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GARY MARK GILMORE

Gilmore— First in a New Series of Executions

First in a New Series of Executions

By David Russell

As the sun came up at Point of the Mountain, Utah, on January 17, a five-man firing squad took careful aim at the target pinned over Gary Mark Gilmore's heart and shot him dead.

If the American ruling class has its way, Gilmore will be the first of hundreds to be shot, gassed, hanged, or electrocuted.

Gilmore's execution was carried out despite the fact that U.S. District Judge Willis Ritter had ruled less than seven hours earlier that there were "obvious, serious doubts" about the constitutionality of the Utah law under which Gilmore was sentenced.

Ritter granted a ten-day stay of execution, saying that "there is too much uncertainty in the law and too much haste to execute a man."

The state government disagreed. The governor's private plane was made available to fly lawyers and an appeals judge to Denver. There, a three-judge appeals court overturned Ritter's decision and allowed the execution to go ahead as scheduled.

Utah officials were so eager to carry out the execution that they did not even bother to wait for the results of last-minute appeals to judges of the U.S. Supreme Court. As it turned out, the Supreme Court refused to intervene, thus approving Gilmore's execution.

Protests against the shooting came immediately from opponents of the death penalty. Shirley Pedler, executive director of the Utah chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, vowed to continue the fight against the death penalty. "We'll continue in the courts, the legislatures, socially and politically."

Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president in 1976, said, "Gary Gilmore's execution was a horrifying act of cold-blooded murder. The bullets that murdered Gilmore this morning struck at the lives of every Black man, woman and child, at every working person

in this country. This vindictive act opens the door to the execution of hundreds of victims sitting today on death row."

Protests also came from the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), the oldest and largest civil-rights organization in the United States. Jack Greenberg of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund said, "We hope that the circumstances of the Gilmore execution may in fact hasten the demise of this racist, archaic, futile and barbarous institution.

"For it is clear that Mr. Gilmore's homicides . . . were motivated at least in part by a desire to die."

Outside the Utah state prison where Gilmore was shot, a vigil of 125 persons took place. Some forty organizations, including the SWP and the National Student Coalition Against Racism, were represented at the vigil, which was sponsored by the National Coalition Against the Death Penalty. The coalition has also sponsored other protests in Utah.

Meanwhile, reactionaries and racists of all stripes rejoiced. As one district attorney declared, "Gilmore's execution shows that the death penalty is a reality."

Government officials paid meticulous attention to all the ghoulish details associated with the execution, as if their elaborate preparations would somehow make the proceedings more civilized. The rituals prescribed for legalized murder were carefully followed.

Rehearsals with a target dummy were set up outside the prison compound. Warden Sam Smith emphasized the need for practice so that the execution would go "quickly and smoothly and without any complications."

Only "solid citizens" would be accepted for the firing squad, Smith announced.

Two prison officials were assigned to watch over Gilmore at all times to prevent a repetition of his two earlier attempts at suicide. "He has been disruptive," Smith noted. "We want to see that everything goes to its lawful conclusion with out disruption."

Besides, any new suicide attempt might have required the postponement of the execution once again so that Gilmore could be nursed back to health. "In the past," Smith commented, "Mr. Gilmore has indulged in activities which cost the state a lot of money."

Others are also concerned about money. Promoter Larry Schiller, for example, has

bought all the rights to the story of Gary Gilmore's life. He is selling his material on Gilmore to *Playboy* magazine, and using it for a movie and a book.

Additional sensationalistic news coverage was generated by reports that Gilmore had willed his body to a hospital. Since the prison was twenty-five miles from the hospital, there was fear that some of his more perishable organs would not be usable after the trip.

Another problem was that vital organs other than Gilmore's heart might be damaged by the impact of the bullets. Gilmore demanded that he be shot standing up in order to lessen this danger, but his proposal was vetoed by Warden Smith.

The media made use of material like this to build up a circus-like atmosphere around Gilmore's execution. Utah authorities turned down a request by television stations to cover Gilmore's execution, but a federal judge in Texas ruled that television cameras must be allowed at executions in that state.

The lurid press coverage served to accentuate the barbarism of the death penalty—a relic of savagery that some day will be viewed in the same way as the burning of witches or the use of the rack and the thumbscrew.

In the meantime, however, 358 human beings confined in prisons across the United States face the prospect of having their lives cut short by judicial murder.

More than half of all those currently on death row are Black—a total of 158. At least nine others are Hispanics. A national study of death sentences handed down during 1974-75 found that 92 percent of the cases in which the death penalty was used involved white victims. Only 1 percent involved cases in which whites killed Blacks.

The state of Georgia has sixty-six persons on death row under a law signed by former Governor Jimmy Carter. Six out of every ten are Black.

Carter never bothered to comment on the execution that took place only three days before his inauguration as president. Nor did any of the writers in the capitalist press raise the question of why Carter chose to say nothing about Gilmore.

It is worth noting that in the case of William Calley, an army lieutenant convicted of murdering at least twenty-two Vietnamese civilians, Carter registered energetic protests against the life sentence originally handed down.

Neither Carter nor the other supporters of the racist death penalty have ever called for punishment of the real mass murderers like Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, and Carter's own secretaries of state and defense—Cyrus Vance and Harold Brown, both responsible for the death of tens of thousands in Vietnam.

As Reid pointed out in her statement: "There are no rich people on death row. It's Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and

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the poor that sit on death row. These are the people whom today's execution is meant to terrorize. And those responsible for this blow against us are the same ones whose hands are stained with the blood of the Vietnamese, of Black South Africans including school children.

"Capital punishment is not justice. It is a weapon of race and class oppression. Gilmore's murder must not go unchallenged. Legalized murder has been restored in this country and it is up to us, America's working people, to stop it."

The legal murder of Gary Mark Gilmore is a setback to the struggle to end one of the most vicious features of class justice in the United States. The task before opponents of the death penalty is to redouble efforts to stay the hands of America's executioners once and for all. □

Pay or Die

Despite the harshest weather in five winters across much of the United States, "power companies are threatening to shut off the power of consumers who are late in paying their bills," the *New York Times* reported January 14.

Especially hard hit are older people on fixed incomes who cannot pay heating bills inflated by the cold spell. An example of the treatment they can expect was cited by the *Times*:

"One late payer in Mansfield, Ohio, Eugene Kuhn, 74 years old, was found frozen to death in his home earlier this week. Electric power to his home was shut off by the Ohio Edison Company after it was unable to collect a bill for \$18."

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The Carter Cabinet—War Criminals and Corporate Chiefs

By David Frankel

During the American presidential campaign, Jimmy Carter presented himself as an "outsider" who would bring new faces, fresh ideas—in short, *change*—to the federal government in Washington, D.C. Carter supporters talked about a "rainbow cabinet" that would include Blacks, women, trade-union leaders—perhaps even some Puerto Ricans or Chicanos or an Asian.

Carter promised women last October that he would "tear down the walls that have kept you out of decision-making and policy-making participation in your government."

Following the election, Carter flunky Barbara Blum insisted, "It's going to happen. It's going to be a new day."

