribution of the profits of imperialist plunder. By nationalizing certain sources of raw materials, increasing their price, and basing themselves on the Arab oil-producing states in the big international negotiations, the African bourgeoisies sought to propose a kind of reform of the system of domination.

Among the imperialist countries, France was probably the one that best interpreted this tendency. Giscard encouraged the trend by going to Algiers, where he proclaimed his attachment to a "new international economic order," and where, in harmony with the African leaderships, he theorized about the need for a "transfer of technology," that is, a partial industrialization of the "Third World." In his Algiers speech, Giscard made it clear that Europe could contribute its technology, the Arab countries their financing in petrodollars, and the African countries could make available their human and natural resources. Giscard's carnival show culminated in the opening of the North-South conference, which, after the rituals of the United Nations Organization for Development and Industry, the conference of Algiers, and other sites of "consultation," ended in a few pious wishes.

Of greater seriousness are the backstage maneuvers being plotted. The imperialist countries are facing a permanent recession. The demands of the neocolonial leaderships are driving toward a readjustment of the aid and cooperation policies.

The most diverse international bodies are therefore opting for aid to the small and medium-sized national industries. The Common Market has created an ad hoc body, the Economic Committee for Industrial Cooperation—headed by Olivier Giscard d'Estaing, Valéry's brother—to speed the growth of industries in a number of countries.

In the name of industrializing the Third World, these gentlemen are planning a "redeployment" of the imperialist productive forces with the avowed aim of reducing production costs. In this way, they can kill two birds with one stone. On the strength of these newly implanted industrial centers in Africa, Asia, or Latin America, native bourgeoisies will be able to develop and stabilize their states with the help of a multitude of industries and related services.

Who has heard of the report written by one Yves Berthelot at Barre's request? A



tiny article on *Le Monde's* business page served simply to take note of this document, whose cynicism, realism, and goals are the best proof that could be offered of the existence and vitality of French imperialism. Once again, the French press has shown itself to be more than discreet when it comes to the African policy of the French employers.

This report begins with the observation that the developing countries are going to undergo a steady growth in their exports of manufactured goods. The World Bank estimates that by 1985, the value of these exports could go as high as \$100 billion. Lord Berthelot and his crew have foreseen that by the year 2000, about 15% of the world's industrial output will come from these countries. However, what interests them especially are the juicy byproducts of this projection. Thus, the countries in question will require imports for their economies representing 20%-30% of world imports. The imperialists are expecting to turn a good profit by satisfying these countries' needs in machinery and industrial plants, while setting up a new string of industries in the areas where labor is still cheap. The imperialists are beginning to sell "factories ready to go" for the profit of Western stockholders and suppliers with a stake in such industries.

France is not in the front ranks of this race for new markets. Among the neocolonial countries that are the furthest along in this process are India, Brazil, Mexico, Algeria, and South Korea, for whom French imperialism is still a junior partner.

Nevertheless, the Third World countries' total share of French imports rose from 19% in 1973 to 27% in 1976, and for exports,

from 18% to 25%. For the French capitalists, these countries, including the countries of Black Africa, have become essential partners. Thus, in 1976, capital goods represented 40% of French exports. In certain fields, such as construction metal, high-voltage electrical equipment, and all-purpose vehicles, as much as 55% to 65% of production is exported. Clearly, Africa continues to provide French imperialism with a favorable ground on which to compete with its imperialist partners for neocolonial markets, since 40% of French exports to these areas are directed at French-speaking Africa.

This special orientation on the part of investors is not without consequences, of course, for the job market in France. What the experts discreetly call "industrial redeployment" means a reorganization of the French productive forces to some extent. The Berthelot report visualizes a meticulous planning of this evolution. For example, while it records that 100,000 jobs were created in the last six years in connection with these new markets, it postulates that some industrial sectors will shift toward the neocolonial countries. The Berthelot team thus puts down as liabilities of this "redeployment" the elimination of 8,000 jobs in the garment industry, 4,000 in shoes and leathers, and 6,500 in the timber industries. At the end of its "social" section, the report anticipates that about 25,000-50,000 workers will have to change jobs every year owing to the transfer of their labor to a neocolonial country.

Giscard was able to make France's African policy take the turn that was necessary. In contrast to his predecessors in the Fifth Republic, he expressed no concern about Senghor's adherence to the Second

International, or at a series of nationalizations carried out by Malagasy officers. French imperialism had either to follow the new rules of neocolonialism or throw in the towel.

