

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

Vol. 10, No. 43

© 1972 Intercontinental Press

November 27, 1972

50c

***Why
Peron
Went
Back***



**Hanoi Under
Intense Military
and Diplomatic
Pressure**

**Effects of
'Normalization'
on Czechoslovak
Culture**



***Sadat Turns
to Kremlin***

New Issue of Soviet 'Chronicle'

Issue No. 27 of the *Chronicle of Current Events* has begun to circulate in the Soviet Union, according to the November 16 *Christian Science Monitor*. Its contents reportedly deal "at some length with the repression of mainly nationalist unrest in the Ukraine." This is the *fifth* time the human rights journal has defied the Kremlin's ban.

The compilers of the *Chronicle* have repeatedly pointed out: "The *Chronicle* is in no sense an illegal publication." It merely presents systematic accounts of events which carefully avoid violating Articles 70 and 190-1 ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda").

Nevertheless, the success of the *Chronicle* as a link between the numerous democratic opposition tendencies as well as geographically separated groups and individuals and its effectiveness in circulating information that embarrasses and incriminates Soviet bureaucratic rule have made its existence intolerable for the government.

In December 1971 the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party, according to Soviet dissidents, voted to suppress the *Chronicle* and other samizdat writing, including a similar journal of the Ukrainian opposition, *Ukrainsky Vysnyk*. Since then the KGB has conducted hundreds of searches and arrests in attempts to suppress these publications. More than 200 oppositionists in the Ukraine have received harsh prison terms. (See *Intercontinental Press*, October 2, 1972.) Since December 1971, despite these repressive measures, Nos. 5 and 6 of *Vysnyk* have come out.

The wave of arrests, searches, and interrogations this year has led to victimization of numerous individuals suspected of being connected with "Case No. 24," preparation and circulation of the *Chronicle*. Issue No. 25 (May 20, 1972) and No. 26 (July 5, 1972) reported this crackdown in detail.

The appearance of No. 27 marks a victory for the democratic opposition and underscores what the *Chronicle* has been reporting since its inception: that the oppositions are not the "tiny minority" the Soviet bureaucrats would have the world believe.

In This Issue

SOVIET UNION	1290	New Issue of Soviet 'Chronicle'
	1304	New Issue of Dissident Ukrainian Journal —by Ted Harding
	1305	New Arrests in Ukraine Reported
INDOCHINA WAR	1291	Hanoi Under Intense Pressure From "Allies"—by David Thorstad
ANTIWAR	1292	November 18 Actions Hit U.S. War Plans
ARGENTINA	1293	Military Show of Force Marks Peron's Return —by Gerry Foley
	1294	Argentine PSA Discusses Peron's Return
	1307	USLA Tour Meets With Good Response
	1309	Police Raid Three PSA Headquarters
FRANCE	1295	Stir Over Abortion Trial —by Candida Barberena
	1296	Matzpen and the Struggle Against Zionism
ISRAEL	1296	Ground Slips Away Under Sadat —by Jon Rothschild
EGYPT	1300	
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	1302	"Normalization" Meant the End of Culture
U.S.A.	1305	Louisiana Cops Kill Two Black Students
	1315	Smith Acquitted of "Fragging" Charges
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	1306	Educational Crisis Hits Dominican Republic
	1306	New Reports of Torture in Balaguer's Jails
GREAT BRITAIN	1307	"Extremists" Worry Cornish Nationalists
	1315	Women's Liberation Conference in London
BELGIUM	1308	Direct Action Against the Government
SPAIN	1309	Twenty-one Jailed
PHILIPPINES	1310	Repression Hits Students, Workers —by Antero Nanhaya
SWITZERLAND	1311	Labor Theory of Value Convicted
IRAN	1312	Peking Salutes the Shah
SRI LANKA	1320	"Newsweek" Smear Reprinted
DOCUMENTS	1316	"Armed Struggle Is the Only Road to the Liberation of Argentina"
	1319	Indian Trotskyists on Nationalities
PHOTOGRAPHS	1289	Anwar el-Sadat
	1289	Juan D. Peron
	1306	Tortured Dominican political prisoner
	1313	Shah and Queen of Iran
DRAWINGS	1293	Juan Peron; 1301, Anwar el-Sadat —by Copain

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

EDITOR: Joseph Hansen.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

COPY EDITOR: Lawrence Rand.

EDITORIAL STAFF: Candida Barberena, Fred Feldman, Gerry Foley, Jon Rothschild, George Saunders, David Thorstad.

BUSINESS MANAGER: Reba Hansen.

ASSISTANT BUSINESS MANAGER: Steven Warshell.

TECHNICAL STAFF: H. Massey, James M. Morgan, Ruth Schein.

Published in New York each Monday except last in December and first in January; not published in August.

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

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material expresses the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism.

PARIS OFFICE: Pierre Frank, 10 Impasse Guemeene, Paris 4, France.

TO SUBSCRIBE: For one year send \$15 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail. Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Because of the continuing deterioration of the U.S. postal system, please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Copyright © 1972 by Intercontinental Press.

U.S. Bombers Pound Panhandle Region

Hanoi Under Intense Pressures From 'Allies'

By David Thorstad

"Hanoi will sign a cease-fire pact even if it must make more concessions," the *Wall Street Journal* observed November 17.

"So Washington expects. Thieu won't be forced out, despite new Vietcong demands for his dismissal. Some 'give' on getting Northern troops out of the South seems likely, though Thieu's demands won't all be met. Analysts figure that North Vietnam won't back down now; it has already opted for a political settlement to get the U. S. out of the war.

"U. S. experts see a series of pressures as compelling. Russia, China fail to give Hanoi full support; the Chinese have limited the flow of Soviet war goods to North Vietnam. War damage hurts; analysts claim the North has a million-ton grain deficit due to harbor-mining, harvest problems."

As presidential adviser Henry Kissinger and North Vietnamese negotiator Le Duc Tho prepared to begin another round of secret talks, there were other indications that Hanoi would be under considerable pressure from its "allies" in Moscow and Peking to make further concessions before any agreement is signed. Soviet Communist party leader Leonid Brezhnev suggested as much, for instance, in a speech November 13 to a banquet for Bulgarian party leader Todor Zhivkov. "We strive to facilitate the end of the war," Brezhnev said, "and will welcome the restoration of peace in Indochina."

In Peking, Chou En-lai reversed an earlier Chinese stand on November 10 and announced the support of the Peking bureaucracy for the holding of an international conference on Indochina.

"Both Moscow and Peking are reported to be pressing the North Vietnamese to end the war," wrote syndicated columnist Jack Anderson November 17. "This has been accompanied . . . by a slight but significant slowdown in military support."

Anderson also asserted that Nixon "deliberately sought to extend the

secret negotiations past Election Day" and that he "is now optimistic that he can get a cease-fire on terms which will leave South Vietnam reasonably safe from a Communist takeover. His optimism is based on intelligence reports which depict Hanoi as being under intense diplomatic and military pressure."

While South Vietnamese puppet Nguyen Van Thieu has been demanding that the North agree to pull out all its troops following the signing of any agreement, the U. S. government has been assuring him that agreement on this question has already been reached with Hanoi, according to a report by Bernard Gwertzman in the November 15 *New York Times*. "The Administration has told Saigon that Hanoi must maintain at least some of the troops to defend the Vietcong areas allowed under the accord. It has promised Saigon that North Vietnam would withdraw many of the troops tacitly as part of an understanding reached outside the agreement."

The withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops, according to Jean-Claude Pomonti, writing in the November 14 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, "appears to have been agreed to in principle. The modalities of their departure are the subject of a secret agreement between Hanoi and Washington. After a cease-fire in place takes effect, these units will be regrouped in military enclaves connected to the outside world (ports and airports) by corridors allowing them to obtain supplies."

"During a second phase, they will return to North Vietnam. They will do this gradually as the 'nine points' are applied in other areas. Of the slightly more than 100,000 regular North Vietnamese soldiers presently stationed in the South, only some 20,000 will remain. These are men who have been integrated into units staffed by the Vietcong. The rest will return to barracks in the North."

U. S. intelligence reports indicate that some North Vietnamese units have already begun to pull back from

advanced positions near Saigon and in northern Quangtri Province, according to *New York Times* correspondent Fox Butterfield in a November 19 dispatch from Saigon.

In an interview November 13, chief Paris negotiator for the National Liberation Front, Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, said that the troop withdrawal issue was "a question of fundamental principle" and asserted that there would be no regroupment of troops following a cease-fire. "She indicated that the only solution acceptable to the Communist side," reported Takashi Oka in the November 15 *Christian Science Monitor*, "was that envisaged in the draft Kissinger-Tho agreement as summarized by Hanoi Radio: that after a cease-fire in place, both Saigon and the Viet Cong should reduce their troop strength as a result of mutual discussions."

At the session of the so-called peace talks three days later, Binh appeared to again insist on two earlier NLF conditions not in the Kissinger-Tho accord: that the U. S. stop all military aid to Thieu before a cease-fire and that Thieu step down, the *New York Times* reported November 17.

Whatever peace agreement on Vietnam is ultimately reached will also cover Laos and Cambodia, Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn, president of the Thai National Executive Council, said November 15, according to an Agence France-Presse dispatch from Bangkok. He said he had received this information from the American ambassador, Leonard Unger. "The marshal told reporters that Mr. Unger had said that the withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia was one of the conditions set for a cease-fire agreement."

On November 15, the U. S. State Department announced that Canada, Hungary, Indonesia, and Poland had agreed in principle to participate in an international control commission to help police a cease-fire in Vietnam.

Meanwhile, the Nixon administration subjected the panhandle region of North Vietnam to intensive bombing throughout the week beginning November 9. On November 14, strikes by fighter-bombers topped 300, in addition to which eleven three-plane missions by B-52 bombers were flown. Between November 9, when U. S. raids were stepped up, and November 15, some 1,560 tactical air

cages, many undergoing brutal torture. . . .

"Nixon is pitting hope on hope that we won't tell the American people that if this cease-fire is signed, it will be the fourth Indochina ceasefire in twenty-seven years, each broken by the foreign aggressor within a short period of time."

Sojourner concluded that "while we support the right of the Vietnamese to make any agreement they may find necessary, the American people are not making any peace with the U. S. government until it ends its war of aggression in Southeast Asia."

Fred Lovgren, national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee told the rally: "In the twenty-three days since 'peace was at hand' over 2 million pounds of bombs have been dropped daily on all four countries of Indochina. In the twenty-three days since 'peace' was at hand there have been sweeping repressive raids by the Thieu government to exterminate political dissent in Saigon-controlled areas. From October 26 to November 8 alone, over 500 people were executed without trial or charges."

More than 700 persons participated in the demonstration in Chicago, 600 in San Francisco, 500 in Boston, 325 in Washington, D. C., 300 in Philadelphia, 200 in Portland, 200 in Atlanta, 125 in Cleveland, and 120 in Houston. Reports from other cities are not yet available.

On December 2, the National Steering Committee of the National Peace Action Coalition will meet in New York City, to plan the next stage of antiwar activity.

The November 18 demonstrations, occurring in the face of popular illusions that the war will soon be over, were spirited and enthusiastic, although modest in size. They reflected the existence of a solid core of antiwar activists who see through Nixon's latest "peace" maneuvers and are prepared to build opposition to his continuing efforts to use U. S. military power to crush the peoples of Indochina. □

Anything Worth Doing

China has reported major progress in improving water conservation on the 2,870-mile-long Yellow River. Hsinhua, the official Chinese press service, attributes this success to Chairman Mao's instruction, "Work on the Yellow River must be done well."



"Tell Me I'm Dreaming . . ."

strikes were reportedly flown against the North.

On November 18, *New York Times* Washington correspondent Tad Szulc cited a U. S. government intelligence study on the military aid provided by the Soviet Union to less developed countries during 1971. The figures on aid to North Vietnam show that

it amounted to only \$100 million. During the same period, the U. S. reportedly expended \$1,870 million on South Vietnam. "Between 1965 and 1971, officials said, Moscow provided North Vietnam with about \$1-billion [milliard] in military assistance. China reportedly gave Hanoi \$85-million in military aid in 1970 and \$75-million in 1971." □

'Out Now' Chant Heard in 19 U.S. Cities

November 18 Actions Hit U.S. War Plans

Thousands of persons turned out in nineteen cities on November 18 for demonstrations demanding that the United States withdraw immediately, totally, and unconditionally from Vietnam.

The largest demonstration occurred in New York, where some 2,000 persons marched through the streets to a rally in Central Park. There they heard a wide range of speakers including Madame Thoa, a Vietnamese exile, Jose Che Velasques of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, Joanna Misnik of the Socialist Workers party, Democratic National Committeeman Robert Dryfoos, and Carl Davidson of the New York weekly *Guardian*.

Speaking for the National Peace Action Coalition, which called the November 18 protests, Katherine Sojourner told the gathering:

"If the ceasefire is signed, the American people and the world would certainly welcome an end to the bombing and the pledge to withdraw U. S. troops. However, it will be our responsibility to continue to demand the kind of peace in Southeast Asia that will insure that people stop dying from U. S. aggression *permanently*, not just for a few days, weeks, or months. The only way that this can be accomplished is for the United States to get totally and completely out with no conditions attached. . . .

"Nixon and team are talking peace — they want us to forget the fact that even if the ceasefire is signed, a brutal U. S. puppet — Thieu — will be kept in power by the U. S. government. Nixon hopes that we will forget the at least 300,000 political prisoners in Thieu's dungeons, jails and tiger

Military Show of Force Marks Peron's Return

By Gerry Foley

"There is, however, general agreement that the divisions that have rent this nation for the 17 years since Mr. Peron's ouster cannot be ended without Mr. Peron's presence," James Nelson Goodsell wrote in the November 15 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*.

"Whether they can be ended with his presence is something else again—but the military government of Lt. Gen. Alejandro Agustin Lanusse argues that it is worth a try. And it would seem that a majority of the anti-Peronists, albeit concerned over Mr. Peron's presence, tend to agree with the Lanusse government."

In its November 14 issue, the same conservative paper, whose views tend to coincide rather closely with those of the U. S. State Department, cautiously approved Peron's return, on the grounds that there was a good chance that he would play a crucial "stabilizing role" in a country that has been shaken repeatedly during the past three years by mass struggles of workers and students. "And hopefully, if he [Peron] will agree to the military's playing a continued supervisory role in any postelection government, his presence could be a settling and unifying force in a country for too long torn apart by dissent."

In an interview published in the November 9 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly *Panorama*, Roberto Ares, one of Peron's top advisors, seemed to second the *Monitor* editorial's hopes: "It is evident to me that General Peron's aspiration is to achieve spiritual unity between the people and the armed forces, whose prestige, unfortunately, has been suffering a great decline in the minds of the people."

When he announced his intention to return to Argentina after seventeen years of exile, Peron himself stressed that his "mission is one of peace, not war." He even seemed to go to some pains to assure "interested parties" of his harmlessness.

"He has been very close to civil war, but he was not willing to lead



PERON: Can the "workers' general" keep the lid on Argentina?

his followers into battle at the time he was overthrown," a *New York Times* feature article cabled from Buenos Aires noted on November 17, the day of Peron's arrival. "I am a vegetarian lion," he told a newsman in Madrid recently."

But with the best intentions on both sides—Peron's and the army's—the return of the seventy-seven-year-old populist strong man clearly represented a very dangerous experiment for the Argentine ruling classes.

Because of Peron's identification with a program of reforms after the second world war and because of the popular hatred of the antilabor regimes that have followed his overthrow by a proimperialist coup in 1955, the former president's return from exile in Madrid threatened to

touch off massive demonstrations against the dictatorship.

Moreover, since the regime's initial moves toward a reconciliation with Peron had already sparked a military revolt, there was reason to fear the reaction of ultrarightist elements in the armed forces. To make matters worse, during his long exile Peron had given a certain amount of tacit encouragement to radical left forces, particularly among the youth. Would some of these young radicals or leftist, union militants try to give Peron a revolutionary welcome? In the explosive political situation in Argentina, the military could not risk any upsets. Moreover, it was no doubt anxious to make it clear right from the start that letting Peron return was a strictly limited concession.

So, on the day the old popular hero came back, the dictatorship staged a massive show of force. All "public concentrations" were banned. A force of more than 30,000 soldiers was mobilized to maintain security in the capital. The airport of Ezeiza, where Peron's plane landed, was surrounded by the elite Tandil armored unit. Only 300 of Peron's followers were allowed to meet him. "The leader" himself was put in semiseclusion under heavy guard. In a dispatch from Buenos Aires printed in the November 19 *New York Times*, Joseph Novitski observed:

"Plainly, the bristling reception provided by the military had shaken the confidence Mr. Peron had shown in an interview with the Paris paper *Le Figaro* before leaving Madrid."

In any case, Peron's plans seemed harmless enough. "At the airport yesterday he assumed the presidency of a political alliance of smaller parties, all nationalist and almost all moderate," Novitski reported in a November 18 dispatch. Nonetheless, it is not likely that either "the workers' general" or the military feel entirely sure what will happen as Peron is forced to assume direct leadership of the heterogeneous bloc that has formed around his name and myth. □

Argentine PSA Discusses Peron's Return

[The following article has been taken from the November 8 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly paper of the Partido Socialista Argentino (Argentine Socialist party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

For seventeen years the majority of Argentine workers have called insistently for his return. And our party, as part of the workers' movement, has fought with determination for his democratic right to be present and to participate in political life. Now, finally, Perón has announced that he is coming back and this time he seems to be serious about it.

The question that must be asked is whether he is coming back to help the workers or to make a deal with the exploiters and offer the military government a political way out.