Expectations among Blacks were pitched so high after Carter's victory that Vernon Jordan of the Urban League felt it necessary to deflate them in an article titled "Time for a new realism." Jordan complained in his nationally circulated newspaper column:

As I travel around the country and talk to people, especially in the Black community, about the coming Carter Administration, I'm increasingly disturbed by what appears to be a lack of realism.

Conscious of the debt owed to the Black vote by President-elect Carter, too many people expect miracles to come to pass after January 20. Some seriously believe that their local councilman, who's a nice fellow, will be named Secretary of State. Others think they just have to sit back and wait until a golden horn of plenty is emptied by Washington, full of money and programs that will end poverty and discrimination overnight. It's just not going to happen.

It certainly isn't. Anyone who did not believe Jordan's warning can look over the results of Carter's "transition" for themselves. The men—and they are all men—who will have the central responsibility for formulating and directing the policies of the U.S. government for the next four years have been selected.

There are, to be sure, some token figures in the cabinet—two to be exact—whose appointment is supposed to prove that Carter will be an enlightened defender of the rights of women and of oppressed minorities. But in the basic areas of imperialist policy-making and power, all pretense was cast aside. For these posts, hardened and tested representatives of the American ruling class were chosen. They will direct the vast U.S. military machine, as well as the domestic apparatus of police, courts, and spy agencies. And they will make policy in regard to the economy and

international affairs.

Who are the men who will hold the fate of the world in their hands? It must be admitted that Carter outdid himself in his choices, even by the cynical standards of capitalist politics in the United States. The promised "rainbow cabinet" is more likely to be remembered as the skull-and-crossbones cabinet—all white, and deadly.

A Roster of War Criminals

In the area of foreign policy and the military, Carter's appointments read like a roster of war criminals. Heading the list is Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.

Vance entered the government in 1957. He served John F. Kennedy as general counsel for the Pentagon from 1961 to 1962 and as secretary of the army from 1962 to 1963. Between 1964 and 1967 he served Lyndon B. Johnson as deputy secretary of defense, the second highest civilian post in the Pentagon.

An architect of the American invasion of Vietnam, Vance was deeply involved in the Gulf of Tonkin fraud used as a pretext for Johnson's first massive escalation of the war.

As a troubleshooter for Johnson, Vance was given a number of "special assignments."

- In May 1965 he was dispatched to Santo Domingo to help oversee the invasion of the Dominican Republic by 20,000 U.S. Marines and the subsequent crushing of the popular rebellion against the Dominican dictatorship.

Troops of the dictatorship, the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported at the time, followed "prudently behind the [U.S.] tanks," as they advanced into the poorest and most heavily populated area of Santo Domingo. It was a "pitiless and bloody struggle, proceeding street by street, house by house."

- Another "street by street, house by house" operation was supervised by Vance in July 1967. This one was a four-day assault by Army paratroopers and National Guard units aimed at crushing the massive rebellion of Detroit's Black community.

- As an experienced man in these things, Vance was chosen to put down a second Black rebellion in 1968 following the assassination of Martin Luther King. This time, he headed the 9,000 U.S. troops sent in by Johnson to "pacify" Washington, D.C.

- In 1968 and 1969 Vance took a new

assignment for Johnson as second-in-command under Averell Harriman at the Paris negotiations on Vietnam. While Vance stalled in Paris, his associates in the Pentagon continued to bomb Vietnam.

Although Vance left the government after Nixon was elected president, he continued to work as a servant of his class. He became a member of the board of directors of the One William Street Fund, Inc.; Standard Fire Insurance; Aetna Life Insurance; Pan American World Airways; International Business Machines; and recently, the *New York Times*.

During the New York City financial crisis, Vance was tapped to serve on a committee of "prominent citizens"—including Chase Manhattan Bank President David Rockefeller—that was given the job of overseeing the austerity measures forced on the city. These included the firing of tens of thousands of city workers, a wage freeze for those who remained, and cuts in essential public services.

Finally, in September 1975, Vance was quietly appointed chairman of the board of the Rockefeller Foundation. Could anyone have better qualifications for directing the foreign policy of American imperialism?

The team that will be working with Vance also deserves mention. Warren M. Christopher will be the No. 2 man in the State Department, where he also served for a time under the Johnson administration.

Christopher, who was a deputy attorney general during the last years of the Johnson administration, worked closely with Vance to put down the Detroit rebellion.

"The most controversial aspect of Mr. Christopher's time in the Johnson Administration was his involvement in the Army's program to put thousands of American civilians under surveillance to prevent urban rioting," Bernard Gwertzman reported in the January 1 *New York Times*. Christopher was reportedly one of the originators of the spy plan.

Another key man in Carter's foreign policy team will be Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was named special assistant to the president for national security affairs. Brzezinski is also a veteran of the Johnson administration, having served on the secret policy planning council of the State Department from 1966 to 1968. In 1973 David Rockefeller appointed Brzezinski to the Trilateral Commission, a Rockefeller-funded think-tank on foreign policy, where Carter himself was trained.

Closely tied in with all imperialist

foreign policy calculations, of course, is the question of war and the military. Carter's choices in these areas are headed by Secretary of Defense Harold Brown.

Brown was Lyndon Johnson's secretary of the air force during the Vietnam War, a post that gave him direct administrative responsibility for organizing the air war against the people of Vietnam.

James Schlesinger, who was appointed secretary of defense by Nixon and was dumped by Ford after resisting efforts to impose token cuts in the military budget, was chosen as a special adviser by Carter. Schlesinger will thus continue to have a voice in military policy.

One of the first actions of the new Carter team was to inform the American people that they should forget about the president-elect's promises about cutting the military budget. Carter told the Democratic party platform committee in June that "without endangering the defense of our nation or our commitment to our allies, we can reduce present defense expenditures by about \$5 billion to \$7 billion annually." This became one of "I'll-never-lie-to-you" Carter's campaign pledges.

Now Carter insists that what he really meant is that he would trim \$5 to \$7 billion in waste from overall war spending—meaning that the arms budget could actually increase. Brown told reporters that he doubted whether any "absolute reduction" could be made, but said that "we may be working up to" some cuts—in 1979.

Both Vance and Brown acknowledged at the Senate hearings on their confirmations January 11 that the U.S. intervention in Vietnam had been a "mistake"—a conclusion that was no doubt of great comfort to the millions of Vietnamese who were maimed and murdered in the course of the "mistake."

However, when asked whether he would rule out any use of U.S. military power on grounds of immorality, Brown replied: "I would not do so *a priori*. . . . Since I accept the possibility that we may have to be prepared to destroy tens to hundreds of millions of people, I guess I could not exclude use of any force as immoral."