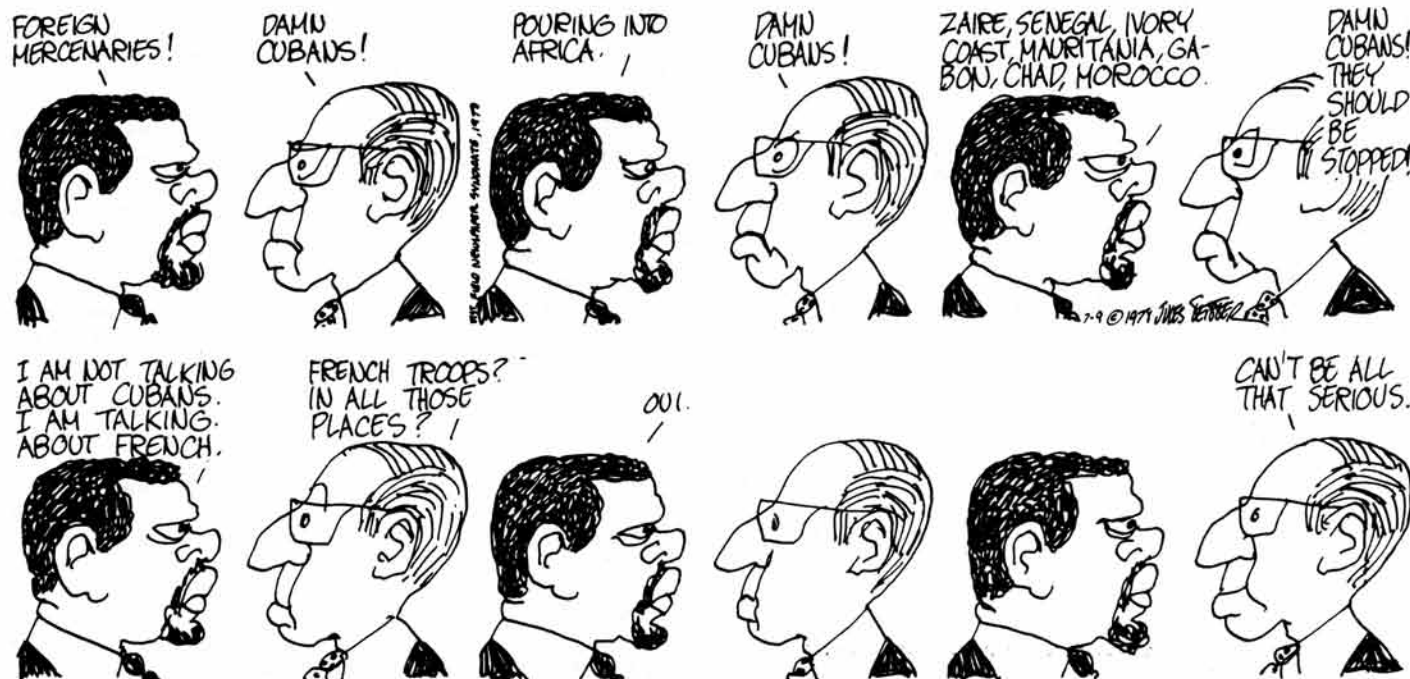
Faced with such stakes, Giscard took up the challenge, and is trying with the National Council of French Employers to build a solid bastion of French investments in Africa.

Inasmuch as all these shakeups have their consequences for the fate of the African masses, and since the working class and masses in these countries are beginning to raise their heads, it will be necessary to protect not only the markets, but the regimes as well.

French policy in Africa symbolizes its material share of the pie. This imposes on it duties and obligations with respect to the other imperialist powers, such as the duty to collectively defend the system, or the obligation to maintain the relationship of forces with its competitors. That is why the latter hesitate to support or criticize French military commitments too much. At the time of the defense of the Mobutu regime in 1977, in the Shaba affair, some voices were raised in the United States and in the Italian Christian Democracy, expressing certain doubts. But now the American government is supporting the French intervention in Chad.

#### An Impressive Array of Controls Over the 'Friendly' Countries

Giscard has come up with nothing better to justify his military expeditions than to uphold the principle of "Africa for the Africans." Only Giscard has the nerve to raise the banner of the struggle against



Feiffer/Village Voice

"foreign ideologies" and interference on this continent. For this "good friend" of Africa is at the head of a vast network of control and surveillance, of which the military raids into Mauritania and Chad are only the visible portion. In addition to the garrisons in Dakar, Ndjamen, Abidjan, Libreville, and Djibouti, most of the former colonies have military experts of every kind, trainers, and other "advisers." Police and militarized police are trained and advised by France. Thousands of French civilians swarm in the ministries, research centers, schools and universities, banks, and administrations. Many are the ministers and presidents whose personal advisers are French.

Economic, political, and cultural domination are the permanent features of the French presence in Africa. In addition to its former colonies and last remaining possessions (Réunion and Mayotte), the French bourgeoisie augments its juicy profits elsewhere, in South Africa, in Nigeria, and in Zaïre, for example.

In defense of "cooperation," the French army rushes to the aid of its protégés. Its mission is no longer to occupy the terrain and maintain a strong military presence. As General Saint-Criq so aptly put it on May 11: "The air divisions are and will be the preferred instrument in a strategy of external action, and air transport represents an irreplaceable guarantee of efficiency." In face of the growing militarization of the adversaries, "the air divisions from now on will have to compensate for this development by guaranteeing a superior mobility and firepower to friendly elements" (*Le Monde*, May 13, 1978).

In a word, the Jaguar [French jet fighter plane] and the Berthelot report represent the two legs that French imperialism has to stand on.

That is why there can be no question of the French workers organizations shirking their responsibilities. "Cooperation" cannot be redefined or readjusted. Such aid to neocolonial bourgeois regimes and to French investors must be condemned wholesale.

It is necessary to mobilize to give concrete solidarity to the workers and anti-imperialist forces in these countries. It is now necessary to demand the immediate withdrawal of all French troops from Africa. □

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## Under Impact of Economic Crisis

### Profile of Italian Student Movement Today

[The following has been excerpted from a pamphlet published by A. Cajelli, C. Zavattoni, F. Ranghino, and G. Cessario, members of the GCR (Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari—Revolutionary Communist Groups) at the University of Turin. Its interest lies in the explanation it gives of the differences between the student movement of 1968 and that of today. The largest of the more recent student protests occurred in a series of Italian cities, including Turin, Bologna, and Rome, between January and March 1977. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

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At the root of the 1968 crisis was the gap between the ideology presented in the schools and social and political reality. To give only one example, while the schools were teaching the history of the Punic Wars [between Carthage and Rome], a war broke out in Vietnam that became the focus for the initiative of the masses of youth in Europe and throughout the world. The media helped to make the masses of youth more aware of this gap.

The fact that these youth found themselves at odds with a particularly conservative institution, an educational system totally divorced from living reality, gave rise to very violent criticism of this ideology (represented by the teaching of the Punic Wars) within the ideological apparatus itself, that is, the bourgeois educational institutions.