Unfortunately, all the signs indicate that the latter is his reason for coming. Perón has sent an unmistakable message calling on all "compañeros to collaborate and cooperate in order to provide the best conditions so that my mission can be accomplished in an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity." He has not called the people into the streets. Quite the contrary. On the other hand, the note that Cámpora [Perón's representative] gave to Lanusse and the Junta Militar [Military Council], as well as the government's immediate response, fully confirms what we have been predicting for some time in *Avanzada Socialista*: that if Perón returns, it is because a draft of an agreement is ready, or almost ready, to be signed by the three parties—the Peronists, the military party, and the Radical [bourgeois liberal] party. "Perhaps at last this government has been understood"—these words with which Lanusse ended his conciliatory speech last night would suffice to prove what we have said. But it would be useful to recapitulate a few facts that indicate how in the last few days the three parties have been rapidly reaching a point of agreement:

● As for the Peronists, let's leave

aside the already familiar invocations of the leader's return as "a pledge of peace at any cost" and Cámpora's insistence that there will be no "guns or machetes" here. Let's leave aside the fact that ten days ago, Cámpora refused to deal with the government and now he has given Lanusse the communiqué on Perón's return. What speaks louder than all these words is the fact that the trade-union bureaucrats' meeting with Lanusse—an essential step for the agreement—was endorsed in advance by a telegram from Perón.

● The Radicals, on the other hand, have abruptly ended the mini-campaign that Balbín and Alfonsín unleashed a few days ago against "continuismo" and "quedantismo" [extended terms in office by strong-man rulers]. Now they "do not doubt that the armed forces will keep their word."

● The government did not fall out of step either. In his speech on Tuesday [November 7], Lanusse opened the door all the way for the final negotiations. Less widely circulated but more substantial, the "Fourteen Guarantees" published yesterday by *Confirmado* represented a major step toward agreement. In these the government only recapitulated, as the basis for agreement, the celebrated "pact of guarantees" already signed by the component groups of the *Hora del Pueblo* [the Peronist-led Popular Front formation]. And Lanusse is taking these conciliatory steps just after his unveiled threats about staging a "coup within the coup" to establish a tough line, and about "calling off the elections."

Two weeks ago the different parties seemed on the brink of a rupture. What has happened in the meantime to restore the idyll? As all the political commentators would have to confirm, the quarrel could be summed up in one word—the candidates, more specifically the *Peronist candidates*. If a "climate of peace" is restored, it is because progress has been made on this point of the "gran acuerdo" [Great Accord, the junta's political formation is called the Gran Acuerdo Nacional, which stands for the "government of

national unity" that they advocate]. We cannot say if they have decided the name of the lawyer or general who is to bear the Peronist standard. But it is clear that a basis of agreement has been reached between Lanusse and Perón for resolving the problem. In its November 7 issue, *Confirmado* enumerated the military's "list of conditions" for allowing Perón to return that Cámpora took to Madrid on his last visit.

The basic demand was that "all the candidates for the presidency must be honorable men (especially the Peronist candidate)." Since these matters of "honor" are very much open to question, the pro-Lanusse magazine, recognizing the doubts that might arise, was careful to clarify this a bit more: "Today we can give assurances that all the candidates appearing on the ballot—Balbín, Alfonsín, Taiana, Manrique, Osiris Villegas, Matera, and the others—will be Lanusse men. . . ."

The president will not realize his greatest dream of being the only candidate of the "accord." But, under various names, he will have achieved the essential thing, the application of a single policy, the policy of the GAN. We will see when the Justicialista [Peronist] candidate is nominated, whether within the framework of the general agreement Perón has been obliged to accept a name directly linked with Lanusse (Osiris Villegas?) or whether the indicated candidate is some figurehead representing a deal between Perón and the church. Nor can we discount the possibility that settling the final provisions of the accord will give rise to a new tug-of-war between Perón and the government.

Innumerable workers, Peronist compañeros struggling against the regime, have hoped for many years for General Perón's return. They thought that the day he came back would be a day of struggle and triumph for the working class, as well as the day of the collapse of this system of poverty and the iron fist that oppresses all workers—Peronist or not. *But the hard reality is that Perón is not coming back to fight. Perón is coming back to put the finishing touches on a deal with the regime, with the worst enemies of the working class.*

We only hope we are mistaken!

We have a duty to warn the people

very frankly about this situation. We fervently hope the working people will prevent such a deal. Despite Perón's order not to mobilize for his return, we imagine many Peronist workers will not accept this.

We completely support the attempt to mobilize that will surely be made by the fighting sections of the Peronist movement. Although we warn that this is not what Perón wants, we support such a mobilization as we support

all combative actions of the workers. But we think that it must raise the demand that Perón come out for a plan of struggle against poverty and unemployment; that he stop any candidates being chosen through a deal with the military; that he recognize the sacrifices of millions of workers who have supported him for years and even risked their lives, by giving 80 percent of the nominations to working-class candidates. □

Actresses Delphine Seyrig and Françoise Fabian incriminated themselves under the law when they gave the dates of their last abortions. They expressed astonishment at not being sought by the law themselves. *Le Monde* was offended by this show of "exhibitionism." Denuzière's sense of propriety appeared once again offended when he chided supporters in the audience, for the most part composed of members of Choisir (Choice, a pro-abortion group) and Women's Liberation Movement, for their boisterousness. "They might more appropriately have shown respect for the seriousness of an issue which concerns the dignity of women," he puffed, "by foregoing the nerve-racking laughter brought forth by every whimsical remark or slip of the tongue."

For its part the prosecution did not totally ignore public dissatisfaction with the nation's 162-year-old restrictive abortion law. Denuzière reported that in the indictment Mr. Rouhault, first deputy prosecutor of France, confined his arguments to "the record and the law," adding that the law was "still in force." Apparently retreating somewhat in recognition of the day's revealing testimony, the prosecutor did admit that he expected the present law to be modified. However, this "... would not in his opinion at all guarantee complete happiness, a simplistic notion in his mind."

Also present at the trial was Simone de Beauvoir, author of *The Second Sex*. In her testimony she offered to provide money and addresses and to open her home to women requiring abortions.

Others in the long list of prominent spokespersons included deputies who discussed perspectives for legislative reform of the law. Paul Milliez, Catholic dean of Broussais medical school, said he preferred a more limited reform to one allowing abortion on demand, currently an issue under debate in the French National Assembly. Western press sources remarked on the significance of the testimony at the trial, speculating that it could possibly lead to the repeal of article 317 of the penal code on abortion.

"When the hearing was over, ending with a postponement of the judgement one had the impression that a step had been taken, that the court was not comfortably sitting in judgement, but had been itself placed in the dock," observed *Le Monde*. □

'Angel-Maker' and Accomplices on Trial

Stir Over French Abortion Trial

By Candida Barberena

Facing the bench on November 8 in the Paris suburb of Bobigny were the "accomplices" in an abortion case. Charged with having arranged an abortion for Marie-Claire Chevalier were her mother, Madame Chevalier, and two subway coworkers, Madame Duboucheix and Madame Sausset. Madame Bambuck is the accused *fai-seuse d'ange* ("angel-maker"), or abortionist. She declared she had only accepted the 1200 franc [\$240] fee to pay her taxes.

One month ago Marie-Claire was tried and acquitted for having an abortion, an illegal practice except "when it is required to preserve the life of the mother when that is gravely threatened." Charges were dropped after women's liberation and abortion groups demonstrated in Paris under the flailing nightsticks of police. (See *Intercontinental Press*, October 30, p. 1173.)

Testimony given in behalf of the four defendants was aimed at revealing that, in fact, French women do not have the right to make a choice regarding maternity. After listening to the defendants explain the motives for their participation in the "crime," Maurice Denuzière, correspondent for the Paris daily *Le Monde* noted:

"But that's not what the trial was all about. It went beyond the case of these four women, prosecuted after being picked out as if in a random drawing from among at least six or eight hundred thousand French women who

secretly interrupt their pregnancies each year, taking deadly risks that are only partially revealed by official statistics."

Jacques Monod, Nobel prize winner in medicine and director of the Pasteur Institute, came to Bobigny to testify for the defendants. "Abortion is not infanticide," he told the court. "The fetus is not a human being. It has neither consciousness nor a nervous system. For too long fantasy has been taken for biological fact."

The French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge* reported an unusual and surprising gesture by Monod. He told the court, "Yes, I gave 3,000 francs [\$600] to Madame C. . . ." for a safe and comfortable abortion in Switzerland or England. He indicated that he would have acted in complicity: "I gave it to her after the abortion. If I had known about it before, I wouldn't have had to give it to her. I would have directed her to a clinic where this is freely performed every day."

In a statement to the court Madame Chevalier explained why she and her daughter had chosen to seek the abortion: "I am still living the humiliations that society reserves for unwed mothers, and I didn't want my daughter to experience that. I offered to keep and raise the child, which would not have been easy or within our means. She didn't want this." Concluding, she added, "As soon as she had made up her mind, I had to help her. I have nothing to be sorry about."

Matzpen and the Struggle Against Zionism

[We publish below the second, concluding, part of an interview with Michel Warschawski that was obtained for *Intercontinental Press* early in October. The first part of the interview appeared in last week's issue of *Intercontinental Press*. Warschawski is one of the leaders of the Israeli Socialist Organization (Marxist), which is commonly known as Matzpen, the name of its journal.]

* * *

Q: Are there any mass organizations of any sort among the Arab population?

A: No, apart from the very few who are organized — or were organized — in the Palestinian resistance organizations. The great majority are under the leadership of the so-called feudal and bourgeois forces. The leadership of the occupied territory in Israel is the old pre-1948 Palestinian leadership, like Jabaari in Hebron, and so on. There is no independent organized movement, not even a petty-bourgeois movement. The Zionist occupation repressed every tendency toward such a movement. But on the other hand there never were any such organizations.

Both before the '67 war and afterwards, the only alternatives were no Palestinian resistance whatever or the bourgeois and "feudal" leadership.

Q: What about Rakeh?

A: Rakeh is the Communist party in Israel. Rakeh has decided that it will not carry out any political activity today in the occupied territory. But in Israel, Rakeh is — and always was — the opposition party for Arabs who stayed after 1948.

Rakeh's official position is that Arabs in the occupied territory have to be organized by the Jordanian Communist party, and it doesn't interfere there.

The only thing Rakeh is doing is giving legal support to men who are arrested. Rakeh lawyers usually defend them.

Q: What is the political program of Rakeh?

A: The program of Rakeh is the classical Stalinist program — that is, to make peace between Zionist Israel and the Arab countries. And only afterwards will they speak of the "next stage" of the struggle. The effect of this position is to sanction the prevailing situation. That is, the Zionist state should give back part of the occupied territory, and the Arab countries should recognize the "fact" of Zionism. This is the position both of Rakeh and of the Soviet Union. We can say that there is even more of a Zionist tendency in Rakeh than there was before.

For this reason there is criticism of the line of the Communist party among the rank-and-file members, and today there are a few who are interested in Matzpen's positions.

Q: About how big is Rakeh, and what percentage of its members are Arabs?

A: The official membership is not known; I would say it is a few thousand. The great majority of them, the great, great majority, are Arabs. In the latest election, for example, Rakeh received something like 30,000 votes. This vote is quite significant — Rakeh has three members of parliament out of 120. The great majority of the voters are Arabs.

Q: Are there any mass organizations — or trade unions — in the occupied territory?

A: No, it's forbidden. Only in Jerusalem, which is definitely occupied and definitely annexed to Israel, are Arabs part of the Histadrut.

Q: Is there any anti-militarist sentiment among some of the young people? One of the things that a visitor notices here, for example, is the omnipresence of people in uniform, coming or going to bases, the presence of soldiers everywhere.

A: No. Only a very small section of the young have any hostility to the army or military. It's a very tiny minority.

When Giora Neuman and his comrades decided to refuse to serve in the army, this had no real effect. A few people are themselves ready to serve in the army but support Neuman's right not to. But there is not even a tiny minority who are really hostile to the army.

In the lowest strata of Israeli society there is, perhaps, a certain feeling of "Why must I serve in the army? I have nothing to defend — I have no house, no money, nothing."

This year a tiny group of non-political, Oriental Jews organized around this point, saying, "We have nothing to defend, so we have no reason to serve in the army." It had a certain effect on lower strata of the population, but it was insignificant on the level of Israeli society as a whole.

Q: What has been the situation with the Black Panthers in Israel?

A: There is no doubt that there is discrimination in Israel. There is even a certain racism among Jews — by the Occidental Jews against the Oriental Jews. The immigration from the Soviet Union is very racist against the Oriental Jews.

But the fact is that more than half of the population is Oriental, and the great majority of them are in the lower strata of Israeli society. This section of the population is the most exploited; generally they have large families, and they have a very low standard of living.

There is a consciousness developing among these strata in Israel today of being second-class citizens. They have the feeling that Israeli culture pushes aside the culture of the Oriental Jew — and it was a very rich culture. They have a feeling not only of economic exploitation and a low standard of living, but of having lost their honor.

This was the most important point about Black Panthers. For the first time a group was organized that said,

"We are fighting for our rights, for our cultural rights. We are proud to be Sephardic; we are proud to be Oriental. We want at least to be citizens like the Occidental Jews."

So there is no doubt there is an objective base for such organizations as the Black Panthers. It is a real problem and a problem that, in our eyes, the Zionists cannot resolve.

One of the Zionist aims is to build an Occidental state in the Arab East, against "Arab barbarism." One theme that appears recurrently in the official propaganda is "We don't want to be a Levantine state." And it's not only race, it's attitudes. It's a political point of view. And persons like Golda Meir consciously understand the potential of the Black Panthers, and they decided to fight it very vigorously because they saw it as dangerous.

But the fact is that the Black Panthers have not as yet organized seriously. They have found an echo and great popularity in the Oriental population, but they haven't succeeded in building a mass movement in the Oriental slums, in the immigrant towns, where they do have popularity.

Today—and we encouraged them in this direction—they are publishing a newspaper. Our line is to build a mass movement, to build sections of the Black Panthers throughout the country and to move the Black Panthers away from being a relatively small organization in which internal clique struggles can take their toll.

We have great hopes, because there is an objective problem, and there is a need for such an organization that can lead the Oriental masses who feel exploitation and alienation, lead them in a struggle that is objectively anti-Zionist. Zionism cannot achieve this equality. Zionism cannot on the one hand offer immigration and on the other hand solve the internal problems of Israel.

We think that even if the Black Panthers of today—who are very weak—are unable to do this, there will be other organizations that will do it. Because the consciousness and the will to struggle of the Orientals is very high, mostly among the young.

Q: Could you explain what the ISO (Marxist) is, and what the development of Matzpen has been?

A: From 1962 to 1970, Matzpen was the only anti-Zionist organization

November 27, 1972

in Israel. Matzpen was a socialist and anti-Zionist organization and was open to all those who wanted to fight Zionism from the point of view of socialist revolution.

Matzpen was composed of many political tendencies which understood anti-Zionism very differently. The ISO (Marxist) is today the product of a long clarification over many years inside the organization. Clarification with a view to defining the program and concrete perspectives of the revolution in Israel, the revolution in the Arab East, and the world revolution.

In the last three years, Matzpen has experienced two important splits which were the price of this clarification. The first one resulted from clarifying our concept of what anti-Zionism is and what the strategy of revolutionary anti-Zionists in Israel should be.

Those who left us at the end of 1970 didn't accept our position on the unity of the Arab East and the dependence of the Israeli revolution on the whole Arab East revolution. Also they didn't even accept our critique of Zionism. In our eyes, Zionism is not only an ideology, like American nationalism or French nationalism. It's a whole structure, a colonial enterprise.

We have to make very clear that our struggle is to break the Zionist state. Not to break it up like any other bourgeois state; it's more than a bourgeois state. The Zionist aspect of Israeli society makes clear the link between Israel and the whole Arab East. The Zionists play the role of gendarme in the Arab East, of the defender of order—together with the Arab regimes, but stronger.

This links the possibility of revolution in Israel to the revolution in the Arab East as a whole.

After we made our position very clear—about Zionism, the Arab revolution, the need for a strategy and organization for the whole Arab East—we then had to clarify some other problems that are part of the program of a political organization.

The group that left Matzpen in that period (it now calls itself the Avant-garde group) is linked to the Lambertist and Healyist organizations. Their whole policy is in the tradition of Healy's and Lambert's organizations throughout the world. They have a very strong reformist tendency and,

I would say, they are not Zionists, but they have Zionist tendencies, a Zionist dynamic.

Because of their Lambertist theory, they are unable to understand that the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie has many aspects that are not directly and apparently a problem of the workers' struggle against the capitalists. This makes them unable to understand nationalism, Arab nationalism, and Zionism. They can't see the role of Zionism in the Arab East and the consequent link between the Israeli revolution and the development of the revolution in the Arab East as a whole. They cannot understand the positive aspects of the national liberation movements of the Arab world and the revolutionary potential that exists in these movements. For them, nationalism is something bad, and they will have nothing to do with it. Although they say Jewish nationalism is bad too, they just ignore it. They say they have to go to the Israeli workers and organize them for the revolution—and that's all.

It's a very simplistic analysis and a misunderstanding of the dynamics of revolutionary development in the Arab East.

But after we defined our position about the Arab revolution and about the struggle against Zionism—in short, after we understood the implications of the theory of permanent revolution and its strategic application to the Arab East, we had to develop more concretely our program on how to work, how to organize, and we had to generalize our analysis of the Arab East and consider the revolution on a world scale.

We had a political discussion in the organization and concluded that if the theory of permanent revolution is valid in the Arab East, it must be valid throughout the underdeveloped world. When we asked the organization to broaden its program, to be not just anti-Zionist, but to develop a general political program, a part of the group objected and subsequently split.

Today they also use the name ISO—that's the reason we call ourselves ISO (Marxist). It was a very difficult split; the first split was not so important. This time it was a large minority, including a large part of the old leadership.

This leadership, in our eyes, had

failed to educate the members of the organization in revolutionary-Marxist concepts. More and more anarchist and spontanéist tendencies had grown within the organization. And at the same time the lack of a program and analysis, the lack of consciousness of the need for theory had caused a real erosion of the old leadership's anti-Zionist position. Because apart from the point of view of Arab nationalism, a real anti-Zionist position can only derive from the point of view of revolutionary Marxism.