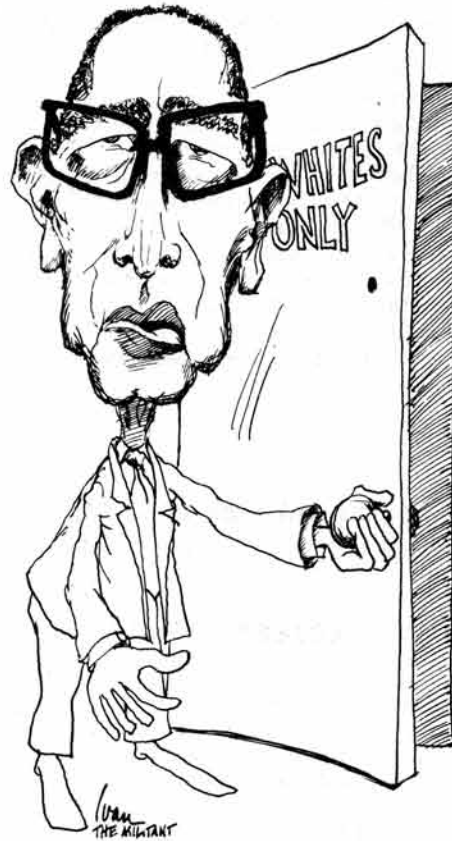
'Unpalatable Steps' on the Agenda

What about Carter's economic plans? Will they be any better than his foreign policy? The answer, once again, is already clear.

W. Michael Blumenthal, the secretary of the treasury, and Charles Schultze, the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, will be the two key officials responsible for economic policy under Carter.

Blumenthal is the head of Bendix, a multinational corporation with revenues of \$3 billion a year. He took part, as did Carter and Brzezinski, in Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission.

Schultze, who was in the Brookings Institution during the Nixon and Ford years, ran the Bureau of the Budget for Lyndon Johnson. He was one of the key



GRIFFIN BELL: Carter's choice for attorney general.

figures in helping to cover up the rapidly rising costs of the Vietnam War—a project that involved a \$10 billion underestimate of the war budget for the fiscal year 1967.

The No. 2 position in the Treasury Department is expected to be filled by Kenneth S. Axelson. A top executive of the J.C. Penney corporation, Axelson was one of the main figures involved in drafting the New York City austerity plan. He distinguished himself in the campaign to make the workers pay for the city's budget crisis. Speedup, cuts in pensions and fringe benefits, and an end to the city's free university system were among Axelson's proposals.

Nor is Axelson's role in this area over. "Certain prospective members of the Carter Administration are thought to be looking at such questions as pensions and fringe benefits in New York City, for example," Steven R. Weisman reported in the January 10 *New York Times*. "Mr. Axelson's intimacy with these issues might increase—rather than lift—the pressure on city politicians to take unpalatable steps in these areas."

"Unpalatable steps" certainly are on the agenda planned by the ruling class for the coming years, but Carter must also face

the expectations of the millions of workers who voted for him. Now that Carter has been elected, they expect some solutions to the problems they face. This has caused some worry among the capitalist rulers.

"Perhaps more than any set of promises Mr. Carter made during the campaign, fulfilling his pledges to unions will prove exceedingly difficult," *Wall Street Journal* labor reporter Walter S. Mossberg commented in a January 11 column.

Carter and his aides retired to the 1,800-acre estate of Smith Bagley, an heir to the Reynolds tobacco fortune, to think over the problem. On January 7, Carter announced an economic plan calculated to placate those demanding jobs.

The proposed program consists mostly of tax cuts spread out over a two-year period. These include an annual tax reduction of \$2 billion for corporations. Direct expenditures on public works and on new job-creating programs would supposedly produce 800,000 new jobs by September 1978.

Businessmen voiced approval. One "leading Eastern banker" quoted by Thomas E. Mullaney in the January 9 *New York Times* said, "The President-elect hasn't made a false move yet in his appointments to the top economic jobs . . . and his policy statements on taxes and spending and other things have tended to build confidence."

Such reactions, noted Mullaney, were "quite typical in the business and financial community. . . ."

There were, of course, some who objected to giving the workers even the token concessions contained in the Carter package. But the *Wall Street Journal* editors were reassured after listening to Treasury Secretary-designate Blumenthal. They noted January 11 that "he left the impression that the real program would come later, after the team actually took office and had a little time for serious work. Meanwhile the problem is to keep the dogs quiet, we take it, and the boys at Plains are throwing out the bones. . . ."

"For the purpose of quieting yapping dogs, we suppose such programs will do well enough."

But the "yapping dogs" were not satisfied with the bones thrown out by Carter. Black leaders, mindful of the huge unemployment rate in their communities, want more. And so does the labor movement.

The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) rejected Carter's program in a January 10 statement that called the plan "a retreat from the goals which we understood President-elect Carter to have set during last year's campaign."

The AFL-CIO statement blasted the cuts in business taxes as "a wage subsidy for already tax-pampered corporations," and argued that the two-year program "is too small, takes too long and is too ill-advised. . . ."

As did the labor movement, Black

organizations contributed unstintingly to Carter's campaign. And Blacks, like trade unionists, have been kicked in the teeth by Carter even before his inauguration. In December, the president-elect nominated Federal Judge Griffin Bell for the post of attorney general.

A Kick in the Teeth for Blacks

"Most people had never heard of Griffin Bell until Jimmy Carter picked him to be the next attorney general," the American Trotskyist weekly, the *Militant*, noted in an editorial in its December 31 issue.

"How would we know him? His social clubs in Atlanta do not allow Blacks, Jews, or women to be members."

As could have been expected, Bell's public record was as bad as his personal one. In the 1950s, Bell was a top aide of archsegregationist Georgia Governor Ernest Vandiver. Bell's job was to write legislation designed to prevent school desegregation. One of the laws he proposed would have barred the use of tax revenues for integrated schools.

Segregationist Bell was appointed to the Federal Court of Appeals in 1961 by John F. Kennedy. In 1966 he supported the decision of the Georgia legislature not to seat Julian Bond, the first Black elected to that body in the twentieth century. Bell declared that Bond was "at war with the national policy of this country" because he had taken part in protests against the Vietnam War.

As attorney general, Bell would be in charge of deciding what federal laws to enforce and how to enforce them. With the Justice Department currently dealing with more than 100 school desegregation cases, it is hardly surprising that Blacks protested.

The nominee for attorney general told a January 3 news conference that "it upsets Americans to take children away from their neighborhood schools," although he conceded that busing might be OK "as a last resort." Bell, moreover, is a staunch supporter of the death penalty.

The Congressional Black Caucus sent a telegram warning Carter of a "growing feeling of uneasiness and concern across the nation . . . and the development of some frustration."

Also opposing the Bell nomination was the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the oldest and largest civil rights organization in the United States). Clarence Mitchell, Washington Bureau director of the NAACP, testified in the Senate hearings on Bell's confirmation that his appointment would mean "retreat instead of progress towards our goal of equality under the law."

Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president in 1976, also protested the nomination. In testimony prepared for the Senate hearings, Reid said: "Carter's appointment of Griffin Bell

as the next Attorney General shows the kind of justice that is in store for Blacks, the poor, and all those who dissent in this country."

As attorney general, Bell will also be in charge of the U.S. government's secret police apparatus. His views in this area were summed up by a 1973 decision backing the right of the president to authorize wiretaps without a warrant on the grounds of "national security."

As Reid pointed out, "One of Bell's first tasks will be to polish up the image of the FBI." The first move in this regard came January 12 when Bell said that he would replace Clarence Kelley, the current director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Finally, what about Carter's promises to women? How have these been reflected in

the days leading up to the inauguration?