Since workers have had access to higher education only for a short period and in a contradictory way, they have not yet had the time to express their own discontent with the system and to formulate it at the level of a thoroughgoing critique.

For this reason, they were not drawn into the student protests until later. In the foreground were those who had better understood the contradiction between the educational system and reality, and reflected the dissatisfaction with the ideology of "merit"—i.e., those sectors of the petty bourgeoisie who had had access to the educational system for a longer period. The vanguard that was emerging represented this layer in particular.

But the contradiction we have pointed to might have been reabsorbed by the system, if Italian society had possessed the means to cushion it. That is, that would have been possible if society were capable of reserving a sector of privileged jobs for the intellectual work force. This would have reduced the explosiveness of student discontent. It would have kept the dissatisfaction with the content and structure of

education from developing into an awareness of the reality of class society.

The structural crisis of capitalism has produced changes in the social fabric, and therefore among students themselves. As a result, the mobilizations of the last few years began to exhibit different features.

But it was with the struggles of 1977 that a page was turned in the history of the student movement. The objective conditions underlying the March 1977 upsurge represented contradictions that no capitalist system can resolve. This is because they reflect structural tendencies in late capitalism.

The main features that distinguish the new movement are the growth of mass education, a shift in the social role of students tending to bring them closer to the working class, and youth unemployment.

#### Mass Education

The growth of mass education began in the postwar period. It speeded up in the 1970s and has taken on explosive proportions. This development is the result of the following factors:

1. The ideology generated by the capitalists' illusions that in the postwar period they had unlimited opportunities for expansion.

2. The bourgeoisie's need to preserve and update the ideology of social mobility, that is, to have an educational system that could justify social stratification on the basis of the "merit" ideology.

3. The flight of the lower classes from wage labor.

4. The attempt to escape unemployment through achieving a higher level of skills.

In an initial phase, the schools' objective function as a reservoir reduced pressures on the labor market. But today this represents an element of rigidity, both for highly skilled labor power and for unskilled labor employed in industry; it creates insoluble maladjustments in the relationship between supply and demand on the labor market.

#### The Process of Proletarianization

The process of proletarianization of certain sectors (such as the service sector and technicians) represents tendencies inherent in late capitalism. It is the capitalist organization of labor that proletarianizes these sectors. It incorporates them into the working class. It fragments roles and functions, making human beings into slaves of machines and downgrading the skilled trades.



Among the masses of youth themselves there is a broader and broader proletarian segment, that is, young people whose primary activity is work, and who study in their remaining time. Thus, a relationship exists between students and the world of work, even if it is tenuous and occasional. Faced with the effects of the economic crisis, a growing number of young students are willing to take insecure, poorly paid jobs.

In some cases, they work at these jobs all year long, and even during the summer instead of taking a vacation. While it is difficult to obtain precise figures, general estimates have been made of the scope of this phenomenon. According to CGIL (Italian General Confederation of Labor) sources, 60% of university students work, as well as 30% of secondary-school students. According to other estimates, only 45% of students enrolled in universities in 1977 were able to go to school on a full-time basis; 38% had temporary or part-time jobs or were looking for work (these are classed as student-workers) and 17% were full-time workers with stable employment (classed as worker-students).

In addition there are the technical-school students, such as those attending vocational training centers with direct connections to companies, who in fact represent "proletarians-in-training." They are often exploited at unpaid labor in school workshops; in any event, their interests are intrinsically bound up with those of wage workers, since they are predestined to enter their ranks.

As a result of all these important phenomena, the student profile is thus fundamentally different than in 1968. Students' concern with the most immediate material problems is much greater, corresponding to the deterioration in living standards. This reflects not only the impact of the economic crisis on the family (increased economic dependence of youth on their families and greater vulnerability to parental pressure). It is related also more and more to the problem of jobs as such.

Worry about one's personal fate is intertwined with the awareness of the close connection between the political situation and mass unemployment. It is true that the focus of the student radicalization is less and less on the schools as an ideological apparatus mediating between students and social reality. The focus has shifted onto the social reality itself. But that does not in itself mean that the condition of students is inherently proletarian.

There is a proletarian component in the student population. But the class character of this section is determined by working conditions outside the schools. It is important to establish this fact. Because characterizing as productive what is not, for example the schools, is sometimes used to demonstrate that students, women, homosexuals, and movements of racial minori-

ties are all an integral part of the proletariat as such, and thus a motor force of the revolution. However the schools are a special form of ideological manipulation and training of the personnel necessary for big business, which the system could easily dispense with, replacing them with other tools. In other words, the schools are a part of the superstructure. And superstructural forms can be changed over the course of capitalist history, without posing any threat to capitalism as such.

### Youth Unemployment

Youth unemployment has reached a higher level in Italy than in other European countries. In 1975, according to some studies made by the Censis Research Institute, young people looking for their first jobs numbered about 800,000. In April 1977, out of a total of 1,432,000 persons looking for work, youth between fourteen and twenty-nine years of age numbered 1,048,000, or 73%. However, other official or semi-official estimates put youth unemployment at more than two million.

In reality, all of these figures fail to take into account hidden unemployment, which could push the figure of jobless youth above three million. The Italian CP daily *l'Unità* has estimated, moreover, that today, the "parking lots" (schools) contain 3,800,000 students old enough to work (out of total enrollment of twelve million), 80,000 military reservists, and 1,018,000 young women aged fourteen to twenty-five who are classified as "homemakers."

Underlying youth unemployment are complex, contradictory phenomena that now mark all advanced capitalist societies. But youth unemployment is also the result of a change in the class relationship of forces. In a large number of European countries, the working class has succeeded in winning better working conditions.