This grouping did not want to decide or discuss these problems—they were quite hostile to these conceptions. This weakened their anti-Zionist position until today we can say that some in this organization—not the majority, but some—are, if not Zionist, at least not anti-Zionist. They are morally opposed to anti-Arab discrimination and to the oppression and expropriation of Arabs. But they have no historical conception of what Zionism is and how to fight it, and no conception of how to build the socialist revolution in the whole Arab East.

Q. What is the political program, then, upon which the ISO (Marxist) is based?

A: In our eyes, Israeli society is on the one hand a normal capitalist society based on exploitation of the working class. On the other hand, it is a colonial enterprise built upon the exploitation of the whole Arab and Palestinian people. And thirdly, it is a client state of imperialism.

All these three aspects of Israeli society have to be taken into account in order to develop a strategy for making a revolution in Israel. Our aim is to make a socialist revolution in Israel.

The Zionist nature of Israel makes the class struggle within Israel more complicated than in a "normal" capitalist country. Not only from the standpoint of consciousness, but from the standpoint of the real, concrete situation of the Israeli working class, Zionism plays a great role.

For one thing, consider all the money that comes from outside Israel. Israel is not exploited by imperialists, it is supported by them economically, mostly by U. S. imperialism. This support allows the Zionist establishment

to build a society more developed than any other nondeveloped capitalist country, with a strong working class, with industry, with quite a high standard of living relative to the whole Arab East.

Imperialism is ready to pay if there is a need in Israel because imperialism needs a strong Zionist state to keep "order" in the Arab East. It will continue to pay as long as there is a need. So the Zionist establishment can offer a certain standard of living to the Israeli working class.

Second, the Israeli working class has no class organizations, no class parties, no unions. All the so-called workers' parties, and the trade unions, the Histadrut, are Zionist organizations—that is, organizations of the whole Zionist movement and not of the working class. So the working class today is very backward politically.

Third, there is a feeling even today that there is no other way. This is a sentence you often hear in the street: "We have no alternative. Yes, it's bad; yes, the government is no good; yes, there is war. But what is the alternative?"

We have built our program around these three characteristics of Israeli society.

First of all, we have to make clear to the Israeli working class that the only chance for them to develop themselves and achieve their individual, class, and national rights is to break with Zionism. It's not so evident to them.

We developed a transitional program, which we call a de-Zionization program, in which we tried to make clear the connection between the Zionist regime on the one hand, and on the other hand, workers' exploitation, the fact of permanent war, and the price the workers have to pay in terms of living conditions.

For example, among our slogans is the call for real unions. The worker understands this need very well. He understands that the Histadrut does not defend him. He has no say inside the Histadrut; the workers are even in a minority in the Histadrut. So the need for a real union is very clear to the workers.

And, obviously, to build an independent union and to fight the Histadrut is to struggle against one of the

most basic components of the Zionist establishment.

Secondly, we fight for democratic rights, such as abolition of the law of return and for the right of every Palestinian to return to his country. None of these demands require a revolutionary socialist consciousness, but they concern democracy or other real problems of the working class and they cannot be achieved within the framework of the Zionist state. These are the types of slogans around which we attempt to mobilize the Israeli population.

We are certain of one thing: Not only is a real revolutionary breakthrough in Israel dependent on the development of a revolutionary organization inside Israel, but also, and mainly, it will be the consequence of the dynamic of revolutionary developments in the whole Arab East. A dynamic that will make clear the alternative that historically confronts the Israeli working class: either permanent war against the Arab liberation movement (a movement which today is quite weak but which will develop) to fight more and more as the gendarme of American imperialism, to be the cossacks of the new Vietnam in the Arab East—or to join with the revolutionary movement in the Arab East against the imperialist oppressor and against the clients of imperialism, Zionism on the one hand and the Arab regimes on the other.

This is why one of our immediate preoccupations is not only to develop a theoretical strategy for the Arab-East revolution, but to build the party of the Arab-East revolution. Because there is a connection, an interdependence, between the development of struggle inside Israel and the development of the struggle outside Israel. There is no doubt that the growth of an anti-Zionist power in Israel makes the work of our comrades in the Arab countries easier. They can say, "Our problem is not the Jews, but it is to defeat Zionism, and to defeat Zionism is to defeat imperialist domination and capitalism."

And for us there is no doubt that if we can say, "Look, you do have the possibility of living inside the Arab world, as Jews, without any oppression, in a socialist Arab East"; if we can say, "Look, there is an alternative," then our work is easier.

Our immediate aim today is to build

the nucleus of an all-Arab-East revolutionary party, with a strategy for the whole Arab East. We will fight against Zionism, against imperialism, against the Arab regimes. We will fight for a united, socialist Arab East.

Q: What is your position in regard to the major international working-class tendencies?

A: The process of political clarification over the past three or four years has brought the majority of the organization to the position of revolutionary Marxism and the conception of the permanent revolution. The final point we had to develop in Matzpen was that if there is a need for a local revolutionary party—that is, in the whole Arab East—we also need an international revolutionary party.

Today we have just completed our discussion of our affiliation to the Fourth International. As far as I know the great majority of the membership supports this step, and I hope that at the next world congress we will be accepted as a part of the Fourth International. Our positions today are the positions of the Fourth International.

I must add one comment here. One of the factors that influenced our development toward the Fourth International was the fact that the Fourth International was the only movement in the revolutionary left that defended our position on Zionism and our position on the struggle for an all-Arab-East revolution.

Q: What are some of the activities that the ISO (Marxist) engages in?

A: Most of the ISO activity—even before the last split—was agitation and propaganda against Zionism. The split has had a very good effect on our political work. The process of political discussion and also the political line of those who split had really paralyzed Matzpen. For two years we had to fight to organize our group and our work. But today, less than one year after the split, not only have we recuperated from the split, but our work has improved. We distribute more copies of our newspaper, our activity is more substantial, and we

have a more organized way of working.

Our work is in two main areas. First is propaganda. We have a newspaper, *Matzpen*, which is today the largest Hebrew newspaper on the whole Israeli left, even bigger than the CP newspaper. It is in Hebrew with a supplement in Arabic. After the split we began to publish pamphlets; now we have six, and hope in the next two months to publish three more. We publish in Hebrew and Arabic.

Second, we have political circles in the three major cities, Jerusalem, Haifa, and Tel Aviv.

Also, after the split we began a very vigorous intervention within the Arab population. To work in the Arab population we must be very serious. It is very difficult. This work cannot be done in an amateurish way. And the influence of the Communist party is great.

In this area the split has had a good effect. Today we have a certain periphery in the Arab villages. We have circles today in the Arab sector.

Among the youth, we organized this year what we call "Red Mole groups," which we see as the nucleus of a youth organization. There are several dozen young people organized now in these groups. Now they have their own newspaper, *Red Mole*. The Red Mole members are mainly high schoolers.

In the universities we also have sympathizers who will begin this year to join with the high-school students in the Red Mole groups.

The second main area of our work is to organize and participate in all the struggles that are occurring in Israel—democratic struggles, struggles against repression, against the police, against discrimination.

Our aim in each of these struggles is always to organize united fronts, as broad as possible. Within these united fronts we make our political line very clear. On the one hand we mobilize for the struggle, and on the other hand we mobilize some of those involved in the direction of our positions.

Together with other groups we have also begun this year to organize a women's liberation movement, a movement that is in its beginning stages but has already carried out some activities. We have put forward three main slogans so far: free and

legal abortion, the right of civil marriage, and equal pay for equal work.

The first two are the most important in our eyes, and we are fighting within the movement in favor of stressing these two slogans. This is because we see that Zionism cannot accede to such demands. These demands are in total contradiction to the government's need for a constantly expanding Jewish population in Israel. The policy has always been and will always be to push for big families and against any abortions.

Q: Do you carry out any antimilitarist campaigns? What is the basic policy of the ISO (Marxist) in regard to its own members serving in the army?

A: Our goal is to mobilize a mass campaign against the army and against the whole role the army has to play in opposition to the Arab revolution and also against its role inside Israeli society. But so far this position has found no significant response. When Giora Neuman refused to serve in the army we carried out a massive campaign for his right not to serve, explaining the role of the Israeli army.

But even on the question of his right not to serve the response was very weak. We found a strong hostility to any attack on the army, even among liberal circles.

Today our policy is to ask our members and sympathizers to serve in the army. First of all because there are opportunities to do fruitful work in the army. During the three years of service required by conscription, you are with the same people, generally young. You have a lot of time with them. The repression in the army is strong, but there is still the possibility of doing work. There are even more opportunities in the reserves than among the conscripts. Because in the reserves you are in contact with the population. This is important because the base of our organization is not a proletarian one. In the reserves we are in contact with workers we don't meet in the areas of work we are generally involved in.

Generally people in the reserves are very open to criticism of the government. For the month or month and a half they have to serve in the army every year they are outside their gen-

eral milieu and there is much discussion among them. All our comrades have done quite good work in the reserves.

But while our position is to serve in the army, obviously our comrades are not ready to do everything they may be asked to do. Our comrades

refuse to bomb houses, to repress demonstrations in the occupied territory, to carry out operations in the occupied territory. And they pay the price for their refusal.

Arie Bober, for example, was arrested because he refused to go into Lebanon to fight against the Palestinian organizations. □

Students, Workers, Soldiers Beginning to Stir

Ground Slips Away Under Sadat

By Jon Rothschild

"Egypt is going in circles, like a camel at the end of a long rope." That lament, expressed to a *Wall Street Journal* correspondent by a student at Cairo University, is a prevalent one—not only among left-wing critics of the Anwar el-Sadat regime, but also within the two major centers of rightist opposition, the officer corps and the Muslim Brotherhood. The shaky power base that Sadat managed to patch together when he assumed the presidency after Nasser's death in September 1970 appears headed for fragmentation. The question is, What forces will be in position to pick up the pieces when it finally fractures?

The most recent wave of discontent in Egypt was triggered by the "resignation" in October of General Muhammed Ahmed Sadek. An old crony of Sadat's, Sadek had simultaneously held the posts of vice premier, minister of war, commander in chief of the armed forces, and minister of war production. A right-winger who played a key role in the May 1971 purge of left Nasserites from the government apparatus, Sadek is believed to have been a prime mover in Sadat's decision last July to expel most Soviet military advisers from Egypt.

Initial reports in the Western press suggested that Sadat had asked for Sadek's resignation in deference to the Kremlin. But it is now clear that Sadek's ouster and Sadat's attempt to mend fences with the Soviet bureaucracy were not causally related, but were both products of Egypt's worsening international position and consequent internal difficulties.

Sadat's expulsion of Soviet troops was at first popular in all sectors of Egyptian society. Leftist workers and students supported the move in the mistaken belief that the removal of Soviet restrictions on Egypt's armed forces would permit a more active anti-Zionist policy. The growing bourgeoisie and the upper strata of the officer corps saw the expulsion as a long overdue move toward rapprochement with U. S. imperialism.

But months after the Soviet departure nearly everyone had become dissatisfied with its results. Students at Cairo and Ain Shems Universities—centers of the upsurge that challenged the Sadat regime last January—began putting out leaflets denouncing the July turn as a prelude to a "shameful" peace with the Zionist state arranged under the auspices of the State Department.

At the same time, military leaders had concluded that withdrawal of advanced Soviet weaponry had seriously weakened Egypt's defensive capabilities without noticeably widening Sadat's maneuvering room in the diplomatic field.

Sadat's rebuff to the Kremlin produced no tangible response from the U. S. ruling class. No pressure was put on the Israeli regime to make concessions. Western European countries declined to supply Egypt with arms. According to the November 11 *Christian Science Monitor*, Sadek had been negotiating with Britain and France to secure credit purchases of an entire Western-supplied defense system based around the Anglo-French Jaguar fighter-plane. A definitive re-

jection from London and Paris dashed Sadat's hope of obtaining a weapons-supplier to replace the Soviet Union.

Sadat found Egyptian policy floating in a void. A partial break with the Kremlin had been made, but no concessions were forthcoming from the West. Hence the rapprochement with the Soviet bureaucracy.

The task of reestablishing closer relations fell to Premier Aziz Sidky, who, along with Foreign Minister Mourad Ghaleb and presidential adviser Hafez Ismail had opposed the timing of the July expulsion order. Sidky flew to Moscow October 16 for two days of discussions with Kremlin leaders. Haggling over the quantity, quality, and price of new Soviet weapons began.

The week following Sidky's visit, Sadek "resigned." His ouster set in motion an apparently sweeping purge of the armed forces—a process that can hardly be attributed solely to Kremlin demands that "anti-Soviet elements" be removed from top positions in the Egyptian army.

In appointing a new war minister, the most important post Sadek had held, Sadat passed over the logical candidate, Lieutenant General Saad el-Din Shaazli, a Sadek confidant. Instead, the position went to General Ahmed Ismail. Since May 1971, Ismail had been chief of intelligence, a job that entailed direct communication with Sadat, not with the army leadership. Ismail is consequently ill-regarded by officers, who consider him a presidential stooge. But he was nevertheless made both war minister and commander in chief of the armed forces. On October 28 Sadat replaced the chief of the navy, Rear Admiral Mahmoud Abdel Rahman Fahmy, another close associate of Sadek.

In the November 7 *Washington Post* correspondent Jim Hoagland wrote that "usually reliable sources" reported that the Sadat purge had also hit Lieutenant General Abdel Kadar Hassan, Sadek's deputy, and had gone as far down into the ranks as divisional and even brigade commanders. The removal of "key unit commanders," Hoagland commented, "looks to informed observers here [Cairo] as a move to forestall any coup attempt by Egypt's army."

There have been some indications that fear of a military coup represents not merely paranoia on Sadat's part. On September 23, according to

Le Monde correspondent Eric Rouleau, a battalion of soldiers stationed on the Suez front mutinied in protest against Sadat's passivity during massive Israeli raids on Lebanese civilians. The soldiers were disarmed by loyalists, and fifteen officers were said to have been arrested.

On October 12, an army captain and an undisclosed number of followers appeared, complete with military vehicles, at Cairo's Sidnaya Hussein mosque. The captain tried to stir a mass protest demanding immediate action to liberate the Sinai. He was arrested and officially described by the government as mentally deranged. But persistent rumors—not denied by the regime—say that he was court-martialed and shot, hardly a usual treatment for mental illness, even under Sadat.

These two incidents reflect a deep feeling of discontent among the ranks and lower officers of the armed forces. Under such conditions, the possibility that upper-level officers could demagogically use such sentiments to attack Sadat from the right is a real one.

Dissent in the army is paralleled by unrest among Egypt's 200,000 university students. "At the engineering faculty of Cairo's big Ain Shems University," John K. Cooley wrote in the November 13 *Christian Science Monitor*, "students wander in small groups, reading wall posters and excitedly discussing a student 'underground' press that is free and frank—unlike the self-censored newspapers and magazines of 'adult' Egyptians."

Three political tendencies appear to exist among the students, although largely in unorganized form—leftists, many of whom consider themselves Marxists; self-proclaimed Nasserites, who believe that Sadat has betrayed the principles of the "liberator"; and extreme rightists, whose most significant organization is the Muslim Brotherhood.

The resurgence of the latter outfit, which also has a large following in the army, is perhaps the most ominous feature of the current Egyptian political scene. During the Nasser years the group was banned; many of its members were jailed. One of Sadat's first moves upon taking power was to free them. A paramilitary group based on Islamic fundamentalism, the Brotherhood is believed to have 5,000 to 15,000 members. Its



SADAT: Looking for a port in the impending storm.

political appeal has risen recently in the wake of Sadat's announced policy of fusing Egypt with Libya, which is ruled by the pro-Brotherhood Muammar el-Qaddafi.

It is evident that the Brotherhood is making some headway. In the town of Khanka, near Cairo, churches belonging to the Coptic sect, which has more than five million members in Egypt, were attacked by crowds of Muslims on November 6 and 10. The November 16 *Le Monde* reported that a "little holy war" was being waged in the Nile delta by the Brotherhood, which appears to be mobilizing people not only through religious fanaticism but through anti-imperialist demagoguery as well. The Copts, the Brotherhood says, are agents of the Christian West. (This tactic corresponds to past actions of the Brotherhood, and also to its present agitation on the question of fighting Zionist aggression. One of the Brotherhood's slogans against the presence of Soviet troops in Egypt was: "Jerusalem will not be liberated with the arms of atheists.")

On November 14 Sadat addressed a special meeting of the Arab Socialist Union, the country's sole legal political party. He threatened that further domestic unrest would be severely

punished. It is clear that at the present time Sadat does not want to give the Brotherhood a free hand. The eruption of communal riots would not only endanger his rule from the right, but might also trigger leftist mobilizations of the student and trade-union movements.

But Sadat has consciously followed policies designed to bolster the rightist milieu upon which the Brotherhood rests: denationalization of corporations that had been nationalized under Nasser's reign, luring of foreign capital into Egypt, backtracking on social reforms, etc. The aim is to solidify a bourgeois regime that could prove its usefulness to imperialism.

The Soviet bureaucracy has more than demonstrated that it has no particular objections to such a development. The November 11 *New York Times* reported that the Kremlin had "recently" delivered about sixty advanced surface-to-air missiles to Sadat. The equipment concerned is the so-called SAM-6, the most highly developed weapon in the Soviet air-defense arsenal. The SAM-6 has a maximum altitude of 50,000 feet, and a minimum altitude of 100 feet. Lightning terror-raids such as are carried out by the Israeli air force generally involve low-flying bombers. In addition, the SAM-6 is mobile; it can be fired from flatbed vehicles.

The SAM-6s were delivered to Sadat amid great professions of friendship and solidarity. One wonders what the National Liberation Front or the North Vietnamese army could have done with such missiles.

