

# Intercontinental Press

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## U.S. Widens Terror-Bombing of Cambodia

## *More Nixon Aides Linked to Watergate*



## Fascist Threat Mounting in Chile

## ITT Aided Both Sides in World War II

International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT), the multinational corporation best known for its intervention in Chilean elections, was a major supporter of Nazi war industry during World War II, according to a book to be published shortly. The book, by Anthony Sampson, was described in the April 23 *Washington Post*.

Sampson's account is based on U. S. government records in the National Archives. It says that ITT's cooperation with Hitler began in 1933, when Sosthenes Behn, the founder of ITT, first visited the Nazi leader.

At the meeting, Behn obtained names of "reliable men acceptable to the Nazis who could join the boards of ITT's German companies." One was banker and SS General Kurt von Schroeder, who served as the channel by which ITT donated funds to the Gestapo.

ITT's German subsidiaries were named Lorenz and Standard Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (SEG). In 1938, Lorenz acquired a 28 percent interest in Focke-Wulf, the corporation that manufactured German warplanes.

By the time of the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, SEG and Lorenz controlled ITT subsidiaries in Austria, Hungary, and Switzerland. These subsidiaries were declared German by the Nazi government and were therefore exempt from confiscation in German-occupied territories.

Throughout the war, Sampson writes, ITT's Swiss factory "continued to collaborate fully with the Nazis. . . ; and in Spain the ITT company provided Germany with raw materials and made equipment" for the German army.

At the same time, ITT in the U. S. was making war material for the U. S. military. In 1942, it invented a direction-finder designed to protect U. S. convoys being bombed by ITT-built Focke-Wulf planes. Behn was even given a medal by the U. S. army for his contribution to the "war effort."

In 1967 ITT—presenting itself as a "victim" of the war—"actually managed to obtain \$27 million in compensation from the American government for war damages to its factories in Germany," including \$5 million for damage to Focke-Wulf plants. □

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# More Nixon Aides Named in Watergate Scandal

By Allen Myers

"We've had our Cambodia's before," Richard Nixon reportedly told a meeting of his cabinet April 20. While intended to reassure his subordinates that the administration would ride out the political storm over the Watergate scandal just as it eventually rode out the storm of protest over the 1970 invasion of Cambodia, Nixon's remark was an acknowledgement of the extent of the crisis that could be touched off by continuing revelations of the corrupt and illegal actions carried out by high White House aides.

New disclosures of such practices have been coming almost daily. And as the web of those implicated widens, it becomes more and more difficult for the press to avoid the obvious inference that Nixon himself approved of the activities and the attempt to prevent their exposure.

The grand jury investigating the scandal has not yet issued any indictment, but enough information has been leaked to the press to indicate that a large number of employees of the White House and the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP) are under investigation. Those mentioned so far include John Mitchell, former attorney general and CREEP director; John W. Dean 3d, presidential counsel; Maurice Stans, former secretary of commerce and chief fund-raiser for Nixon's campaign; Herbert W. Kalmbach, Nixon's personal attorney; H. R. Haldeman, chief of the White House staff; L. Patrick Gray, acting director of the FBI; Jeb Stuart Magruder, assistant secretary of commerce and former deputy director of CREEP; Hugh W. Sloan Jr., former treasurer of CREEP; John D. Ehrlichman, Nixon's top domestic aide; Gordon C. Strachan, former White House aide, general counsel of the U.S. Information Agency; and Dwight L. Chapin, formerly Nixon's appointments secretary.

In the April 27 *New York Times*, Anthony Ripley described "the kinds of crimes" being looked into by the grand jury. According to Ripley, the

possible charges include obstruction of justice (Mitchell, Haldeman), obstruction of criminal investigations (Gray), perjury (Magruder), subornation of perjury, violations of the Voting Rights Act (Mitchell, Magruder, Dean), violations of Federal Election Campaign Act, conspiracy (Sloan, Stans, Ehrlichman, Kalmbach, Strachan).

Ripley's list should not be considered exhaustive, particularly since every day seems to bring new evidence.

Some of the most interesting reports have been published by syndicated columnist Jack Anderson, who managed to get hold of transcripts of testimony before the grand jury. On April 24, for example, Anderson wrote that Chapin had testified that Haldeman had approved of a sabotage campaign that included hiring Donald Segretti, an agent instructed to disrupt the Democratic party's activities. Chapin's testimony was reportedly confirmed by Strachan.

## Gray Burns the Evidence

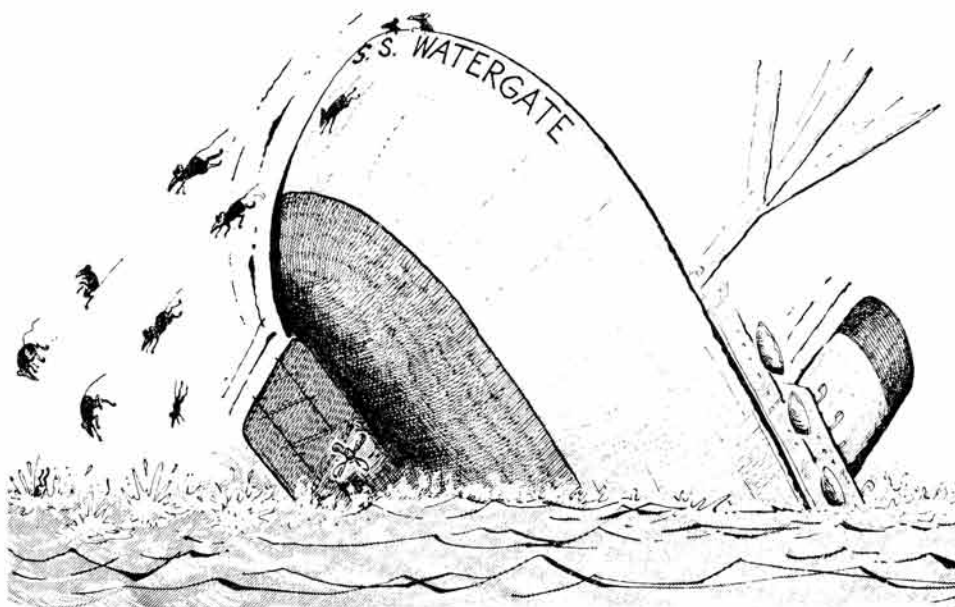
Gray's name first entered the case in a major way on April 27. During

hearings on his nomination to become director of the FBI, Gray had aroused considerable criticism because of his overly eager cooperation with John Dean during the FBI's investigation of Watergate. (Gray's nomination was later withdrawn when it became obvious that the Senate would not confirm his appointment.)

In its lead article April 27, the *New York Times* announced under a banner headline that Gray had admitted destroying secret papers related to the Watergate scandal. Correspondent Walter Rugaber reported from Washington:

"Mr. Gray, who has been notified that he can expect to appear before a Federal grand jury, has said that he placed in his F. B. I. 'burn bag' files handed to him at a session on June 28 with John D. Ehrlichman, assistant to the President for domestic affairs, and John W. Dean 3d, counsel to the President."

The files in question were taken from the White House safe of E. Howard Hunt Jr., who pleaded guilty to charges of conspiracy in the case. The safe was opened and its contents were delivered to Dean on June 20, three



Auth in the Philadelphia Inquirer

days after CREEP's burglars were caught in the office of the Democratic National Committee. At the time Dean and Ehrlichman turned the files over to Gray for destruction Hunt had not been charged but was under investigation by the FBI.

"Mr. Ehrlichman," Rugaber wrote, "confirmed this evening [April 26] that the [June 28] meeting had taken place and that documents had been given to Mr. Gray by Mr. Dean. But he insisted that he did not know the contents of the papers and had not ordered them destroyed. And when he learned 'new facts' about the documents on April 15, he said, he reported them to President Nixon the same day.

"Mr. Gray has said that he cannot testify that either Mr. Dean or Mr. Ehrlichman 'ordered' him to destroy the papers, but he has said that he believes Mr. Dean cautioned him, 'These papers should never see the light of day.'"

Dean was reported to have told Henry E. Petersen, the assistant attorney general put in charge of the Watergate case after Attorney General Richard Kleindienst withdrew, that the papers were "fabricated State Department cables relating to President Kennedy's complicity in Diem's assassination."

This story seems unlikely, to say the least. The "fabrication" of evidence is hardly necessary when the U. S. role in removing the Saigon dictator is a matter of common knowledge. Rugaber hinted at a more likely subject of the papers:

"There have been reports that a number of sensitive papers were in Hunt's possession at the time of the Watergate break-in, including an 'explosive' memorandum dealing with the investigation of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation.

"Hunt, wearing an ill-fitting red wig, is believed to have interviewed Mrs. Dita Beard, an I. T. & T. lobbyist who tied a \$400,000 contribution to the Republicans with settlement of a major antitrust suit against I. T. & T.

"The whereabouts of still other documents reported to have been in Hunt's possession, including two address books and classified materials, has never been definitely established."

## Millions in Secret Funds

The news of Gray's role came close on the heels of the uncovering of still another secret Republican campaign fund. The existence of this fund was reported by Edward Walsh in the April 24 *Washington Post*:

"Herbert W. Kalmbach, President Nixon's personal attorney, maintained a bank account containing about \$500,000 in Nixon re-election campaign funds, at least some of which was used to pay for political



GRAY: Just following orders.

espionage and sabotage, according to government sources.

"The sources said investigators have concluded that this was the fund from which Kalmbach paid at least \$30,000 to Donald H. Segretti for alleged espionage and sabotage in the 1972 presidential campaign."

This account, Walsh added, also supported "other undercover activities or campaign expenses that might have been embarrassing to the Nixon committee. . . ."

The Kalmbach account is the third such secret fund so far uncovered. The first was found in the CREEP office safe of Maurice Stans. It is reported to have amounted to as much as \$700,000. Among the contributors to this fund were a Minneapolis investor who gave \$25,000 and later received

a "coveted bank charter," and Robert Vesco, a financier who was under investigation for fraud at the time he gave \$200,000 in cash. A grand jury in New York is now investigating his contribution and has heard testimony from both Stans and John Mitchell. Also reported involved in arranging Vesco's contribution was Edward Nixon, Richard Nixon's brother.

It has so far been disclosed that \$114,000 from the Stans safe found its way into the account of Bernard L. Barker, one of the convicted Watergate conspirators. Another \$235,000 went to L. Gordon Liddy, who was also convicted in the Watergate case.

The other secret fund was reportedly uncovered in early April by the grand jury. This money, amounting to \$350,000, was transferred from CREEP to the White House on the orders of H. R. Haldeman. The grand jury is investigating whether this money was used to buy the silence of the Watergate burglars.

## Evidence Points to Nixon

Nixon's April 17 announcement of "major developments" in the Watergate scandal was of course designed to create the impression that he personally had been ignorant of the crimes of his subordinates. It is useful here to list the positions held by some of the persons who have been linked to illegal activities or the secret funds that financed them. They include the attorney general, the secretary of commerce, the acting director of the FBI, Nixon's top domestic adviser, his presidential counsel, his White House chief of staff, his personal attorney, and his brother.

Each one of these individuals, Nixon would like the public to believe, acted entirely on his own authority; no one of them ever mentioned to Nixon what was going on. Moreover, such a supposition would imply that there was no overall authority directing the various espionage activities, secret funds, and cover-ups. Merely to state such an argument is enough to lay bare its absurdity.

Nixon's claim of ignorance could possibly (though scarcely) be credited if only one or two top officials were involved. But with the present cast of culprits and the obvious extent of the conspiracy, Nixon would have

had to be blind and deaf to have remained ignorant of it.

Even prominent members of the Republican party have begun to say as much. Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts said on a television program April 22:

"It is difficult to understand how persons working with the president would not make known to him an enterprise of this magnitude involving hundreds of thousands of dollars and involving such a potential risk.

"It is inconceivable to me that they would not have told the president about this matter. In fact, that they wouldn't have asked for his approval or disapproval."

Moreover, two reporters for the *Washington Post* appear to have uncovered evidence that Nixon knew the truth long before the growing stench of the scandal forced him to speak up April 17. Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward wrote in the April 23 issue of the paper:

"As early as last December, President Nixon was warned by members of his own staff that presidential aides were deeply involved in the Watergate bugging and a subsequent cover-up, according to highly reliable sources in the executive branch."

The reporters' sources told them that Nixon was informed of the role of both Dean and Mitchell in the affair, and that he received such warnings on several occasions.

"The sources, all of them men long considered deeply loyal to the President, said that in January special presidential counsel Charles W. Colson and two other presidential assistants told Mr. Nixon that persons in his administration were obstructing justice and that action should be taken.

"On three separate occasions, the sources said, Colson personally recommended to the President that he get rid of some people. An associate of Colson told *The Washington Post* an almost identical account yesterday."

Colson denied the *Post* charges.

Bernstein and Woodward continued:

"According to the associate, Colson's denial was issued for two purposes: to avoid any acknowledgement that the President was forewarned of his aides' involvement in the bugging and cover-up, and fear that Dean might 'retaliate' by implicating Colson before the grand jury."

Asked about these charges, Nixon's deputy press secretary refused either to confirm them or deny them—something of a change from the earlier practice of denying everything related to the scandal.

Despite the indignation of the Democrats and the press, it is well known that dirty tricks are part of the stock-in-trade of capitalist politics (although it must be acknowledged that Nixon's record over the years has been dirtier than most). This in large measure accounts for the inability of the Demo-



CHAPIN: Implicates his superior.

crats to get much mileage out of the scandal during last year's electoral campaign.

In a speech in Phoenix, Arizona, April 25, Senator Barry Goldwater indicated how little importance the politicians themselves normally attach to actions like the Watergate bugging. Goldwater said that he was bugged by the Democrats during the 1964 presidential campaign, when he was the Republican candidate. The Associated Press quoted him as saying:

"I was bugged by the other side and paid no attention to it. They had even put television monitors across the elevator in my apartment building. A bachelor across the hall caught on and said, 'Hey, I bring chicks up here and I don't want to get caught.' So I didn't say anything; I just took

my clippers and dismantled the thing."

## Preparing the Whitewash

What is unusual about the present situation is that so many high officials have been caught in the act. As the capitalist press has been pointing out with great concern, this can only contribute to the growing public disillusionment with the government and the system.

In the April 23 *Washington Post*, William Chapman described several surveys that indicate the extent of this disillusionment. For example, the Michigan-based Institute of Social Research found in a survey last fall that only 45 percent of those questioned said they could trust the government most of the time. In a similar survey in 1964, the number was about two-thirds. Also in 1964, one-fourth of those questioned thought the government was run for the benefit of a few big businesses. In 1972, one-half believed this.

Similarly, a Harris poll in 1966 found 41 and 42 percent of the public expressing confidence in the presidency and Congress respectively; the figures for 1972 were 27 and 21 percent.

In these circumstances, it is highly unlikely that any significant section of the U. S. ruling class would willingly see Nixon directly implicated in the Watergate scandal. Nixon, we may assume, shares their reluctance. The problem, from the standpoint of the capitalists, is that the members of the Nixon gang, in their attempts to protect themselves at the expense of others, keep letting more and more of the truth slip out.

The obvious solution is therefore to sacrifice the minimum number of heads necessary and to whitewash everyone else. The most likely scapegoat candidates fall into two categories: those least able to implicate others and therefore least able to bargain for their own safety, and those with the greatest sense of class solidarity, who would be willing to take the rap for the sake of the system and a suitable monetary reward at a later date.

Nixon's April 17 statement in fact contained one of the elements of the planned whitewash. This was his remark that no high official should be given immunity from prosecution.

## Watergate Burglars Used Against Ellsberg

The Pentagon Papers trial of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo took a sensational turn April 27 with the disclosure that two of the convicted Watergate burglars had broken into the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist. This was the second time in less than a week that figures in the Watergate scandal had been linked to the Nixon administration's attempts to railroad Ellsberg and Russo into jail for the "crime" of turning the Pentagon Papers over to U.S. newspapers.

The discovery of the break-in followed disclosure of government attempts to suppress additional evidence supporting the defense.

On April 26, Judge William Byrne Jr. temporarily suspended testimony in the trial when he learned that the prosecution had failed to turn over to the defense, as required by law, evidence tending to support the defense case. This evidence consisted of interviews by FBI agents and other government investigators. Byrne ordered the prosecution to provide him with the interviews and "everything you have" so that he could determine what should be given to the defense attorneys.

This was the second time in the course of the trial that the government had been caught withholding evidence. On February 2, Byrne dismissed one of the "espionage" charges against Ellsberg because the government had concealed information proving Ellsberg's innocence. (See *Intercontinental Press*, February 19, p. 192.)

Then at 2 p.m. the same day, Byrne received from the government an April 16 memorandum from Watergate prosecutor Earl J. Silbert to Assistant Attorney General Henry E. Petersen. The memorandum said:

"This is to inform you that on Sunday, April 15, 1973, I received information that at a date unspecified, Gordon Liddy and Howard Hunt burglarized the offices of a psychiatrist of Daniel Ellsberg to obtain the psychiatrist's files relating to Ellsberg."

Equally damaging to the government was the fact that it had withheld

While such a declaration was supposed to appear as a determination to spare no one who was guilty, it in fact denies the prosecution the opportunity to force testimony that could implicate others. It should be noted, for example, that James McCord, whose testimony was the first break in the cover-up, refused to testify until granted immunity from further prosecution. In the April 25 *New York Times*, Anthony Ripley quoted one legal professor as saying of Nixon's statement that "the real thrust is nobody can compel you to talk."

Other legal authorities quoted by Ripley pointed out that the Nixon administration in the past had introduced new legislation broadening grants of immunity with the argument that it was necessary to force the rank and file of criminal organizations to testify against higher-ups.