It is harder now than in the past for the bosses to lay off the work force from the plants and freely get rid of workers who are worn out by exploitation or have gained too much experience in struggle. Of course, this factor can change. But in any event, the bosses have much less freedom today than in the past to fire their workers. This is particularly true in Italy, where, owing to the relationship of forces established after 1969, layoffs so far have not assumed the proportions they have in the rest of world.

In the periods prior to the development of a mass educational system, the unemployed came particularly from sections of the population that had not had the benefit of an education. Today the unemployed come from all educational levels, including the highest.

Once the educational machine is set in motion, it creates overproduction and wastes intellectual resources.

This tendency, obviously, has been aggravated by the crisis. But it had already

become apparent when there was more of an equilibrium between the educational system and the labor market. In April 1977, again according to Censis, 36.54% of the 1,480,000 unemployed, or 393,000, were high-school or university graduates. But according to other statistics compiled a little later, based on the number registered on the rolls established by the youth unemployment law, out of 647,165 jobless persons, 375,399, or more than half, were high-school or university graduates.

The freeze on hiring in the factories has kept the number of university degree-holders employed in industry constant for more than ten years (from 0.10% to 0.11% of all factory workers). An already overburdened civil service offers only severely limited opportunities. And what openings exist are reserved for those with connections in the party in power. In the meantime the rosters of teachers awaiting a job are growing dramatically longer.

In other times, the growth of productive sectors made it possible to absorb a surplus of trained personnel. Today, the room for this has become extremely narrow. The possibilities are still less now since, as a result of the accord signed by the Italian government with the International Monetary Fund, public outlays have been sharply cut back.

In past years, an awareness of the temporary nature of their situation, and the myth of upward mobility (even though it was on the wane) made the situation of students seem less intolerable. Today, a number of factors make the position of students seem more and more comparable to that of a subproletariat:

The mass influx into the educational system continues without the bourgeoisie being able to stem it. But a policy of gradually reducing investment in education means that we are condemned to see an educational system that is more and more inadequate even in its most fundamental aspects. Moreover, the general erosion of the standard of living of the masses also affects students. The overall deterioration in living standards is forcing growing numbers of students to go looking for any kind of a job they can get.

The result of this situation is that the connection to the world of work is already established before high-school graduation, and definitely before university graduation, and that the means of subsistence are not provided solely by the family (sometimes they are not provided at all). But society's failure to offer adequate job opportunities during the period in school, and above all, its failure to assure that graduates can get jobs commensurate with their educational qualifications, is destroying all illusion about degrees leading to success, and upward mobility in particular.

Since the equation diploma = privileges, or degree = privileges, is almost no longer valid, since such illusions are being shat-

tered, the discontent of the masses of student youth will less and less be focused on the schools as an institution. Young people will tend more and more to seek the causes of their predicament outside the schools in the society itself.

### A More Directly Anticapitalist Attitude

Education no longer beckons as the only way to avoid wage labor and escape, even if only temporarily, being condemned to a precarious existence. So what is developing, rather than a criticism of ideology within the ideological apparatus, is a more direct criticism of the mechanisms of capitalist society that produce unemployment, underemployment, precarious livelihoods, and poverty. The radicalization of youth is not stimulated only by the ideology that attempts to justify the class reality reflected (although to a lessening extent) in the schools, but also by the living conditions imposed by the system.

To be sure, the nature of students has not changed. On the contrary, the more directly anticapitalist character of the student rebellion increases the feeling of impotence among this sector, since alone it is incapable of winning a struggle that takes place in a wider arena. The problem of jobs, especially, inevitably leads back to the problem of mobilizing the working class. The workers alone have the power to alter the relationship of forces to their advantage, and to the advantage of all the other sectors excluded from the process of production.

In 1968, the struggle against the ideology of "merit," and against attempts to restrict access to higher education was much easier. These are questions that typically concern the mass of students, and so in this arena the student movement was in a position to win victories directly through its own struggles. In 1977, a wing of the student movement emerged that better reflected the semi-permanent unemployment of youth, and the restlessness of students of proletarian origin, or those already semi-proletarianized. It was this wing and its vanguard that gave the 1977 mobilizations their political stamp, pulling in after them other sectors, that is, the more traditional section of the student movement, which is mainly petty bourgeois in character.

This is not to imply that this segment already represents a majority of students; on the contrary, when the movement was in an upswing, the traditional segment constituted the broadest mass base nearly everywhere. But it is a fact that the most disadvantaged students, or those who most directly represented the youth scrambling to survive, politically dominate the movement. Furthermore, this helps to explain the difference in the level of struggle between the social-science and natural-science faculties, the sole exception being the schools of architecture, which, as is

well known, are distinguished by a high proletarian composition.

The fact that illusions in education are on the wane, and that the aspirations of youth are less and less refracted through the schools but are coming directly into conflict with the contradictions of capitalism is sweeping away all the traditional themes of the student movement. The open-admissions ideology was the ideology of social layers preparing for an assault on education as the sole means to upward mobility. There was an army, and a battle, and it was natural for its vanguard to adopt a banner. Today, this whole movement is in crisis because the struggle against restricted access to higher education is perceived as a less pressing and less vital need for the masses of students.

### Defending Skills and the Mass Educational System

The decline in the interest in fighting for freer access to higher education is the result, of course, of the devaluation of degrees, and the impossibility of entertaining even modest illusions about one's own future after finishing school. Even now, despite the constant attacks by the minister of public education, who has had the zealous cooperation of the trade-union bureaucracy, many of the gains that were won in the struggles of the early years of the student movement are still intact. Most importantly, they generate a climate in the schools that it will be difficult to change radically. But the greater ease of access to all levels of education is less and less seen as a gain. Education is more and more considered a democratic right, as a refusal to accept cultural inferiority, a refusal to accept being condemned to a marginal existence, as a chance for escaping sometime in the future from wage labor.