A glimpse of what can be expected in this area came on January 13, when Carter's nominee for secretary of health, education, and welfare, Joseph A. Califano, Jr., testified before the Senate Finance Committee. "I personally believe that abortion is wrong," Califano said. He made clear that the Carter administration would initiate restrictions on the use of federal funds for abortions if permitted to by the courts.

Meanwhile, Carter gave Blacks another example of his social ideals January 9 when he voted along with the rest of the all-white congregation in his Plains, Georgia, church to exclude two Blacks from membership on the pretext that they lived too far away. □

Defy Ban on Demonstrations

South Korean Students Denounce Park Regime

In defiance of the Park dictatorship's ban on all antigovernment demonstrations, about 500 students of the prestigious Seoul National University in South Korea gathered at the suburban campus on the morning of December 8.

The students distributed and read a mimeographed pamphlet entitled, "Declaration for Democratic National Salvation,"* which denounced the Park regime's bribery of American officials and condemned the undemocratic constitution (called the Yushin Constitution) that Park imposed in 1972.

"What has this Yushin Constitution, which was forced on us by the roar of tanks, brought us?" the declaration asked. "By the devil's club called the Emergency Decree, it has trampled on academic freedom, stopped the breath of freedom of speech and imprisoned every just person. . . .

"With extremely high priced commodities and starvation wages, workers are deprived of . . . [their] basic rights and even their very right to survive is threatened. . . . In spite of the fact that the constitution must be established by the will of the people, the authoritarian idea of the present government equates the interest of the present regime with those of the

entire nation, and has uprooted completely the power for democratic change of the constitution."

Although the bribery scandal had not been reported by the heavily-censored South Korean press, the declaration went on: "The present government has brought the pride of Korean people to the ground by the bribery of high U.S. officials. That is, the Park Regime shamelessly gave several million dollars of bribes to Ford, Kissinger, and U.S. Congressmen to gain their support for the Korean government."

Emergency Decree No. 9, which Park imposed in 1975, makes it illegal for anyone to advocate the revision or repeal of the constitution. But the declaration stated: "The Yushin Constitution, established by tanks and military boots, is nothing but the destruction of the constitutional order. We firmly and wholly reject the Yushin Constitution."

After reading the declaration, the students began to sing a popular protest song, "The Song of Justice," and shouted such slogans as "Down With the Emergency Decrees!" and "Abolish the Yushin Constitution!"

According to a December 8 dispatch from Seoul published in the Tokyo daily *Asahi Shimbun*, "When plainclothed security police hurried to the scene and tried to arrest the leaders of the demonstration, a struggle broke out. Observers at the scene saw three students carried off bound hand and foot. After a while, an imposing array of riot police arrived on the campus by truck."

At least six students were known to have been picked up by the police. □

*The declaration originally appeared in the December 9 issue of the Tokyo daily *Asahi Shimbun*. It was translated and published in the December 10 issue of *Korea Communiqué*, a news bulletin of the Japan Emergency Christian Conference on Korean Problems.

Massive Turmoil Continues to Shake China

By David Frankel

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the man who was summarily stripped of all his government posts and denounced as a "capitalist restorationist" only nine months ago at the personal initiative of Mao Tsetung, is now being lauded by wall posters in Peking.

This latest twist in the events around the purge of Mao's four closest associates was first reported January 6—only two days before the first anniversary of the death of former Premier Chou En-lai. The timing was hardly accidental.

Teng was closely associated with Chou. It was at Chou's initiative that Teng, who had been disgraced during the Cultural Revolution, was brought back into a leading post. When Chou died, Teng was expected to be named premier in his place. However, he quickly came under attack for his stress on economic modernization and growth—policies that had been originally laid down by Chou himself.

The masses had hoped that Chou's emphasis on economic development would lead to an improvement in their standard of living and a loosening of the harsh political and cultural regimentation advocated by Mao. In April, they reacted to the prospect of a new tightening of the Maoist straightjacket with the now-famous demonstration in Peking's Tien An Men Square. Tens of thousands of persons gathered in the square to honor Chou—and, by implication, to protest the attack on his policies.

At the time of its occurrence, the Tien An Men protest was denounced in the Chinese press as a counterrevolutionary action organized by supporters of Teng. Teng himself was immediately deprived of his positions in the government, and a wave of repression was launched.

An account of the Tien An Men demonstration and the repression afterward was printed in the September 27, 1976, issue of *Intercontinental Press*. Recent wall posters in Peking referring to "the souls of martyrs who died on April 5" confirm that some of the demonstrators were killed, as was reported in the account.

More information on the repression was given by *New York Times* reporter Fox Butterfield in a January 10 dispatch from Hong Kong. Butterfield said:

According to a document made public in Taiwan, Chang Chun-chiao, one of the four disgraced leaders, told a study class in June that 40,000 to 50,000 persons were arrested in Peking after the pro-Chou demonstration. "Every unit engaged itself in arresting and dragging out this



TENG HSIAO-P'ING

or that person," he is quoted as having said. "A couple of lives were sacrificed also, while some were wronged."

Of course, information from Taiwan may be suspect, but the Peking regime has yet to issue any figures of its own on the number of persons arrested. It has, however, doled out some information on the real state of the country at the time of the Tien An Men demonstration.

'Chaos' in the Provinces

Reports from China that painted a picture of widespread violence began to come out beginning in late November. One series of radio broadcasts from the major industrial center of Wuhan, in Hupeh Province, described how the area had been "thrown into chaos," supposedly by the machinations of the "gang of four."

The broadcasts, reported by *Washington Post* correspondent Jay Mathews in a December 10 dispatch from Hong Kong, claimed that the four purged leaders "created white terror, split the ranks of the working class, incited armed struggles, (and) killed and wounded class brothers."

In Honan Province, just north of Hupeh, rebellious forces "stormed organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the provincial and lower-level party committees," according to a December 7 broadcast

cited by Mathews. A December 9 broadcast mentioned similar turmoil in Yunnan Province.

Szechwan Province, the largest in China, with a population estimated at more than 80 million, was also the scene of strife prior to the purge of the Maoist faction in October. A December 30 broadcast said:

Because of sabotage by the gang of four, civil war and factionalism did not cease in our province. Many class brothers . . . were sacrificed in all-round civil war. Armed struggle was protracted and large in scale, and people's lives and property suffered serious loss. [Cited in the *New York Times*, January 1.]

Times correspondent Butterfield also reported a radio broadcast from Shansi Province in a December 14 dispatch from Hong Kong. According to the Shansi radio, "the black hands of the gang of four in our province, in a planned and premeditated way, caused the incident of beating, wrecking and looting on Aug. 23, kidnapping and beating up the principal leading comrades of the provincial party committee."

Butterfield reported in a December 31 dispatch on events in Heilungkiang as well. Broadcasts complained that "the sinister hands of the gang of four . . . created chaos and incited a small handful of people to oppose the provincial party committee."

Finally, in Paoting, a city on China's main north-south rail route, all-out warfare reportedly erupted in April, and the army was eventually called in to occupy the city.