The lawyers interviewed by Ripley also indicated disquiet about the fact that the case remains under the jurisdiction of the Justice Department. There have been numerous demands, so far unheeded, for the appointment of a special prosecutor less subject to presidential pressures.

The prosecutors now conducting the grand jury investigations are the same as those in the first Watergate trial. Their performance at that time was of such poor quality that they were repeatedly rebuked by the judge.

Nixon's staff is now reported divided into two warring factions: a Mitchell-Dean wing and a Haldeman-Ehrlichman wing. The dispute, we may be sure, revolves around the assignment of roles as scapegoat or injured innocent. The sparks from that clash are likely to shed more light than any court proceedings. □

## 'We Never Do Anything Honestly'

### How Nixon Found His 'Silent Majority'

Among the secret activities carried out during the 1972 presidential campaign by the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP) was the falsification of public response to Nixon's mining of North Vietnamese ports in May.

On May 10, 1972, Nixon's press secretary, Ronald Ziegler, reported that telegrams received by the White House were running five or six to one in favor of Nixon's actions. What Ziegler did not tell the press was that most of the telegrams had been paid for by CREEP.

In the April 25 *Washington Post*, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein quoted a campaign official who said: ". . . [CREEP] totally mobilized for the biggest piece of deception—we never do anything honestly. Imagine, the President sending himself telegrams, patting himself on the back."

Another official told the two reporters that the campaign to create "support" for Nixon's aggression had "put the entire staff in overdrive for two weeks . . . the work included petition drives, organizing rallies, bringing people in buses to Washington, organizing calls to the White House,

getting voters to call their congressmen. . . . We felt the Haiphong decision could make or break the President."

When the *New York Times* ran an editorial critical of the mining, CREEP paid for an ad backing Nixon. Signed in such a way as to indicate that it had been paid for by a "citizens group," the ad asked "Who can you believe—the *New York Times* or the *American people*?"

The *New York Post* reported April 26 on another CREEP activity. A television station had asked its listeners to send in ballots stating their support for or opposition to the mining. The result of the poll showed 5,157 supporting Nixon and 1,158 opposing him.

A former CREEP official said April 25 that the committee sent more than 4,000 of the "pro votes." Another said, "Work ground to a halt in the press office [of CREEP] while everyone filled out 15 post cards. Ten people worked for several days buying different kinds of stamps and post cards and getting different handwriting to fake the responses." □

this information for ten days. In Washington, the Justice Department offered the lame excuse that it had concealed the memorandum "until it could be determined that its disclosure would not prejudice the rights of the defendants Ellsberg and Russo!"

"Unofficially," Martin Arnold wrote in the April 28 *New York Times*, "a high department official said that there was considerable anger in Washington over the fact that Judge Byrne decided to disclose the contents of the memorandum."

In an article the next day, Arnold added that the disclosure had come "not willingly, but in the words of one Justice Department official in Washington, because 'It's too hot for us to hold onto.' He added somewhat ruefully that it 'was not suspected that it would be too hot for Byrne to hold onto.'"

The psychiatrist's office was in fact burglarized on September 3, 1971, several weeks after the doctor had been interviewed by the FBI about Ellsberg.

Byrne ordered the Justice Department to investigate who Liddy and Hunt were working for at the time of the burglary. The timing would sug-

gest that if not employed by the FBI, they had received information from it concerning the supposed relevance of the psychiatrist to the Ellsberg trial.

The second connection between Watergate and the Pentagon Papers trial was reported April 28 by the Associated Press:

"Two Cuban exiles said in an interview in *The Miami Herald* last weekend that they had accompanied four of the Watergate conspirators to Washington twice during last May on what they were told was a Central Intelligence Agency mission to disrupt anti-war demonstrations.

"They said that Dr. Ellsberg was a particular target of the first trip, on May 2, on which they were allegedly told to disrupt demonstrations during the funeral of J. Edgar Hoover. . . ."

Judge Byrne postponed acting on the new information until an investigation had determined whether "the legal or constitutional rights of the defendants" were injured by the burglary. Since the government will conduct the investigation of itself, the results are not likely to reveal anything not previously revealed by the press or by witnesses before the Watergate grand jury. □

during all of the second world war.

On April 27, a Senate subcommittee released a staff study that confirmed widespread reports that the bombing in Cambodia has shifted steadily toward more populous areas. Senator Stuart Symington, the subcommittee chairman, issued a statement saying that bombs were being dropped in densely populated areas and that "the safeguards employed to avoid civilian casualties [are] far less stringent than those recently in effect in Laos."

Symington added that the study should correct "the erroneous impression" that "the fighting in Cambodia was between Cambodians and North Vietnamese." Rather, the study "confirms the fact that the struggle going on in Cambodia is essentially a civil war between opposing Cambodian groups and that our bombing is devoted primarily to the support" of Lon Nol.

In the April 28 *New York Times*, Finney quoted statistics from the report showing the increase in the bombing:

"From Feb. 16 to Feb. 28 an average of 23 tactical sorties and 5 B-52 sorties were flown. In the ensuing two-week period, March 1 through March 15, about 58 tactical and gunship sorties and sorties by B-52's were flown daily.

"From March 16 through March 31, there were about 183 daily tactical and gunship sorties and 58 for the B-52. The average daily rate for B-52's remained about the same between April 1 and April 18, while tactical air sorties decreased slightly, the report said."

In a dispatch to the April 23 *Christian Science Monitor*, Daniel Southerland described a typical bombing attack on a Cambodian village, Prek Youn on the Mekong River.

"According to villagers from Prek Youn, and they all agree on this," he wrote, "the bombs hit the village several hours after the Cambodian insurgents had left it. The only people hurt by the bombing of Prek Youn, therefore, were civilians."

Villagers told Southerland that insurgent forces had entered the village one night after firing on a patrol boat of the puppet regime. They urged villagers to leave because of the threat of American bombs. About 9:00 o'clock the next morning two U.S. jets began bombing the village, de-

## Liberation Forces on Outskirts of Pnompenh

## Nixon Widens Terror-Bombing of Cambodia

"Three months after the signing of truce in Vietnam," the *New York Times* commented in an editorial April 29, "the United States is still at war. Not only is the end not in sight, but each day brings new intimations that the Administration is ready for heightened combat in Southeast Asia."

The paper estimated that since the January 27 signing of the cease-fire agreement, U.S. forces have dropped 150,000 tons of bombs on Indochina. The estimate, based on figures released by the Defense Department April 25, may have been conservative.

The department stated that in March it had dropped some 39,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia. In February, U.S. planes dropped 70,000 tons on Cambodia and Laos. In April, although the government has not yet released any figures, it has been wide-

ly reported that the bombing of Cambodia has significantly increased. John W. Finney reported in the April 26 *New York Times*:

"The United States bombed intermittently in Cambodia in the three final weeks of February, and then on a daily basis starting March 1. Currently, the United States is reportedly sending about 60 B-52's and 140 F-4 and F-111 fighter-bombers on daily bombing missions against targets in Cambodia. Each B-52 carries an average bomb load of 20 tons, the F-4 2.5 tons and the F-111 four tons."

Finney added that from 1966 to the end of March of this year, U.S. and puppet forces have dropped 7,288,965 tons of bombs on Indochina. This is more than three-and-a-half times the total dropped by U.S. planes

stroying or damaging half the houses in it. On the following nights, more planes bombed an area nearby where the villagers had taken refuge.

Southerland reported that the planes also dropped leaflets. These were written in Vietnamese and addressed to North Vietnamese soldiers, telling them to go home because a peace treaty had been signed in Vietnam.

"The people in Prek Youn had seen small groups of Cambodian insurgent troops in the village. But they had not seen a single Vietnamese. No one in the village could read the leaflet, much less understand what it was all about."

Such tactics, however, have not stopped the crumbling of the puppet army, although they appear to be behind the reluctance of the liberation forces to launch a major attack on Pnompenh. In an interview reported by Reuters April 28, Prince Norodom Sihanouk said that his supporters would not try to seize the capital, in the hopes of sparing it an all-out bombing by Nixon.

U. S. planes are already hitting areas within view of correspondents in Pnompenh. Malcolm W. Browne wrote in a dispatch to the April 28 *New York Times*:

"American jet fighter-bombers were screeching over the Cambodian capital all day today, pouring bombs, rockets and napalm onto Communist positions just across the Mekong River."

The rebel forces were reported to be in positions from which they could shell any point in the city, although so far their attacks have been confined to the airport.

Yielding to pressure from the Nixon administration, Lon Nol on April 24 announced the creation of a four-man executive to run the puppet "government." Joining Lon Nol in this executive are Sirik Matak, Nixon's favorite, and In Tam and Cheng Heng. In Tam was president of the National Assembly that approved the coup against Sihanouk, but later had a falling out with his boss. Cheng Heng was made "chief of state" for a time before Lon Nol decided to take that post himself. Prior to the coup, Cheng Heng's chief claim to fame was that he had been governor of the Pnompenh jail.

Washington has been insisting that the creation of the four-man executive represents a "broadening" of the pup-

pet "government." And, indeed, it is unquestionable that four persons are four times as many as one. But they are not sufficient in number to exercise control even over Pnompenh without massive U. S. support.

"Many American officials," Murrey Marder wrote in the April 26 *Washington Post*, "look with despair on the situation in Cambodia. They see in it nightmarish memories of how the United States plunged progressively deeper into South Vietnam, in the days of President Ngo Dinh Diem. . . ."

Given his commitment to the maintenance of a puppet regime in Pnompenh, Nixon has little choice but to increase the level of U. S. aggression. The only other alternative is to force

Hanoi to persuade the Cambodian liberation forces to abandon their struggle—something that Hanoi may not have the ability to do. This is what Nixon was talking about when he sent representatives to Paris April 27 to discuss "strict implementation" of the January 27 agreement with the North Vietnamese.

In the past, when "diplomatic" activity has not been able to stave off impending military defeat, Nixon has responded by widening the war. In the present situation, his frequent threats over the past few weeks have indicated that renewed bombing of Vietnam is an "option" that looks increasingly attractive to the U. S. imperialist leader. □

## Patria y Libertad Issues 'Black Commands'

### Fascist Threat Mounting in Chile

By Hugo Blanco

Santiago

Along with the strengthening of the right wing inside the Unidad Popular government a strengthening of fascism is also occurring.

Of the two best-known organizations that represent fascism in Chile, Patria y Libertad [Fatherland and Freedom] and "Rolando Matus," it is the former that might have pretensions of being respectable.

Its full name is Frente Nacionalista Patria y Libertad [Nationalist Front for Fatherland and Freedom]. It was formed two years ago. Its founder and general secretary, Roberto Thieme, died in an accident last February 23 while (in the words of his cothinkers) "carrying out a patrol in the province of Concepción." Another of its "heroes," Héctor Castillo Fuentealba, is honored as having been "murdered by a socialist activist in Chillán on December 20, 1972."

This group has a higher degree of organization, discipline, armed preparation, and determination than any other Chilean party, whether of the left or the right.

In spite of its small size, it has public headquarters (no one knows how many clandestine ones) and a news-

paper, *Patria y Libertad*. Its "swastika" is a stylized spider.

It has already carried out many "actions," primarily against squatters in marginal areas, in cases where hoarding of goods had been uncovered, or when homeless persons have taken over unused land. In these cases, or when certain factories have been occupied, members of the group have functioned as shock troops for the capitalists. They also carried out a great deal of activity during the election campaign, storming the headquarters of left-wing parties or using firearms to attack propaganda teams of these parties. On such occasions, they were joined by members of other right-wing parties, such as the National party and the Christian Democracy.

Patria y Libertad feels that "there is no political solution" for the present situation in Chile.

At the end of March it stated:

"With this second anniversary, we are holding the first national gathering of our leaders, with provincial heads from the entire country also in attendance. This will be the best opportunity for us to redouble our faith in nationalism and to prepare our-



selves, with greater self-sacrifice than ever, for the great battle that awaits us in the immediate future. Every day brings the day of liberation closer. This is a day not to be waited for but to fight for. It will be we nationalists who will return dignity, freedom, and a future to our captive fatherland."

The gathering was dubbed the Expanded National Council. The main agreement reached was operation SACO [Sistema de Acción Cívica Organizada — System of Organized Civic Action]. The internal document explaining this operation could not be kept secret—or (more likely) *Patria y Libertad* "leaked" it so that it would be given wide circulation.

The following are the main points of the "black commands," as they are now known:

- For professionals who work in the Social Sector of the economy (companies that have been taken over by the state):

"Make a brief report on the firm's financing and the banks where money is deposited, as well as the persons in charge of the depositing, and to the extent possible on the firm's monthly financial status. . . . Draw up a list of stocks and supplies, and the names of the respective importers and the usual suppliers. . . . Draw up a list of the kind of machines that are used, detailing the sources of energy, water, or fuel and the emergency electrical plants. . . .

"Do not teach their technological methods or their codes. . . . Do not report their experiments to the UP. . . . Do not train anyone in the UP. . . . Remove plans and manuals dealing with their projected and present operations and maintenance, and in cases where this is not possible, create chaos in the archives. If you are involved in planning, raise the margin of certainty for every estimate and quantity. . . . Call for the maximum possible number of accessories, and the minimum possible amount of information [memory]. . . . Increase the personnel involved in 'dead work,' administrative aides, day laborers, and service personnel, without rationalizing activities or mechanizing the work that is performed. . . ."

- For private contractors:

"Under legal pretexts, let the contracts of Marxist workers or employees lapse if they are constantly attempting to form cells that are pre-



ALLENDE: Can his "moderation" cope with growing fascist threat?

paring to take over the company. . . . Industrialists will have to win over their workers through *pledges* that involve small cost to the company. . . . Lunch, coffee break, etc., and small breakfasts for those who live furthest away. . . . Work shoes, vacation retreats, emergency funds, scholarships for children of the most outstanding workers, free time for going to school, help in paying for books and for enrolling to obtain training. . . .

"The industrialist will have to do business preferentially, and later exclusively, with the democratic clients included on the list provided by the coordination center. . . . In cases where state-run companies exert pressure to bring about sale of a product, payment in cash will be required, partial deliveries of the goods will be made, and increased prices will be charged. . . . The distribution of products will be entrusted only to democratic distributors; in case of state repression, only products of lower quality and in lesser quantity will be delivered to the social sector, and this will be done with delays and

dragged-out negotiations over the matter. . . .

"In case of illegal take-overs of plants, the owner will notify the coordination center in advance of all details and the names and addresses of the leaders, etc., and the appropriate protective mechanism will be provided. . . ."

- For ranchers:

"Draw up a sketch with the location of the property and access roads, paths, crossings, and tracks that can be used as alternatives in blocking roads. . . . Lists of their own available means of transportation, or hired trucks capable of carrying freight (preferably with fully licensed drivers). . . . Reports on the type, frequency, and schedule of stations for overhauling and repairing the same. . . . Volunteers for organizing a system of signs and road patrols that can facilitate the moving of transport. . . . Attempts could be made to enlist the cooperation of private planes and ham radio operators in perfecting the system. . . .

"Produce basic foods—beans, lentils, chick-peas, potatoes, corn, etc.—in the best soil and in small plots that are not liable to be detected, but that produce a high yield and high quality. . . . Furnish SOCOAGRO [state distribution agency] with false reports on the yield per plot and the possibilities of the property. It will be necessary to give the impression of cooperating in order to obtain allowances and other credits, but the major part of what is produced will be delivered through SACO. . . .

"Form self-defense nuclei and an information system by means of loyal workers who infiltrate the peasant settlements and the estates that have been expropriated throughout the zone. Reinforcement nuclei will be set up in the towns together with a warning system involving the cooperation of civil servants in financial bodies. . . . Activists in the UP (FTR-MIR [Frente de Trabajadores Revolucionarios-Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria — Front of Revolutionary Workers-Movement of the Revolutionary Left]) will be identified, and they will be subjected to constant surveillance and possible psychological or physical intimidation."

- For neighbors:

"Fathers will instruct their children in detail about the meaning of total-

itarianism, using oral and graphic examples of it throughout the world, and they will indicate to their children who the Marxist totalitarian agents are so that they can avoid physical contact with them and isolate them. . . . On a permanent basis they will make them read about or will call their attention to the daily brutality of Marxism, using a wide number of examples to teach them about the unsuitability of the dogma. . . .

"SACO section heads will get from their neighbors the location of cells and the meeting places for pro-UP businessmen, for the JAP [Juntas de Abastecimiento y Control de Precios—Supply and Price Control Boards], and for distributing rationed goods; the names and nicknames of militants and their movements, places of operation, etc. . . .

"Sustained campaigns involving psychological intimidation will be carried out, using slogans and propaganda aimed at UP militants, as well as rumors and scare stories aimed at UP women and their children; these will be furnished by SACO. . . . Follow a policy of ill will: Offer no transportation to UP people; give no aid to UP people; do not lend to, obtain from, speak to, compete with, or maintain friendly relations with UP people. . . . Boycott the directives of the

UP Neighborhood Boards with perfectly organized groups whose aims are clear and precise."

As can be seen, fascism is formulating its line of action with ever-increasing clarity. In its lexicon—in addition to the special meaning it gives to concepts like "democracy" (i.e., the international right) and "totalitarianism"—UP means the entire left and every individual worker, student, or squatter in the vanguard. "Unionists" are those who participated in the bosses' strike last October. The front page of the latest issue of *Patria y Libertad* carried the following headline: "Nationalism, Unionism, and Armed Forces: The Only Alternatives for Power."