It is mainly the fact that there is no chance to exchange a poor perspective of getting a privileged job for a manual but secure job that leaves very little alternative to enrolling in the schools. But the growing gap between the content of education and shrinking job openings, the degradation of the tools of knowledge, and the breakdown of scholastic structures because of the impossibility of adapting the mass educational system to the requirements of the capitalist market, are increasing students' alienation from the schools. The uselessness of attending classes leads to absenteeism or to just going through the motions. Thus, students feel they are just spinning their gears, grappling with irrelevant problems without having the strength to get a grip on the real ones.

There is a danger not only that students will begin to believe the charlatans who claim that their difficulty in finding jobs is the result of the low level of education. There is an even greater danger that sectors will begin to look back fondly on

selective admissions based on "merit." If no way is found to solve the real obstacles to the integration of youth into the life of the society, there is a threat that people will come to identify intellectual unemployment with the mass educational system, the devaluation of degrees with the breaking down of the traditional barriers to university entrance.

Nowadays, arguing against restricted access to education is not going to make any sense unless you can deal with the crucial questions of unemployment. No such argument can be won unless you can get across the idea that the declining value of education is the result of political choices made by the bourgeoisie in this field.

Nonetheless, a different approach to the battle against closed admissions is necessary. It is more than ever essential to fight to maintain a high level of training. This is the prerequisite for uniting the forces of educated workers to win stable, secure jobs once they are on the labor market. Moreover, as some of the gains of past years are eroded, the gap between real possibilities and mass expectations becomes greater. Awareness of this fact gives a new dimension to the battle against closed admissions.

The attempt to escape the condition of wage labor or a marginal existence, the need to take control of the tools of knowledge, represent some of the new needs that have come to be felt in present-day society, which cannot be met without defending mass education. The fundamental stimulus for the 1977 movement lay in an awareness of these needs, which are, moreover, the product of certain typical features of late capitalism. This means that powerful upsurges of the youth and student movement remain on the agenda. Only a historic defeat for the working class, and for the entire fighting movement, such as that which occurred in 1973 in Chile, would be able to stop the development of this process for long. □

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## For an Independent and Socialist Québec!

[At its April 19-23 convention, the Montréal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) voted in favor of "an independent and socialist Québec" and called on Québécois workers to build "their own independent political organization" to achieve that goal.

[The editors of the Québec revolutionary-socialist fortnightly *Lutte Ouvrière* hailed the vote as "the most significant development in the Québec labor movement since November 15, 1976," the date of the Parti Québécois victory at the polls.

[At the convention, members of the Trotskyist organization Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (LOR—Revolutionary Workers League) distributed copies of the April 19 *Lutte Ouvrière*, which contained the following editorial statement. The translation is by *Socialist Voice*.]

\* \* \*

Since November 15, 1976, the imperialist bourgeoisie and the federal state have been conducting an economic, political, and judicial offensive against the Québec nation and its national rights. It is a policy of intimidation—ranging from the great "national unity" campaign with its Pepin-Robarts-style advertising barrage, through Trudeau's threats and the sabotage of the Keable commission,<sup>1</sup> to the economic blackmail symbolized by the Sun Life get-away.<sup>2</sup>

But there is a notable absence of any response by Québec. The Parti Québécois government has simply retreated on all fronts in the face of these attacks. Sun Life has not been nationalized. Head offices are free to function in English. The RCMP continues to operate freely on Québec territory (like everyone else, it is preparing for the referendum). The Lévesque government agreed without flinching to stop the proceedings of the Keable commission, while it patiently awaits a final decision by the imperialist Supreme Court.

### The PQ Retreats

The PQ is not only retreating on current questions. This party, which only a few

years ago was talking of a "unilateral declaration of independence" once it had won power in elections, is more and more diluting its initial goal. Lévesque declares in Toronto that the PQ has no intention at all of breaking up Canada. Claude Morin [minister of intergovernmental affairs] states that the PQ's "sovereignty-association" formula belongs to the same "family of solutions" as the "third road" proposed by [Liberal leader] Claude Ryan. We still don't know the question that will be asked in the referendum: will we have to choose between two "third roads"?

These retreats by the PQ are not accidental. They are the expression in practice of the bourgeois-nationalist nature of this party. Playing by the rules of the capitalist game, the PQ's goal is to improve the lot of the Québec petty bourgeoisie within the imperialist system using the "only Québec capitalist, the state," as Camille Laurin [cultural affairs minister] puts it. The creation by the PQ of a "Québécois national capitalism" based on a formally independent state would not challenge imperialist domination. Claude Morin underscored this last March 7 when he said that a "sovereign" Québec would participate in the imperialist military alliances NATO and NORAD.

Even in its most "radical" phase the PQ has never questioned the presence in Québec of the foreign multinational corporations; the most it sought was to "civilize" them. In these conditions the PQ's independence would be nothing but a caricature of national liberation that would not benefit the workers in the least.

### What's at Stake in the National Struggle

It is impossible to end national oppression without a complete break with imperialism, the expropriation without compensation of all imperialist interests, and the establishment of economic planning under workers control. Of course, there is no question of doing that as far as the PQ is concerned.

This party wants to continue the exploitation of workers in a future "sovereign" Québec. That side of the PQ government's balance sheet is already filling up. There have been two budgets imposing austerity on the workers. [Health Minister] Denis Lazure has continued the cutbacks program in the hospitals inaugurated under his Liberal predecessor Claude Forget. In the schools there have been layoffs and

moves to roll back educational reforms; in the public sector an antiunion "new regime." And to top it all off, there is an "antiscab law" that in fact authorizes employers to use scabs to "protect" their property.