In every case, the "gang of four" is blamed for inciting the violence. However, the purge against the four closest associates of Mao was not carried out until October. It certainly seems more reasonable to assume that the rebellions described by the Chinese media were not fostered by those in the government. Rather, like the Tien An Men demonstration, they appear to have been directed against the policies of the regime.

Unrest on the scale described by the Chinese press and radio was probably one of the reasons for the purge. It became necessary to loosen up on Mao's policies of wage freeze, thought control, and cultural repression. Chiang Ch'ing, Mao's wife, and the others most closely identified with these policies were used as scapegoats and sacrificed to the anger of the masses.

Nor has the regime been fully successful to this day in pacifying the country and allaying the discontent of the people. A

January 3 radio broadcast, for example, reported that the key railroad center of Chengchow had been placed under military rule.

In a dispatch in the January 4 *New York Times*, Butterfield referred to "reports of labor unrest, stemming both from factional disputes and wage grievances in the Chengchow railroad division, which employs 100,000 workers."

A Rosy Future Promised

The pressure for change was indicated in a New Year's editorial carried jointly by the party paper, the army paper, and the party theoretical journal. It promised the Chinese masses:

We are sure to create a completely new situation in which there will be liveliness politically and prosperity economically, a hundred schools of thought will contend and a hundred flowers bloom in science and culture, and the people's livelihood will steadily improve through expansion of production.

But, while promising relief from the grim excesses of Mao's dictatorship, the editorial made it clear that the principle of personal dictatorship would remain. It argued:

Marxist theory and the historical experience of the Chinese revolution show that a proletarian political party must have its own outstanding leader in order to unify the will and strength of the party, the class, and the entire people, to overcome difficulties and dangers, to seize and consolidate political power, and to wage successful struggles.

By "smashing the 'Gang of four,'" the editorial continued, "... Chairman Hua Kuo-feng has won the support and love of the whole party, the whole army, and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, and Chairman Hua Kuo-feng's leading position in the whole party has been established."

However, the Chinese people are getting increasingly tired of being told what to do by self-proclaimed "outstanding leaders." Some have gone so far as to challenge Hua himself. One example of this was given by *Toronto Globe and Mail* correspondent Ross H. Munro. In a dispatch from Peking printed in the January 12 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*, Munro said:

The potential danger to Mr. Hua's prestige was signaled by a small piece of graffiti Jan. 10 on the construction fence at Tien An Men Square, where most of the posters and slogans have been pasted. On a poster that refers to Mr. Teng as vice-premier, someone has crossed out that title and written "chairman."

This incident described by Munro was part of an escalating series of demonstrations and wall poster displays that began in Peking January 6 with posters praising Teng and demanding that Hua "reverse the verdict" on the Tien An Men demonstration.

The first posters charged that the four

purged leaders had organized a provocation at the Tien An Men demonstration and then used the violence that resulted "to smear the name of Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping" (*Washington Post*, January 7).

As each day went by, new posters with



HUA KUO-FENG

increasingly bold demands appeared. Posters appearing on January 7 called Teng a "very good comrade" and demanded "arrangements for Teng Hsiao-ping working again." The posters also called for pardons for those who had been victimized on the grounds of being supporters of Teng. This demand seemed to include those who had been arrested at Tien An Men. (*Washington Post*, January 8.)

One Million Demonstrate in Peking

The following day, January 8, was the anniversary of Chou's death. The anniversary, according to a report in the January 9 *Washington Post*, "brought huge crowds into the streets of Peking . . . demanding the execution of Mao Tse-tung's widow and three other purged radical leaders. . . ."

"Thousands of people swarmed enthusiastically around wall posters calling for Teng's rehabilitation and for a reexamination of last April's riots. . . ."

One poster described the Tien An Men protest as "a brilliant page in the history of the Chinese revolution."

On January 9, the crowds in Peking turned out again. The Peking correspondent for Japan's Kyodo news agency said that an estimated one million persons in that city participated in the second day of memorial meetings for Chou.

"Diplomatic sources in Peking said that some citizens were becoming concerned over the demonstrations," Butterfield reported in a January 10 dispatch from Hong Kong. "One Western diplomat said Chinese were beginning to respond with

'nervous giggles' to questions about what was happening."

Some of the "concern" reported by these diplomats may have been due to the fear that the masses might get too used to demonstrating and making demands on the government. This has been an ongoing problem for the Stalinist bureaucrats. For example, Chiao Lin-yi, vice-chairman of the Kwangtung Provincial Revolutionary Committee (the provincial government) told 100,000 persons at a rally December 16:

"The struggle to expose and criticize the 'gang of four' must be conducted under the centralized leadership of party committees at all levels" (*Los Angeles Times*, January 1).

In any case, one thing is certain: wall posters in Peking have now gone far beyond the point of merely attacking the "gang of four."

A Reuters dispatch from Peking dated January 9 reported that on that day, posters signed "Voice of the People" demanded the removal of Politburo members Chen Hsi-lien, commander of the Peking military region, and Peking Mayor Wu Teh. Chen is the second-highest-ranking officer in the Chinese army.

Both Wu and Chen were attacked for their role in suppressing the Tien An Men demonstration, while other posters demanded that Teng be made premier or given some other senior post.

These posters were taken by Munro as "evidence of a deep and complicated power struggle within the new Chinese leadership. . ." (*Christian Science Monitor*, January 11).

Munro noted that, of those attacked, Wu Teh "is closely identified with Chairman Hua," and "most foreign observers consider Mr. Chen to be one of the dozen most powerful men in China and a key force behind the purge of the 'gang of four.' . . ."

"Another poster," Munro reported, "contained a photograph in which the face of Wu Kuei-hsien, a third Politburo member, was deliberately disfigured."

More posters attacking key officials were put up in the center of Peking on January 10, Munro reported the following day. "For the first time publicly, Liu Hsiang-ping, Minister of Public Health; Wang Hai-jung, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and generally thought to be Mao Tse-tung's niece; and Liu Chuan-hsin, generally thought to be the police chief of Peking, were taken to task for their alleged ties with radicals" (*Christian Science Monitor*, January 12).

There is insufficient information to tell whether these attacks signify a new split in the ranks of the Stalinist hierarchy, an independent initiative by the masses, or some combination of both. Whatever the case, Mao's heirs have a long way to go before they will be able to sit on his throne with ease. □

Husak Regime Tries to Intimidate Protesters

By Gerry Foley

In the first week in January, Czech and Slovak defenders of civil liberties attempted to deliver a petition to the Prague government calling for respect for the democratic rights guaranteed by the Czechoslovak constitution.

This statement, called Charter 77, was signed by 282 personalities, including the playwrights Vaclav Havel and Pavel Kohout, as well as Jiri Hajek, former foreign minister under the Dubcek government.

When representatives of this group tried to deliver the petition to the government, *New York Times* correspondent Malcolm W. Browne reported in a January 14 dispatch, they were "dispersed and harassed by waiting policemen." Afterward, they managed to get copies to three West European newspapers.