The Christian Democracy bemoans the "irresponsibility of *Patria y Libertad*" and whiningly asks a few questions: "1) If the political process is blocked by the institutional deadlock, what are their feelings about continuing to adhere to democratic principles? 2) If the political process becomes blocked, do they propose straightforwardly a coup d'etat against Allende? 3) Are they in a position to perform such a coup by themselves, or do they expect the armed forces to take part in it? 4) Do they believe, if they are in their

right mind, that the armed forces would carry out a coup d'etat in Chile? And if they do believe this, do they think that the armed forces would do it on behalf of their movement?"

This sniveling is not preventing the Christian Democracy's members from being polarized in the direction of *Patria y Libertad*, which they definitely feel is more "in its right mind" than Frei or Tomic.

Although the UP denounces certain attacks by *Patria y Libertad* on inhabitants of marginal shantytowns, its position is confusionist. The government secretary general, Anibal Palma, for instance, denounced the attitude of squatters and workers participating in occupations as a plot by the MIR and *Patria y Libertad*. Statements of this kind confuse the people and can only work to the advantage of the fascist groups.

Only the strength of the organized workers, continuing their struggle without letting themselves be held back by vacillating and traitorous leaderships, can force fascism to retreat. The real accomplices of *Patria y Libertad* are not the workers who are mobilizing in defense of their interests. On the contrary, they are the worst enemy of fascism. The true accomplices are those who hold back and vilify this mobilization of the masses. □

## Spark New Strike Wave in Auto Industry

# Immigrant Workers in France Enter the Fray

By Jon Rothschild

"I came here eight months ago and got hired as a semiskilled worker. The safety instructions were written in French. I can't read French. I got a hand torn off by the machine."

A not unusual accident report. According to the French National Statistical Institute, the workplace accident rate for immigrant workers is eight times higher than it is for French workers. In the metal industry, where the immigrants are 12 percent of the work force, they are 24 percent of the workers injured on the job. This is one of the few statistical categories in which the immigrants score higher than the French workers. Others in-

clude the rate of hospitalization among youth, the incidence of rickets, and the death rate from tuberculosis.

Victimization of foreign workers has gone on in France (and other Western countries) for years. It has not been the subject of newspaper articles in the bourgeois press or of parliamentary debate until recently. This is for two reasons: The number of foreign workers in France has dramatically risen in the last decade; and the foreign workers have begun to struggle against their conditions of life.

According to the official French census agency, as of January 1972 there

were 3,628,452 immigrant workers in France. Of these, just under 2 million are men, about 870,000 are women, and about 825,000 are children. Most nongovernmental surveys indicate that the real total is 10-12 percent higher. Taking this into account, and allowing for the immigration that has occurred since the beginning of 1972, it can be safely assumed that today's real figure is in excess of 4 million. The mean annual increase in the number of foreign workers in France (due both to population increases among resident immigrants and to current immigration) appears to be about 5-6 percent.

Nationally, the immigrants constitute about 15 percent of the total work force (about 8 percent of the total population). But both those figures are misleading. As a pool of unskilled and semiskilled labor, the immigrants concentrate in cities and in productive areas of the economy. In greater Paris, for example, about 13 percent of the population is immigrant. In industry, about 20 percent of the national work force is immigrant; in the construction industry the figure is upwards of 30 percent.

The ethnic composition of the foreign population is difficult to determine. Much of the immigration is illegal and thus not easily susceptible to statistical analysis.

(Semilegal is probably a more nearly correct term. While it is officially against the law, clandestine immigration is generally ignored by the regime. This provides a broad range of benefits to all those concerned with accumulation of capital. Workers who are in the country illegally are far more vulnerable to victimization by the corporations that contract to bring them into France in the first place. Besides, an illegal traffic generates vibrant subsidiary industry. Smugglers, slumlords, dope peddlers, confidence men, and similar elements who under less favorable conditions might swell the ranks of the unemployed are able to find work in their chosen professions, accumulate some initial capital, and take their places among respectable layers of society.)

The March 24 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported the following ethnic breakdown of the immigrant population as of 1971: Algerian 754,462; Spanish 589,926; Italian 588,739; Moroccan 194,296; Polish 99,867; Portuguese 694,550; Tunisian 106,846; Yugoslavian 65,218. Not included (no explanation was offered) are immigrants from former French colonies in Black Africa, who may well total several hundred thousand.

The greatest increase in immigration comes from Portugal (in 1962, there were — officially — only about 70,000 Portuguese immigrants in France, about *one-tenth* the current figure), Algeria (about a 75 percent increase over 1962), Morocco, and Yugoslavia.

## French Capital's 'Mobile Work Force'

It is apparent, then, that the past decade has seen the growth of an immigrant population that is socially significant. Numerically, the weight of immigrant workers (taken as a whole) in French society is not qualitatively different from the weight of the Black population in the United States.

The economic advantages to the French ruling class are manifold. In contrast to their American class brothers, who have more experience in hypocritical rhetoric on such questions, the French capitalists seem willing to publicly boast about their exploitation of the "non-native" population. An article in the employers' magazine *Usine Nouvelle*, for example, noted:

"The existence of this immigration gives our economy greater flexibility, since the immigrants are very mobile, are willing to switch factories or regions, and, if it becomes necessary, to become compensated unemployed. The immigration is still more advantageous in that it allows our country to defray a part of the costs of education and to better balance the budget. Because they are young, the immigrants often bear a heavier share of taxation than they receive in benefits."

The latter part of this statement is politely put. In fact, the immigrants receive almost nothing in the way of social benefits, and their "mobility" is enforced simply by denying them decent places to live, and even by clearing them out of the slums they are forced to occupy, whenever the vicissitudes of the real estate market call for such action.

In the March 24 *Le Monde*, Georges Mauco describes one technique used:

"In Paris and in the other big cities, the fight against the immigrants' hovels took another form of violence — one tailored to serve the real estate and administrative interests in their effort to clear out the buildings and apartments that they want to renovate. In the seventh arrondissement of the capital, an expulsion operation was mounted to eliminate 150 North Africans occupying a hotel-dormitory. A team of about fifteen men showed up at seven o'clock in the morning. A police official went through each room and signed evic-

tion notices for all tenants registered by the police.

"The others — there were often four or five to a room — had no certificates of occupancy, so they were ignored. When the policeman came back out, the team captain gave the signal to attack. Furniture was thrown into the street, personal effects were piled pell-mell into sacks brought along by the commando. The whole lot, people and sacks, were tossed into trucks. Of the people evicted, those registered by the police were given other lodgings; the others had to fend for themselves.

"Once the area was cleared out, it was 'mopped up.' Armed with lead pipes, sledgehammers, and hatchets, the strong-arm men broke the windows, wrecked the wash rooms, tore up the floor boards, and broke down the walls. The idea is to discourage people from trying to come back by making the place unusable."

The conditions the immigrants are forced to live in when they do find lodgings make the rate of diseases generally associated with the early days of the industrial revolution much higher than average. In some of the slums, composed of hovels with tarpaper or sheet-metal roofs, there is no running water, rats abound, and fire is a constant danger. Mauco gave some examples of the diseases fostered by the slum conditions. In the Paris area, 39 percent of tuberculosis victims are immigrants. In some predominantly African areas, the tuberculosis rate reaches 15 to 23 percent on the average. In fact, France has a tuberculosis death-rate eight times higher than the Netherlands, the discrepancy being due largely to the immigrants. Among immigrant youth, the rate of hospitalization is three to six times higher than it is for French youth. Malnutrition and vitamin-deficiency diseases result in the hospitalization of large numbers of immigrant infants.

## Fontanet-Marcellin Memorandum

Late in 1972, the French government intervened to bolster the already great "mobility" of the immigrant workers. The Fontanet-Marcellin memorandum was issued. Essentially, the system set up by the memorandum links entry papers to labor contracts. Instead of issuing the immigrants work permits, which allow

them to look for work "freely"—that is, within the usual constraints of capitalist society—the regime will grant immigrants the right of residency only if they have a certificate from an individual employer.

The March 2 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, explained the effects of the Fontanet memorandum:

"It is the employer who furnishes the immigrant proof of lodging [a necessity for labor contracts]. Thus, the employer can control all aspects of the immigrant worker's life—private life, trade union and political activities.

"Finally, the police department is the only authority empowered to distribute visas and work permits. The Fontanet-Marcellin memorandum thus gives the police full power to eliminate anybody they consider undesirable.

"In this way the big employers, like Citroën, Simca, etc., can impose a system of six-month rotation of the immigrant work force, aimed at always having a fresh work force, cheap and unable to organize. Thus, at Citroën, while the management refused to renew labor contracts to twenty Tunisian workers, at the same time it asked the National Immigration Office for permission to import 560 new immigrant workers! The twenty Tunisians were threatened with expulsion from the country."

"Pompidou's dream," wrote *Rouge* in its April 13 issue, "is to be able to imitate the West German example. In 1966, when Germany was going through a recession and economic difficulties, 250,000 immigrant workers were expelled. They can be brought back in when things straighten out again.

"In France, the same maneuver has already been used, although on a smaller scale. Wendel-Sidelor carried out mass firings, and the immigrant workers were the first to be hit; 4,000 work permits were not renewed."

The regime apparently believed it would have no trouble imposing the Fontanet-Marcellin memorandum, since the precarious position of the immigrant workers had in the past made them less than militant in opposing government manipulation. But this time, the immigrants fought back, through forms of struggle ranging

from hunger strikes to factory occupations.

The March 30 *Rouge* quoted the statement of Antonio Silva, a Portuguese worker in the giant Renault-Billancourt plant, which has been in the center of the struggle against the memorandum:

"I came to work in France in 1971, before this memorandum. My only problem was to find an employer. Once hired, I got my visa and work permit pretty quickly. Then, if I wanted to change employers, I could.

"Now, all this is changed. I know other immigrant workers who came here after the memorandum. They got no work permits, instead they got labor contracts. They are not allowed to change jobs. As soon as a worker finishes his contract, he has no chance to renew it and has to go back to his native country.

"When you immigrate under a labor contract, you're not allowed to go on strike. Are there two kinds of workers? Ones that can go on strike and ones that can't? If the immigrant worker is made into a slave, the French worker will soon be one too. If you don't even have the simple right to change jobs, what right do you have? What remains of liberty, equality, and fraternity if men who work for a living are tied to one employer like a slave to his master?"

The first forms the immigrant workers' struggle against the Fontanet-Marcellin memorandum took were hunger strikes to demand that they be issued work permits as in the pre-memorandum days. Significantly, the struggles started before the legislative elections, in the midst of the campaign. The immigrants, like the high-schoolers, who also lack the right to vote, were thus the first two sectors to upset the electoral truce and to wage extraparliamentary fights that helped trigger the broader conflicts to come.

By the middle of February, actions against the Fontanet memorandum were under way in Toulouse, Strasbourg, Lyon, and Carpentras. In the latter city, the Communist party demonstrated that its opposition to struggle in the preelection period was not restricted to the high-school movement.

The March 9 *Rouge* reported that after two Moroccan workers were assaulted, a protest demonstration was organized by the Association of Solidarity With Immigrant Workers. It

was scheduled for February 24. Most of the left and far-left groups, and some unions besides, called for support to the demonstration. But on the morning of February 24, the CP's local newspaper, *La Marseillaise*, announced that CP members would not attend the action and urged the population to stay away. The people, said the CP, had to beware of government attempts to create provocations aimed at disrupting the elections by fomenting violence. In spite of the CP's scabbing, 250 people marched.

The CP soon began to find itself in a rather embarrassing position. The leadership had given partial support to the Fontanet memorandum, claiming it would help to reduce illegal immigration, which the CP sees as a threat to the French workers. But the struggle of the immigrants themselves continued to broaden and began to get support from the French workers.

The March 16 *Rouge* reported that hunger strikes by immigrant workers demanding work permits were going on in Valence, Mulhouse, Toulouse, Perpignan, and Aix. The March 23 issue reported that Nice and Lille had joined the cities involved. In some cases, the immigrants got enough support to force the government to back down and issue work permits, although government officials reiterated that the terms of the memorandum would be applied in the future. Toulouse and Lyon were two cities where this happened.

The struggle against the memorandum impelled the immigrant workers to take up other demands as well—specifically those relating to their positions on the job. The demand of equal pay for equal work with French workers was raised. Elementary rights of trade-union organization were also fought for. The April 13 issue of *Rouge* gave a roundup of the struggles initiated by the immigrant workers:

"At Girosteel, at Bourget, the immigrants fought for the rehiring of a fired worker, the end of all discrimination in hiring, the right of unionization, and across-the-board wage increases.

"At Pennaroya in Lyon, the immigrant workers, confronted with police and fascist violence, went on strike and occupied the factory.

"At Maillard and Duclos, in the

Lyon construction industry, strikes hit thirteen work sites; some of them were occupied.

"During the so-called electoral truce, those who could not vote were in the forefront of the workers' struggles: at Brissoneau, at the SORMAE plant, at Zimmerfer, at Fos, at FASIBE, and in departments 34 and 38 at Renault."

The first wave of the immigrant workers' struggle reached a culmination on March 31, when about 3,000 immigrants demonstrated in Paris to demand abrogation of the Fontanet-Marcellin memorandum. The action was overshadowed by the huge demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of youth on March 22 and April 2, but it nevertheless represented a new willingness on the part of the immigrants to fight openly for their rights. On April 9, in the united trade-union and youth demonstration against the abolition of draft deferments and the militarization of youth, contingents of immigrant workers took part.

### Communist Party Obstructionism

The major force holding back the fight of the immigrant workers, naturally, is the Communist party. The CP-SP Common Program in the legislative elections last March included several demands for constitutional and penal code reforms aimed at improving the legal position of the immigrants. But the Common Program said nothing about the political rights of the immigrants. It recommended that the right to vote be granted only to naturalized French citizens, not to immigrants living and working in France but formally still citizens of their countries of origin!

"The French Communist party presents itself as the best defender of the national interest," wrote *Rouge* in its March 9 issue, "and this leads it logically to defend control over immigration (hence the CP's remarks about the positive aspects of the Fontanet memorandum last October). This is the same logic that leads it not only to defend, but to demand a strengthening of the powers of the National Immigration Office, which is really a service for recruiting slaves from neighboring countries.

"The CP's nationalism, its narrowly legalistic outlook, leads it to defend the existing order in employment (demo-



Immigrant workers in France march against Fontanet-Marcellin memorandum.

cratically, of course). And when struggles by immigrant workers broke out, the CP generally withheld any real support or active solidarity (Girosteel, Pennaroya, Zimmerfer, for example)."

"As against the employers' attempts to divide the workers," *Rouge* continued, "we declare: French, immigrants, same employers, same fight! Equal pay for equal work! Equal rights for all!

"But the immigrant workers are most often more exploited than the French workers. In order to impose this superexploitation on the immigrants, the bourgeoisie has set up a whole series of means of control and repression.

"So the immigrants have special demands on the political, social, and economic levels. But their demands must be supported by the entire working class; this is the only way to ensure their victory."

*Rouge* listed a series of demands. Among them were the following:

Freedom of immigration; Abolish the National Immigration Office; No limit on the amount of money immigrants can send back to their countries of origin; Abolition of work permits; Equal family allowance payments for immigrants; Right to elect and to be elected to any organ of workers defense; Right of equal professional training with French workers; Right to equal education at all levels; Serious application of existing laws against racism; Dissolution of racist organizations; No expulsions of immigrants from their living quarters; Lift the bans on political and trade-union organizations of other countries; Complete freedom of the

press for immigrants; Abolition of the minister of the interior's discretionary powers; Equal political rights for French and immigrant workers; Right to vote for all immigrants in France; Right of association, assembly, and political expression; Right of immigrants to return to their countries of origin at any time without paying any penalty and the right to return to France at will; Abolish the Fontanet memorandum and all laws discriminating against immigrant workers.

### Triggering the Renault Strikes

At the end of March, the immigrant workers triggered what has become one of the most serious labor upsurges to occur in France in recent years. On March 21, some 373 OS (ouvriers spécialisés—semiskilled workers) in the stamping section of the giant Renault-Billancourt plant walked off the job. At least three-fourths of the OS are immigrant workers. They work in Department 12 of Renault-Billancourt, where they operate huge presses, performing the same set of motions 353 times an hour forty-three hours a week.

Within Department 12 there are three different pay scales—all for the same job. The OS demanded immediate wage increases, equal pay for equal work, and reclassification of all OS into a higher slot.

The third demand became the most crucial. Earlier, management had created a new classification, called Pl F, short for *ouvriers professionnels de fabrications*. But only about a dozen of the OS had been advanced to that classification.

As the struggle developed, the state-run company agreed to grant the OS wage increases that would bring them close to PI F level, but refused to yield on the question of reclassification. The board of directors had clearly decided to hold the line on this point, recognizing that the entire system of stratification—of crucial importance in maintaining the superexploitation of the immigrant workers—was at stake.

The employers hoped that the wage increases would be enough to convince the OS to end their strike. The Communist party leadership of the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the country's largest trade-union federation) bolstered the employers in this aim. Both the regime and the Stalinist bureaucrats failed.

The regime's tactics then shifted. "To avoid the development of an 'Italian-style' situation in which shop after shop walks out on strike," wrote Jean-Marie Dupont in the April 27 *Le Monde*, "management decided to force the laying off of thousands of workers, then to close two factories outright

when the first signs of the spread of the OS strike appeared."

The resulting lockouts threw 7,000 workers out of work. Then, the strikes escalated and the company retaliated with more lockouts. By April 18, at Renault 40,000 workers were on strike, and the strike movement had spread to the Peugeot plants as well.

During the last week in April, the situation in the auto industry was murky. In many factories, workers had returned to their jobs. But the issues were far from settled. The workers were demanding to be paid for the time they were locked out; the companies were resisting. More important, twenty-five OS at the Flins Renault plant had been fired for defending themselves against company-organized police violence. At the Billancourt plant, one OS was fired for allegedly damaging material during the strike.