In short, the PQ government has thrown itself zealously into the anti-working-class offensive being carried out by the Canadian ruling class since 1975.

But while the PQ unhesitatingly accepts the rules of the capitalist game, the Canadian bourgeoisie in turn is putting up fierce resistance to the PQ's plans. The federal state is the underpinning of its political, economic, and military power. Whatever "moderation" and "good will" the PQ may display, the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie will never renounce its direct authority over Québec. As a quarter of Canada's market and a reservoir of resources and cheap labor power, Québec is much more important for Canada's rulers than the old colonies were for the European powers.

Politically, even sovereignty-association would challenge the hold of the Canadian bourgeoisie over Québec. And it would have disastrous effects on the fragile regional equilibrium of Canada, encouraging a further development of centrifugal tendencies in the various provinces. This would run counter to the centralizing goals of Canadian big business, weakening it not only against its competitors but in relation to its own working class.

But what most frightens imperialism is the possibility of a new explosion of working-class and national struggles in Québec following a victory in the referendum; these struggles could quickly overflow the framework established by the PQ. In the context of the capitalist crisis, any partial victory on the national question, even some form of "sovereignty" for Québec, would be a historic catastrophe for the Canadian ruling class.

Hence the increasing number of scarcely-veiled threats of military intervention on the part of the federal politicians. The bourgeoisie will resort to whatever methods it requires to prevent even a semblance of "independence" for Québec. It will not sacrifice its interests on the altar of a possible referendum when it holds so many trumps economically, politically, and militarily. We should be mindful that since Confederation the federal government has intervened militarily some twenty times in Québec.

How is the PQ responding to federal intransigence? Its response is a simple one: retreat all down the line. By trying to

1. The parliamentary commission encharged with investigating illegal activities by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), Canada's political police.—*IP/I*

2. Sun Life, Canada's largest insurance company, announced January 6 that it had decided to move its home office from Montréal to Toronto. The new language law, making French the official language of Québec, was initially cited as the pretext for the move. Later state-

ments by company officials stressed broader "uncertainty" about the policies of the Parti Québécois government.—*IP/I*

make its plans more agreeable to the Canadian bourgeoisie and by playing down "sovereignty" and increasingly emphasizing association, the PQ may hope to defuse federal opposition. By watering its wine it no doubt hopes to increase its popular support during the referendum. But it's a false calculation. The PQ's retreats disorient its own supporters without in any way diminishing the opposition of the Canadian ruling class, which sees in these retreats only a sign of weakness.

### Independence Requires the Mobilization of the Working Masses

The only way to build a favorable relationship of forces against the centralized political and military apparatus of the Canadian bourgeoisie is through mobilizing the working masses. And that is why the PQ government is unable to resist the federal offensive. It is a bourgeois party, committed to maintaining the capitalist system. If it were to set out to mobilize the population in a real struggle against national oppression, it would lose everything. Not only would the imperialists react brutally by withdrawing their capital, but the PQ itself would be threatened by the mobilization of the workers and their allies. The masses would not be satisfied with a simple "favorable bias"<sup>3</sup> but would struggle to achieve all their social and national aspirations. And that would bring them up against the PQ government itself.

The Parti Québécois refuses to harness the potential power of the working masses. Instead it does all it can to hobble the workers' mobilizations. It will never be able to lead the national liberation struggle to victory against Canadian imperialism.

As the National Bureau of the CEQ [Québec Teachers Federation] said, it is impossible to separate the struggle for national liberation from the struggle for emancipation of the workers. National oppression and capitalist exploitation are two sides of the same reality: Québec's domination by Canadian and American imperialism. Only by getting rid of these imperialist interests can real national liberation be achieved. And only the working class is strong enough to carry this struggle through to the end.

The PQ's compromises only encourage the Canadian bourgeoisie to pursue its anti-Québec offensive, whose goal is to inflict a sharp defeat on the national liberation movement. The federal elections, the draft legislation for a federal referendum, and Ryan's nomination as Québec Liberal leader are all part of this campaign.

And there's a lot riding on the outcome. If the Canadian ruling class manages to

resolve the present political crisis, to put Québec in its place, and to reaffirm the supreme authority of the federal state, it will be in a very strong position to continue its offensive against both the Québec and English-Canadian labor movements.

On the other hand, a defeat of the Canadian ruling class on an issue as vital as the very structure of the state would open up a very favorable situation for the workers of both nations. It's worth recalling the statements by the former Liberal minister Guy St-Pierre, who said he feared not independence as such but the development of a "Portuguese"-style situation—the danger, from his standpoint, that the toiling masses would make gains amidst the great upheaval of bourgeois institutions. The Canadian imperialist ruling class has a highly developed class consciousness. It knows how to recognize its interests and to defend them.

The working class cannot be indifferent toward the outcome of this struggle, given its importance and especially in light of the PQ's retreats. The LOR [Revolutionary Workers League] is fighting to get the labor movement to undertake in its own name the mass struggle for Québec's independence by giving it a socialist content. We are seeking its direct involvement in political action to seize the leadership of the national liberation movement from the PQ and to carry it through by getting rid of imperialist interests and achieving an independence that serves the working people.

This struggle takes concrete form today through active support to Operation Liberté<sup>4</sup> against the federal police, the RCMP; the campaign for repeal of the federal laws that deny women the right to free abortion on demand; the struggle to free the political prisoners rotting in the federal prisons in Québec; and so on.

### The Maoists

The various Maoist and Stalinist groups are unanimously opposed to independence, or "separation," as they put it. They seem completely unaware of what is involved in the present confrontation between the federal state and the Québec national liberation movement.