The purpose of the petition was explained as follows in a section quoted in the January 7 issue of the Paris Trotskyist daily *Rouge*:

"Charter 77 is not an organization. It has no statutes, no standing bodies, and no members linked by organizational ties. . . . Charter 77 does not constitute a basis for political opposition work. It seeks to serve the general interest as many similar associations do both East and West. It does not intend to put forward its own program of political or social reforms or to propose changes but, within its sphere, to carry on a constructive dialogue with the political and state authorities. In particular, it will seek to do this by drawing attention to the various concrete cases of violation of human and civil rights and by publicizing these cases, proposing solutions for such problems, making various general proposals designed to extend these rights and guarantees, and by acting as an intermediary in the event of conflicts."

In the statement, the signers noted that they had appointed Jiri Hajek, Professor Jan Patočka, and Vaclav Havel to represent them.

Rouge's reporter, Sacha Blumkine, commented: "This collection of the most well-known names that came out of the Prague Spring, including those of recently released political prisoners, is unquestionably an event. This is the first time since 1968 that such a broad grouping of oppositionists has come together, even on the basis of defending democratic rights."

The Czechoslovak opposition was undoubtedly encouraged by the activity of the Committee to Defend Worker Victims



CP BOSS GUSTAV HUSAK

of the Repression in Poland, the protests of East German intellectuals and writers against the forced exile of the poet Wolf Biermann, and by the work of fighters for civil liberties in the USSR.

The ability of the Polish committee to carry on an open campaign against bureaucratic repression could not help but inspire defenders of democratic rights in Czechoslovakia, where the Kremlin-imposed regime is almost universally hated but where the defeat of the resistance created a feeling of helplessness among the opposition.

The fact that the big West European CPs have been forced to criticize the worst cases of repression in the USSR made possible important victories for the Soviet civil-rights movement in the past year, in particular the release of Leonid Plyushch and Vladimir Bukovsky. These successes must also have helped to revive the Czechoslovak opposition.

The Charter 77 group seems to have been modeled on the Soviet civil-liberties movement. A January 11 dispatch by Malcolm W. Browne quoted Kohout as saying: "We are not struggling against the

regime. We are merely trying to get it to observe existing Czechoslovak laws that guarantee human rights in this country."

The Husak government responded to the legal protests of the Charter 77 signers with methods similar to those used by the Polish regime against the Committee to Defend Worker Victims of the Repression. It did not simply round up the signers and try them for "antisocialist activity" according to the old Stalinist pattern. It launched a campaign of police harassment, accompanied by a campaign of vilification.

On January 7, secret police teams began repeatedly picking up prominent signers for "questioning." In these incidents considerable psychological pressure was applied, as well as some violence. But no one, as far as is known, was held for a prolonged period or charged. Browne reported January 14:

"The several hundred dissidents in Prague currently enduring police harassment have come during the last week to know some of their tormentors by name. One, the commander of a flying squad named Martinovsky, is regarded with special dislike at the moment.

"Policemen under Mr. Martinovsky's command seized the wife of . . . Pavel Kohout last week, dragging her by the hair into a waiting car. In the encounter her left leg was hurt badly enough that she was still scarcely able to walk a week later."

When Kohout tried to take his wife to the hospital after her "interrogation," they were stopped by the police and ordered out of their car. Browne reported in a January 11 dispatch:

"When Mr. Kohout insisted on taking his wife to the hospital first, a plainclothesman began prying at the car door with a crowbar. At that point Mr. Kohout began sounding an SOS signal on the car's horn. The police thereupon ripped the horn out of the car, and the Kohouts surrendered. On emerging from the car, Mr. Kohout said, he was struck across the face."

On January 13, Kohout was ordered to vacate within three weeks the apartment where he has been living for fourteen years. A few hours before he got his notice, he was told that his telephone was being disconnected "in the public interest." Kohout has said, according to the January 9-10 *Le Monde*, that some of the police searches of signers' homes were filmed by TV cameras, as well as some questioning sessions, possibly for use in a campaign in the mass media.

The bureaucracy's kept press has already started beating the drums for a witch-hunt. In its January 12 issue, the CP organ *Rude Pravo* wrote:

"A few piqued, ineffectual wrecks and self-appointed, but in fact agents of imperialism without a mite of honor and conscience, are spinning plans that have not and cannot have any mission but the preparation of counterrevolution." □

Apartments of Soviet Dissidents Ransacked by Police

By Marilyn Vogt

The rulers in the Soviet Union have stepped up their offensive against Moscow dissidents who are members of a group monitoring Soviet compliance with the Helsinki Accords.

During the first week of January the Kremlin's security forces conducted searches of the apartments of three of the group's members: Yuri Orlov, the group chairman, a physicist and corresponding member of the Academy of Science of the Armenian SSR; Aleksandr Ginzberg, a writer who has already spent seven years in forced labor camps because of his writings and protests against persecution of dissenters; and Liudmila Alekseyeva, a historian who was an editor at the Nauk [Science] Publishing House until the late sixties, when she lost her post for protesting the persecution of Ginzberg and other dissidents. The apartments of two new members of the group—Lidia Voronina and Ginzberg's mother Liudmila—were also searched.

On January 5, the police stopped Group Chairman Yuri Orlov on the street and took him in and interrogated him for seven hours. After his release, Orlov told foreign correspondents that he felt the government was preparing to raise criminal cases against the members of the Helsinki monitoring group. The evidence of "anti-Soviet activity" and "slander" would be documents exposing violations of human rights by the Soviet rulers confiscated during the searches.

Orlov also stated that he had been ordered to appear at the prosecutor's office January 6 for further questioning.

At the time Orlov was seized on the street January 5, he was on his way to a press conference the monitoring group was sponsoring to inform foreign correspondents about the police actions being taken against group members.

At the press conference, Ginzberg, physicist Andrei Sakharov, and dissident communist Pyotr Grigorenko presented statements. Grigorenko reported that the group had set up a special committee to investigate abuses of psychiatry by Kremlin "doctors" to persecute dissenters.

Grigorenko himself was kept for five years in a psychiatric hospital prison because of his activities in support of democratization in the USSR. He has been a champion of the struggles of the small nationalities in the USSR against the Russian-chauvinist policies of the Kremlin rulers. Stalin's heirs were forced to free him in June 1974 after international

defense efforts had focused world attention on his case.

Grigorenko announced that the committee on abuses of psychiatry would focus on the case of Vladimir Borisov, who was arrested and placed in a psychiatric hospital December 25, 1976.

Borisov, a thirty-three-year-old electrician, has already spent a number of years in psychiatric hospitals. From 1964 to 1968 he was held for "anti-Soviet agitation," during which time he met Grigorenko. After his arrest in 1969 for involvement in the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR and for his writings in defense of Grigorenko, he was again confined in a psychiatric hospital.

The "doctor" examining Borisov in 1969 had said to him: "Listen, Borisov, you're quite normal; you don't want to be sent to a lunatic asylum, do you? Better change your ideas about politics."*

The "watchdog" committee the dissidents have formed, the Public Group to Promote Observance of the Helsinki Accords, was founded May 12, 1976, in Moscow by eleven activists in the human-rights struggle. These include Elena Bonner, the wife of Andrei Sakharov, and three former political prisoners—Anatoly Marchenko, Ginzberg, and Grigorenko.