The April 27 *Le Monde* reported that criminal charges would be filed against the Flins workers, an issue that could well provoke fresh walkouts. The OS strikes and the broader

strikes they triggered suffered from two great weaknesses—both due largely to the policies of the CGT leadership. The strikes remained locally isolated, the CP leaders deliberately playing one factory off against another. And the strike did not give rise to the democratically elected organizational forms that have characterized the current youth upsurge. While there were localized moves in the direction of forming strike committees and general assemblies, they did not become generalized. The workers paid in this way for the Stalinist hegemony that still exists in the labor movement although it has been pretty well demolished among the high-schoolers, university students, and technical-school students.

Nevertheless, the OS strikes marked a basic change in the consciousness of the semiskilled workers in general and more particularly in the consciousness of the immigrant workers.

The immigrant workers' new militancy will no doubt be reflected in the united May Day demonstration and in the general workers' struggles yet to come. □

## In Reply to the Healyites

# Contradictory Nature of the Postwar Prosperity

By Dick Roberts

The March 19, 1973, issue of the *Bulletin*, weekly organ of the Workers League, takes up an article by Ernest Mandel that appeared in *Intercontinental Press* January 29.

Mandel stated in his article: "The international capitalist recession seems to have ended. All the imperialist countries, except Italy, foresee accelerated growth in 1973. The three key countries of the international capitalist economy—the United States, West Germany, and Japan—are experiencing a clearly ascending phase in industrial production."

This is "utterly wrong" according to the *Bulletin*. "The dollar has been devalued, the price of gold has hit \$95 an ounce, the system of fixed exchange rates has all but collapsed as every major European currency is floating, foreign exchange markets have been shut fown for the second time in less than a month and are not due to open until next week and the stock market has fallen nearly 100 points."

The *Bulletin* editors ask: "... how was it possible for Ernest Mandel, the author of two fat volumes on economics, to be so utterly wrong in his assessment of the economic trends? Why did he have such extraordinary

confidence in the future of capitalism just days before the entire system was plunged into financial chaos?"

And they answer: "... Mandel decisively broke from Marxism 20 years ago. He rejected dialectical materialism in favor of the crudest empiricism and abandoned the struggle for an understanding of capitalist society from the standpoint of contradiction. Blinded by the superficial characteristics of the post-war boom, Mandel concluded that Lenin's assessment of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism was incorrect. Through a revision of every basic tenet of Marxism, he arrived at the theory of neocapitalism which seeks to wipe contradiction out of the capitalist system."

With little alteration, the Workers League and its parent organization, the British Socialist Labour League, have been repeating these charges against Mandel for the last four years.

Did Mandel actually "seek to wipe contradiction out of the capitalist system" in the *Intercontinental Press* article under consideration? No. In his article Mandel asked whether the recovery from the 1969-72 recession of the major capitalist powers had resolved the contradictions that brought the recession about. He answered that the

contradictions were not resolved. "As is always the case during an international capitalist recession, inter-imperialist contradictions were exacerbated," Mandel stated.

Looking to the future, he wrote, "The prospects for the international capitalist economy are . . . hardly optimistic. . . . Monetary, financial, and industrial difficulties will combine with the growing social tensions to make the 1970s as a whole a decade of slowdown of economic expansion and of multiplication of the class struggle."

The *Bulletin* editors' assertions are clearly false as regards the *Intercontinental Press* article. It will be seen that their charges fare no better against any other article by Mandel. In fact the charges of the Healy-Wohlforth tendency against Mandel's analysis of post-World War II capitalist economic developments are fraudulent from start to finish.<sup>1</sup>

The leaders of the Workers League and their mentors in Britain must be asked once again why they repeatedly lie about Ernest Mandel's economic analyses. Why do they attempt to interject into the socialist movement the smear and slander techniques of the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists? Does their own economic line square with reality and help to further the struggle against imperialism?

A closer look at postwar capitalism, Ernest Mandel's economic theory, and the efforts of the Healy-Wohlforth group to explain capitalism's survival into the 1970s will shed light on these matters. The crisis of world capitalism that is everywhere impelling the bourgeoisie to intensify attacks on workers' living standards makes these questions of utmost significance.

## Postwar Capitalism

"What was it that converted capitalism from the cataclysmic failure which it appeared to be in the 1930s into the great engine of prosperity of the postwar Western world?" The question is raised by the British bourgeois economist Andrew Shonfield in *Modern Capitalism: The Changing Balance of Public and Private Power* (1965). Not only do bourgeois economists ask the question, but Marxists themselves have been compelled to consider it. To dismiss this postwar "prosperity" as "superficial," as the Healyites are wont to do, is to preclude any possibility of concretely understanding the diverse forms the class struggle has assumed during the last quarter century and of anticipating and preparing for the forms they are likely to assume in the near future.

Shonfield, who uses terms like "modern capitalism" and "new capitalism" to describe postwar imperialism, notes: "From 1901 to 1913 industrial production in the advanced countries of Western Europe increased by almost half from the start of the century. From 1950 to 1962 the aggregate industrial output had doubled."

1. Mandel explicitly rejects the term "neocapitalism" in the sense the Healyites attribute to him. In "Workers Under Neo-Capitalism" (1968) he declared, "I do not care very much for the term 'neo-capitalism' which is ambiguous, to say the least. . . . Some European politicians and sociologists speak about 'neocapitalism' in the sense that society has shed some of the basic characteristics of capitalism. I deny this most categorically, and therefore attach to the term 'neo-capitalism' the opposite connotation: a society which has all the basic elements of classical capitalism."

The postwar boom and relative class peace that prevailed in the advanced capitalist countries in the beginning of the 1960s produced a massive flight from Marxist economic theory, even among radicals. Typical of the American New Left was C. Wright Mills's categorical assertion in *The Marxists* (1962): "There is now no substantial reason to believe that Marxist revolutions will come about in the foreseeable future in any major advanced capitalist society. In fact, the revolutionary potential—whatever the phrase may reasonably mean—of wageworkers, labor unions and political parties, is feeble."

British Labour party right-winger C. A. R. Crosland spelled out the glories of the "new capitalism" from the House of Commons in the late 1950s and early 1960s. "The belief that 'inner contradictions' of capitalism would lead . . . ultimately to the collapse of the whole system, has by now been rather obviously disproved."<sup>2</sup>

"One cannot imagine to-day a deliberate offensive alliance between Government and employers against the Unions on the 1921 or 1925-6 or 1927 model, with all the brutal paraphernalia of wage-cuts, national lockouts, and anti-Union legislation. . . ."

". . . in my view Marx has little or nothing to offer the contemporary socialist, either in respect of practical policy, or of the correct analysis of our society, or even of the right conceptual tools or framework. His prophecies have been almost without exception falsified, and his conceptual tools are now quite inappropriate."

Terms like neocapitalism were not an invention of Mandel's but of myopic reformists like Crosland. "It . . . seems misleading to continue talking about 'capitalism' in Britain, as though the lines of battle were essentially the same as a generation ago," said Crosland. ". . . I believe that our present society is sufficiently defined, and distinct from classical capitalism, to require a different name."

## Keynesianism

These apologists for capitalism believed that increasing state intervention in the economy could provide nearly permanent economic stability by moderating the business cycle. They represented this development as a shift of power away from the ruling class towards the people.

The loss of power by the "business class" to the state "is largely a consequence of the explicit acceptance by governments of responsibility for full employment, the rate of growth, the balance of payments, and the distribution of incomes," said Crosland. "The main instrument for exercising this responsibility is fiscal policy. Acting mainly through the Budget, though with the aid of other instruments, the government can exert any influence it likes on income-distribution, and can also determine within broad limits the division of the total output between consumption, investment, exports and expenditures."

Professor Shonfield declared: ". . . control over the business cycle, which owes so much to Keynes's work, has been one of the decisive factors in establishing the dynamic and prosperous capitalism of the postwar era. Indeed, it is probably the single most important factor in this change."

2. *The Future of Socialism* (1963). The first edition of this book appeared in 1957.

## Mandel's 'Marxist Economic Theory'

Mandel's two-volume *Marxist Economic Theory*, published in 1962,<sup>3</sup> provided a comprehensive refutation of these reformist theories and a reaffirmation of Marxist economics. It supplied new proofs of the main laws of capitalism that Marx had discovered. Where Marx had presented these laws in a logical order in *Capital*, Mandel showed their historical genesis and then their application to all sectors of world economics today.

Drawing on the Left Opposition's analysis of the degeneration of the Russian revolution, Mandel extended his historic study to postcapitalist societies and concluded it with a discussion of socialist economy. The two volumes are an outstanding contribution to revolutionary literature and are unquestionably the most important work in Marxist economics to appear in the postwar period.

Under capitalism—all capitalism—production of social surplus is also production and appropriation of *surplus value*, which can be created only by living labor. Thus capitalism faces the ever deepening contradiction that only living labor produces surplus value, yet competition more and more forces the capitalists to increase the proportion of "dead labor" in production (raw materials, plant, machinery, etc.). The smaller the proportion of invested capital going into wages, the greater the threat to capitalist profits. Thus the rate of profit tends to decline. Marx described this law as the opposite side of the coin of capitalist accumulation.

The situation must arise in which new investment cannot maintain sufficient profit rates. The capitalists hold back. Production is cut and a crisis ensues.

In the fifth chapter of *Marxist Economic Theory* (entitled "The Contradictions of Capitalism") Mandel wrote: "The increase in the social surplus product in relation to the necessary product does not lead to a tremendous increase in well-being and comfort for society as a whole, but to an increase in the surplus labour appropriated by the possessing classes, in a growth in the degree of exploitation of the working class. The decrease in the ratio between the new wealth created each year and accumulated social wealth does not mean that mankind can live more and more exclusively on this accumulated wealth, it does not mean a constant increase in leisure, but becomes, on the contrary, a periodical source of convulsions, crises and unemployment. The growth in the mass of dead labour in relation to living labour does not mean an ever-greater saving of human labour, but the creation of a vast industrial reserve army, under the pressure of which consumption by the producers remains restricted to the necessary product, and their physical effort is lengthened or intensified. This antagonistic form which is taken by the tendencies of the development of the capitalist system is what makes its destruction inevitable" (pp.169-70).

Yet the Healyites assert that Mandel, "through a revision of every basic tenet of Marxism . . . arrived at the theory of neocapitalism which seeks to wipe contradiction out of the capitalist system!"

## State Intervention

It is precisely because of the inevitability of crisis under capitalism that the state *must intervene more and more*. This does not change the fundamental character of capitalist society. "Monopoly capitalism turns more and more to the state," Mandel stated, "in order to secure by state intervention in the economy what the normal working of the latter can no longer secure for it. *The bourgeois state becomes the essential guarantor of monopoly profits*" (pp. 501-2). This is not a handing of power from the ruling class to the state, as the apologists for neocapitalism assert. ". . . it expresses the submission of the state to the monopolies, through increasing personal links between the leading figures in the state and the heads of the big monopolies in person" (p. 507).

The question remains as to the degree to which the capitalist state can moderate the fluctuations of the business cycle. *What are the contradictions of state intervention itself?* Mandel stressed that neocapitalist state intervention runs into an insuperable contradiction: the *"permanent tendency to currency inflation."* Government expenditure, above all on arms, "increases the amount of purchasing power in circulation without creating on the market a corresponding additional supply of goods, as counter-value. Even when this increased purchasing power brings about the re-employment of previously idle machinery and men, it causes inflation eventually" (p. 527).

Every effort to prolong the cycle through increased government expenditures will increase inflation. But the dollar is also the main currency in *international finance*. Thus, continued inflation threatens to wreck the international monetary system. Mandel pinpointed the economic arena in which the contradictions of neocapitalism would first manifest themselves: the international monetary system.

He wrote: "Capitalism will . . . choose to employ the 'anti-cyclical' techniques. But it will do this hesitatingly, with many misgivings, and, finally, it will not prevent inflation from getting worse. The capacity of the currency to resist—which, by definition, is limited in time—thus appears as the insurmountable barrier against which, in the long run, the moderating intervention of the state is brought up short. The contradiction between the dollar as an anti-cyclical device in the United States and the dollar as money of account on the world market has already become insurmountable. It finds expression in a tendency to deficit in the United States' balance of payments" (pp. 532-3).

The development of "stop-go" cyclical policies in the Nixon administration since 1969 is the most recent confirmation of this analysis. Washington followed recessionary policies in 1969-71 in order to shore up the dollar and dampen inflation; but this threatened to create massive unemployment—and on the eve of national elections. In 1971-72 Washington was following expansionary policies, but as soon as industrial production turned up, inflation got out of hand again. Today the swing is back towards monetary restraint with talk about recession in 1974 while unemployment levels remain at near highs.

In comparison with Mandel's thoroughgoing and insightful analysis of postwar capitalism, the efforts of the

3. Citations from the English translation (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970).



Healy-Wohlforth tendency do not amount to much. What may not be so well known, however, is that the SLL's economic analysis deteriorated under the impact of blind factionalism. Prior to 1963, a start was made towards analyzing the postwar boom. This appeared in a series of articles by Tom Kemp published in *Labour Review*.

Kemp recognized in the late 1950s that capitalism had experienced unprecedented growth following the war and that Marxists should attempt to explain it. "Faith in capitalism has been strengthened by the great expansion and full employment of this last decade," Kemp wrote in the May-June 1957 *Labour Review*. In the September-October 1957 issue, he declared: "British workers have experienced a decade and a half of full employment following a period of prolonged unemployment. Not only has it enabled the trade unions to improve wage levels and win other concessions, but it has made an immeasurable difference to many working-class families."

Kemp also recognized the basis for this unprecedented expansion. ". . . (1) government-sponsored investment, especially in housing; (2) arms expenditures; (3) the technological spurt; and (4) world market expansion . . . have been sufficiently powerful to eliminate unemployment over twelve years and to bring about a fairly sustained upsurge in the economy of Britain and other countries," he wrote in the July-August 1957 *Labour Review*.

In the same article Kemp stressed that inflation could become a major problem. "Inflation appears to have become inherent in the economy and the pound has steadily lost value since 1939; the ever-present risk that this so far 'surpassed' inflation should assume a runaway character, which would mean social chaos and breakdown, can hardly be associated with a healthy organism."

### Missed the Point

When it came to pulling all these observations together and analyzing the contradictions of the postwar expansion, Kemp faltered. He seems to have felt that the expansion would somehow run out of steam. The factors causing the expansion, "far from being the sort of built-in factors which are self-perpetuating, may well be simply using themselves up without prospect of renewal and becoming less and less significant," Kemp wrote in 1957; but he never explained why, when, and how this would happen.<sup>4</sup>

4. That the SLL theoreticians realized the inadequacy of their analysis is evident from a number of remarks:

". . . it is certainly true that Marxists have not yet analyzed carefully enough, nor adequately explained, the present crisis of capitalism. . . .

"It is clear that the whole question of the role of government in modern capitalism needs further analysis." (Tom Kemp, *Labour Review*, 1957.)

"All these and related questions need fundamental examination in the light of Marxism and it will be our task to undertake this in the coming year." (Tom Kemp, *Labour Review*, 1960.)

"Marxists have yet to make any all-round analysis of the new developments in world economics and politics since Lenin wrote *Imperialism* in 1916." (Peter Jeffries, *Labour Review*, 1962.)

". . . the whole process is of the most complex kind which permits of infinite variation in its practical working out." (Tom Kemp, *Labour Review*, 1963.)

This was because he failed to analyze the specific contradictions of the new aspects of imperialism—so insistent was he on the theme that nothing had changed. Most striking was his failure to see the contradictions of the war budget itself, that biggest of all government levers in the postwar period. "Of course the level of arms budgets in the major capitalist countries has been considerably higher than in previous periods of peace," Kemp wrote in "What Is Imperialism?" in the Autumn 1962 *Labour Review*.

"Admittedly the demand from the state for arms has provided capitalism with a means of realizing surplus value. . . . But the devotion of such a high proportion of national output to arms production has been imposed by necessity—the pressure of an antagonistic world system threatening the position of . . . imperialism. To see the high arms production as the sign of a new stage, superseding imperialism, is to misunderstand the nature of the epoch in which we live: the epoch of decaying capitalism which, capable of prolonged bursts of economic expansion, is nonetheless fighting for its life. . . . Necessarily, the level of arms production has important economic results, as well as influence on the superstructure of capitalist society, but the dominating laws of capitalism have not been overcome."<sup>5</sup>

It is true that the United States, as the main police force of world imperialism, required a global military apparatus and that this has kept war permanently on the agenda as the "powderkegs" of imperialist oppression have continued to explode. All Trotskyists from 1944 on have stressed this.

But arms production also provides the "replacement market" that Keynes called for. It does so, however, only at the cost of permanent inflation and the ultimate wreckage of the international monetary system. This "important economic result" Kemp failed to see.

As late as 1964, the point still was missed by the SLL leadership. Peter Jeffries went so far as to suggest that war production might even be decreased in the United States. "It is obvious that the vast programme of military expenditures carried out by the United States is now a burden upon the whole economy and is responsible in part for the slow rate of growth of the economy and the high level of taxation which hinders recovery and the attempt to reduce the level of unemployment," Jeffries declared in the Summer 1964 *Fourth International*.

". . . there is little prospect of a permanent and decisive upswing in the American economy," Jeffries wrote in the same article. "But without such an upswing there can be no rapid expansion of trade between the metropolitan countries; their future increasingly depends upon the position inside the United States."