But despite the assistance the Kremlin has granted Sadat, his position remains precarious. Economic, social, and political discontent has taken hold of virtually every social stratum. It is widely believed that the main reason Sadat has been able to retain power thus far is that neither the disorganized left nor the militarist right has succeeded in putting forward a credible alternative to the old wheeler-dealer. Such a situation can only be temporary, and in the meantime, the rope around the camel's neck grows shorter. □

Ju Ar Stil Lusers

The tone of the recent elections to the West German Bundestag was reportedly more "American" than in past years. One example: a Christian Democrat button that read "Ai Laik CDU."

'Normalization' Meant the End of Culture

[The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party met in Prague October 26-27. It adopted the presidium's report on the party's ideological tasks as presented by Vasil Bilak. "The counterrevolutionary forces have been overcome by political means," Bilak said, according to a report in the November 3 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*—a reference to the ideological tendencies that developed during the 1968 Prague Spring. Bilak added that these forces are struggling to survive and are trying to "harm the socialist system and prepare the ground for a comeback as soon as the opportunity presents itself, with the aid of capitalist forces abroad and of various careerist and opportunist elements at home."

[Bilak also reportedly called for "systematically strengthening the authority of the repressive bodies" in order to protect the system from its foreign and domestic enemies.

[Persons allegedly given to "revisionism and opportunism" came under sharp attack during the Central Committee session, according to an Agence France-Presse report in the November 4 *Le Monde*. The "most virulent" attacks, to judge from extracts published in the Czechoslovak CP's organ *Rude Pravo*, came from Jan Kozak, president of the new Writers' Union, and Frantisek Tesar, secretary of the party committee for Eastern Bohemia.

[Tesar called for a "consistent purge" of "all those who persist in their mistaken positions" and criticized the fact that "certain politically discredited authors" are still able, by using pseudonyms, to translate or write adaptations of plays and thus collect royalties. He demanded that "all those who have been excluded from the field of culture and socialist art . . . no longer be allowed to work in this area unless they undergo an honest self-criticism."

[A certain moderation in the field of culture was called for by the Slovak minister of culture, Miroslav Valek, and the president of the federal assembly, Alois Indra. Valek deplored the fact that "still today," in what he considered nevertheless "isolated" cases, "certain comrades are rejected

for futile reasons such as, for example, the color of their eyes or because they have a different opinion from ours on how to solve problems." He stated his view that "a difference of opinion is not a fault in itself. What is a fault is not knowing how to choose the better of two opinions and, out of a desire to hurry things along, to go from revolutionary action to revolutionary phraseology."

[Indra, for his part, called for "a nuanced and sensitive attitude toward the intelligentsia, but of course only toward those who deserve it and without letting anyone view it as a weakness on the part of the party."

[The following letter deals with the current situation facing intellectuals inside Czechoslovakia under the period of "normalization" that was inaugurated with the Soviet invasion in August 1968. It was published in the November 3 issue of *Le Monde* and was written by a "Czech personality whose name we cannot reveal for obvious reasons of security." The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The situation is truly disheartening, but different from the way it was previously. Little by little we are learning what happened to those who were arrested in the spring and then released without trial. They all underwent one or two weeks of very severe interrogation, with bright lights shining in their eyes for entire nights, etc. As a form of psychological pressure, they were immediately made to wear a prisoner's uniform. One after another they were questioned in detail, and then freed. From time to time, they are picked up and questioned again.

There is no need to again bring up the trials of last summer, except perhaps to say that the number of persons imprisoned throughout the entire country—most with sentences of under three years—is well above the number who received sentences this summer. But they are destroying people in a quite different way from that

used in the 1950s—and with methods that are probably more effective.

For example, in the publishing houses they are still checking up on the files of the personnel. For three years, no literary magazine was published. The members of the new Writers' Union have, after several attempts, just had the first issue of a monthly of little interest published. Thus, Vohryzek, the critic and translator of Nordic literature, finds himself picking up the mail from mailboxes during one half of the day, and his wife does it during the other half. The writer Jindriska Smetanova is working as a gardener in the suburbs; the educator Kostroun, former head of the cultural department of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party, is digging trenches for the future subway; the writer Jaroslav Putik is a manual laborer. Many intellectuals are being supported by their wives, while they still remain at home and try to write. In short, people are scraping along. Professor Drozda, who taught Soviet literature at Charles University, is employed as a bookkeeper in an agricultural cooperative; the editors of the literary review *Tvar* (whose guiding light was the playwright Vaclav Havel) are moulding rubber toys; the poet Kabes is a night watchman.

What characterizes the situation is that a delayed-reaction blow is now being felt. Last year, everybody thought the worst was over. Then, this spring, it all started up again more furiously than before: New "checks" were carried out in all enterprises, usually resulting in the firing of non-party-members.

Long lists of those with whom it is forbidden to work have been drawn up. Shelves are overflowing with dozens, even hundreds, of titles destined, from all appearances, to be turned into pulp. Certain names must not even be seen anywhere. It is even difficult, for instance, to republish Fadeyev's *Young Guard* because Serbe Machonin, former theater critic for *Literarni Noviny*, had a hand in translating it.

The situation differs from that of the 1950s in that the majority has been affected. Last Spring, all the collaborators of the cultural institutions were "entered on cards." All the authors in publishing houses and theaters received very detailed questionnaires; so did translators, it ap-

pears. They had to state any changes in their political affiliation since 1945 and the organizations they have belonged to. In some enterprises, even past family members were "checked" in the same way. The minister of culture then took charge of eliminating dozens of "cards." On the back of each is a space reserved for noting each contract and its date, which makes it possible for a "coordinating official" to draw up tables indicating how much each person earns, whom he works for mostly, etc. All to prevent banned authors from being able to work under assumed names.

All activity in the field of culture has been placed in the hands of persons who are taking out their own problems on others and settling accounts.

A new director named Kolumek has just taken up his duties in one of the biggest publishing houses, Odeon. No one knows him. He appears to be a sculptor. His only work, it seems, is a statue—not very good, moreover—of Marshal Eremenko. He was working more in the party apparatus in Ostrava. He was quite astonished to see so many people working in a publishing house. The party official who brought about his appointment told him by way of consolation: "On the whole, it's as though you were going from a tobacco shop to the big Skoda factory."

It is hard to imagine the censorship that prevails. And we thought we were in hell in the 1950s! Entire paragraphs have been removed from books, and afterwords completely cut out because of a single word; most of the time it does no good because the book is confiscated anyway. Everything in the classics that might be considered an allusion to the present situation is removed without embarrassment. Herman Hesse's *Steppenwolf* was confiscated because the author's antifascism could not be proved convincingly enough; Franz Werfel's *The Forty Days* because the author is Jewish. A book by Saroyan met the same fate because of a phrase alluding to the "Georgian tyrant." Also a scientific edition of the Koran with an explanatory introduction of a hundred pages. As well as a biography of Cervantes, because of the suspicion (incorrect) that the preface had been written by Professor Vaclav Cerny.

There is one unique and fantastic case in the history of Czech publishing—that of a volume of selections from the work of Edgar Allan Poe, a sizable edition published by the Friends of Poetry Club. The members of the club consulted each other at some length first because the preface had been written by the poet Vaclav Holub, "proscribed" for having been one of the authors of the famous "two thousand words" appeal in July 1968. As a matter of fact, if the book were to be seized, the members of the club could withdraw their membership and bring about the collapse of the publishing house. Moreover, a number of the translations in the same volume had been done by other "proscribed" authors. In the end, the volume came out without any names; the book had been put out all by itself.

Not long ago, the writer Milan Kundera (author of *The Joke*, which has been banned from publication) went to the publishing house of the Writers' Union to see somebody on personal business. The present director, Ivan Skala, noticed him and sent an employee to show him out with the following explanation: "Sir, leave this building. People like you have nothing to do in publishing. Never will either."

Everyone stays home. It is no longer possible to get together as before in cafes, clubs, or publishing houses. One doesn't use the telephone for fear of having a "state ear" listening in. The situation is such that it is enough, for example, to have been seen on Narodni Avenue with one of the "proscribed" to find oneself on the blacklist. All anyone is hoping for is to survive. It's the only word you hear repeated everywhere. Survive. Only, the fact is that many are dying. Heart failure, most often. And among the young people there are many suicides.

A few more words on the new Writers' Union and its "congress." First of all, in order to join, one had to present a report condemning or denouncing one of the "counterrevolutionaries." All things considered, most had to present this homework in writing since there was no time for all of them to read what they had produced during the brief sessions. The fact is that the Writers' Union led by the poet Jaroslav Seifert no longer exists: There is no continuity between this old union and the new body. The

latter consists of desperate persons, small-time cheaters, and a few informers. The membership list of the new union has never been published.

What motivates those who make up the "new union"? Above all, these are people who came under criticism during the 1968 Spring and who could clearly see that their guaranteed "place in the sun" was a thing of the past. These people are the most zealous because they know that under normal circumstances no one would pay any attention to them. Certain persons in this category have nevertheless refused to join in—the popular artist Jarmila Glazarova, for example. During the 1968 Spring, she had publicly stated that she was ashamed of what she had written about the trials of the 1950s; and this is considered a "betrayal" on her part. From time to time, out of charity, one of her old books is republished, but her name is not allowed to appear in the CP organ *Rude Pravo*.

Finally, there are the "old-timers," who are afraid of losing their pensions, their apartments, and various privileges. Some are scheduled to retire in two or three years. Many are dying. Thus the membership of the new union is in constant decline, since more of its members are dying than there are new ones joining. Overall, nothing has changed: Everyone who is collaborating today was already collaborating two years ago.

Not too long ago even, the situation was better in Slovakia. The Writers' Union had not been wiped out there. But for some time now, a noticeable hardening has been taking place. The split between Czechs and Slovaks has reached a level never before attained—at least among intellectuals. In Prague, people talk about Slovaks without making any distinctions between them, saying they are traitors, that they are an underdeveloped people, that only a few stood firm. The Slovaks, for their part, damn Prague, saying that the Czechs brought about a setback for everybody with their radicalism.

Still, the small number of opportunists, and the admirable way people are responding must be pointed out. There are translators, for instance, who, although they are deprived of any resources, refuse to work on books that were already

translated earlier by someone who is now "proscribed."

But clouds are gathering. According to the latest rumors, the authorities are getting ready to remove from bookstores and second-hand bookshops not only works by "proscribed" authors, but by translators and authors of prefaces or commentaries as well. This would be crazy, "Orwellian," but the authorities are quite capable of doing it. It is all the same to them if they destroy cultural values for no other reason than that, say, such and such a classical French work was translated by Antonin Liehm.

Torpor reigns in the theaters, in the publishing houses—everywhere. Any initiative of any kind, wherever it may occur, is considered suspect and undesirable. No one in high places values initiative: Works are turned down because they are known, or because they are not known. And so those who make the decisions stick to the classics and, at best, to revivals

they can be sure of, or to reprints.

We often have the impression that what is happening is the end of culture. It is certainly not an exaggeration to speak, as they do in the West, of the genocide of a popular culture. All evidence shows that the leaders want to let things rot in the present state for seven or eight years, let part of this generation die, and then corrupt some of the youth.

There are also problems with the authors in neighboring states. Thus, writing in *Rude Pravo*, Jan Kliment attacked the Hungarian director Miklos Jancso's *Red Psalm*, which had been scheduled to appear this summer in the Karlovy-Vary Festival. According to this newspaper, Jancso is taking a bad road: This is the way all the Menzels, Schorms, etc., who became in the final analysis the leaders of the counterrevolution here, started out. Let's hope that Jancso will not have to pay as high a price for having displeased Prague. □

● The trial of three schoolboys in the Ivano-Frankivsk region following an incident where the school children tore up portraits of prominent party and government officials in the town center. Two of the boys were from the eighth grade; one was from the seventh.

Marderovyitch, an eighth-grader, explained his actions at the trial as a protest against Russification and Great-Russian chauvinism. He claimed his actions were also intended to be a protest against the recent arrival of Russian bureaucrats who took all the top posts in his village. The boys received suspended sentences, but Marderovyitch's father was dismissed from his job in reprisal.

● The rearrest at the end of April of Anatoly Lupynic, who while serving his first prison sentence launched a *two-year* hunger strike against the cruel treatment of political prisoners, and the lack of democratic liberties in the USSR. During the two-year period Lupynic was kept in a hospital and was force-fed. He stopped his hunger strike shortly before he was due to be released. As a result of the two-year strike, Lupynic became an invalid.

The record of arrests, tortures, and intimidations contained in Number 6 of the *Herald* is a sad commentary on the nationalities policy of the Soviet bureaucracy. It is particularly sad this year—the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the USSR as a federation of republics. As the bureaucrats have sat on podiums listening to themselves lie about the "definitive resolution of the nationalities question in the USSR," the KGB this year has been working overtime carrying out the most sweeping campaign of repression since Stalin's death, directed against those forces in Ukraine who stand by the original conception of a real and equal federation of republics.

To remind the Ukrainian population in this year of mass arrests that they live in "the best of all possible worlds," the official Ukrainian press has been filled with articles of the sort that appeared in the November 3 issue of *Radian'ska Ukraina*, in which some grim hack writes:

"Our society is socialist, internationalist, the most just in the world; it is the kind of society the world's noblest sons have dreamt about; it

Bureaucracy Fails to Stamp Out the 'Herald'

New Issue of Dissident Ukrainian Journal

By Ted Harding

Despite the extensive efforts of the Soviet secret police (KGB) to liquidate all unofficial publications, the latest issue of the *Ukrainian Herald* (*Ukrainsky Vysnyk*), the underground publication of the Ukrainian oppositional movement, began to circulate early in September. According to emigre press reports, the latest *Herald*, Number 6, has achieved a much wider readership than the previous issues.

The *Herald* is the Ukrainian equivalent of the Russian-language *Chronicle of Current Events*. It reports the activities of the Ukrainian dissident movement, and the measures taken against it by Soviet authorities.

The latest issue of the *Herald*, excerpts of which have appeared in an emigre newspaper in Paris (*Ukrain'ske Slovo*), is primarily devoted to the mass arrests and searches that took place all across Ukraine between January and March 1972 as a result of a decision by high party officials to put an end to the produc-

tion and circulation of underground literature. The issue also contains new material about the case of Valentyn Moroz, sentenced to nine years imprisonment and five years of exile in 1971, and the memoirs of M. Soroka about conditions in Stalinist concentration camps.

Special attention is also given to the latest pronouncement of Dadenkov, minister of higher and specialist education in the Ukrainian republic, who accused wide layers of the Ukrainian working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia—in effect, the entire Ukrainian population—of nationalist deviations.

Other items reported in Number 6 of the *Herald* include:

● A report on the torture methods used by the Rovenschina region KGB during their investigation of political prisoners.

● The suicide of a Lviv sugar-combine worker, Labinskyj, after he had been threatened by the head of the factory party organization.

is the dream of the workers around the world." Unfortunately for the bureaucracy the Ukrainian opposition

has succeeded in producing Number 6 of the *Herald*, which paints an altogether different picture. □

tivities of a Belgian tourist named Dobosch, have not been tried as yet, for lack of evidence. They refused to corroborate Dobosch's "confession" and remain in prison.

And finally, another Ukrainian, V. Zakharenko, has been expelled from the Writer's Union for political activity.

The repression of individuals is part of a concerted drive by the party bureaucracy to reassert its hegemony over Soviet society. Articles in the Soviet Ukrainian press have stressed the need for ideological buttressing in all branches of the creative arts, sciences, and humanities. Countless party plenums have stressed the need for a higher level of ideological reliability of party cadres in connection with the approaching exchange of party cards — a method the top bureaucracy uses for purging "unreliable" elements from its lower echelons. □

Harsh Sentences Imposed

New Arrests in Ukraine Reported

From Kiev and Lviv prisons in Ukraine news has reached the West that torture and beatings are being used during the interrogation of political prisoners arrested since the mid-January KGB (Soviet secret police) swoop. (*Ukrain'ske Slovo*, October 29.) KGB Major Halkyj is reported as one of the most brutal secret police interrogators.

Recent reports from Ukrainian dissident circles mention that a second wave of arrests was initiated in August. The first wave of arrests began in mid-January as a result of a decision taken by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party to stamp out samizdat.

According to the dissident circles, hundreds have been taken to the KGB headquarters for questioning relating to the production and circulation of samvydav — Ukrainian for samizdat. Scores have been detained. The KGB has apparently launched an intensive search for the latest issue (number six) of the *Ukrainian Herald*.

One Kiev writer is reported as saying, "This raging KGB violence is the worst seen in Ukraine since Stalin's time. . . . How many victims will the nation have to sacrifice in order to survive yet another difficult period?"

The sentences imposed on several more of the hundred or so persons arrested by security organs since mid-January have become known. These are:

● Vasyl Stus, a poet, received a sentence of seven years imprisonment and five years exile—a savage sentence for a charge of "circulating known falsehoods derogatory to the Soviet state and social system."

Those charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" were:

● Myhaylo Osadchy, thirty-six, a talented journalist and writer, sentenced to seven years imprisonment and five years of exile. (Osadchy has already spent two years in concen-

tration camps as a result of his arrest in 1966.)

● Dr. Slava Hlushan, sentenced to seven years imprisonment and three years of exile.

● Lydia Seredniak, nineteen, sentenced to a one-year term in a concentration camp.

Dissident circles also report that V. Chornovil, E. Sverstiuk, and I. Svitlychny, whom the KGB hoped to connect with the so-called espionage ac-

Buckshot Fired at Protesters

Louisiana Cops Kill Two Black Students

Louisiana state police, seeking to suppress demonstrations on the Baton Rouge, Louisiana, campus of Southern University, murdered two students on November 16.

For several weeks, students at the all-Black school had been boycotting classes in support of demands for on-campus medical facilities, expanded Black studies programs, improved transportation to the campus, the right to audit financial records, and the resignation of the university president, Dr. G. Leon Netterville. Demonstrators occupied the administration building from October 30 to November 10, when several of their demands, including amnesty for participants in the protest, were granted. Students United, which organized the demonstration, voted to continue boycotting classes until all demands were granted.