Their central argument is quite simple, even simplistic. National oppression will be ended only by the overthrow of capitalism and thus the bourgeois state. The workers of both nations must unite in this task. Consequently, the Maoists say, Québec's "separation" would be a false solu-

tion diverting workers from the struggle for socialism. According to this argument, Québec's national liberation must await an eventual and hypothetical pan-Canadian socialist revolution.

But things will not happen that way. The Canadian state is a prison house of peoples. The crisis of capitalism has brought about a sharpening of national oppression and in response to that oppression a rise of national liberation movements not only in Québec but also in Acadia, among the Native peoples, and so on.

The problem can't be reduced to identifying the federal capitalist state and its provincial counterparts as the common enemy. The question is *how* to mobilize the masses, including the oppressed nations, against that state. And *how* to use that mobilization to shake and even put in question the existence of the federal state. By opposing independence the Maoists propose in fact to leave the concrete terrain of the national question to the bourgeois nationalists, who can continue to divert the proletariat's energy and desire for national liberation.

At the same time they refuse to see that the struggle for independence, if led through mass mobilizations, would threaten the federal state itself. But the bourgeoisie has not been slow to understand this. That's why it is campaigning hysterically even against the timid plans of the PQ. It's too bad that in the great confrontation now shaping up between the supporters of "Canadian unity" and the supporters of the national aspirations of the Québec masses, some people who claim to be "Marxist-Leninists" are on the wrong side of the barricades.

These false "communists" argue in defense of their absurd position that what is needed is "the unity of Québec workers with the English-Canadian workers." Another fine—and abstract—principle. Any real unity requires in the first place that the Canadian working class express its solidarity with Québec's national struggle, and understand that this struggle is proceeding toward independence. Otherwise the Canadian workers will be acting like the Maoists: struggling for "Canadian unity" with "leftist" arguments at the very time that the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie and its federal state are driving hard against independence.

### For a Workers Party Based on the Unions

It's not just that the PQ's social and economic policies are directed against the workers and their allies. It is also leading the national struggle into a deadend, if not the slaughterhouse. The workers and their allies cannot rely on the bourgeois party to defend their interests.

They need their own political party—a party that will be based on mass mobilizations to win real victories, and that will

3. A reference to the PQ's self-declared "favorable bias" toward the workers.—IP/I

4. A campaign initiated by the Québec Human Rights League in response to revelations of criminal activities by the RCMP and other police forces in the Canadian state. A major focus of the campaign will be a mass demonstration against police repression, scheduled for October 16.—IP/I



aim to break completely with imperialist domination of Québec. This party must be a mass workers party, independent of all the capitalist parties and armed with a program that fully responds to the demands of the working class and all the exploited and oppressed sectors of the population—women, immigrants, Native peoples, gays and lesbians, and so on.

There is no such party at present in Québec. The only mass organizations are the unions. The Québec workers have displayed great militancy in recent years. But the union leaderships have done all they could to channel these mobilizations and this radicalization toward unofficial support of the PQ, blocking the independent political action of the workers.

Now that the PQ is in power we are paying the price. The full scope of the PQ's offensive against the working class can unfold without meeting organized and united resistance from the labor movement. Instead, the latter presents the sad spectacle of a divided union movement competing for favors from the PQ, each federation raiding the others for affiliates.

The divided demonstrations of May Day are the most striking example of this treacherous policy of the union bureaucracies.

Economic struggles cannot be separated from political struggles. You can't give unofficial support to the PQ politically if you want to maintain a firm attitude of militant opposition toward this government. And you can't organize an effective response to the capitalist offensive against real wage levels, jobs, women, students, immigrants, and so on, without exposing the responsibility of the PQ government, which is actively participating in the Canadian ruling class's offensive against working people. Collaboration with the PQ paralyzes the labor movement just when we should be gathering all our forces in defense of our gains.

Thus breaking with the PQ is posed as an immediate necessity before the working class. Within the mass organizations of the working class, the unions, we must point to this concrete reality to raise the necessity to build a workers party. And we must pose the necessity for the unions to participate actively in building this party if it is to be something more than a small sect isolated from the mass of the workers.

This party should struggle for independence; it should fight to fulfill all the demands of the working class and oppressed layers of the population. If such a party is built around current struggles, it will not be a plaything of the bureaucrats and reformists.

The union bureaucracy opposes this perspective. It will take a real struggle to achieve it, including a struggle in the union conventions. And it will only be achieved by opposing the bureaucracy's class-collaborationist line.

This perspective must be advanced wherever there is a debate taking place over the tasks facing the labor movement, national liberation, and political action. That is why militants must support and build the conference of the RMS [Trade Union Militants' Tendency] on the workers party, which is set for May 13.

#### For the Workers Republic of Québec

There is no use kidding ourselves. The real national liberation of Québec, the definitive emancipation of the workers, requires a struggle to the death against American and Canadian imperialism. But the exploiters are not invincible. The Vietnamese people triumphed over the Pentagon's war machine. And ninety miles off the coast of the United States the Cuban revolution was victorious.

Why? Because the revolutionists in those countries went all the way to the socialist revolution, and because they relied on

mobilizing the toiling masses. As well, they understood that their struggle was not a national struggle separated from the rest of the world, that it had to be carried on within an internationalist perspective through working to build links with revolutionary struggles elsewhere in the world.

Those are valuable lessons for us in our struggle for social emancipation and national liberation. That is why the Revolutionary Workers League (LOR) belongs to the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, which combines and coordinates the work of activists in more than fifty countries on five continents. For the LOR, the struggle for a workers party based on the union movement is part of the struggle to build the mass revolutionary party—the only instrument that guarantees a definitive victory over world imperialism.