But in the period when this article was written, the Kennedy-Johnson administrations decided to cut taxes, run huge government deficits, and launch a major war in Southeast Asia. War spending spiraled upwards and

5. Kemp is here polemicizing against state capitalists like Michael Kidron. For reasons that have never been explained, the Healyite attack on Mandel's economic theory did not open until 1969—that is, seven years after the appearance of *Marxist Economic Theory* and long after the SLL had opened its slander campaign against Mandel on a number of other points.

the U. S. economy was propelled into its biggest and longest boom in history. World trade expanded as never before.

At the same time, however, the U. S. economy encountered severe inflation *primed by the war*; the U. S. balance of payments position deteriorated sharply, and the international monetary system entered into severe and semi-permanent crisis.

Interestingly, the Jeffries article bears the name "The Crisis of Post-War Capitalism." *The Socialist Register 1964* published an article by Mandel entitled "The Economics of Neo-Capitalism" in which Mandel wrote:

"But if neo-capitalism's successes certainly shine bright, in view of results obtained during the past ten years, its inner contradictions—which superimpose themselves, so to speak, on the general contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, which have not been eliminated in any way whatsoever—are also coming to the forefront. . . .

"Creeping inflation is one of the basic contradictions of neo-capitalism and of welfare-statism in general. . . . In the long run, this creeping inflation erodes the purchasing power of the main currencies, disorganizes long-term investment operations, stimulates speculation of every kind. . . . Any attempts to come to grips with inflation through deflationary measures only throttles economic

growth as such, and leads to stagnation, as Tory Britain (and in a certain sense the U. S. A. under Eisenhower) have learned to their cost: the cure is deadlier than the illness.

*"These contradictions of neo-capitalism are not only of theoretical importance inasmuch as they prove that the system remains fundamentally what it has always been. They also lead to the conclusion, that the present rate of growth cannot be kept up; that the Common Market countries will also witness recessions; and that the long wave of increased growth will probably come to an end during the 'sixties."* (Emphasis added.)

Mandel's prediction proved to be correct. The second half of the 1960s saw the emergence of an international recession. It signified that postwar expansion had reached a turning point. It opened a new stage of intensified inter-imperialist competition and the escalated attacks on wages that inevitably accompany the "redivision of world markets."

This plunging of capitalism into crisis had not been foreseen and explained by the Healyites. But instead of modifying their theory in accordance with developing reality, they opened a smear campaign against Ernest Mandel.

(To be continued.)

## Pyotr Shelest Dumped From Moscow Politburo

# Ukrainian CP's Denunciation of Former Top Bureaucrat

We print below the full text of an article entitled "Concerning the Serious Faults and Errors of One Book," which appeared in the April 1973 *Komunist Ukrainy*, the theoretical and political journal of the Ukrainian Communist party Central Committee. The article is an official attack, in the form of a book review by the journal editors, on the author, Pyotr Yu. Shelest, former first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist party and ex-member of the Politburo of the Communist party of the Soviet Union.

On May 25, 1972, Shelest was ousted, after nine years in office, from his post as head of the Ukrainian Communist party, having been "kicked upstairs" a few days earlier to his present position as deputy prime minister of the USSR, one of ten assistants to Kosygin's assistants. At the time, he was subjected to no official attacks and was allowed to retain his position on the all-powerful Politburo of the CPSU.

The attacks came in April 1973.

In addition to the condemnation in the *Komunist Ukrainy* review for allegedly expressing ideas that "feed nationalist illusions and prejudices," Shelest was indirectly attacked in an April 17 meeting of the Ukrainian Communist party by his successor, First Secretary Vladimir V. Shcherbitsky. According to the April 23 *New York Times*, Shcherbitsky delivered a "lengthy speech" charging the Shelest administration with "tolerance towards nationalism," "incompetence" in the selection of key officials in the economic and political apparatus, and "serious violations of party discipline." On April 27, Shelest was removed from the CPSU Politburo.

Shelest's downfall indicates that he had serious disagreements with the ruling Brezhnev clique. He is reported, for instance, to have been a "hard-liner": an opponent of detente with the West and in 1968 one of the strongest advocates of Kremlin military action to stop the democratization in Czechoslovakia. However, at

the root of his differences with Moscow lay the special pressures and problems flowing from his position as head of the party apparatus in the Ukraine, second largest republic in the USSR.

It is in the Ukraine that there has been a most dynamic resurgence of nationalist opposition to the Kremlin's Russification policies and to Stalinist methods of bureaucratic rule. Some activists have raised the demand for an independent socialist Ukraine; others, like the recently imprisoned author Ivan Dzyuba, have circulated serious, well-documented Marxist critiques of the Kremlin's policy toward non-Russian peoples in the USSR.

Shelest was caught in the middle. While acting as the Kremlin's chief errand-boy ensuring the implementation of policies calculated to Russify Ukrainian educational, cultural, economic, and political institutions, he was forced to bend somewhat under the massive Ukrainian national pressures from below, present even within the local party apparatus.

His book is an example of the kind of lip service he was compelled to render—a gesture that fostered the growth of a sort of minicult consisting of those who saw Shelest as a lesser evil compared to the Russification advocates in the central party leadership.

This Tito-like drift is something that the Kremlin rulers have reason to fear. N. Kovalenko, writing in the summer 1972 *Bulletin* of the Toronto-based "Set Them Free" Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, described the situation as follows: "While suppressing Ukrainian dissidents at home, Shelest showed unquestionable tendencies to behave like a baron in his stronghold. The central party apparatus has since Stalin's time been extremely careful to foster a 'collective leadership' in the Ukraine in order to prevent the development of an indigenous incipient Titoism. At least one other Ukrainian party leader [in the post-Stalin period], Kirilenko, was removed for showing proconsul tendencies."

The press attack on Shelest that we are reprinting below is simply another manifestation of the Kremlin's ongoing offensive against any independent Ukrainian national development.

The condemnation of Shelest stops just short of labeling him a "bourgeois nationalist," a charge the Kremlin is fond of using against genuine Ukrainian democratic activists in order to condemn them to long prison terms.

But Shelest is no oppositionist. It is Shelest who presided over the mass arrests in the Ukraine in the early months of 1972 as the Kremlin launched its intensive campaign to crush the growing Ukrainian dissident movement. Among the hundreds of victims of this repression were the most articulate opponents of the Moscow bureaucracy and its characteristic policies of Russification.

Shelest has faithfully carried out the Kremlin's line in the Ukraine. The slight concessions he felt compelled to make under nationalist pressure from below were aimed at stabilizing his own position, not at challenging Kremlin authority. But even this was apparently more than Moscow could tolerate.

The struggle in the Ukraine is the response of the Ukrainian workers, students, and intellectuals to the brutal



DZYUBA: Leading Ukrainian oppositionist persecuted by Shelest's gang.

repressive measures that have been carried out in that republic, as in the rest of the Soviet Union, since consolidation of bureaucratic power by Stalin in the late 1920s. In September 1939 Leon Trotsky explained the dynamics of the Ukrainian nationalist movement. With the alteration of a few details his explanation could easily describe the current situation:

"Do the broad masses of the Ukrainian people wish to separate from the USSR? It might at first sight appear difficult to answer this question, inasmuch as the Ukrainian people, like all other peoples in the USSR, are deprived of any opportunity to express their will. But the very genesis of the totalitarian regime and its ever more brutal intensification, especially in the Ukraine, are proof that the real will of the Ukrainian masses is irreconcilably hostile to the Soviet bureaucracy. There is no lack of evidence that one of the primary sources of this hostility is the suppression of Ukrainian independence. The nationalist tendencies in the Ukraine erupted violently in 1917-19. The *Borotba* party expressed these tendencies in the left wing. The most important indication of the success of the Leninist policy in the Ukraine was the fusion of the Ukrainian Bolshevik party with the organization of the *Borotbists*.

"In the course of the next decade, however, an actual break occurred with the *Borotba* group, whose leaders were subjected to persecution. The

old Bolshevik, Skrypnik, a pure-blooded Stalinist, was driven to suicide in 1933 for his allegedly excessive patronage of nationalist tendencies. The actual 'organizer' of this suicide was the Stalinist emissary, Postyshev, who thereupon remained in the Ukraine as the representative of the centralist policy. Presently, however, Postyshev himself fell in disgrace. *These facts are profoundly symptomatic, for they reveal how much force there is behind the pressure of the nationalist opposition on the bureaucracy.*" (Emphasis added.)

Shelest's removal and the press attack on him reprinted here are profoundly symptomatic for precisely the same reason.

The translation from the Ukrainian is by the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners.

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One of the chief tasks that the 24th Congress of the CPSU assigned to party organizations, social scientists, and all our ideological workers was to form a communist world outlook in the working people, to educate the Soviet people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, Soviet patriotism, socialist internationalism, and irreconcilability toward phenomena and views that are foreign to socialism.

The increased scale and complexity of the tasks of communist construction at the present stage necessitate further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, essential improvement of the quality of scientific research, theoretical interpretation of the multifaceted socio-economic and ideopolitical processes of our time.

A considerable number of works have appeared in recent years in which important questions of history, philosophy, political economy and other social sciences are solved on the basis of dialectical-materialist methodology. In view of these undeniable achievements, the appearance of certain ideologically and professionally inferior publications is particularly unfortunate. Among these our attention is drawn to P. Yu. Shelest's work, *O Ukraine, Our Soviet Land*. The need for a critical appraisal and principled assessment of this book is highly obvious. Published in a mass edition and widely publicized in a

number of flattering reviews (O. Nosenko in *Raduga* [Rainbow], S. Yampol's'kyy in *Ekonomika Radianskoyi Ukrayiny* [Economy of Soviet Ukraine], and others), this book became the ultimate criterion of correctness for some of our scholars, propagandists and artists in interpreting certain past and present events.

Meanwhile, an objective analysis of the book reveals that it contains a number of methodological and ideological errors and serious faults, biased evaluations of important historical phenomena, factual inaccuracies, a number of unclear formulations and editorial blunders. As a result, it is necessary to examine certain questions of essential importance in greater detail.

An excessive amount of space is devoted to the book entitled *O Ukraine, Our Soviet Land* to Ukraine's past, her pre-October history; at the same time, the presentation of such epoch-making events as the triumph of the Great October, the struggle for the construction of socialism, is very weak. Moreover, Leninist principles of the class-party, concretely-historical approach to the analysis of individual historical phenomena are violated here. This is especially evident in the description of the Zaporozhian Sich [fortress]. The author's portrayal of the Ukrainian Cossacks and the Zaporozhian Sich is considerably idealized; he regards them as a homogeneous, so to speak, extra-class society. The book makes no mention of the class stratification among the Cossacks, of the transformation of the Cossack *starshyna* [officer corps] into actual feudal lords, of the class struggle within the Cossack community, in particular inside the Zaporozhian Sich. No allusion is made to the fact that the Zaporozhian Sich was a manifestation of feudal society, while its system was in fact a unique form of feudal statehood or of its elements. Despite this, the author claims an allegedly model democratic order for the Sich: "The community, society [hromada, tovarystvo] ruled here. All matters—military, economic, punishment and amnesty of criminals, elections of the Sich *starshyna*, external relations, etc.—were decided by the Sich council, at which all Cossacks had equal rights. What the majority decided at the council was considered binding on all, and to be unquestion-

ingly implemented by all." (pp. 19-20)

This utopian picture of some sort of "absolute" democracy has nothing in common with reality. After all, we



GROMYKO: Foreign minister who worked on detente with Nixon added to Politburo when Shelest was dumped.

know that from the very beginning of the existence of the Zaporozhian Sich a harsh class struggle was in progress between the rank-and-file [holota] and the officer corps. Fearing the opposition of the rank-and-file, the Cossack command helped, for instance, the Polish government to put down the uprisings led by T. Fedorovych, I. Sulyma, Pavlyuk. Moreover, the Cossack command itself harshly suppressed Cossack opposition. Although formally all Cossacks had the right to take part in the Sich council, in fact, as we know, all essentially important matters were decided at the *starshyna* meetings, that is, by the *kuren* chiefs [otamans] and influential, wealthy Cossacks.

Idealization of the Ukrainian Cossacks also manifests itself in other theses put forward in this book. Thus, concluding his account of the Zaporozhian Sich, the author writes: "Unfortunately, the progressive role and significance of the Zaporozhian Sich—this famous page in the heroic chronicle of the Ukrainian people's liberation struggle—is still insufficiently reflected in our contemporary historical

and artistic literature, motion pictures, art." (p. 22) Then, referring to the works of T. H. Shevchenko, N. V. Gogol, I. Yu. Repin, the author adds: "Is it that our artists are incapable of continuing in the described traditions? They are capable, and they should do this." (p. 22) Naturally, this topic can interest the artist and serve as a basis for an important work of art. But an artist's real success can be ensured only on the path of artistic depiction of historical reality from class positions.

We should note that a number of books (R. Ivanychuk, S. Plachynda, I. Bilyk) which idealize patriarchalism, have appeared in our literature in recent years. Embellishing the past, such authors counterpose it to our own times. Not only does the book *O Ukraine, Our Soviet Land* fail to help in overcoming such phenomena, but, on the contrary, it limits the possibility of criticism of anti-historical tendencies in the portrayal of the Ukrainian people's past in artistic and scholarly publications.

A serious fault of the book under review is that its author examines a number of important questions in the history of Ukraine in a somewhat isolated manner, separated from the general development of the country, which, most certainly, makes it impossible for him to show in depth the friendship and common struggle of the workers for social and national liberation, for the construction of socialism and communism.

For example, the book speaks of the reunification of Ukraine with Russia—an important historical event which was of major significance to the further development of the two fraternal peoples—as if it were an ordinary, commonplace fact. The author does not even hint at the fact that owing to this historical act the Ukrainian people was saved from foreign enslavement; he says nothing about the advantages the Ukrainian people gained on entering the unified, centralized Russian state.

The author does not take into account a condition of such fundamental importance as the fact that after reunification the development of Ukraine cannot be examined apart from the history of the Russian state and that historical events which apply to this state as a whole could not have helped but leave their mark on the fate of

the Ukrainian people. Thus, describing the movement of the Decembrists, the author completely ignores the activity of the Northern Society and the uprising in Petersburg on December 14, 1825. Consequently, it is possible for the reader to form an impression that the Decembrist movement was limited exclusively to Ukraine, and that its culmination point was the uprising of the Chernihiv regiment.

The question of the development of revolutionary thought in the country is treated in a similar manner. The author ignores the indisputable fact that the development of progressive social thought, literature and art in Petersburg and other centers of the country had a great effect on the fate of all the peoples of tsarist Russia.

In particular, the book fails to show the beneficial influence of Russian culture on the formation and development of Ukrainian literature, art, music, their mutual enrichment. We know that the ideological affinity between progressive Russian and Ukrainian cultures was supplemented by personal friendships and creative relations between prominent representatives of both fraternal peoples. Striking examples of this are the ideological and personal contacts between T. H. Shevchenko and the Russian revolutionary-democrats; the moving friendship between M. Glinka and S. Hulak-Artemovs'kyi; the influence of the composers of the "mighty handful" on M. Lysenko, of I. Repin on O. Murashko, of N. Gorky on M. Kotsyubyns'kyi, and so forth. An account of this would doubtlessly be of great informative and educational value.

The absence of clear class-party criteria is also noticeable in the interpretation of certain aspects of the history of Ukraine in the post-October period. The book does not show the full acuteness and complexity of the class struggle in city and countryside for the revolutionary resolution of pressing socio-economic and socio-political issues. It limits itself to some patter about the party's struggle for the purity and fighting efficiency of its ranks against various deviationists from the Leninist general line, the deviationists in the nationalities question among them.

This fault of the book is especially obvious in those places where the author deals with questions bearing on the formation of Soviet literature

and art. He imagines this as a simple and uncomplicated process. The book makes no mention, for instance, of the fact that far from all Ukrainian writers immediately accepted the Great October, that the events of the revolution and civil war, the first years of Soviet rule, did not always find a faithful depiction in the works of a number of writers and artists, that a group of writers in the 1920s and the first half of the 1930s wavered in the nationalities question, and that some of them chose the path of struggle against party policies.

By avoiding these issues, the author diminishes the role of the Communist party, its ideas and practical activity in solving the tasks of socialist construction, in the Marxist-Leninist education of the creative intelligentsia, and in mobilizing this intelligentsia to active participation in the strengthening of communist ideals.

When interpreting a number of literary and artistic concepts and phenomena, the author assumes an all-mankind, abstract-humanist position. For example, the book defines literature as "that branch of culture in which the emotions are most interwoven with thought, beauty with good, [in which] artistic images most fully reflect the life and activity of man and society." (p. 90). Such a definition of literature is very different from what V. I. Lenin imagined its essence to be when he wrote that it should become part of the general proletarian cause.

Similarly, in his remarks about other genres of art, the author makes no attempt to stress the class, ideological nature of artistic creativity. On the contrary, the following formulations and definitions appear here: "Architecture is a brilliant indicator of the artistic power of the people" (p. 94), "Art is the artistic language of the people" (p. 96), "Theater, music, songs are the most striking manifestations of the people's culture, the wealth of its spirit" (p. 98), "Songs are the people's soul" (p. 101), and so on ad infinitum.

We know that in terms of economy the USSR constitutes a single national economic complex which is developing in accordance with a single state plan in the interests of the entire Soviet Union as a whole and of each republic in particular. This dialectical interaction and inviolable unity consti-

tutes the deepest source and guarantee of the successful construction of communism's material and technical base.