On November 16, students reported, Netterville asked for a meeting with Students United in his office. During the meeting, which was attended by more than 200 persons, Netterville asked to be excused, promising to return shortly.

Edwin E. Edwards, governor of

Louisiana, later claimed that Netterville called the sheriff's office, asking state police to clear the building.

Hundreds of heavily armed state police invaded the campus. The students were ordered to disperse and tear gas was fired into the administration building. As the students filed out, the police opened fire, killing two twenty-year-old students, Denver Smith and Leonard Douglas Brown.

At first, police officials and Governor Edwards sought to deny all responsibility for the killings. Police denied using bullets and claimed that the students were killed by "shrapnel." But a coroner's report revealed that the students were struck by buckshot from shotguns like those the police were carrying. Governor Edwards then admitted the youths "may" have been killed by a policeman who "accidentally" used buckshot instead of tear gas.

Netterville has denied asking state police to intervene, attributing this request to an anonymous campus cop.

The murders sparked demonstrations of protest on many U.S. campuses. □

Educational Crisis Hits Dominican Republic

A strike by professors in the Dominican Republic and mounting unrest in the university are confronting the Joaquín Balaguer regime with a serious crisis in education.

Dominican students reacted with anger to a decision by the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo (USAD—Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo) to expel some 200 students of the University College, according to a United Press International dispatch in the November 10 issue of the New York Spanish-language *El Diario-La Prensa*. The university's application of a controversial 1969 regulation on student expulsions was denounced by students as a deliberate attempt to undercut their struggle to force the government to allocate 5 percent of the national budget to the needs of the USAD. This would be approximately double the present amount.

By November 15, it was announced that the number of expelled students had increased to 520, according to a UPI dispatch in the November 16 *El Diario*. A spokesman for the university rector indicated that this figure could go even higher.

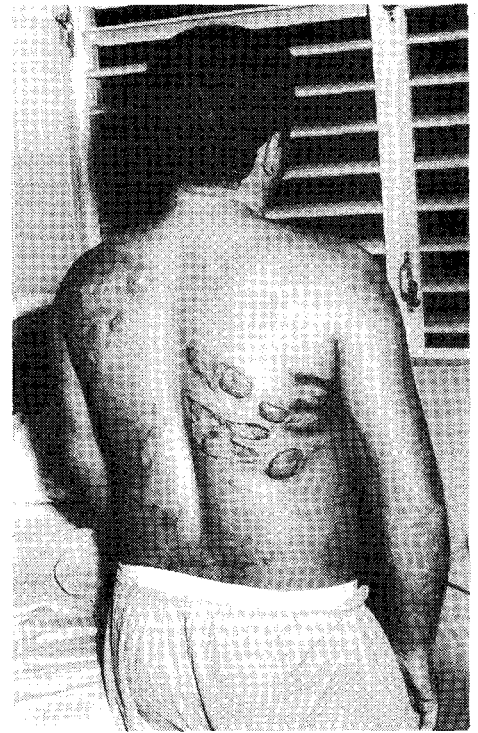
The unpopular expulsion regulation, noted the weekly news summary in the Santo Domingo *El Caribe* November 11, "applies to students who do not justify the efforts of the university to endow them with higher

education." It provides for two forms of expulsion: temporary and permanent. Temporary expulsion lasts for at least one semester and is intended to give the student a chance, in the words of the regulation, to acquire "real intellectual maturity."

On top of this situation came a strike by professors November 13 that paralyzed all public schools in the Dominican Republic's second largest city, Santiago de los Caballeros, and most of the schools in the northeastern part of the country. By the end of the week, teachers in Puerto Plata and two other cities in the interior had joined the strike, and the Dominican Professors Association (ADP—Asociación Dominicana de Profesores) was calling the strike "a complete success." A spokesman for the Association refused to say whether there were plans to extend the strike to the rest of the country, including Santo Domingo.

The striking professors are demanding a salary increase, a wage scale guaranteed by law, and allocation of thirty percent of public expenditures to education. They are also supporting the demand of the USAD students for an increase in the university's budget.

As the professors began their strike, Balaguer named a new secretary of education to his cabinet, Altagracia Bautista de Suárez, and charged her with the task of resolving the crisis. □



Evidence of torture in Balaguer's prisons is engraved on body of Radhames Méndez Vargas. Wounds were inflicted in 1971.

Hora reported November 7 that it had received a letter from one of the leaders of the Movimiento Popular Dominicano (MPD—Dominican Popular Movement), Rafael (Fafa) Taveras, comparing La Victoria to the most notorious prison of the Trujillo era, the "Prison of the 40." Taveras, it explained, "is qualified to judge and make comparisons because he has been in both."

"Although it is true that the use of torture did not begin with this government [that of Balaguer]," Taveras wrote, "it has developed its criminal heritage to unsuspected levels. The highest point since the death of Trujillo was reached in 1971, under the leadership of the highest-ranking general in our armed forces—a fact that indicates how deeply rooted such procedures are in the repressive mechanisms of the government."

When Pérez y Pérez took office in January 1971, Taveras charged, the country reverted to the way things were in the final days of the Trujillo dictatorship, and the prisons became a "pulverizing machine in which the repression of the streets was continued."

The Trujillo prison, Taveras re-

Just as Bad as Under Trujillo

New Reports of Torture in Balaguer's Jails

Confronted with recent, chilling confirmation of the use of torture in Dominican prisons, the secretary of the interior and the police, Major General Enrique Pérez y Pérez dismissed the reports as "fairy tales." The reports included gruesome photographs of the wounds sustained by Radhames Méndez Vargas in La Victoria national prison last year.

Méndez Vargas told the press about

his experiences on October 29. He "described in great detail the orgies that leading officials of the institution carried out against the prisoners on April 24 and 28 and May 7 and 8, 1971," according to a report in the October 30 issue of the Santo Domingo daily *El Nacional*. Torture is especially used in the case of persons accused of political or "terrorist" acts.

The Santo Domingo daily *Ultima*

called, was one in which a dozen years ago, hundreds of young people were tortured with methods ranging from the use of electric shocks to stoning. The only difference between then and now, he said, is that while torture under Trujillo was intended to elicit confessions for deeds not committed, in La Victoria "the purpose of torture is sadism and bestiality—not to break the victim's will or wring out a confession, but political revenge and hatred for defenseless and imprisoned men."

Describing torture in La Victoria, Taveras noted: "But in addition to communists, the torture machinery came down upon democratic prisoners, women, and even some foreign prisoners. They were not satisfied with physical mistreatment. They also resorted to this most cruel hoax: Homosexuals were compelled to have relations in public and then afterwards they were beaten."

Following each use of torture, "citric acid and salt were applied to the backs of the victims in order to intensify their pain."

One similarity between the use of torture under Trujillo and today under Balaguer, Traveras concluded, is that in both cases the torturers have gone scot-free. □

'Extremists' Worry Cornish Nationalists

"Mebyon Kernow [Sons of Cornwall—the conservative Cornish nationalist organization, which has reportedly included some county councilmen in the old Celtic area at the southwest tip of Britain] are attacking a plan by the Greater London Council [GLC] to house retired Londoners in Cornwall," reported an article in the October 13 *Welsh Nation*, the English-language organ of Plaid Cymru [the Welsh Nationalist party]. "Already the G. L. C. has bought land—at a record price—in Cornwall for this purpose."

"A Mebyon Kernow spokesman said, 'London's problem is that house prices in London are too high for housing London elderly. Cornwall's problem is that land prices are too high for housing Cornish people of any age. This ill-judged step will have little effect on London with its 8,000,000 inhabitants—it could have a disastrous effect on 375,000 Cornish.'"

"Mebyon Kernow is committed to constitutional action but already the extremists are breathing down our necks. When will the English ever learn?" □

Argentine Activist Speaks in U.S. Cities

USLA Tour Meets With Good Response

Despite harassment by U.S. immigration authorities which delayed the start of a North American speaking tour for Daniel Zadunaisky, activist in the movement to defend Argentine political prisoners, initial tour stops have been highly successful.

The trip is being organized by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) to inform people about the torture and assassination that are a routine part of the treatment of political dissidents in Argentina.

In Boston, a substitute speaker addressed approximately 250 people at meetings covered by one television and four radio stations. He was reported by the *Boston Evening Globe*, the major daily of that city, to have "accused the government of General Alejandro A. Lanusse of a planned program of intimidation affecting poor people, workers and students."

In New York a total of thirteen campus meetings were organized as well as one community meeting that was sponsored by several Puerto Rican groups.

Reports from Chicago indicated that many previously inactive people have endorsed the work of USLA following the meetings held there.

In Denver, the first place Zadunaisky spoke, there was an assembly at the all-Chicano school operated by the Crusade for Justice. The students drafted a statement of support to Argentine political prisoners that read in part: "We, the students of Escuela Tlatelolco, share the same struggle with our brothers and sisters in Argentina and the bronze continent. With our effort here we hope to leave an impact all over the nation for a better understanding and awareness of what U.S. imperialism is doing all over Latin America. We are oppressed too, and because we live in the belly of the shark, our actions that we take here will benefit your struggle because the Chicano people are taking a stand on every level of oppression."

In Portland, Oregon, both major daily newspapers covered the tour. The *Oregon Journal* quoted Zadunaisky as saying that the repression in Argentina is not as bad as it was

a few years ago in part because of protests from abroad.

The high point of Zadunaisky's stop in Seattle was his greetings to a group of 200 Chicanos who had occupied an abandoned school.

Zadunaisky is currently in California and will go on to Minneapolis before returning East to complete his tour. □

Swedish Maoists Put Feet in Mouth

"On October 26, the student union at Umea [in northern Sweden] organized a public debate somewhat misleadingly entitled 'Marxism or Trotskyism,'" the November issue of the Swedish Trotskyist paper *Mullvaden* reported.

In one of the most remote areas of Sweden, this rather ponderously titled lecture drew an audience of 400, apparently expecting a sharper than usual political debate.

The Maoist speaker, Kurt Wickman from the KFML (Kommunistiska Forbund Marxist-Leninisterna—Marxist-Leninist Communist League), is the author of a book also entitled *Marxism eller Trotskism?* ("Marxism or Trotskyism?"), a compendium of Stalinist slanders of Moscow-trial vintage, plus a few touches of local color. For example, Wickman stresses the non-Swedish names of some of the leading members of the RMF (Revolutionare Marxistforbund—Revolutionary Marxist League, the Swedish sympathizing organization of the Fourth International), which are written in the author's own phonetics.

The Trotskyist speaker was Kenth-Ake Andersson, the author of an answer to Wickman, entitled *Lagnens Renassans* ("The Renaissance of the Lie").

The tone of Wickman's book seemed to promise a rather colorful confrontation. But the audience was disappointed, according to *Mullvaden*. "Wickman lost himself in a myriad of evasions, refusing to answer any concrete questions. . . . He was clear on only one point. He took back the criticism of the RMF in the last part of the book and said that he was now disassociating himself from the KFML's policy on all major points. After the speakers' presentations, another Maoist "specialist" on Trotskyism, Martin Fahlgren of the MLK, renounced all his own criticisms of the Fourth International in the past as "rubbish" and advised Wickman to do the same.

The Belgian Student Movement on the Offensive

Direct Action Against the Government

[*Intercontinental Press* has translated the following editorial from the October 27 issue of the Belgian weekly *La Gauche*, organ of the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs [Revolutionary Workers League], the Belgian section of the Fourth International. It deals with the implications of a student upsurge against new government measures concerning Belgian education (the Claes-Hurez measures) which were instituted this fall.

[The new measures are aimed at: 1) making the university system profitable by raising tuition and fees and cutting down on research not directly related to the needs of industry; 2) reducing the number of students by raising fees and instituting state examinations—including French exams—to eliminate many foreign students and others who cannot pass the tests; 3) educating students in technical fields required by industry through forced courses of study.

[These measures, imposed on all universities at once, gave rise to a nationwide movement against the government that has expanded to involve scientific researchers, professors, and high-school students.

[On October 14 representatives from universities throughout Belgium formed a National Student Front to carry on a struggle against the Claes-Hurez measures. On October 17 students in many cities held a "day of action" against the measures, including mass meetings, boycotts of classes, and demonstrations of 3,000 in Brussels and 2,000 in Liège. On October 25 8,000 university and high-school students and researchers took part in a national demonstration called by the National Student Front. Another nationwide demonstration has been called for November 14 in Brussels to launch a student strike against the government measures.]

* * *

Belgian universities are again the scene of a movement of struggle: strikes, classes on topics of concern to students, students taking the floor

during classes, street demonstrations, strike committees. . .

The movement—four years after the upsurge of May 1968—is unquestionably deeper, more deliberate, more serious. In a very short time all universities joined in the struggle, the large ones (Brussels, Leuven, Louvain, Ghent, Liège) as well as the small ones (Gembloux, Mons, Antwerp, etc. . .).

It is not only students. Although less noisy because they are less numerous, the researchers and assistants, technical and administrative personnel, have been part of the movement from the beginning.

What is this struggle about?

At first glance, it concerns above all the increase in tuition (which tripled and rose to 6,000 francs [approximately \$134]), and other fees that have been announced and have attracted the attention of "public opinion." From there, it is easy to see this deterioration of the material situation in the universities as directly connected with the government's budgetary difficulties. But it is not simply a question of money—neither for the big capitalists and their government, nor for the advancing wing of the student movement.

Much more fundamental issues are involved:

- The place of the university in capitalist society.

- The role played by the student movement in the general class struggle.

It is clear that both these questions are related to the workers' movement; no conscious worker can ignore such questions without confining his own struggle within the factory walls and limiting his political vision to strictly "union and worker" matters.

Fundamentally what is happening is the transformation of the "classic," "liberal" university—the university standing apart from society and above social conflict, educating the "elite," the "great administrators" of capitalist society—into a *technocratic university*, integrated into modern industrial society, tied by a thousand threads and at all levels to major

industry. Into a university that must be a highly specialized technical school turning out the "cadres" and "managers" of neocapitalism.

This transformation does not happen in a single blow. It is an entire, complex social process extending into many areas: administration, finance, content and form of studies, scientific research, teaching, and teacher training. What makes this change explosive is that it takes place in a society divided into social classes, a society whose anarchic functioning (based on the principles of profit, of the market, and of competition) affects all human activity.

University planning within a democratically planned society (that is, a socialist society) would pose only technical problems. But under capitalism the transformation of the university is based on an insoluble contradiction. The bourgeoisie is in critical need of a technocratic university for its industry (and for its social-political system), but it is not ready to pay the price. While there is private appropriation of the fruits of the university (research, skilled workers), the bourgeoisie calls for socialization of the costs. On this point, what a remarkable resemblance there is to the operation of the economy!

This contradiction is insurmountable under a capitalist regime because it is tied directly to the ownership of the means of production and the power of the monopolies. The contradiction immediately has grave consequences, subordinating the university to the exigencies of the capitalist economy.

First there is the drive to make the university profitable, which demands immediate "results" at the lowest price.

Certainly the workers movement is not a proponent of waste! But what leads to waste is the drive for profitability in the capitalist system—profitability that is tied to the fluctuations of the market, to the contradictory interests of the various capitalist trusts, to the unforeseeable changes in the economic structure of a region and of a country. It leads to waste because the need for profitability cannot determine from objective criteria the real needs of a society, in terms of qualifications, hiring (in the university), scientific research, cultural policy, skilled labor. . .

This situation is aggravated by the well-known opposition of Belgian mo-

nopoly capitalists to innovation. Belgian capital has tried and is still trying to make up for its slow growth in relation to the international bourgeoisie, but at the same time it has imposed budgetary restrictions on its government.

From this results a selection and a forced class orientation.

Here again, let us be clear. At first glance it is "obvious" that it is impossible for everyone to have a university education in the subject of his choice.

For us, this is not obvious. There is nothing to disprove that everyone would be capable of university studies in a society that encouraged the physical and psychological flowering of human beings. And the immediate utility of such studies for production is not a criterion for us. The demand for prolongation of schooling, which the workers' movement has always fought for, comes from exactly the same conception. For the intellectual and cultural elevation of the population in turn promotes progress for all of society.

This selection is doubly unjust. In addition to social selection ("democratization" of education, when only 10 percent of working-class children attend universities, is a myth), education under capitalism also imposes a political-economic selection, which directs studies (content, form, duration) according to the short-term needs of the labor market and of technological progress.

The student movement is challenging the subordination of the university to capitalist industry.

It is struggling against the technocratic university but not in defense of the "liberal" university. It is fighting against the university of today and of yesterday, for the university of tomorrow—that of a socialist society. As the workers have done in the factories and in the capitalist economy in general, the student movement refuses to subordinate its demands and its fully justified aspirations to the economic, social, political, or financial demands of the capitalist class.

Like the workers' movement, the student movement is fighting to defend its independence from the capitalist class and government as well as from the academic authorities (who try to use the movement for corporatist ends).

The student movement is not cor-

poratist; it does not call for the maintenance or extension of its privileges. It rejects capitalist logic and organizes its struggle accordingly.

Thus the student movement has a profoundly anticapitalist dynamic, even if only a small student vanguard presently understands this and is consciously trying to link up with the workers' movement and the working class.

Although the student movement is capable of defeating the government on its immediate demands (fees, exams, etc.), it is impossible for it to achieve complete democratization of education in the framework of the capitalist system, or to institute a sort of "socialist" university within capitalism, or to build socialism starting from the university.

Argentina

Police Raid Three PSA Headquarters

At the end of October and the beginning of November, the latest in a long series of attacks on the Argentine Socialist party (PSA—Partido Socialista Argentino) occurred when police raided three of its headquarters. On October 31, according to the November 8 issue of the PSA's weekly, *Avanzada Socialista*, the police entered the Villa Lugano center and left without seizing anything. On November 2, the Florida headquarters received its second visit from the police. "This time they were in uniform, unlike the group in civilian dress that broke in two months ago, made off with personal and party effects, and mistreated and insulted two compañeros," *Avanzada Socialista* stated.