The group's aim is to utilize the fact that

* *Uncensored Russia*, ed. by Peter Reddaway (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972), p. 245.

the USSR is a signatory of the Helsinki Accords to expose violations of human rights that signatories of the accords have pledged to uphold.

The Helsinki Accords, signed by both Washington and Moscow August 1, 1975, contained provisions pledging the signatory governments to guarantee respect for certain human and democratic rights, including travel rights, international intellectual and cultural exchanges and collaboration, and freedom of conscience and thought.

While the signatory governments did not mean for these accords to be taken seriously, and have violated their provisions since the signing just as they had previously, these human-rights activists in the Soviet Union have sought to expose the Soviet rulers' hypocrisy and have organized to monitor their government's behavior and publicize its violations of the accords' humanitarian provisions. In addition, they have called for the formation of similar monitoring groups by human-rights advocates in other countries and for the establishment of an international committee to coordinate monitoring and exposure of violations being committed by all signatory governments.

The Soviet monitoring group has issued a number of informational communiqués documenting Soviet government violations, one of which concerned the persecution of imprisoned Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev. □

Fernando Lozano Menendez Dies Following Torture

FIR Denounces Murder of Peruvian Trotskyist

[The following is the text of a leaflet issued in Lima, Peru, in December 1976 by the Frente de Izquierda Revolucionaria (FIR—Front of the Revolutionary Left), a sympathizing section of the Fourth International. For further details on the murder of Lozano and the wide protest it provoked, see *Intercontinental Press*, January 17, p. 17. The translation was provided by the Bureau of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The FIR makes known the following to

national and international public opinion:

The counterrevolutionary armed forces, the goons and puppets of capital, have assassinated Comrade Fernando Lozano Menendez, a young revolutionary militant, 22 years old and member of the national leadership of the FIR, a sympathizing section of the Fourth International. It was characteristic of Comrade Fernando that he was never dismayed by the hard tasks every revolutionary must carry out. He carried out these tasks with determination, conviction, and affection because he understood very well that the class struggle is both harsh and difficult. Friday, No-

vember 26, when he became a prisoner of the military police dictatorship, was no exception. From that moment on he was put to brutal and cruel torture in an attempt to break his revolutionary spirit and make him inform on his comrades.

The military government could not work its will on this consistent and exemplary comrade. A student of Humanities at the Catholic University of Lima, he was forged in the student and worker struggles in the capital in 1972-73 and 1974-75. He attained solid and unyielding theoretical and practical political capacities. He gave his life for the people's cause, in struggle for a new society without exploitation, for national liberation and for socialism. Compañero Fernando, born in Loreto and raised in Lima, understood perfectly that the workers movement is the fundamental strength and the iron arm of the people. He joined in the workers movement, demonstrating his great capacities in practice. For this he was appointed to be part of the leadership, with confidence in his ability to take on tasks of greater scope and responsibility.

Our party calls on all organizations of the revolutionary left, on the popular and union organizations, on democratic individuals, on the progressive clergy and on every person who struggles for human rights and political and democratic freedoms to join us in condemning and repudiating this cold-blooded assassination perpetrated by the Morales Bermudez dictatorship and its agent in the Ministry of the Interior, Luis Cisneros Viscana.

We also denounce the imprisonment of the transport worker Jesus Pacheco, whose whereabouts is unknown at present. This worker's life is in danger. We demand that those responsible be charged with and tried for murder. For an end to the persecution of our compañeros; for lifting the State of Emergency, the curfew and the suspension of rights which give a cover to the murder and persecution of our people's most consistent fighters.

Eternal glory to Comrade Fernando Lozano Menendez! The worker and popular masses will avenge your death. You will forever remain in the people's memory; your blood will not have been spilled in vain; your revolutionary ideals will be realized; our party will follow your example; we will struggle for the socialist revolution until victory or death.

A revolutionary comrade has been assassinated!

The people have lost a martyred son, your death will be revenged!

Long live the socialist, Latin-American and world revolution!

Down with the state of emergency and the military dictatorship!

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Check rates inside cover.

Veteran Indian Trotskyist

Chitta Mitra, 1929-1976



CHITTA MITRA

NEW DELHI—Comrade Chitta Mitra, a leading member of the Communist League, Indian section of the Fourth International, passed away December 9, 1976, in Calcutta after being ill for several months. He was forty-seven years old.

Mitra was once a member of the Central Committee of the Communist League. As a result of his efforts the Bengali fortnightly *Socialist Karmi* (Socialist Worker) was started. Through this paper, he began the process of integrating and consolidating

the Trotskyists and the revolutionary Marxists in Bengal. His centre of activity was in Kalna, about a hundred kilometers from Calcutta. After the paper shifted its headquarters to Calcutta it began to come out under the name *Larai* (Struggle). Subsequently the name was changed again, to *Srani-Dal-Biplab* (Class-Party-Revolution). Mitra was on the editorial board of the paper the entire time and wrote a good number of editorials and articles.

Comrade Mitra wrote several books and pamphlets in English and Bengali and translated a number of works by Leon Trotsky into Bengali, including *I Stake My Life* and *A Letter to the Workers of India*. He was the first to write a biography of Trotsky in Bengali from a Marxist point of view. He wrote *Tomader Trotsky* (Your Trotsky), a 120-page book, for young people in very simple Bengali. Another life sketch of Trotsky by him, *Visua Biplabi Leon Trotsky* (World Revolutionary Leon Trotsky), was translated into English, Hindi, and other languages. Another Bengali edition was published in Dacca (Bangladesh). Mitra was also a contributor to *Intercontinental Press*.

As a Trotskyist Mitra was very popular in Kalna. He was a professor of history at Kalna College and participated in teacher and student organizations. Three large memorial meetings were held there following his death.

Besides his political writings, Mitra composed revolutionary songs. A few of these are still popular among leftists.

Mitra's widow, Diptri Mitra, is trying to collect his unfinished writings. His death is a heavy blow to the Trotskyist movement in India. We deeply mourn the sad and untimely loss of a sweet comrade like Chitta Mitra. □

An Invaluable Contribution as Writer and Editor

[The following account of Chitta Mitra's life by Upendra Nath Roy is from the preface to the 1971 edition of Mitra's pamphlet *Leon Trotsky*, which was published in Calcutta in English.]

The writer came to Marxism during the anti-imperialist struggle of 1942. Almost instinctively he came to the conclusion that the exploited people could not liberate themselves without world revolution and joined the Bolshevik-Leninist Party, the Indian section of the Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky. After 1947 he and his comrades had to fight hard to

expose the real nature of "Independence." Later the B.L.P. entered the Socialist Party for organisational-tactical reasons (the tactics, however, failed). When the Socialist Party degenerated into the PSP [Praja Socialist party] and the SSP [Samyukta Socialist party] and renounced Marxism, Comrade Chitta Mitra fought against this anti-Marxist trend. Now we find him again in the Fourth International. He was interrogated, searched, arrested, and imprisoned several times for his militant socialist activities. His contribution as a writer on revolutionary Marxism and as an editor of "Socialist Karmi" is invaluable. □

Basques Defy Cops to Demand Total Amnesty

In the last week of 1976 and the first weeks of 1977, in the Spanish Basque provinces of Guipuzcoa, Vizcaya, Alava, and Navarra, there was an upsurge in the mass struggle for amnesty for all remaining political prisoners. A wave of demonstrations culminated in a general strike in Bilbao January 10 and 11.