However, to a great extent the book *O Ukraine, Our Soviet Land* examines the development of the republic's economy, its achievements, separately from the overall triumphs of the Soviet Union; it does not reveal the fact that the flowering of the Ukrainian SSR is the result not only of the heroic labor of the workers of Ukraine, but of all the peoples of the USSR. Thus, in summarizing the section dealing with the republic's economy, the author concludes that "the Soviet Ukraine attained unprecedented heights owing to the strenuous labor of millions. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has become one of the most developed countries in the world. Our republic's powerful industry, developed agriculture, unprecedented growth of culture and science are the heroic feat of all the workers of Soviet Ukraine" (p. 74). As we can see there is no hint here of the cooperation and mutual aid of fraternal peoples, no taking into account of the fact that these accomplishments are a part of and a manifestation of the successful development of the whole federal Soviet state.

An even greater impression of the separateness of the development of the economy and culture of our republic from the single national economic complex and all-Soviet culture is created by the cursory and often even accidental nature of the author's presentation of the economy and culture of the oblast [regions]. The elements of economic autarchy are highly evident in the book. Their perniciousness lies in, aside from all else, the fact that they can feed nationalist illusions and prejudices, the survivals of national limitedness and conceit. On the whole, the book draws the readers' attention excessively to the singularity and uniqueness of the history and culture of the Ukrainian people.

One of the main tasks of the book under review should have been a presentation of the stages in the development of the Ukrainian people's cooperation with the Russian and other fraternal peoples of our country, the establishment and strengthening of international unity of the Soviet peoples, and the evolution of their forms of state unity. Yet, the author

makes absolutely no mention of the military-political alliance of the Soviet republics which ensured victory in the civil war. Meanwhile, history testifies to the fact that in the heroic and difficult years of foreign armed intervention and civil war in our country there occurred profound objective processes of convergence among the fraternal Soviet peoples, strengthening of their international unity, expansion and deepening of socialist cooperation and reciprocal aid on the basis of Leninist nationalities policies.

The military-political alliance of the republics under the leadership of the Communist party led by V. I. Lenin became that mighty and unbreakable force with the aid of which the peoples of our country and their young Red Army defeated the armed invaders of international imperialism and their ally—the bourgeois-landowner and nationalist counterrevolution.

The book does not even name the fundamental principles underlying the formation of the USSR. The establishment in 1922 of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the basis of international unity, voluntary union, and equality of all nations and nationalities was of universal historical significance. The Soviet Union convincingly proved its invincibility and unconquerability as a socialist multinational state of friendship and fraternity of all nations and nationalities both in the years of peaceful socialist construction on the unknown paths of history and during the unprecedentedly large-scale trials of war. The USSR, its might and power, the unity and cooperation of its nations and nationalities, is the main guarantee of the successful construction of communism. "The USSR," noted L. I. Brezhnev, "is not simply a state organization; it is a voluntary, invincible socialist union of all Soviet peoples, which has become their flesh and blood and constitutes the chief, determining characteristic of their state consciousness."

The book provides murky, and at times outrightly erroneous interpretations of certain questions; its treatment of individual facts and events is incorrect. A particularly serious fault of this book is its failure to show the multifaceted activity of Bolshevik organizations in Ukraine in exposing the nationalist, anti-people policies of the Central Rada [council]. The author

says nothing of the great aid given by V. I. Lenin to the Bolsheviks of Ukraine in this matter. We know that just in June 1917 Vladimir Illich published three articles in defense of the interests and rights of the Ukrainian people: "This Is Not Democratic, Citizen Kerensky!" "Ukraine" and "Ukraine and the Defeat of the Ruling Parties of Russia."

The book's definition of the ideoclass basis of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism is politically unclear and incorrect. The author writes that at the basis of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism "lay the theory of a 'single stream' in the development of the Ukrainian nation, propaganda of the 'oppositeness' of Ukraine to Russia, the denial of class struggle and the leading, decisive significance of the international proletarian movement in the development of society as a whole and of each nation in particular" (p. 41). Here the author confuses the concepts of the real source of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and the phraseology which the nationalists use as a screen. After all, the basis of bourgeois nationalism is not "theory", but purely material class interests of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie which aspired to gain for itself the monopoly of the "right" to exploit "its" people and with the aid of these "theories" and other demagogic "national" slogans to lead the liberation movement of the workers of Ukraine and exploit them in its narrow class, egotistical aims.

The author mistakenly regards the essential contradiction of capitalism to be not the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private capital form of appropriating its results, but the form that it assumes—the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The author's assertion that under the conditions of the Austro-German occupation in 1917 the Bolsheviks of Ukraine "should have acted independently" (p. 53) is incorrect. The book is mistaken in its claim that M. O. Skrypyk was elected chairman of the People's Secretariat at the First all-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets. We know that the People's Secretariat was formed after the first congress—on December 17, 1917, and that Skrypyk was appointed to this post only on March 4, 1918. There are a number of such factual blunders and

inaccuracies in the book.

A considerable portion of the book *O Ukraine, Our Soviet Land* reminds one of a tour guide's set piece about Ukraine's important sites and the events of the distant and more recent past that are connected with them. The dry, documentary reports, lifted from the *Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia* and the *History of the Cities and Villages of the Ukrainian SSR* are here embellished by outcries of rapture and descriptions of idyllic scenes: "Past the oblast center, the city of Rovno, flows the small but beautiful Ustya River with its picturesque banks. It is a pleasure to walk and rest in this quiet park." (p. 263) There are numerous such "publicistic" places in the book. All of these "lyrical digressions" work to one end: they intensify the feeling of self-satisfaction, and self-esteem that permeate this book from start to finish.

Such are the essential methodological errors and shortcomings of P. Yu. Shelest's book *O Ukraine, Our Soviet Land*. There is no anxiety, no sense of quest here. It does not analyze the prospects of economic and cultural development of our country, and of the Ukrainian SSR in particular. The book fails to mobilize the workers of the republic to solve the essential socio-economic tasks; on the contrary, it disseminates a feeling of complacency, a spirit of self-flattery and conceit. It does not reveal the great truth of our Soviet socialist life and therefore cannot be used in educating the workers in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, in intensifying the struggle against bourgeois ideology, and in particular against Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism.

The question arises: What was the author's aim in publishing this book? The foreword speaks of this in a cursory and murky manner. It seems to us that a large edition of this type should have reflected the essential features of the socio-economic and ideopolitical life of the Ukrainian people within the single fraternal family of the peoples of the USSR. Unfortunately, we must conclude that the author failed to fulfill this responsible task. □

"'Ladies and gentlemen of the press,' Mr. Nixon said, 'we have had our differences in the past, and I hope you give me hell every time you think I'm wrong.'" (*New York Times*, May 1.)

## Swedish Maoists Join Fourth International

[In the fall of 1972, a group broke away from the Swedish Maoist group, Marxist-leninistiska Kampförbundet (MLK — Marxist-Leninist Struggle League) after a lengthy period as an internal oppositional force. An entire district of the MLK membership left with the group. The former Maoists have now joined the Fourth International's sympathizing group in Sweden, Revolutionära Marxister Förbundet (RMF — League of Revolutionary Marxists).

[Martin Fahlgren, a leader of the former Maoists who have now joined the RMF, was interviewed for *Intercontinental Press* during April in Sweden. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

*Question. How did you come to the point of breaking with Maoism?*

*Answer.* The opposition in the MLK did not begin by completely calling into question Stalinism and Maoism. Rather, the opposition arose by questioning the MLK's policy in the workplace, its propaganda, agitation, etc. Subsequently came the right turn in China's foreign policy (Ceylon, Pakistan, Iran, Ethiopia, the Common Market, etc.), which the MLK leadership naturally was able to react to only by copying the latest resolution adopted by the Chinese Communist party. We opposed this policy of tail-ending and demanded that the league make an independent analysis of China's foreign policy.

The response of the MLK leadership to our opposition was the usual Stalinist one: There was an attempt to isolate the opposition, publication of the opposition's material was held up, the district representative of the league leadership was removed (for completely nonpolitical reasons), etc.

This bureaucratic method of handling differences only caused the differences to deepen. We began to research history in order to find an explanation of why we were being dealt with in this way. In the process, we began to discover falsifications of

history and other hallmarks of Stalinism.

Meanwhile, the Chinese party continued its open swing to the right. In order to understand this, we were also compelled to look into history.

By the spring of 1972, the differences had developed to the point that they involved virtually every question: China's foreign policy, democratic centralism, party-building, revolutionary strategy and tactics, approach toward the workplace, the relationship to the trade-union movement, anti-imperialist work, the approach to take toward the Common Market, the nature of the Soviet Union, the Comintern, the Stalin-Trotsky dispute, etc.

In the fall of last year, the entire district was expelled from the MLK, and after a few months we felt that we were ready to join the world Trotskyist movement.

*Q. Why did you decide to join the Fourth International?*

A. The struggle inside the MLK led us to break with Stalinism. Study of the history of the revolutionary movement made it clear to us that only the world Trotskyist movement has the correct basis for developing a correct strategy and tactics for the three sectors of the world revolution: the colonial countries (permanent revolution), the industrialized countries, and the workers states (political revolution).

The world Trotskyist movement is today the only significant revolutionary force on an international scale—in Europe, the United States, Latin America, Japan, etc. Maoism, which arose as a reaction to the reformism of the pro-Moscow parties, is on the verge of collapse throughout Europe for lack of a truly revolutionary theory and under the blows of increasingly blatant betrayals of the world revolution by the Chinese bureaucracy. Consistent revolutionists within the Maoist movement are discovering that the principles they believe that they are fighting for have nothing to do with the Stalinist tra-

dition they are frequently linked to. They are also discovering that the Chinese leadership is in no way capable of providing revolutionary inspiration. Maoists are faced with a very clear choice: either to follow Maoism into a swamp, or to break with Stalinism and Maoism and link up with revolutionary Marxism. We chose the latter alternative.

*Q. The newspaper the Guardian in the United States has set itself the task of attempting to build a new Maoist party. What do you think the future holds for Maoism?*

A. As I already said, Maoism is falling apart on an international scale. In Europe, there are only three countries in which it still has any influence worth mentioning—Sweden, Norway, and to a certain extent West Germany. In Italy, there are still Maoist groups of some importance, but they are of a more spontanéist type, as well as being anti-Stalinist and not uncritical of the new course in Chinese foreign policy. Under the pressure of the reality of the class struggle, the Maoist organizations undergo splits because of their lack of a clear ideological foundation, their lack of a revolutionary strategy, etc.

In Sweden it is clear that Maoism is on the decline. The four groups that exist here have already begun to fall apart, and increasing numbers of their members are coming around to Trotskyism. The disintegration of the one we belonged to has continued: Every week we are contacted by members and sympathizers of the MLK who have begun to turn away from Mao-Stalinism. A similar situation exists in other Mao-Stalinist groups.

So in a sense it is surprising that groups are now appearing in the United States that are trying to carry on with Maoism. In my opinion, this reflects the relatively low level of the class struggle in the United States, compared to other countries in the industrialized world. As the class struggle sharpens in the United States, Maoism will be swept away. Besides, I'd be surprised if the *Guardian* succeeded in bringing together in the same organization the heterogeneous groups it is staking its hopes on. The only thing they are agreed on is a senile approach of defending every counterrevolutionary

maneuver of the Chinese leadership. This can hardly constitute the basis for a revolutionary party. Quite the contrary! The attitude appears to have more to do with the searching of the petty bourgeois for something to hold onto, something to believe in, in order to screen out the harshness of reality.

Maoism has considerably less chance of surviving than its predecessor, Stalinism. The traditional Stalinist parties had a certain base in the working class that they had acquired during the revolutionary

period of the Comintern. During that period, a party apparatus had also been successfully built up, which functioned in a stable fashion. The Maoist groups have never been able to achieve this. They are therefore much more unstable than the traditional Communist parties.

This, together with the aspirations of the Maoist groups, has led to splits and disintegration within them and will ultimately bring about the complete demise of Maoism in the industrialized world. □

## 'We Are Not Romantic Savages'

### Interview With a Norwegian Lapplander

[The following is an interview with Nils Thomas Utsi, a young Lapplander from Karasjok Junior College in Karasjok, in the far north of Norway. He describes the oppression the Lapps face and the demands that the Lapp youth are raising. The interview was published in issue No. 3, 1973, of *Ungsosialisten*, the newspaper of the youth of the Sosialistisk Folkeparti (Socialist People's party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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*Utsi.* Originally, the Lapps constituted a distinct nation. Today, we are oppressed both physically and spiritually. We have few opportunities to obtain training in our own language. We learn little in school about ourselves—our own culture and history. The result is that we feel as though we are neither Lapps nor Norwegians. It goes without saying that this has enormous consequences in human terms.

*Ungsosialisten.* How does your culture differ from Norwegian culture in general?

*Utsi.* Western society is built only on economic growth. Economic growth requires a society that can be easily modified. Our culture does not fit into this kind of economic-growth model. Established society threatens our peo-

ple, among other ways by exploiting nature. The exploitation of water power, for example, takes land away from us, but we receive no benefits from the water power in exchange.

We have always been careful to preserve natural resources. They provide us with an opportunity to make a living. Fishing, agriculture, and the reindeer drive are the very basis of our culture. Today our people are being forced to abandon these occupations. If this work is taken away from us, our whole culture will rot and die. When we fight against centralization, it is in order to guarantee ourselves a continued existence.

*Ungsosialisten.* You are attending a Lapp class at Karasjok Junior College. Are there good opportunities there for obtaining an education?

*Utsi.* Karasjok is the only junior college in the entire country with separate Lapp classes. Here we can choose our mother tongue as a second language. There are almost no textbooks in existence in the Lapp language. We have to write and run off our own texts by mimeograph. We do not have our own classrooms—these we have to rent somewhere else. Few of the teachers here know Lapp. We receive no education in our own culture and history. And it is not even sure that classes in Lapp will be continued at all.

Therefore, we are demanding that

the state set up and guarantee a regular Lapp school in Karasjok. We must have our own building or else have a right to use the existing school. This will make it easier to deal with special "Lapp subjects."

There are also thousands of Lapps in Finland and Sweden with no opportunity to receive a good education. We ought to be given the chance to set up an all-Nordic Lapp college.

*Ungsosialisten.* What response have you received to your demands?

*Utsi.* The district government is known for being somewhat anti-Lapp. It was against holding Lapp classes in Karasjok. On the other hand, I think that Norwegian youth have a great deal of understanding of our problems. In its convention, NGS [Norges Gymnastsamband—College Students Union of Norway] supported our demands unanimously.

But you also run into negative attitudes. Many people don't know what a Lapplander is. They have never had a chance to find out. They think we are either complete savages or romantic people who gaze at the midnight sun. A great deal of informed educational activity must be carried out if people are going to find out what our culture really consists of.

We are demanding that every Norwegian student receive training in Lapp culture and history. Many things could be done on behalf of a national minority group that is struggling. I believe that Norwegian youth have a great deal of interest in learning about Norway's native population. This demand was also supported by NGS. Better information about the Lapplanders is a precondition for a better Lapp policy.

*Ungsosialisten.* Do the Lapp people themselves know what is happening?

*Utsi.* The Lapp people too suffer from bad information. Older Lapps in particular understand little about what is going on. They have few opportunities to get information in their own language.

It's different with students. The little we have managed to learn about our culture and history has had an in-



spiring effect on Lapp youth. We have awakened to struggle, and several Lapp youth groups have been formed. These put forward special Lapp demands, which they present to the authorities.

More and more we are realizing

that we are an exploited people whose culture is threatened. Just look at the way the Lapp people are used in advertising: We are used as bait by Western culture to sell its products. We have to fight against this and other assaults on our culture. □

## In a South African Prison

### Journalist Interviews Mandela, Alexander

An Australian journalist has been allowed to interview two of South Africa's best-known political prisoners. Nelson Mandela and Dr. Neville Alexander were visited in the notorious Robben Island prison camp by David McNicoll, who described his tour of the prison in the April 22 issue of the *London Observer*.

Both Mandela and Alexander were sentenced in 1964. Mandela was deputy leader of the African National Congress (ANC). His arrest and sentencing to life imprisonment attracted worldwide attention, and even produced protests at the United Nations.

Alexander is an internationally renowned scholar who had taught at Tübingen University in West Germany. He and ten other nonwhite South Africans were arrested in 1963 and charged with "terrorism" even though no specific "terrorist" acts were named by the prosecution.

The eleven were convicted of organizing a "conspiracy" because they had met to discuss Marxist classics and, the prosecution charged, books on guerrilla warfare. Alexander drew the longest sentence, ten years in prison.

Journalists are normally not permitted to visit the Robben Island prison. If McNicoll's observations may be relied upon, the exception may have been designed to show certain improvements in conditions there. McNicoll quoted Mandela as saying that the situation of the prisoners had improved since the recent appointment of a new commandant.

"There are at present," McNicoll wrote, "593 prisoners on this seven-mile-circumference island. Of these 383 are in maximum security (30 for life) and 210 are 'ordinary' criminals. The jail is divided into sections—the single cell section for the 'leaders'; the hos-



NEVILLE ALEXANDER

pital section; the general section; and the 'terrorist' section, inhabited mainly by South-West Africans."

There are four different kinds of work in which the prisoners engage: brick-making, digging in the lime quarries, working in a bamboo factory, and collecting seaweed for fertilizer. The prisoners are not taught trades.

"Discipline is strict and punishment is very direct. It takes the form of demoting the privilege classification of a prisoner.

"Then there is solitary. This means removal of all books except the Bible, and no contact of any sort with other prisoners."

The prison administration attempts to keep the prisoners totally isolated from the outside world. Mandela told McNicoll: ". . . you must realise we get no papers, we have no radios, we are never allowed to read anything critical of the Government. All our magazines are censored. You will never believe it, but recently they gave me a *Reader's Digest*, and they'd censored 20 of the articles in it."