On the same day, a group claiming to be acting under orders from a judge (the judge in question emphatically denied issuing such an order) occupied the Beccar headquarters and arrested twenty-eight party members who arrived during the afternoon. Among those arrested was the party's national counsel, Jorge Luis González. The homes of those arrested were also raided, and in some cases personal effects were confiscated. Some have since been fired from their jobs.

The Beccar incident, according to *Avanzada Socialista*, "exceeds the out-

But the most radical students take a long view; they look toward socialism.

This is why, beyond their immediate preoccupations, the student vanguard is trying to unite with the working class. First, by creating a new revolutionary workers' organization, notably, the Revolutionary Workers League. But also, if the student struggle progresses, by forcing the doors of the university open to the working class, and by creating at the university a center of agitation, propaganda, and action in the class struggle.

Thus the student movement will constitute a second front in addition to the workers' front in the class struggle against capitalism.

This second front is now taking the offensive through direct action. □

rages previously carried out against other headquarters (the centers in Flores, Núñez, Rosario, and Córdoba). The police moved against a recently opened headquarters, the address of which is included in the list published by our newspaper and whose opening had been announced to the very commissariat that subsequently raided it. Since the police were unable to come up with any 'evidence' capable of justifying their action, they gave the press a frivolous story about an alleged stronghold of 'extremists' where 'documents were falsified' and 'clandestine meetings' held. These fairy tales have been refuted by the very fact that the police were forced to release our compañeros twenty-four hours after they were arbitrarily taken into custody." □

21 Jailed in Spain

Twenty-one persons in the area of Málaga in southern Spain received prison sentences October 21 because they were suspected of being members of the Communist party, according to an Agence France-Presse dispatch from Madrid in the November 2 issue of *Le Monde*. Their sentences, handed down by a Madrid tribunal, ranged from one to sixteen years in prison. □

Repression Hits Students, Workers

By Antero Nanhaya

Manila

Repression continues to intensify under Ferdinand Marcos's martial-law regime. Military tribunals have been established, superseding the court system, with jurisdiction in all cases except civil litigation. They are empowered to conduct summary proceedings in which no formal investigation is necessary.

The possession of firearms is punishable by execution by firing squad. Although news of such executions has not been published, firing squads have already claimed some victims.

The house-to-house searches now being conducted are reminiscent of the years of Japanese occupation during World War II. The nightly curfew remains in force, and any gathering of more than three persons may be forcibly dispersed.

Most schools have been permitted to reopen after a massive purge of faculty and students. All members of radical organizations have been automatically dismissed. In some schools, such as the Philippine College of Commerce, this meant the firing of large portions of the administrative staff and faculty and dropping a majority of the students. Uniformed police and plainclothes agents are stationed in all school buildings and those who enter without official identification cards pinned on their chests are arrested.

Employees can be fired for any of thirty reasons listed in Presidential Decree No. 6. These include insubordination, being notoriously undesirable, refusing to work overtime, exhibiting disgraceful conduct, engaging directly or indirectly in partisan political activity, and violating official regulations.

The list is a blank check to fire workers without disclosing the true reasons, which are often related to union activity. Workers are forced to sign payrolls indicating they are receiving the minimum wage when in fact "special deductions" have been made from their salaries. While strikes, rallies, and other group ac-

tivities are strictly banned, the government has moved decisively to "protect" the workers—by issuing a statement requesting businessmen to act fairly and with justice.

There is no prospect of any relaxation of media censorship, or of the resumption of publication by most of the twelve Manila papers shut down by Marcos. For the first month, only two newspapers were issued, the Marcos-owned *Daily Express* (popularly known as the "Daily Suppress") and *Business Day*. The latter is essential because it permits dissemination of such heartening news as the abolition of the capital gains tax, the reduction of the stock-transfer tax from 2 percent to .025 percent, the surrender of the country's natural resources to foreign exploration and exploitation, and new concessions to foreign investors.

It is no coincidence that the only newspapers allowed to publish during the first month of martial law were in English, a foreign language with which peasants and most workers are unfamiliar. Use of English is a legacy of direct American rule, which ended in 1946. The past ten years have seen a process of replacement of English by Philippine languages, the principal one being Tagalog, which is spoken in the Manila area. For the first three days of martial law, all radio announcements were in English. When Tagalog was used later, it was usually in connection with peripheral items or with simplified versions of the English-language pronouncements. Two reasons for this policy are immediately apparent. First, it prevents the masses from grasping the implications of the situation. Second, it is an effort to turn back the tide of nationalism, which included a major trend toward the use of Tagalog and other Philippine languages.

Imposition of martial law in Mindanao followed a series of injustices against Muslims including outright massacres, and Muslim forces have since begun armed struggle in earnest. One week before the declaration of martial law, Muslim delegates to the

Constitutional Convention led by M. Mastura of Cotabato and T. Macaraya of Lanao warned that "any move to declare Martial Law in Mindanao will be a declaration of war against the Muslims." (*Manila Evening News*, September 15.)

For several years the Philippine government has been clandestinely arming and financing bands of Christian terrorists known as Ilagas. The Philippine army has participated directly in massacres such as that in Kauswagan, Lanao, on November 22, 1971, when seventy-five unarmed Muslims returning home, after voting, in a convoy of trucks were stopped at an army checkpoint and butchered. Muslims predominate in the western provinces of Mindanao, which is spectacularly rich in croplands and mineral resources, with virtually unexplored oil deposits potentially rivaling those of the nearby island of Borneo.

On October 21, Muslim insurgents captured and held Marawi City in Lanao Province for twenty-six hours, commandeering the radio station for political broadcasts. They seized Pantar bridge, the only land link to the city, killing four government soldiers, wounding eight, and holding various army detachments at bay.

After the armed rebels withdrew to their sanctuaries in the forests, army units reoccupied Marawi. In what the October 24 *Daily Express* called "the ensuing battle inside Mindanao State University," the army "exacted the lives of 60 rebel Muslims, and wounded countless others. Search and destroy missions have been launched by combined elements of the Philippine Constabulary, army and marines against the pockets of rebel resistance." The "battle" on the Mindanao State University campus resembled the Philippine army's "encounter" at Kauswagan in that no casualties were sustained by government soldiers.

Any doubt among Muslims about their second-class status in Marcos's New Society was dispelled by the dictator's insistence on dating each of his proclamations "in the year of our Lord" and by his constant invocations and public prayers to the Christian god.

In a carefully stage-managed October 21 ceremony at Malacañang [the presidential palace] Marcos "transferred" from landlord to tenant the

ownership of 1.5 million hectares of rice and corn croplands, in an attempt to mitigate the impact of martial law and to defuse the burning dissatisfaction of tenant farmers. Landlords have been evading every land reform for twenty years. They have switched crops, introduced mechanization, converted from a share-tenancy system to wage labor, or subdivided their holdings. As a result, lands subject to distribution include only the most backward, stagnant, nonproductive holdings.

Furthermore, the former tenant is required to pay his usual share-rent for an additional fifteen years. This will be extended in case of crop failures.

This elementary "reform" deserves to be viewed with suspicion because of Marcos's contradictory arithmetic.

About 1.5 million hectares are supposed to be distributed in parcels of five hectares per tenant. But since 715,000 tenants are supposed to be affected, there are only two hectares for each.

Will the Marcos "reforms" raise productivity and improve the bare-subsistence life of the farmers? Perhaps slightly, if the massive aid programs offered by the United States, Japan, West Germany, and Israel are used optimally. On the other hand, production may drop disastrously, as occurred in Bolivia after 1953 and in Iraq after 1958. Land reforms, even more substantial ones, can hardly accomplish miracles when the peasant landowner, illiterate and steeped in a tradition of fatalism, is surrounded by an imperialist-dominated capitalist economy. □

to create in the reader an image—very clearly and personally aimed—of heads of industry who are enriching themselves at the expense of exploited and despised workers. The professional qualifications of the workers are, in effect, counterposed to the sole merit of the employers—their possession of blocks of stock, and it is claimed that management is imposed upon the workers—as if they were chained to their jobs—and that the only aim of this management is to make profits. Thus the pamphlet attacks the honor of the Bobst company and its two assigned administrators by accusing them of lack of professional ethics. There is no doubt that today, in our country, the sense of social responsibility is generally considered one of the qualities of an honorable man."

The October 30 issue of *La Brèche*, which reported the verdict, noted the effect of the ruling:

"The whole 'argumentation' of the decision is based on the denial, the disavowal, the negation of capitalist exploitation. Here the meaning of class justice is concretized: A judge condemns anyone who contends that the wealth produced in this society is the fruit of the labor of workers and that those who own the means of production (the bourgeoisie) draw their wealth from their ability to utilize, in whatever way they want, x hours of workers' labor-power each day. These truths—yes, Judge Vodoz—were long ago acknowledged by eighteenth century English economists, such as Smith and Ricardo."

The absurdity of the court's ruling would be merely amusing were it not for the deadly serious motivation behind it. In its October 13 issue, *La Brèche* explained the timing of the legal harassment confronting it:

"When the employers are sharpening their attacks on the workers, it is extremely important for them that no response be organized by the workers. Their attempt to halt the activities of a revolutionary organization is one part of their general policy of trying to assure 'peace for the employers' (generally called 'labor peace')."

La Brèche is appealing the court's decision and has called upon its readers to aid the defense both financially and politically. *La Brèche's* address is: Case postale, 1000, Lausanne 20 Sevelin, Switzerland. □

Swiss Booboisie Rises to the Occasion

Labor Theory of Value Convicted

The Swiss bourgeoisie, already renowned for its expertise and discretion in the less savory aspects of international finance, has made its bid for yet another mantle of distinction. In a display of juridical obscurantism reminiscent of the 1927 Scopes "monkey trial," its courts have ruled that publication of the labor theory of value constitutes an actionable offense, an assault on the "honor" of the individual members of the bourgeoisie, a lamentable descent into "defamation and calumny."

On October 25 a criminal court in Lucerne ruled that these offenses had been committed by the revolutionary-socialist biweekly *La Brèche*. Why? Because *La Brèche* had claimed that employers enrich themselves by exploiting workers.

The affair began in 1971, when *La Brèche* wrote articles denouncing a wage system in the metallurgy industry whereby workers' incomes would be affected by their "attitude toward their superiors," and charged that capitalists "use pension funds to amass capital." Three companies in the French-speaking section of Switzerland—Bobst and Son, Les Cables

de Cortaillod, and Les Ateliers de Vevey—each brought suit against *La Brèche*, charging that management had been defamed. Their aim was to stop members of the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Marxist League), which publishes *La Brèche*, from distributing the paper and other literature at factory gates. The three suits were later joined into one.

The editors of *La Brèche*, it seems, were unable to demonstrate the reality of capitalist exploitation to the satisfaction of the judge. Hence the following ruling in the case of Bobst and Son:

"Likewise, it has not been proved that the Bobst factory or its managers slighted the workers in any way whatsoever. . . . Finally, the allegation that the owners of Bobst 'impose their management on the workers with the sole aim of making profits' is equally unsubstantiated. . . . The matters reported by 'Brèche-Usine' [publications of *La Brèche* concerning factory issues] are not precise, but they are not defamatory in and of themselves, considered in isolation. But the passage cited from this pamphlet—as well as all four pages of it—are designed

Peking Salutes the Shah of Iran

[The following article appeared in the October 30 issue of *La Brèche*, biweekly organ of the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire, a Swiss revolutionary-socialist organization. It was written in Paris by an Iranian revolutionary militant.

[While we do not fully agree with all the formulations employed in the article, we have translated it because of its value in throwing into relief the consequences of Peking's policy toward the shah's regime in Iran.]

* * *

A New Betrayal

Is China's foreign policy revolutionary? The question is raised by many revolutionary activists—especially by Marxists. Iranian Marxists are no exception.

Since the various trips of the shah's family to China, and since the Chinese press has begun to sing the praises of the shah's regime, the Iranian left has begun to ask itself this question. Iranian leftists—at least those outside Iran—are divided on the answer.

The Iranian Maoists were the first to condemn the Soviet Union for its military, economic, and political support to the shah. But their defense of China's foreign policy has been no less servile than their pro-Soviet counterparts' defense of the USSR's policies. They accuse critics of current Chinese policy toward Iran of being "narrow-minded chauvinists." For independent Iranian Marxists (who, unlike the Maoists and their revisionist predecessors, were not "born" Marxists but developed toward a Marxist position), current Chinese policy toward Iran recalls painful experiences and bitter memories of two earlier periods: First, after Lenin's death, when the dictator Reza Khan—who eliminated the last vestiges of democracy in the country and massacred Iranian communists—was supported by the Soviet government as "Reformer King"; and second, during and after the second world war, when the Iranian anti-imperialist movement was betrayed by

Stalin and his local apparatus, the Tudeh party.

The Iranian Maoist grouplets in Europe and the United States (the Teufan group, the Tudeh Revolutionary Organization, the Communist Group, and the Cadres) slavishly defend China's present foreign policy without advancing the slightest justification. Their only argument is that China is the center of the world revolution and therefore whatever China does must be right—and what else could we expect from hardened Stalinists who have been trained to obey and not to think!

But it must be emphasized that while the opposition outside Iran is divided, the revolutionary groups inside the country—those who carry and sustain the full weight of the struggle—have no doubt about the errors of Chinese policy. They have never openly published their position, but we know from a reliable source that for them "China is a historical reference and nothing more." It is not surprising that despite the worldwide protest movement against the widespread executions of revolutionary activists over the past eighteen months by the shah's military dictatorship and against the savage repression that reigns in the country, the Chinese have kept totally silent on this subject and have not even published the least bit of news of it. (This silence is in striking contrast, for example, with the enthusiastic reports on the "efforts" of the Iranian government to aid the victims of a recent earthquake in Iran—see *Pékin Information*, April 24, 1972.)

Let us see how the current policy is expressed. First, it must be remembered that since 1953 the Chinese government and Communist party have not even protested against the repression that has victimized the Iranian revolutionary movement. In general they have not even mentioned it, and have certainly not given the revolutionists their support. It seems they protested only when the Soviet government sold arms to the shah; only then they "denounced" the betrayal of the Soviet revisionists.

The Shah: "Fighting Anti-imperialist"?

The friendly relations between China and the shah's regime began after the publication of an initial article in *Pékin Information* (February 8, 1971), which stated: "The ten principal oil-exporting countries have recently begun a struggle against imperialist oil-monopoly capital. . . . This is a just fight undertaken to safeguard national economic interests. It is tied to the great struggle of the peoples of the world against aggression and exploitation."

A second article, published in *Renmin Ribao* (reprinted in *Pékin Information*, February 22, 1971), expressing support and admiration for the so-called struggle of the OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) against the oil monopolies, went so far as to assert that this "struggle" of the shah and his ilk "reflected the ardent desire of the peoples of those countries to liberate themselves from imperialist plunder and exploitation. . . ."

Shortly after the publication of these articles (translations of them were distributed liberally in Iran to demonstrate the shah's "independence" from imperialist powers!), the shah's sister Ashraf, one of the CIA's pawns in the reactionary coup d'état of 1953, went to Peking at Chou En-lai's invitation. Chou addressed this "longtime friend" in the following words:

"In modern history, especially since the second world war, intercourse between our two countries has become relatively limited owing to obstruction and sabotage by the imperialists. . . ." (*Pékin Information*, April 26, 1971.) Ashraf returned the compliment with equal grace: "My brother and sovereign, the Shahinshah of Iran, has always believed that in this world of such boundless diversity coexistence and cooperation are entirely possible between our countries of different social and political systems, on the basis of mutual respect and reciprocal good will."

If such coexistence and cooperation had always been possible, it may be asked why the shah waited until 1971 to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China—that is, when American imperialists gave a green light to all their reactionary lackeys in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Why, for example, didn't he

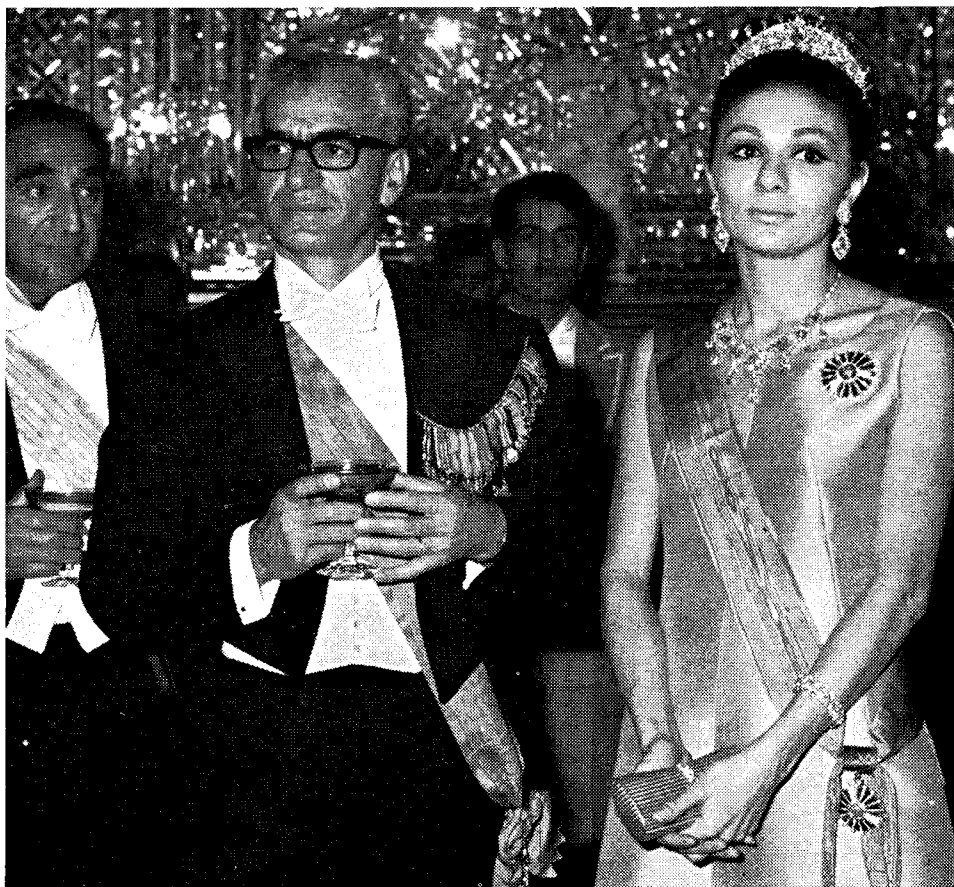
do it in 1957? This fact clearly shows that it was under imperialist orders that the shah's government would not recognize China, just as today, under orders from his masters, he recognizes the Mao government as legitimately representing the people of that country. Thus it is clear that Chou En-lai's compliment about the shah's independence is totally fraudulent.