*For independence and socialism.*

*For the workers republic of Québec.*

## Vladimir Slepak Sentenced in Moscow

By Marilyn Vogt

Vladimir Slepak, a member of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group and a prominent figure in the Jewish movement to emigrate, was sentenced to five years internal exile on June 21. He and his wife, Mariya, were arrested June 1 and charged with "malicious hooliganism" after they hung a banner saying "Let Us Out to Our Son in Israel" from the window of their Moscow apartment.

Mariya is at present hospitalized with a bleeding ulcer and her trial has been postponed.

No witnesses were allowed to testify for the defense at Slepak's trial, which was also closed to the public. The police used fire hoses to try to disperse Slepak's supporters who had gathered outside the courtroom.

Slepak, a fifty-year-old engineer, has been persecuted by the Kremlin rulers since he applied for an exit visa in 1970. His application was denied and since then he has lost several jobs, been tailed and searched repeatedly, and detained by the security police (KGB) on numerous occasions. One son has been allowed to emigrate and another son, whom the authorities called up for military service after receiving his application to emigrate, is now in hiding somewhere in the USSR because he refuses to be drafted. After he serves in the military, he won't be able to emigrate for a period of years for having had "access to state secrets."

Slepak has been a prominent figure in the movement in the USSR for less restrictive emigration policies and has signed several appeals supporting persecuted dis-

sidents. He joined the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group shortly after it was formed in May 1976.

To date ten members of Helsinki Monitoring Groups in the USSR have been sentenced to terms ranging from one to fifteen years. At least eight other members are imprisoned but have not yet been brought to trial.

The sentence the Kremlin Stalinists have handed down for Slepak and the charge of "malicious hooliganism" have particular importance in relation to the case of another Helsinki Monitoring Group member, Anatoly Shcharansky. Shcharansky, who also worked with Slepak in the Jewish emigration movement, was arrested March 15, 1977, and charged with treason, which could mean the death penalty. The Stalinist rulers claim Shcharansky collaborated with the CIA.

To prepare the way for this charge the Kremlin printed the testimony of S. Lipavsky in the March 4, 1977, issue of *Izvestia*. However, Lipavsky's testimony, a letter, contained not a shred of evidence that Shcharansky, or the other four Jewish activists named, worked for the CIA. Rather, Lipavsky's letter tried to turn samizdat writings into state secrets and the passing of samizdat to foreigners into passing state secrets to the enemy.

Moreover, the U.S. State Department admitted March 6 that Lipavsky himself had worked for the CIA; and Soviet dissidents have asserted that they believe Lipavsky also worked for the KGB. Lipavsky has not been arrested. □



Howard Petrick/Militant

Part of march of a quarter million in San Francisco June 25.

## 300,000 in U.S. Demand 'Gay Rights, Right Now!'

By Susan Wald

NEW YORK—Cheering, clapping, and shouting, "Gay rights, right now," tens of thousands of marchers poured up Fifth Avenue June 25 to demand, for the ninth consecutive year, an end to discrimination against homosexual men and women. In San Francisco, on the same day, 250,000 marched in a similar protest.

Many of the onlookers lining both sides of the parade here broke into applause as the demonstration, which stretched for fifteen city blocks, wound past them. One woman held up a hand-lettered sign reading, "My son is 'gay' and that's O.K."

In front of St. Patrick's Cathedral, a symbol of the Catholic hierarchy's opposition to gay rights, the marchers halted for several minutes of sustained clapping. "Two, four, six, eight, separate the church and state," they chanted.

As contingent after contingent filed into Central Park for a scheduled rally, the number and diversity of groups represented testified to the extremely broad support the movement has won. Banners were carried by many college campus and gay organizations, including Lesbian Health Workers, Lesbian Social Workers—National Association of Social Workers, Gay Nurses Alliance, Gay Teachers Association, and Association of Gay Social Workers. Three Latino groups organized contingents, and roughly one-third of the

marchers were Black or Latino. The National Organization for Women carried a banner; so did three antinuclear groups.

Other signs and banners pointed to the many issues uniting homosexuals and supporters of human rights. "Pass [New York City] Gay Rights Bill Intro 384—Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights"; "Stop the Briggs Initiative—Defend Lesbian and Gay Teachers"; "Defend the Rights of Lesbian Mothers"; "Lesbian and Gay Rights Now, From New York to California—384 Yes, Briggs No—Socialist Workers Party."

In November, California voters will face a ballot initiative sponsored by State Senator John Briggs that would prohibit homosexual men and women, and those who support their rights, from teaching or working in the public school system. The urgent need for unity to defeat this witch-hunting measure prompted the massive outpouring in San Francisco.

New York City police estimated the crowd at 50,000 to 60,000, but inside the park a rally organizer announced from the stage that there were 85,000 present.

Betty Santoro, a representative of the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights, called for a campaign to turn back the tide of setbacks the movement has suffered with the repeal of antidiscrimination ordinances in Miami, Florida, one year ago,

and in St. Paul, Minnesota, Wichita, Kansas, and Eugene, Oregon, in recent months. She urged the audience to get involved in the fight to ensure passage of Intro 384, which is pending in the New York City Council.

"Getting a gay civil rights bill passed will be the first way we can show our power and determination," Santoro said. She added that although the bill has been voted down ever since it was first introduced in 1971, "we have never given up the fight and never will."

Kay Whitlock of the National Organization for Women was greeted by cheering and applause when she urged all supporters of human rights to turn out for the July 9 demonstration in Washington, D.C., to demand passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Other speakers included Gordon Montador from the *Body Politic*, a Toronto gay newspaper fighting police harassment; a representative of the Gay Teachers Association; Leon Harris, president of the Village-Chelsea branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Ruth Messinger, city council member and sponsor of Intro 384; David Thorstad of CLGR; and Martin Walker, chairman of the Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee, the sponsor of the march. □