The authorities also follow a policy of trying to divide the prisoners against each other on racial lines. Prisoners' diets are determined not by their needs or state of health, but by their race. For example, Colored and Indian prisoners are given bread with butter or ghee once a day, while Africans receive it only twice a week.

Alexander has nearly completed his sentence, but in the South African police state, this is no guarantee of release.

"Alexander gets out next year," McNicoll wrote, "but fears he will be restricted to house arrest, which will stop him resuming his teaching career (he speaks English, Afrikaans, German and his own Bantu tongue perfectly).

"I intend asking the authorities to relax my restrictions so that I can go back to teaching," Alexander said. "I taught previously at Livingstone High School, until I was sentenced under the provisions of the Sabotage Act. I have had no remissions."

Alexander called his long sentence "quite ridiculous" in view of the fact that he had never been convicted of any overt act. "We are wasting our time here," he said. "We are well trained and we should be allowed to fulfil our lives." □

#### Air Force Sees Business Opportunity

The U.S. air force has 2.3 million gallons of herbicide it doesn't know what to do with. The herbicide, Agent Orange, was formerly sprayed over wide areas of South Vietnam. Use of it was ordered discontinued in 1970 after impurities in the herbicide were shown to cause birth defects.

The *Christian Science Monitor* reported April 27 that there is "a possibility that some of the supplies of Agent Orange . . . could be diluted with diesel oil and sold or given away as a herbicide . . . in this country or abroad."

Or perhaps a drug firm could market it as a health tonic.

## Complete Edition of 'Bulletin of the Opposition' Issued

From 1929 to 1941 the *Byulleten Oppozitsii* (*Bulletin of the Opposition*) was one of the central political organs of the Trotskyist International Left Opposition and its successor, the Fourth International, in the fight for revolutionary Marxism against the Stalinist bureaucracy. During its twelve-year existence the journal was forced by fascist and Stalinist persecution to change its place of publication five times. Members of its editorial board were murdered; its contributors were thrown into concentration camps; its readers were jailed and persecuted. At the height of Stalin's reign in the Soviet Union, mere possession of an issue of it was punishable by imprisonment or even death.

Through these measures the Stalinist bureaucracy sought not merely to destroy a small opposition journal, but to isolate the leading continuators of the revolutionary traditions of Leninism, traditions on whose negation the bureaucracy depended for maintaining its rule. The *Bulletin* was an integral and crucial weapon in the Left Opposition's fight to defend and extend the gains of the October Revolution. By crushing it, the bureaucracy hoped to inflict a heavy defeat on the Bolshevik-Leninists and to expunge their struggle from history and from the collective memory of the Russian working class.

Few copies of the *Bulletin* survived. Many of the available copies were destroyed by the Nazis or by the Stalinists. For years there has been no complete set of all the issues.

That situation has now been rectified. Monad Press of New York has published a complete facsimile edition of the *Bulletin* in the original Russian. The republication of the *Bulletin* will allow it once again to serve the cause for which it was founded forty-four years ago.

The first issue of the *Bulletin* was published in Paris in July 1929. In it Trotsky, then in exile in Prinkipo, Turkey, promised that the new publication would assemble and publish the documents and other writings that

had been produced by the Left Opposition since its formation in 1923. The *Bulletin* would print not only these items but also general information on

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*Bulletin of the Opposition*, edited by Leon Trotsky. Four volumes in Russian: the complete chronicle of the Soviet Left Opposition (1929-1940). New York: Monad Press, 1973. 1,904 pp. \$160. Exclusive distributor: Pathfinder Press.

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the life of the Soviet Communist party and of the Soviet Union itself. He stated that the aim of the *Bulletin* was "to serve the practical struggle in the Soviet Republic for the cause of Marx and Lenin."

Until his assassination in August 1940, Trotsky was the chief contributor to the *Bulletin*. The issues therefore contain a rich collection of his analyses and polemics on virtually every significant political event from the late 1920s until 1940. Some of these articles have never been translated and were published only in the *Bulletin*.

Besides Trotsky's own writings, the *Bulletin* includes documents of the Opposition and later of the Fourth International, as well as letters and articles by revolutionists in Europe, Asia, North America, and the Soviet Union. Among the contributors were Ya. Gref, a Marxist sociologist; Christian Rakovsky, chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet after the revolution and an early leader of the Left Opposition; and Lev Sosnovsky, a Bolshevik journalist.

In the early days of its publication the *Bulletin* had to be smuggled into the Soviet Union and circulated clandestinely, much like the present-day samizdat literature. Its material was also smuggled in the opposite direction—out of the Soviet Union. The *Bulletin* thus served to inform isolated Leninist militants within the Soviet Union of each other's activities and of Soviet and world politics in general.

Isaac Deutscher, Trotsky's biographer, wrote that as late as 1931, when

he visited the Soviet Union, the *Bulletin* was circulating in Moscow: "Party men returning from assignments abroad smuggled it home and passed it on to friends." It was only in the middle 1930s, when Stalin's bureaucratic rule had become so firmly entrenched that it could be removed only through political revolution, that the Kremlin was able to choke off the flow of information out of the Soviet Union to the *Bulletin* and to reduce drastically its circulation inside the country.

The repression in the USSR was paralleled by persecution of the *Bulletin* outside the Soviet Union. The first issues were printed on a Russian-language press in Paris. The managing editor was Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son and a major leader of the Left Opposition. Never secure from reprisals by bourgeois governments and infiltration or gangster attacks from Stalin's secret-police agents, Sedov was forced to move from place to place throughout Europe.

In March 1931, when Sedov moved from Prinkipo to Berlin, the *Bulletin* was transferred there. The last issue to be put out in Berlin is dated December 1932. One month later Hitler took power. The *Bulletin* was banned, and Sedov had to flee Germany.

From March 1933 to February 1934, he resumed publishing the *Bulletin* in Paris. It was then transferred to Zurich until April 1935, when it was again returned to Paris.

In February 1938 Sedov was murdered by agents of the Kremlin secret police. But the *Bulletin* continued to be published in Paris until mid-1939. When the second world war broke out, it was transferred to New York, where it was published until the middle of 1941.

The Trotskyists were able to produce a total of eighty-seven numbers of the *Bulletin*. Sometimes two numbers were combined into one issue, making a total of sixty-five issues ranging in length from twelve to sixty-eight pages.

The republication of the *Bulletin* is

more than a major publishing event of value to researchers and historians. Today, inside the workers states of Eastern Europe, dissatisfaction with the Stalinist bureaucracy has led to the growth of new opposition currents that have already challenged the bureaucracy's right to rule. The Hungarian revolution of 1956, the 1968 Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia, the 1970 upheaval in Poland are but a few dramatic examples.

Even within the Soviet Union itself the democratic opposition—young workers, students, and intellectuals, as well as old Bolsheviks from the prison camps (who survived the Stalin period)—has raised demands for an end to censorship, abolition of bureaucratic privilege, and return to the Leninist policy on nationalities. Many of these demands were first raised by the Left Opposition in the 1920s.

But decades of mass terror, censorship, and falsification of history by Stalin and his heirs—all carried out in the name of Marxism-Leninism and socialism—have disoriented many antibureaucratic fighters.

The Kremlin has systematically falsified or suppressed the ideas and real positions of Trotskyism. Because of this, most present-day Soviet and Eastern European dissenters do not know Trotsky's role in the Russian revolution, nor have they had access to his writings. While they oppose Stalin and his policies, few have even attempted to explain how and why Stalin and the bureaucracy were able to take political control in the Soviet Union.

The *Bulletin of the Opposition* provides much of the information and analysis so badly needed by today's opposition movement. From the libraries and book collections outside the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the ideas of Trotsky, the Left Opposition, and the Fourth International will make their way into the Soviet Union just as they did in decades past. They will then serve to reeducate and orient a new generation of revolutionary workers and students toward building the kind of movement and party that will make the political revolution and destroy the bureaucratic parasites.

In the early years of its publication, the *Bulletin* had to fight the rising bureaucracy under conditions of decline in the world revolution (brought



LEON TROTSKY

on in large part by the betrayals of the bureaucracy itself). Today, in the context of the crisis of Stalinism, the breakup of the bureaucratic monolith,

## 'Terrorist Law' to Take Effect May 1 in Sweden

The Swedish parliament voted on April 6 to adopt the so-called "terrorist law" proposed by the government last December. The vote was 254 to 22, with the Communists and a few liberals voting against. (A report in the March 12 issue of *Intercontinental Press* erred in stating that the law had been passed on February 20. Actually, it had just entered the final stage in committee before being formally presented for a vote.)

The law states that any foreigner can be expelled from or denied entry into Sweden "if there is good reason to assume that he belongs to or works for a political organization or group that, it is feared here in the kingdom, uses force, threats, or coercion in its political activity." There has been widespread concern in Sweden that the law would be used to deny asylum in Sweden to fighters in the various colonial liberation movements.

The government claims that the law is presently aimed at two organizations—the far-right Yugoslav Ustasha and Black September. Ustasha mem-

and the new rise of world revolution generally, the Kremlin bureaucrats will find it infinitely more difficult to combat the ideas and organization represented by the *Bulletin* and the Trotskyist movement.

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As a special feature of the Monad Press edition of the *Bulletin*, all the articles by Trotsky are marked with an asterisk in the table of contents of each volume. This is particularly useful because Trotsky often used pen names or published unsigned articles. The publisher's preface provided by Monad in Volume I acknowledges Louis Sinclair's monumental work, *Leon Trotsky: a Bibliography*, as indispensable in making these identifications.

The *Bulletin* can be ordered from Pathfinder Press (the exclusive distributor of Monad Press books), 410 West Street, New York, N. Y. 10014. The price per four-volume set, containing 1,904 pages in all, is \$160.

—Marilyn Vogt

bers who have already become Swedish citizens will not be affected.

A report in the April 7 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter* estimated the number of persons directly affected by the law inside Sweden at the moment as around twenty. It did not identify them.

The Maoist antiwar organization, the NLF Groups, has reportedly launched a campaign to demand that the government deny entry to U.S. presidential adviser Henry Kissinger, scheduled to attend a gathering in Sweden in May, on the grounds that he is a genuine international terrorist. What qualifies him for this distinction, according to a report in *Dagens Nyheter* April 19, is the same thing that prompted Premier Olof Palme to compare the Nixon administration to the Nazis—the bombing of Hanoi last December.

As soon as the law was passed, the government embarked on its own campaign to publish and distribute material in twelve languages designed to salvage its sagging reputation as a home for political refugees. □

## New Zealand Socialists on New Rise of Feminism

[The resolution reprinted below was adopted at the second national conference of the New Zealand Socialist Action League, held in Wellington January 7-10, 1973. We have taken the text from the April 13 issue of the fortnightly *Socialist Action*.]

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### Part One

#### New Awakening

For thousands of years, women have been relegated to a subservient role in society. A multitude of myths and prejudices about women, which perpetuate the idea that the female sex is naturally inferior to the male, have arisen to justify this secondary status. Though there have been many instances throughout history of female rebellion against this treatment, never before has there been a feminist movement as irreconcilable in its opposition to oppression, as radical in its critique of the society which denies equality and freedom for women, and as potentially powerful a force for helping to end that oppression, as the developing feminist movement of today.

The new feminist movement is characterised by its deepgoing challenge of every aspect of women's oppression and its wide recognition that *society* is responsible for women's inferior status. The once sacred family is being questioned and the philosophy that "biology is destiny" emphatically denied.

The impact of feminist ideas has spread far beyond the confines of the organised movement. This is reflected in such things as women's magazines, which are relating to the new radicalisation of women, and in the rapid sales of the feminist books now being published.

Nor has the women's liberation movement been confined by national boundaries: within a few years, it has expanded to many different countries and is developing a spirit of international solidarity, undercutting some of the chauvinist and racist myths perpetrated by capitalism to keep people divided.

Women are recognising that they do not freely choose the narrow role of housewife and child-raiser but are conditioned to it from birth. Because society as a whole is not geared to deal with the work women are given within the family,

women are denied the independence which would enable them to make a choice in the way they lead their lives. This lack of independence has forced women to depend on men not only for economic security but even for their own identity and feeling of self-worth. Furthermore, because women do not have complete control over the decision to have children, they lack control over their own lives. The vulnerability this entails reinforces the notion that women are basically powerless to direct their own futures.

#### Roots of New Feminist Movement

The family institution has undergone changes in accordance with the needs of particular forms of class society. Industrial capitalism took over much of the production previously carried out within the family, changing its function and the role of women within it. Contradictions arose between the restrictions placed on women's participation in public activities (their right to be educated in schools, to engage in politics, etc.) and the need for their labour in industry, which necessarily took them out of the home. Internationally, the first wave of feminism, which fought for the vote and for other democratic rights, was spurred by these contradictions.

New Zealand was the first country to grant women the vote and the history of the early feminist movement here is a source of inspiration for women in struggle today. Women mounted an aggressive, well-organised campaign for the vote, culminating in 1893 when a thousand canvassers collected the signatures of one quarter of the adult female population for a female suffrage petition.

Today's feminist movement goes far beyond its predecessor in its demands. While it continues to press for equality—in pay, opportunity, etc.—there is a much deeper understanding that women can only be emancipated through deepgoing social changes, which remove from individual women the responsibility for child-rearing and domestic work, placing this on society as a whole, and giving women full control over their reproductive lives.

Improvements in technology and medicine this century have brought further changes to the family and to women's lives. Modern appliances, mass-produced clothing and packaged food have continued the trend towards reducing pro-

duction within the individual family unit. Contraception has radically improved women's ability to plan their lives. Women are much better educated and play a far greater role in the economy than ever before, as is shown by a glance at the statistics:

The proportion of women who finished their education in 1961 with higher qualifications than School Certificate was 16.4 percent; in 1970 it had more than doubled, to 33.2 percent. Women constituted 28 percent of the workforce in 1951, rising to 37 percent in 1972. The number of married women working has more than doubled in the last twenty years; in 1951, 9.7 percent of all married women were employed outside the home, and in 1966, 19.9 percent.

These changes and improvements have raised women's expectations of the kind of life they can lead. They see the possibilities around them for the realisation of more freedom, for alternatives to the housewife role. Yet society refuses them the opportunity to fulfill their expectations, persisting in confining them to be wives and mothers.

Women who work are still expected to perform the functions of a fulltime housewife. In addition, they are especially exploited as workers, receiving an average of 40 percent less pay than men. The right to safe, legal abortion is withheld, despite the capacity of medical science to solve the problem of unwanted pregnancy which affects many thousands of women in this country. At least 6,000 and possibly up to 15,000 women each year obtain abortions illegally because the law is so restrictive. Since the number of births per year averages at 62,000, these figures for illegal abortion are particularly significant. Almost no provision is made for good-quality childcare, though the need for it is great. Less than 2,000 of the estimated 35,000 pre-school children of working mothers in New Zealand are able to be placed in some form of childcare centre.

Because of the "sanctity" of the institution of marriage and the family, women under 16 years old are denied contraceptives and advice on contraception. Hundreds of high-school women each year are forced to give up their education because of the law which prevents them from taking precautions against pregnancy.

The present women's liberation movement is growing because of these con-

traditions and also as part of a broader radicalisation in society today. Internationally, movements for the liberation of oppressed nationalities, the youth revolt, and the massive antiwar movement have helped create the setting in which the struggle for women's rights is evolving. Many feminists today became conscious of their own oppression while participating in such movements.

There is a growing consciousness that not only are economic and legal reforms necessary to help free women, but there must also be an end to the entire social, sexual and psychological oppression of women which has led them to accept "their place" in the background of every organisation and institution in society. The development of a militant movement of women, who have the longest history of oppression in human society, is proof of the depth of the current radicalisation.

## The Family

The oppression of women began with the origin of the patriarchal family, private property and the state. Anthropological evidence has shown that in primitive communal society, women held a respected and important position. The basic economic unit was the maternal gens or clan, in which the family as we know it did not exist. In the clan, goods were shared among members equally. Women played an important role in the providing of food and shelter and were not tied to individual men economically, nor was there any compulsion to remain with one sexual partner. With the development of an economic surplus and the individual accumulation of this surplus as private property, the clan system gave way to the setting up of separate households. This was the beginning of class society and the patriarchal family. Women became isolated from communal activity, and monogamy for the wife was strictly enforced to ensure legitimate heirs.

Today, the patriarchal nuclear family unit remains as the basic economic cell of class society and women continue to be isolated in individual households, dependent on individual men for economic survival. The role played by women in the home is used as a justification for discrimination against women in all other spheres; in the workforce, in sports, education, politics—in everything.

The family also serves to perpetuate capitalist rule by inculcating in children the values of the private property system. Obedience to authority is first learned in the family, as well as innumerable prejudices against other people, including racial and sexual prejudice, which keeps the oppressed majority divided and thus unlikely to work together for their common interests against the ruling class.

Acceptance of the hierarchical, exploitative and alienating social relations within capitalism depends considerably upon the tremendous influence of the individualistic, patriarchal family.

Socialists consider the understanding of the origins of women's oppression an important weapon in the fight for women's liberation. Because it was class society, with its need for the family, which hailed the downfall of women and which continues their oppression today, it is class society which must be abolished before the basis can be laid for the real emancipation of women. With its thrust against the family institution, the women's liberation movement is profoundly revolutionary.

## Strategy for Women's Liberation

Whilst early feminism was an aspect of the democratic upsurge linked with the rise of capitalism, today's movement is part of the developing socialist revolution. The full demands of the women's liberation movement cannot be met by the capitalist system, which depends upon the oppressive patriarchal family.

The question of how to end the oppression of women is thus linked to the question of how to end class society. The strategy of the feminist movement must be based on the understanding of how capitalism perpetuates itself and which forces must be mobilised in struggle to eliminate it.