It should be emphasized, however, that Marxists do not object to the recognition of the People's Republic of China; far from it, Marxists think that this recognition should have been granted long ago. In fact, Marxists think that the whole chain of diplomatic recognitions of China by a series of governments, as well as Nixon's visit to Peking, is a victory for the Chinese government and a serious defeat for the American government's policy of isolating China.

But this in no way represents a victory for the revolutionary movement and the world working class. It must be stressed that the various reactionary countries did not all use the same formulas when they recognized China. A simple review of all the joint declarations signed with countries such as Kuwait, Iran, or Nigeria on the one hand, and Argentina and Ghana on the other, shows that the content of these declarations conforms to the interests of the People's Republic of China and not to the needs of the world revolutionary movement.

Thus it is the content of this recognition that was sharply criticized by the Iranian left. After a second trip to Peking by another sister of the shah, who was received by Mao Tsetung (*Pékin Information*, May 10, 1971), a communiqué establishing diplomatic relations between the two governments was published. It revealed China's political support to the shah's regime, known throughout the whole world for its slavishness to American imperialism and for the way it squanders Iran's human and natural resources in the interests of the imperialist monopolies. The communiqué stated:

"The government of the People's Republic of China firmly supports the imperial government of Iran in its just struggle to safeguard the national independence and sovereignty of the country and to protect its national resources" (*Pékin Information*, August



"Anti-imperialists" Shah and Queen Farah refresh themselves at multimillion dollar 1971 celebration of 2,500th anniversary of Persian monarchy.

23, 1971). The implications are clear and need no elaboration.

"Long Live the King and Queen of Iran" ?

With the establishment of diplomatic relations the competition began with the Soviet Union to see which would rent out the shah's "services." Messages of congratulations were sent to the Shah on his birthday. Another warm message was sent to the number-one enemy of the Iranian working class at the time of the infamous farce at Persepolis, which was protested by the civilized world. And recently Queen Farah and Prime Minister Howeida were invited to spend ten days in China.

During this visit the whole Chinese position came out. Thus journalists in Shanghai gave exceptional coverage to Farah's trip (*Keyhan*—government journal, Air Edition, September 26, 1972). A crowd of one million people came to greet the wife of the Iranian dictator (*Keyhan*, Air

Edition, September 19, 1972). *Keyhan*, citing the Reuters press service, stated that when Farah arrived, units of the liberation army shouted "Long live the king and queen of Iran" (while the Iranian people are shouting "Death to the king!"). As for Chou En-lai, he developed the following position in his welcoming speech:

"At the present time, under the leadership of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the Iranian government and people are working ceaselessly to safeguard state sovereignty, to protect their national resources, to promote the flowering of national culture, and to build up the country, and have achieved successes in this regard." (*Pékin Information*, October 10, 1972.) What more could the shah ask?

Every Iranian knows that Chou En-lai's declarations in favor of the shah and his regime are based on the most blatant lies. Authors such as Marvin Zonis and Julian Bharier—who are not particularly known for their op-

position to the regime—point out in their books that Chou's statements could not even convince a school child. Zonis clearly states that "thanks to Israeli and American advisers, the SAVAK (Iranian political police) is becoming more and more effective" at eliminating opposition. Everyone knows that the shah was returned to the throne by the CIA and keeps himself there through the aid of his American and Israeli experts who control very significant police and armed forces. Everyone knows that the shah is the number-one enemy of the Iranian working class, and that the Iranian economy is nothing but an appendage of the economies of America, Japan, Germany, Great Britain, and France.

Moreover, no one can be unaware of the fact that because of imperialist penetration of Iran, the national culture of the country has been totally destroyed and that imperialist social and cultural values have been firmly imposed on Iranian society. It appears that the communiqués, messages, articles, and speeches of Chou are based upon a certain political analysis. It could perhaps be summarized as follows: The shah represents the Iranian national bourgeoisie, which although tied to imperialism can be broken from it, notably because the regime has interests antagonistic to those of the imperialist powers. Thus *Pékin Information* published this statement by the shah: "The question of oil is one example of the injustice of the advanced countries toward the developing countries. . . . Our great goal and our ideal is to exploit and sell our own oil." (*Pékin Information*, March 4, 1972). But shortly after the publication of this article, the Shah once again demonstrated his irrevocable ties with the imperialist monopolies when he sabotaged OPEC's negotiations with the oil companies and went so far as to renew the consortium agreement for twenty-five years, without even informing his handpicked parliament.

On the basis of this clear understanding of the nature of the shah's regime, the *Economist* (London, October 14, 1972, p. 72) wrote in discussing negotiations between Sheik Yamani of Saudi Arabia and the oil companies about "participation" agreements: "From the standpoint of the oil companies, the Iranians (read, "the

shah"—*La Brèche*) have been the best partners in the whole business."

It is not only not Marxist but also ridiculous for the Chinese propaganda machine to tie together the whole Iranian people and the proimperialist regime of the shah and to declare: "The government and people of Iran are fighting to defend their economic and national interests." (*Pékin Information*, March 4, 1972.) Such apologies for the shah's regime extend even to falsification. In taking up the question of the 1951 nationalizations of Iranian oil, *Pékin Information* forgets to mention that the nationalizations were carried out after many sacrifices on the part of the Iranian people under the leadership of the great bourgeois, anti-imperialist democrat Mossadegh and in total opposition to the royal court led by the shah, who even tried to actively sabotage the operation. The attempt to portray the shah as the champion of the struggle of the Iranian people against the international monopolies is an inexcusable historical falsification.

We can now ask ourselves what repercussions this policy will have in Iran. In the short term, while the repercussions may not be fatal, they bode ill; they divide the anti-imperialist forces in Iran; they weaken the opposition by bringing about a certain disillusionment among militants and among the masses; they bolster the shah's regime—not only in his efforts to project the image of an independent, anti-imperialist government to the uninformed masses suffering under a repressive regime, but also economically, through trade with China, which offers vast markets for the Iranian economy.

But in the long run none of these factors will have an influence on the development of the revolutionary movement. For in the last analysis the objective factors at work in Iranian society will detonate the present contradictions. That is, no external subjective factor, no matter how strong, can prevent the development of a profound crisis in a capitalist society such as Iran's, where the capitalist system rests on a very fragile base. It is the Iranian working class, and not any outside communist power, that will decide the fate of the revolution in this country.

For True Proletarian Internationalism!

But it is necessary to stress another important result of this policy: the present experience (the third since 1921) teaches Iranian revolutionists the necessity of thinking independently, while at the same time retaining an internationalist outlook. The destruction of medieval myths inside the communist movement is after all a positive and progressive thing.

We can now answer the question posed at the outset: For Iranian revolutionary Marxists, the current foreign policy of China in relation to regimes such as those in Iran, Ceylon, the Sudan, etc., is in complete contradiction to the norms of proletarian internationalism. Her foreign policy is aimed at defending national self-interest as is the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

In conclusion, we must consider another fundamental problem. What lessons can we draw from this experience? Given the evolution of the Soviet Union and China, which in the process of constructing socialism abandoned the world revolution to pursue their own national interests, what path will the Iranian working class follow when it takes power? Will it follow the same course? Will the construction of socialism in a country like Iran necessarily lead down the same road as that followed by the Soviet Union and China?

We think not. In our opinion, despite the very strong pressures exerted by the underdevelopment of the productive forces and the economic constraints resulting from integration in the world market, pressures which could give rise to tendencies toward "socialism in one country" after the revolution, the whole question will depend on which is put first—politics or economics. Thus the powerful tendencies toward "socialism in one country"—that is, the ideological justification for competition with the capitalist economy with the goal of surpassing it, including the bourgeois mentality of the consumer society (a thesis of Stalin's which has been falsely attributed to Khrushchev by the Chinese)—can only be effectively fought on the basis of a conscious revolutionary-internationalist policy.

It is toward this goal that we must resolutely strive. □

Women's Liberation Conference in London

London

About 1500 women gathered at Acton Town Hall in London November 4-6 for the fourth and largest national conference of the women's liberation movement in Britain. The weekend conference reflected the tremendous growth of the movement since the first national conference attended by 400 women at Oxford in February 1970.

The four basic demands that have been adopted by the women's movement in Britain are: free contraception and abortion on demand, equal educational and job opportunities, equal pay, and free child-care facilities. In addition to these demands, the issues raised by radical feminism and the relationship of the women's movement to the trade unions were discussed, as had been proposed by the Manchester conference in March.

Workshops discussed important questions facing the movement: Is it necessary for the women's movement to make demands and build campaigns? Is women's oppression based on male domination? Is it necessary to organise working women in unions? Can women's liberation be achieved without a socialist revolution?

Organising workshops took up specific issues, and reports were given to the conference as a whole. One workshop discussed recent government proposals to replace with tax relief for husbands the allowances now paid to mothers. This proposal would reduce the state's responsibility for care of children and reinforce the role of the family in this task. The conference agreed to campaign against this change.

Women in the abortion and contraception campaign workshop discussed ways of obtaining free, safe contraception and abortion and of ending forced sterilization. The workshop reaffirmed a woman's right to choose whether or not to have children. Two proposals for developing this campaign were to set up self-help clinics and health centres staffed by women and to build mass actions to pressure the government to provide the necessary facilities. A national conference on the abortion and contraception cam-

paign was announced, to be held in January in Liverpool.

A representative of WONAAC [Women's National Abortion Action Coalition] from the USA, and a participant in the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws described their activities. On a proposal from the workshop, the conference endorsed the International Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception, and Forced Sterilization that will take place in New York City on March 9-11, 1973. The tribunal will hear evidence describing the experiences women have been forced to endure because of laws which bar them from controlling their reproductive processes.

The conference voted to endorse the Anti-Discrimination bill currently being discussed in the Select Committee of the House of Lords.

Discussion groups took up a variety of topics including: sexism, capitalism, and the family; women and literature; women and the media; women and community actions; sexism and education; marriage as an institution of oppression; and educational courses on women.

The resolutions adopted by the conference included support for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland,

Smith Acquitted of 'Fragging' Charges

Billy Dean Smith, a twenty-four-year-old Black antiwar GI, was acquitted November 14 of charges that he killed two army officers in Vietnam with a fragmentation grenade, an offense commonly known as "fragging." The verdict was announced after the jury of seven career officers had deliberated for almost six hours. Smith was the first GI to be tried in the United States for allegedly "fragging" an officer.

Defense witnesses proved that Smith had been far from the scene of the explosion when it took place. The prosecution's case was based primarily on Smith's antiwar and antiracist beliefs.

The initiation of a worldwide movement in Smith's support helped defeat the attempted frame-up.

Held in solitary confinement for twenty months until his acquittal, Smith was convicted of "assaulting" a military cop who

support to the Vietnamese revolution, and support to the Indochina Solidarity Conference which will be held in London in December. A telegram of support was sent to the women cleaners at Oxford University who are presently on strike.

An indication of the growth and increased seriousness of the women's movement was the large amount of literature sold at the conference. There was a great demand for socialist material.

The enthusiasm of the conference was strengthened by the presence of representatives of women's liberation movements in many other countries. Greetings were given by women from Ireland, Spain, France, Italy, Holland, the United States, Canada, Australia, and Israel. Reports were also heard from Belgium and South Africa.

Large attendance and diverse discussion in the international workshops which were held on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday evenings underscored the seriousness and growth of the fight against women's oppression as an international movement, and the strong feeling of international solidarity present throughout the weekend was inspiring to all.

Opportunities to view films on women and to meet socially were provided on Saturday evening.

The last item on the agenda was the appointment of four women who, together with two representatives from each region, will organise the next national conference planned for the spring of next year. □

arrested him. He was demoted to private E-1 and given a bad-conduct discharge from the army. After his victory, accompanied by his lawyer, Luke McKissack, and by Angela Davis, Smith told reporters:

"I'm glad to be free, but I can't really feel free until the war in Southeast Asia is over. The blood of nearly six million Vietnamese has seeped into the soil of rice fields that will never grow again, and the gouged-out trenches of a devastated land run red with the life substances of a people who would be free if they had not been made scapegoats in this vicious war game which would be fascists choose to play at their expense. I now wish to dedicate the rest of my life to working toward guaranteeing that other persons like myself will not have to be subjected to the injustices I faced both in the military and in courts throughout the country." □

'Armed Struggle Is the Only Road to the Liberation of Argentina'

[The following interview appeared in the August 29 issue of *Punto Final*, the bi-weekly magazine of the Chilean Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), from which it has been translated by *Intercontinental Press*. Because of a delay in the mail, we just received this issue of *Punto Final*.

[The editors of *Punto Final* in a note of their own explain their delay in publishing the interview. They also identify the two leaders of the ERP who were interviewed, "Miguel" and "Ricardo," as being in reality Mario Roberto Santucho Juárez and Enrique Haroldo Gorriarán Merlo.

[The interview appeared under the title "La lucha armada es el único camino para la liberación de Argentina." We are publishing it for the information of our readers without taking any responsibility for the views expressed, many of which we obviously disagree with.]

* * *

Some time ago, our compañero Hernán Uribe Ortega interviewed two leaders of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo [ERP—Revolutionary Army of the People] in Tucumán, Argentina. They were Mario Roberto Santucho Juárez, thirty-six, and Enrique Haroldo Gorriarán Merlo, thirty, who were later arrested, tortured by the Argentine police, and sent to the Rawson military prison in Chubut Province, where political prisoners are held. The interview with the ERP by the PF's special correspondent was held until now for various reasons. Santucho and Gorriarán reached Chile in the group of ten Argentine revolutionists who escaped from Rawson on August 15 and fled to our country in an Austral Airlines plane. With the authorization of ERP, we are now publishing this interview with Santucho and Gorriarán, whose replies to Hernán Uribe's questions will clarify for our readers the goals for

which Argentine revolutionists are fighting.

"An upsurge in rural guerrilla warfare in Argentina is attainable in the short run." The statement comes from top leaders of the Revolutionary Army of the People. Miguel and Ricardo are in the eleven-member executive committee, the highest body of the PRT [Partido Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary People's party] between meetings of the Central Committee; they likewise belong to the "Military Committee," which constitutes the leading nucleus of the staff of the ERP. It was in order to speak to them that we went to Tucumán, capital of a province that was formerly called the "Garden of the Republic" but that is today becoming poorer and poorer as a result of the crisis in the sugar industry, the main economic activity there.

Formed in 1964, the PRT underwent a five-year period of internal ideological struggle, achieving greater doctrinal maturity at its 1970 congress, at which time it decided to form the army of the people in line with the concept of party-army unity. The movement's brief existence and its clandestine nature have given rise to speculation about the ideology and methods of the PRT-ERP—all the more so because it is affiliated to the Fourth International, which, for many today, seems an artificial feature in the context of the Latin American revolution.

The "Trotskyism" of the PRT, nevertheless, contains some very peculiar facets, for at its last congress, it maintained: "The Trotskyist movement, it must be explained, involves heterogeneous sectors: from counterrevolutionary adventurers who use its banner while at the same time prostituting it, to consistent revolutionists."¹ In this

connection, the PRT noted: "We confirm our adherence to the Fourth International while at the same time we are conscious of the fact that we must have no illusions that it can become the world revolutionary leadership that we consider necessary."² And it added: "This should neither hinder nor facilitate the closest relationships with non-Trotskyist revolutionary currents throughout the entire world, especially with the organizations engaged in struggle in Latin America, together with whom we will succeed, by significantly developing our war, in gaining a hearing from the Communist parties of the revolutionary workers states."³

Other PRT-ERP positions are expressed in the following unedited replies to the reporter's questions.

Question. Could you indicate the ideological principles on which your movement is based, how it is structured, and what its political objectives are at the moment?

Answer. The Revolutionary Army of the People is an armed organization, created and led by the Revolutionary Workers party, a working-class party with a Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The ERP, because it is attempting to carry out the tasks of revolutionary war, of a people's war, must bring together, under the leadership of the working class, all the exploited masses of the country. As a result, it puts forward a broad program, the main points of which are national independence from Yankee imperialist domination—that is, the national liberation of Argentina—and a series of other demands of a democratic nature, such as the basic freedoms, and at the same time more profound demands of a

ist movement), subsection 3, "The Fourth International," p. 41—*IP*.

2. *Ibid*, subsection 4, p. 42.—*IP*.

3. *Ibid*, subsection 4, p. 43.—*IP*.

1. "Resolutions of the Fifth Congress" of the PRT, section entitled "Minuta Sobre Internacional" (a summary of discussions at the congress on the international Marx-

socialist character that point not only toward freeing the country from imperialist domination but also toward its economic and social transformation—toward the elimination of capitalism, which ERP considers an unjust and treacherous system, and—following the triumph of the revolution, following the triumph of the working class and the people in the process of revolutionary war—the establishment of a socialist society.