The feminist struggle is different and independent from all other movements because it is based on a unique oppression and unfolds according to its own unique dynamic.

But at the same time, the feminist movement is part of the broader anticapitalist struggle. Women have a basic interest in supporting and allying with others who are fighting against capitalism. As long as social relations are organised on the basis of private property and production for profit, the material foundations which gave rise to the family and the subjugation of women will continue, along with war, racism, economic exploitation and alienation.

This is not to say that the basis for an independent women's movement will end with the socialist revolution: it will be necessary for as long as it takes to rid humanity of the deep-seated prejudice against women which has been fostered since the beginning of class society.

The capitalist class is the best-organised and most conscious ruling class in history and no small force will be capable of taking power from its hands. It will take the massive, united strength of all oppressed layers to place the resources of society under the control of the majority and out of the hands of the profiteers.

The fundamental question of strategy

for the feminist movement is basically the same as for every other developing mass movement. It requires the understanding that capitalism rules not only through force, but also through illusion, especially the illusion that the system is capable of reforming itself and of satisfying the needs of the vast majority. Only through the experience of struggle do people realise that their demands cannot be met in full until the oppressed and exploited majority take over control of society for themselves, and begin to see their potential power to do this.

A socialist strategy for the feminist movement must be based on a programme of transitional and democratic demands that can mobilise large numbers of women for their most urgently felt needs and against the capitalist government.

It is impossible at this stage of the feminist movement to work out a full programme of demands—this will evolve along with the development of the struggle. But the broad outlines of such a programme are emerging and some of the key demands are already clear.

The demand for repeal of the abortion laws, for free, easily available contraception and voluntary sterilisation cuts right across the myth that women must reproduce in order to be "fulfilled", to be "real women". Gains won on this issue will radically alter the course of women's lives, which because of the lack of full birth control are often blighted by the fear and misery of unwanted pregnancy. The basic democratic right to control one's own body is being opposed by the most reactionary forces and is waking women up to the real nature of this society.

The concept that society as a whole should take the responsibility of caring for children is embodied in the demand for government-financed, 24-hour, community-controlled childcare centres. It relates to a real need of both working and non-working women, and brings home to the government the necessity of making social welfare a priority. In addition, this demand opens up the possibilities of replacing the family institution.

In demanding equal pay and opportunity in jobs, women are calling into question the right of employers to use them as a source of cheap labour. The equal pay legislation so far is completely inadequate to correct this situation. And employers' attempts to avoid compliance with even the laws and regulations which do exist to prevent economic discrimination against women, are exposing their greed for profits. Equal pay and opportunity will give women a measure of economic independence as well as establishing their right to work and earn on an equal basis with men.

The fight for equal opportunity is also taken up in the education system, around

demands such as for an end to discrimination against women in the schools and universities, for opportunities to enter all fields of education, for women's studies programmes to teach the truth about women throughout history, and for birth control information and contraceptives to be freely available to all students.

Because of the key role played by students and young women in the feminist movement as a whole, action on campuses and in the high schools can play an important part in helping to spark struggles by other women. Action to win control of university and high-school facilities to benefit women, such as use of classrooms and the library for women's studies, provides an example for the general fight to win control of the resources of society away from the ruling class and its apologists. In addition, the campuses can serve as vital organising centres for the feminist movement and enable it to reach out to broader layers of oppressed and exploited women.

Many other demands are being raised by women, such as for a wage for housewives, and for an end to the sexist treatment of women in the media. The thrust of all these demands is to undercut the narrow role into which women are expected to fit.

Conflicting viewpoints have been raised within the women's movement concerning the possibilities for women uniting and winning their liberation. One view is that working-class women have nothing in common with other women and thus only "working class" demands should be raised by the women's movement. Another view holds that women have everything in common and ignores the class, age, race and other differences which divide women. Some who hold this view think that women are an oppressed "class" or "caste", and that the oppression of women is the basis of all other oppression, since the problem, as they see it, is not capitalism but their exploitation by chauvinistic, aggressive men.

In fact women are both united by their common oppression and at the same time divided by class society. The objective basis for a united struggle of women is *universal female oppression*. All women suffer, though to very different degrees, from sexual oppression, and all women have a stake in winning abortion and childcare facilities, job equality and an end to warped education and conditioning. Women of the working class have the most to gain from united action around these issues and, as they begin to radicalise, will constitute the most powerful forces in the movement. But all women can potentially be involved.

It is necessary to have a clear understanding of the factors which divide women and those which unite them. It

is this understanding which is at the basis of the socialist strategy of mass action around the key feminist issues.

Central to this strategy is the building of broad, independent alliances involving women in action around specific issues like abortion or childcare. Such a perspective will counter tendencies to turn the movement inward, and will orient it toward reaching out to masses of women. The marches for abortion law repeal in 1972 were examples of this kind of action.

The real meaning of sisterhood becomes clear at such times: it is the concept that women can unite on the basis of *common struggle*. Such actions are important in giving women a sense of their potential power, inspiring a feeling of solidarity, and showing to women that their problems are shared by many, many others of their sex.

### Opponents of Mass Action

Opponents of the perspective of building a mass-action women's liberation movement around feminist demands include reformists, sectarians and ultraleftists.

Reformism in the women's movement is based on the belief that it is possible to win liberation without making fundamental social changes, and it logically leads to reliance on those responsible for perpetuating this system to grant liberation. It leads women away from organising independently to fight for their needs, and thus away from mass struggle aimed at the government.

The ultraleftists and sectarians reject struggles around the basic demands of the feminist movement on the grounds that these demands are not "radical" enough or do not explicitly oppose the capitalist system. Because they do not see the revolutionary dynamic of struggles around concrete issues such as childcare, abortion, equal pay, etc., they have no programme which can mobilise the overwhelming numbers of women who do not yet see their enemy as the capitalist system itself.

In New Zealand, reformists have been a prominent force in the women's liberation movement, being particularly influential in such formations as the National Organisation for Women. These people tend to avoid the most controversial issues, and confine political activity largely to supporting pro-woman candidates in elections and "convincing" MPs and other "influential people" rather than organising women to fight for their rights.

Ultraleft forces in the women's liberation movement in this country have to date been of little size or significance.

In opposition to the mass-action perspective, there also exist utopian feminist viewpoints. These are what could be termed "living-room feminism" and

"counter-institutionism", and they often overlap with reformism and ultraleftism.

Living-room feminists basically want to make the movement substitute for the inability of capitalist society to create an unalienated personal life. They consciously try to keep the size of a group down to a number which would fit into a living room. But while consciousness-raising plays an important part in building awareness in women of the nature of their oppression, it cannot be looked upon as an end in itself. The basic flaw in the approach of these women is that they think women can be liberated merely by changing people's minds, as opposed to changing social institutions.

Linked in with this perspective are the "counter-institutionists". Instead of making demands on the government or on existing institutions, they say women should set up their own childcare centres, abortion referral services, contraceptive advice clinics, etc. A few women can benefit to some extent from such activities, but the women's liberation movement has not the resources to provide for the needs of the huge numbers of women who have a right to such services and are being denied them by the government.

### A Women's Party?

Since women are so pitifully represented in the established political parties, the idea of a women's party has appealed to some women from time to time. The Women's Independent party, which contested several seats in the 1969 General Election, was certainly not a feminist party, but it was formed with the idea that women needed to have a voice in the political arena.

But a feminist party seeking political power would be forced to take a stand on social issues other than women's liberation demands. The broader the scope of the programme, the less likely it would be to find agreement amongst wide sectors of women. Women, like men, come from different social classes which have conflicting interests, and this fundamental conflict would render the party impotent to solve the basic problems women face.

The feminist movement has its strength in its independence and its ability to unite women around a series of demands in which all women have an interest, despite their social origins. Socialist measures are needed to bring about the basic changes to liberate women and only a revolutionary socialist party will be capable of carrying them out. Such a party would need to involve not only feminists, but activists from all the oppressed groups, united around a revolutionary programme for the socialist transformation of society.

## Women and the Labour Party

Many feminists recognise that the National party is totally against their interests and tend to support Labour, though with much justified scepticism. Labour party leaders have tried to bury feminist issues raised by the ranks of the party.

Nevertheless, in recent years the issues of childcare, maternity and parenthood benefits, and equal pay have been discussed at conferences of the party and, in some form, have been included in party policy. Abortion was one of the hottest issues debated at the 1972 conference, although a remit favouring reform of the abortion law was lost.

The deep roots the party has in the working class, through the unions, makes it objectively an ally of the women's liberation movement. Feminists working within the Labour party can do much to further the cause of women's liberation, agitating for the inclusion of women's rights in the policy of the party.

However, the movement must retain its independence and not be subordinated to any political party. It should demand that the Labour party, as the mass party of the underprivileged, support the women's liberation movement. When mass actions are planned, the Labour party should be pressured to participate and give its endorsement. Labour endorsement of feminist actions will considerably broaden the influence of such actions on the many thousands of women who can potentially become involved.

## Part Two

### Importance of Abortion Campaign

The right to legal abortion is emerging as the key issue around which the feminist movement can be built at this time. Experience in New Zealand and in many countries overseas has shown this issue to be one which meets an immediate response from women, and is inspiring them to participate in independent action. There are three main factors which give such importance to the demand for legal abortion: the fact that a woman's lack of control of her own reproductive processes is so fundamental to her oppression in all areas; the fact that scientifically this control is now within reach, blocked only by reactionary laws, which are clearly posed as the source of the problem; and the fact that forces in the capitalist establishment, spearheaded by the Catholic Church, have chosen to make abortion the issue around which to push back the entire feminist struggle. In addition, the lack of legal abortion, of full control over reproduction, affects all women—

thousands can potentially become active in this campaign, where they will meet with feminist ideas perhaps for the first time, and broaden their understanding of women's oppression.

It has been argued within feminist groups that by concentrating on the single issue of abortion, the women's liberation movement will decline once this demand is won. This argument ignores both the fact that today's movement is taking place within the context of a deep-going general radicalisation in society, and is aiming for nothing less than the total emancipation of women. In fact, gains made on the abortion issue will encourage women to press for their rights in other areas. Once women reject the concept that "biology is destiny" all the other myths that uphold their oppression are brought into question.

The argument for not concentrating on any one central issue because of the possibility of winning it is an argument against fighting seriously for anything at all. In particular, those who use this argument against building an abortion campaign are running away from the key issue on which the establishment is concentrating its attack on the women's movement.

### Building the Abortion Movement

The abortion and contraception issue is quite clearly a women's issue; it is a question of women's right to control their own bodies and lives. For this reason the abortion campaign must be a women's rights campaign, a campaign able to tap the potential active support of thousands of women for their right to choose if and when they have children. International experience has shown that the involvement of masses of women is necessary to force any meaningful changes in the abortion laws. Women will therefore play the most important role in the campaign.

A women's abortion campaign must avoid association with population control ideas, explaining that such control could deny women the right to have a child, just as abortion laws deny them the right not to have one.

The most effective demands for the abortion campaign are "repeal of the abortion laws, free and easily available contraception and voluntary sterilisation". They relate to the basic needs of women for control over their reproductive lives and are capable of mobilising many thousands of women in action. Furthermore, they make concrete demands of the government and are seen to be reasonable demands, ones which are within the scope of society to grant, were it not for the pervading attitude of conservative forces towards "woman's

place" and the law which upholds this view.

The demand for repeal is fundamentally different from the call to "reform" the law, which is advocated primarily by those oriented towards persuading the lawmakers and the medical profession as opposed to involving masses of women in the fight for their rights. Instead of basing their campaign on a woman's right to choose, the reformers emphasise the "undesirability" of abortions, the need for "counselling" women who want them, and the need for greater "clarity" in the law. They give in to the prevailing reactionary views of "female inferiority" and women's "irresponsibility" and "instability".

Another slogan sometimes put forward by those who are against the abortion law is "free abortion on demand". This neither has the immediate appeal of "repeal the abortion laws", nor does it make a clear demand of the government. This slogan can serve to unnecessarily narrow support for the campaign—because of its "radical" appearance—without in fact demanding anything more of the government than repeal of the law, in the present context of a socialised health service.

The 1972 actions for repeal of the abortion laws showed the potential for a national campaign, women in all the main cities throughout the country taking part. The importance of a nationally organised abortion campaign is obvious: far greater impact can be made with nationally coordinated actions and more centres can become involved through contact with a countrywide campaign than would otherwise be possible. The fact that the anti-abortion Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child has spread its influence all over the country in a coordinated manner is a powerful reason for the women's abortion campaign to do likewise.

A national women's abortion campaign has the potential to build the feminist movement tremendously over the next period. In country after country, women are challenging the laws which restrict their right to decide whether or not to have a child. Even in Japan, where abortion has been legal for reasons of population control for more than twenty years, women are resisting threatened changes to restrict the right to abortion. In this international struggle, there can be developed a basis for the kind of militant, massive feminist movement which will be necessary in the fight for the liberation of all womankind.

### Tasks for Socialists

Even before the first of the new feminist groups was formed in this country, the Socialist Action League was supporting women's liberation ideas in its press, and

raised them in the 1969 elections. The League has been actively involved in the movement from the start, putting forward its perspective and fighting for the right of the movement to be independent. No other tendency on the left has recognised the revolutionary significance of this new and growing independent movement.

In the course of our experience it has become clear that the fight for abortion is attracting the most consistent support from women and that it is the issue around which the movement can best be built. The abortion action committees, formed around the 1972 actions, were able to draw in new forces and wide endorsement. As a central priority, we want to help build such organisations into broad coalitions which can relate, through their activities, to thousands of women across the country, turn back the anti-abortion forces and win real victories for women.

At the same time, we want to continue to help build feminist organisations, especially on the campuses, from which the largest numbers of activists will come. These organisations can also play an important role in introducing women who have become active in the abortion campaign to feminist ideas on other questions.

Feminist issues will also become important in the high schools. We want to support struggles by high school women against discrimination in the schools and for the right to discuss feminist issues.

We should continue to educate within the movement on the links between women's issues and the other movements for social change. The right of the Indo-chinese to self-determination, for instance, can be linked to women's right to control their own bodies and lives, free from outside interference. Women Against the War contingents in the antiwar mobilisations drew many new women into action, helped to build both the antiwar and the women's movement, and raised awareness of the nature of a society which fosters war and women's oppression.

Revolutionary socialists have an important contribution to make to the women's liberation movement. Besides taking part in discussions and consciousness-raising meetings, there are several ways in which we can directly relate our ideas to feminists.

Circulation of *Socialist Action* and our other literature is a central part of this task. Forums and election campaigns, including those on campus, are excellent ways of raising feminist issues and relating them to the socialist perspective. We should encourage women to attend socialist educational activities. All socialists should have a thorough understanding of the nature of women's oppression and the dynamics of the women's

liberation movement.

It is our involvement in the women's liberation movement which has been a key factor in bringing women into the socialist movement.

Women, the "second sex", the "weaker sex", are beginning to change. In the feminist movement they are overcoming the most thoroughgoing conditioning which

has taught them to be passive, weak, to be "feminine". Women are becoming leaders, organisers, and clear political thinkers, capable of mobilising the tremendous power of women in action against the capitalist system. The developing feminist movement in this period of capitalist decay holds great promise for the future of all humanity. □

## Bangladesh

### Mujib Retreats on Two Repressive Moves

The government of Sheik Mujibur Rahman has suffered two defeats in its attempts to stifle all opposition to its rule, according to a report appearing in the April 15 issue of the Dacca English-language weekly *Holiday*.

In one instance, the radical daily *Ganakantha* was reported to have reappeared April 13, a little more than two weeks after the government had sent police to occupy its offices. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 23, p. 469.)

*Ganakantha* is the organ of the Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD—National Socialist party), a socialist group that originated as a split-off from the Awami League's student group. The attempt to close the paper was met by a symbolic strike and protest meeting of journalists in the Bengali capital.

Two days before the reappearance of *Ganakantha*, the government yielded to an ultimatum of a united front of workers organizations and released seven arrested union leaders.

The arrests had grown out of attempts to force workers in Tongi, about fifteen miles north of Dacca, to join the Sramik League, the pro-government union. This take-over was opposed by members of the existing unions in the area: Bangla Sramik Federation, the opposition Sramik League, Bangladesh Sramik Federation, Majdoor Federation, and Sangjukta Sramik Federation. *Holiday* described the way the official Sramik League carried out its campaign:

"The tactics it adopted were simple and sophisticated. The dissenters—mainly the union office bearers and leading trade union workers—would not be allowed to work in their re-

spective mills and factories."

After protests by the opposition unions, the suspended workers were told that they could return to work. But when they did so on the morning of April 5, they were attacked by goons of the progovernment union. At the Nishat Jute Mills, several workers were stabbed.

The goons spread out through other factories and finally attacked workers in the residential areas as well. Police, who stood by watching while workers were assaulted, later arrested seven leaders of the opposition unions.

The workers, *Holiday* wrote, "were forced to withdraw en masse from Tongi in the face of the stormtrooper operation of the official Sramik League. They trudged into Dacca. Thousands of them. It was a defeat."

The workers camped in the Dacca stadium. There, on April 8, they formed a united front of the five unions. A mass meeting endorsed three demands: judicial inquiries into the murder of workers since Bangladesh became independent; security of life and employment for the Tongi workers; and release of their arrested leaders. The meeting gave the government forty-eight hours to comply with the demands.

By the next day, the Mujib regime had agreed to the demands and released the seven prisoners. On the morning of April 11, the workers returned to Tongi in a united march. □

#### Sky Pilot's Analysis

Nixon's favorite preacher Billy Graham said, according to the May 1 *New York Times*, that the Watergate scandal was a symptom of the "permissiveness" permeating American life.