Q. Could you give a chronological sketch of the birth and evolution of the movement, as well as explain the relationship between the Revolutionary Workers party and the Revolutionary Army of the People?

A. The Revolutionary Workers party was founded in 1964 and from that point on intervened in the struggle of the Argentine masses. Beginning in 1967, confronted with the establishment of a military dictatorship—the Onganía dictatorship—the party posed the problem of armed struggle. It understood that in our country there was no other solution, no other way to confront the enemy but to initiate and develop armed struggle. Following a period of preparation and working things out—a costly process, and a bit slow—the party managed to clearly define its goals and its conception of armed struggle. At its fifth congress, which ended on July 28, 1970, it founded the Revolutionary Army of the People and entered the struggle in an organized way, intervening militarily in the process of revolutionary war that the masses had opened up against the military dictatorship in Argentina. For us, the beginning of the process of revolutionary war in our country started with the big mass mobilizations in 1969 in the major cities.

As for the relationship between the party and the army, our organization has taken and applies the classical Marxist concept with regard to the organizations that the working class and the people require in order to effectively carry out a process of revolutionary war. That is, a military force, a people's army that leads various sectors, broad sectors, all exploited sectors, the broadest sectors of the masses, to take up arms, to get organized militarily, and to take on the enemy military force, the military force of the bourgeoisie and the

bourgeois army, which constitute the mainstay of the capitalist regime and of imperialist domination. This, as we say, is a broad-based mass organization; the programmatic requirements for participating in it are very broad. In other words, its sole goal is to remain prepared, to understand the need to put an end to the military dictatorship, and to understand that the way to achieve this is through armed struggle.

But, given the fact that politics is at the heart of a process of revolutionary war, a people's army needs to have a clear political leadership. A clear political line is a determining factor in any victory for the people, who start out from a position of relative material inferiority compared to their powerful enemy, and whose main strength, in fact, lies in the clarity of its political leadership. It is for this reason that we understand that the people's army must rely on the leadership of a Marxist party, of a Marxist-Leninist party, which, by applying the revolutionary science of the proletariat, is able to solve all problems, the difficult problems that arise in the course of a process of revolutionary war. Thus, our military force, the Revolutionary Army of the People, is under the leadership of the Revolutionary Workers party, which, as we said earlier, is a workers' party with a Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Q. Regarding the ideological outlook of the party, of the movement, you have said that it is Marxism-Leninism. Where, then, do the indiscriminate characterizations of it as a Guevarist or Trotskyist movement come from?

A. Yes, well, the Revolutionary Army of the People is an organization for the masses whose goal is to achieve the national and social liberation of our country. It calls on the masses to wage a determined war for our second independence, following the ideas and actions of General San Martín and Comandante Guevara.

The party that leads the Revolutionary Army of the People, the Revolutionary Workers party, defines itself ideologically as Marxist-Leninist and welcomes the contributions of various revolutionists from other nations, including those of our main Coman-

dante, Che Guevara. It also welcomes the contributions that Trotsky, Kim Il Sung, Mao Tsetung, Ho Chi Minh, and General Giap have made to the revolution. We believe that it is inadequate and inappropriate to ideologically define a given organization as Trotskyist. We certainly feel that Trotsky was a revolutionist and most of our members have read his contributions to revolution, especially his contributions toward a critique of the bureaucracy and on permanent revolution.

Q. How would you characterize the political, economic, and social situation in Argentina today?

A. Argentina is going through a process of revolutionary war, which, as we were just saying, began for us in the year 1969. As you know, since 1966, our country has been ruled by the army, by a military dictatorship that overthrew the bourgeois-parliamentary government of Illia in a coup, and attempted to reorganize the country from a capitalist point of view by increasing its dependence on imperialism and seeking a new development of the country on the basis of the superexploitation of the masses. Through police methods and civil-war measures, the military dictatorship managed to achieve a relative social stabilization of the country in 1967 and 1968; by violently crushing any attempted mobilization, it managed to reduce the scope of social struggles, of the struggle of the working class, the students, and the people as a whole. But, beginning in 1969, the mass movement reacted and opened up the process of revolutionary war that we are experiencing today.

Together with the vigorous resurgence of the mass movement, the armed vanguard made its appearance on the country's political scene—various groups that, from 1966 on, beginning with the violent repression of the Onganía dictatorship, began to get organized in order to confront a powerful enemy on the military terrain using the tactics of guerrilla warfare—both urban and rural guerrilla warfare—with a strategy of revolutionary war. Our organization is one of these groups.

At the moment, with the government in which Lanusse is taking his turn

as president, the military dictatorship is on the defensive. After six years of government, its plans for a certain development and reorganization of capitalism in Argentina have come to naught, so at the moment it finds itself on the defensive and is attempting to get around the serious problems facing it. It is trying to do this at the moment through its much publicized plan for a "National Agreement": It has promised elections and is attempting to involve in this "National Agreement" sectors with a certain popular influence — bourgeois parties, the radicals, and other populist parties like the Peronist movement that maintain a certain influence among the people; and at the same time it is seeking to isolate the guerrilla movement and the class-conscious vanguard, the workers' vanguard, and the student vanguard, which have been bearing the brunt and providing the leadership of the mass struggles, and thereby hopes to hold back the development of revolutionary war.

But these plans are destined to failure because in the past few years the Argentine people have become aware — and are continuing to become aware — of the fact that they can have no confidence or hope in the bourgeois army, nor in the various populist and bourgeois parties or tendencies that have also failed to solve our country's social problems and its problems of dependence. And they are increasingly orienting toward a socialist outcome and the path of armed struggle, the path of violent struggle, in order to reach this goal.

So, to sum up, for us the "National Agreement," which is the current line of Lanusse's military dictatorship, is destined to failure, and we believe that the immediate prospect in our country is for the most wide-scale development of revolutionary war; for the broadest development of the mass struggle, under the leadership of class-conscious sectors; and for a development of military activity on the part of the guerrilla units on the broadest scale — both in the city and in the countryside — and that in a unified process these forces will continue to drive the military dictatorship into a corner and sap the enemy's strength by opening up and broadening the participation of newer and newer mass sectors, and by stepping up the development of

the people's war, of revolutionary war.

Q. Judging by what you say, one would deduce that the ERP has adopted armed struggle as its fundamental approach to the liberation of Argentina. Could you describe some of your experiences along these lines?

A. Well, when the Revolutionary Army of the People was founded, an initial plan of military operations was drawn up, the ultimate aim of which was to make the organization known and to familiarize the masses with its program and its aims. This was essentially a stage of armed propaganda; the main actions that were carried out were the disarming of police, propaganda actions intimately linked to the masses, such as redistribution of goods, kidnapping of factory guards, etc. Aside from propaganda, the purpose of this initial military plan was to consolidate and train the membership as a whole in small actions that would prepare it for other kinds of operations of broader scope. This plan was considered fulfilled six or seven months after it was put into effect.

As a result of this military activity and, of course, that of the other organizations operating in Argentina, there was a change in the repressive forces. For example, individual policemen were no longer seen in the streets; repression was carried out differently and began to become more and more concentrated, which indicated the approach we should take in our second plan of operations.

As for military operations — which were what we then began to carry out — they are basically harassment actions in which a larger number of persons are involved. An example of such an operation would be to surround a police station with members of the repressive forces inside, offer them a chance to surrender, and if they refuse, open fire on them, try to confiscate their arsenal, and disperse rapidly. It would also include ambushing repressive patrols. The main thing from the military point of view that would mark a qualitative step forward in the development of revolutionary civil war would be — and this is included in the ERP's second plan of military operations — the initiation of actions in the country-

side, that is, the launching of rural guerrilla warfare; we think that this can be accomplished within a short period of time.

The entire kind of operations that we have been carrying out and that we will always carry out during the development of revolutionary civil war in Argentina must be operations that are intimately linked up to the masses, have a mass line, in which the outlook of the masses is reflected in every action.

I think it might be useful to explain the nature of the distribution of goods that we carry out on a continual, we might say almost daily, basis in our country and why we carry out these actions. The distribution of goods has had an extraordinary result from the point of view of political penetration since the masses immediately identify the war with their own needs and allow us to quickly gain political entry into the various neighborhoods where we carry them out. Preferably, we always carry out these operations in places where we already have teams, or functioning neighborhood cells; after the operations, they take charge of explaining what they were all about, the need to get organized, and the need to develop the war in order to win freedom for our country. There are many neighborhoods where we have been able to organize the inhabitants with a view toward collaborating in developing revolutionary war. For example, committees have been formed to receive and distribute the food that is delivered. Without any doubt, as I said before, this greatly favors the carrying out of political work among the people, and these neighborhoods are continuing, although in a still incipient way, to develop into genuine bases of support for the ERP.

Q. The ERP initiates its armed actions in the city and aims to launch a rural war; in other words, it can be assumed that from a military point of view, the tactic is to continue to build up the army of the people from the level of guerrilla warfare until it is what we could call a regular army. However, it is an objective fact that there are other armed groups in Argentina and it could thus also be concluded that unity between these armed groups would be an essential tool in making the armed struggle a success. How do you view this problem?

A. Yes, it is an objective fact that there are a number of groups that are carrying out military actions in Argentina, but the existence of fraternal relations between the various organizations is a positive factor. And we are convinced that the prospects are for unity of the armed vanguard, and in this sense we are trying on a permanent basis to strengthen our ties to the other armed organizations, with which we have excellent relations, by discussing fundamental problems, by clarifying the questions that separate us, and by laying the groundwork that will make possible the future unity on a firm, principled basis that we believe is possible and feasible.

Likewise, following the example and approach of Comandante Guevara, we realize that unity among the various revolutionary organizations in each country that are leading the struggle of their people is necessary in the face of the common enemy—Yankee imperialism, which is the enemy of all the people of Latin America. Along these lines too we have succeeded in establishing fraternal relations with various organizations in other Latin American countries and we are striving toward a unification of our forces in this continental process of revolutionary war by the peoples of Latin America against North American imperialism.

We are likewise aware of the fact that the recognized leadership for all Latin American revolutionists in this struggle is the Cuban Communist party.

Q. In regard to the political process that Chile is currently undergoing, some North American agencies gave out alleged opinions of the ERP on the Allende government some time back in which the ERP appears to express a negative view of the Chilean process in formulations that would appear to have been distorted.

A. Yes, there is no doubt they have been distorted, since all we did in the news conference in Buenos Aires was to state what Allende himself has stated many times: that he has control of the government, but he does not hold power.

Our modest opinion of the Chilean

situation is that the correct line and approach for the victory of the revolution in Chile is that of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left [MIR—Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria].

Q. Thank you very much for answering our questions. I wonder if

there is anything else you would like to say?

A. Yes. If it is possible, we would like for you to give our fraternal and revolutionary greetings to the heroic Cuban people, who are holding high the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialist struggle and socialism in our continent. That's all, *compañero*. □

Indian Trotskyists on Nationalities

[The Central Committee of the Communist League, Indian section of the Fourth International, held a meeting during August. For the information of our readers, we publish below one of the resolutions passed at the meeting. It is entitled "On the Problem of Indian Minorities."]

* * *

Multiplicity of religions and diversity of cultures in India has divided Indian society into different groups without any communion with each other. Differences in language and origin, in cases of people migrating from one state to another for trade or jobs, adds to the division. Lack of communion with each other, sometimes combined with a history of conflicts, has resulted in an atmosphere of mutual suspicion and prejudice that leads to social segregation and discrimination and sometimes bursts into open conflict. Economic competition, lack of educational facilities and jobs, leads to open favouritism and discrimination, and the different groups exploit the mutual suspicion and prejudice to mobilize support within the group, thus strengthening them.

The Muslim and Christian minorities have been dubbed antinational and foreign agents by the Hindu communal elements, who carry on an active campaign to vilify them and poison the majority against them. Religious conversion and cow-slaughter have been the targets of attack in the past, and the raising of controversies about some mosques having been temples in the past is a favourite pastime.

This has been a convenient handle for the reactionary forces in obtaining popular support for their attack on the bourgeois Congress. Thus, the

treatment of Hindu minorities in Pakistan, the Indo-Pak relations, and the Kashmir question have been utilized as live issues in this respect from time to time.

The role of the Muslims and Christians in the two Indo-Pak wars exploded the charges against them of antinationalism and disloyalty to the nation. The emergence of Bangladesh, a separation of a Muslim-dominated region from a Muslim country, blasted the two-nations theory of the Hindu and Muslim communalists.

The Tashkent agreement of 1966 and the Simla agreement this year did help in reducing Indo-Pak tensions and the communal tension between Hindus and Muslims. But the failure of the bourgeois government to solve the outstanding disputes with Pakistan and thus to remove the tension completely emphasizes the inability of the bourgeoisie to solve the communal question finally and to assure minorities of their safety and full citizenship.

The only solution lies in the undoing of the communal divisions of the subcontinent and the creation of the United Socialist States of the Indian Subcontinent, in which a united Bengal, a united Punjab, and a united Kashmir will find their rightful place.

This, however, is only one aspect of the problem. Competition for jobs and economic opportunities in trade, profession, or occupation throws one community or group against the other. The weaker ones are discriminated against on these grounds, and they fight back by whipping up communal or group passions against real or imaginary attacks on their rights. The anti-Bengali riots in Assam and the Shiv-Sena are the regional expressions of this economic conflict. The Hindi-Tamil controversy is the linguistic ex-

pression of the same conflict. The recent controversy in Punjab over the language question regarding the relative places of Punjabi and Hindi has the same economic conflict at the root. The fight extends into the social sphere in the form of discrimination and segregation and into the ideological field in conflicting versions of history and culture.

Thus, communal riots, or for that matter all riots between the minority and the majority, are much more than mere law and order problems. The main problem is removal of conflict and end of discrimination on the one hand, and creation of mutual trust and confidence on the other. An impartial study of the problems and grievances of the minorities and an honest effort for their solution is the only way. Common struggle for employment and for a fair and just basis of selection and promotion will shed the mutual distrust and lack of confidence.

But it is this that the bourgeoisie fear most and hence they keep alive the mutual suspicion and prejudice to prevent the communities from uniting in a common struggle for full employment and a decent standard of living.

In the rising period of capitalism the bourgeoisie boldly attacked religious superstition, spread a rational outlook, and dispersed parochialism. Religion was forced to withdraw to the sphere of personal belief or faith. The present social inequality and injustice and the presence of many irrationalities in capitalism itself prevent the bourgeoisie from attacking the root of religious beliefs.

The only way out for the bourgeoisie is to deal with the problem as a law and order problem, with the heavy hand of repression of minorities, communally biased police and military, and by press censorship, so that while communalism lives and prospers, communal riots do not take place. This was what happened in the recent "riots" at Yaranasi and Firozabad.

Socialists must find some contact or link with the minorities, principally by supporting their just demands and defending them against police repression. Muslims form a strong minority in the working class too, and their cooperation in the trade unions and in workers' struggles demands mutual trust and confidence. The so-

cial question is so important for the minorities that their attitude toward the militants of the majority community is very often decided by the attitude of the militants of the majority community toward their social problems.

This is their approach also to socialist and communist parties and to socialist ideologies. It is to the extent that a socialist party supports them on the social question that the minority militants will accept socialist ideology. But as they are doubly oppressed, they have no soft corner for the present social structure, and once they are on the path of struggle, they are thoroughly revolutionary and anticapitalist.

While employees' unions and students' associations may raise and support the specific demands of the minorities on education and employment, the minorities themselves have to fight out the social questions through an organization of their own. They cannot do this successfully by leading an attack on the whole of the majority community through communal hatred and passion or by more and more emphasizing segregation and exclusiveness. They must join the national stream and pursue a policy of integration while defending their rights. They must find allies among the poor of the majority community,

who are only victims of the prevalent prejudices and have no vested interest in communalism themselves. They must support the struggle of the working masses in order to win their support and cooperation in their own struggle for defence of minority rights and interests.

Minorities' parties have to be independent not only of the existing bourgeois parties, but also of the influence of the bourgeoisie and reactionaries, and in order to be effective they have to be mass-based and democratically controlled. The existing Muslim organizations neither seek nor enjoy the confidence, sympathy, or understanding of the working masses of the majority community and are greatly handicapped by their policy of exclusiveness and self-isolation, communal hatred and suspicion.

The Communist League of India supports the minorities in all their just struggles for social justice and for the defence of their minority rights, despite the present leadership of their organizations. It will, however, help the minorities through fraternal criticism in evolving an integrationist policy and in mobilizing allies on the basis of a non-excluding united front of all the allies, also in building an independent mass-based democratically controlled party of the minorities. □

'Newsweek' Smear Reprinted in Sri Lanka

The slanderous article "The Terrorist International," originally published in the September 18 issue of the U.S. magazine *Newsweek*, has been reprinted in the *Ceylon Observer* (September 24).

The article, opening salvo in the imperialist-engineered witch-hunt unleashed after Black September's action in Munich, was a crude attempt to link the Trotskyist movement to a mythical worldwide conspiracy.

Particularly attractive to the *Ceylon Observer's* editors was *Newsweek's* prominent featuring of Ernest Mandel, supposedly number-one head of the "terrorist international." In a box accompanying the reprint the *Ceylon Observer* highlights a quotation attributed to Mandel—exposed by him as fraudulent—and adds: "Prof. Ernest Mandel, prominent figure

in Trotskyist circles, is no stranger to Sri Lanka, in fact our counter-insurgency experts have come across his name in various circumstances. ERNEST MANDEL—note that name. Readers may hear of him again."

Mandel has written an answer to *Newsweek* (see *Intercontinental Press*, October 9, p. 1080), which *Newsweek* declined to print. It would, of course, be too much to expect the *Ceylon Observer*, which supported the murder of thousands of youths, and the indefinite jailing of thousands more, to refrain from such a minor offense as slander.

Nevertheless, the use of the *Newsweek* smear by Sri Lanka's controlled press has an ominous overtone. Will the "terrorist international" serve as a new excuse for repression against the Trotskyist movement in that country?