About 150 of the 200 acknowledged political prisoners still being held are Basques. In the December 15 referendum staged by the government to get a vote of confidence for its policy of reforming Francoism, the highest abstention rates were in the Basque country. The workers parties had called for abstention to protest the government's attempt to keep democratic reforms within its unilaterally established limits.

In the Spanish state as a whole, the abstention rate was about 20%. In Guipuzcoa, it was 65%; and in Vizcaya, it was 47%.

"The Basques pulled Spain's highest abstention rate . . . and later adopted the slogan, 'The Basque people have voted—amnesty,' Joe Gandelman wrote in a dispatch in the January 13 *Christian Science Monitor*.

Thousands of Basques defied violent police repression to demonstrate for total amnesty. In Pamplona, the main city of Navarra, special riot police occupied all the main streets on Christmas Eve to stop an announced demonstration. Despite this, lightning rallies developed at numerous places in the city center. Clashes occurred, and as a result the protests dragged on until the time of the traditional Christmas Eve parade, which included large numbers of small children. In its January 8 issue, the Barcelona weekly magazine *El Mundo* described what happened:

"The greatest tension came when the 'ollentzero' [a folkloric figure] began his parade. Hundreds of children dressed in folk costumes and accompanied by their parents, singing Christmas carols, found their route blocked. They were forced to cut short the line of march and step up their pace by the tension inevitably produced by the presence of numerous police contingents. In a few moments, above the heads of those participating in the traditional Christmas parade, *ikurriñas* [Basque national flags] began to float, and the traditional songs were drowned out by less festive shouts of 'presoak kalera' [prisoners out], 'abolish the special repressive forces,' as well as Basque hymns that are considered subversive.

"The confusion, chases, and shots dominated the center of Pamplona until almost ten at night.



JUAN CARLOS

"The tension exhausted everyone, especially the parents who had brought their small children to watch the popular 'ollentzero' and found themselves in dangerous situations. Dramatic scenes recurred throughout the afternoon, especially when parents scolded the police for endangering . . . their children."

One demonstrator, Ricardo Ricarte, a member of the Executive Committee of the United Union at Potasas de Navarra, was badly wounded by a rubber bullet. He suffered a skull fracture and concussion.

On New Year's Eve, demonstrations took place in a number of Basque cities and towns. *Le Monde's* correspondent José-Antonio Novais reported that in the town of Eibar, 2,000 persons marched, carrying Basque flags. The demonstration was broken up by the Civil Guard. One youth was knocked down by a police jeep, and a metalworker had to be hospitalized after being beaten by cops.

In the town of Baracaldo outside Bilbao, 5,000 persons marched, shouting "total amnesty!" and "freedom!" The police did not attempt to intervene.

In San Sebastián, an estimated 1,000 persons demonstrated. In this city also, a delegation of twenty-three mayors from towns in Guipuzcoa tried to place the Basque flag on the balcony of the provincial assembly building. They abandoned this attempt, according to Novais, only when the province chief promised them that the Basque flag was about to be

legalized. The provincial assembly then approved a motion demanding that the Basque language be given official status, alongside Spanish.

On January 9, according to United Press International, 10,000 persons marched for amnesty in Bilbao. Heavy contingents of riot police moved in to break up the demonstration, firing smoke grenades and rubber bullets. A fifteen-year-old vocational-school student, Juan Iglesias, died in the clashes. The authorities claimed he suffered a "stroke." Iglesias became the first Basque martyr of 1977. A general strike was called in Bilbao January 10 to protest his death. About 60,000 workers reportedly took part in the work stoppages.

At Iglesias's funeral in Sesao, violent clashes occurred between police and mourners. Several persons were reported wounded.

In the January 13 *Christian Science Monitor*, Joe Gandelman wrote that the rising protests in the Basque country were driving the government into retreat:

"Today, the Basques are pressing hard. In Bilbao, San Sebastián, in satellite suburbs adjoining major Basque industrial centers, among students, singers, businessmen, famous athletes, and housewives, the cry is 'total amnesty.'" Gandelman reported that amnesty committees were active on many levels, going down into the individual neighborhoods themselves. And so:

"The government faces a dilemma: It does not want to appear to yield to GRAPO's amnesty demand [this refers to unknown commandos who recently kidnaped Council of State Chairman Antonio de Oriol], yet it is deeply concerned over rising Basque anger. Thus, a move toward some kind of amnesty seems likely—once terrorists let the atmosphere cool a bit."

According to Gandelman, Basque politicians were claiming that before de Oriol was kidnaped, the king had intended to announce an amnesty for Christmas. In fact he was supposed to have been secretly studying the Basque language so as to be able to make the best possible impression when he made his proclamation.

Clearly the actions of small commando groups cannot force the government to make important concessions. Such operations only create confusion. It is plain that what Franco's heirs fear is the kind of broad and determined mass movement against repression that is growing in the Basque country. □

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AROUND THE WORLD



FBI Informer Sentenced for Burglary of SWP Offices

On January 5, Timothy Redfearn became the first burglar employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to be indicted, convicted, and sentenced to prison.

During his trial in Denver, Colorado, Redfearn pleaded guilty to the July 7, 1976, burglary and theft of files from the offices of the Denver Socialist Workers party. A district court judge sentenced him to an indeterminate-to-ten-year jail term.

A day after Redfearn's conviction, a Denver grand jury voted unanimously to release the evidence it had accumulated during its probe of the Redfearn burglaries. (Redfearn had also stolen documents from the SWP in 1973.) The 700 pages of evidence document the FBI's complicity and attempted cover-up of the burglary. Although FBI officials have denied that they knew of the burglary, Redfearn has said that the FBI "surely was aware that I committed a burglary to get the records."

In a direct response to the Redfearn conviction, Attorney General Edward Levi issued new guidelines for the FBI January 5 that are supposedly designed to "limit" the use of informers. In actuality, however, the guidelines authorize the continued use of political spies by the FBI. While the Levi memo tells the FBI to instruct its informers not to use violence or commit illegal acts, it at the same time says that there may be "exceptional circumstances" in which the notification of burglaries or other illegal acts to the local police "may be inadvisable."

French CP Reports Membership Gains

According to a report in the December 3 issue of the British Communist party daily *Morning Star*, more than 100,000 persons have joined the French CP since the beginning of 1976.

"This means that the total membership (taking into account losses of 50,000) is now about 550,000, almost double the 300,000 figure of 15 years ago," the *Morning Star* reported.

According to French CP Secretary Paul Laurent, the present loss of members is 10 percent a year.

3,000 Panamanian Students Protest American Control of Canal

About 3,000 students rallied in Panama City January 9 to commemorate the

thirteenth anniversary of the 1964 mass protests against the U.S. occupation of the Canal Zone. At least twenty-one Panamanian students were killed by American forces during those protests when they tried to hoist the flag of Panama within the Canal Zone.

During the memorial ceremony, about 100 students crossed into the U.S. zone, burned an American flag, and then withdrew.

Two More Victims of Vorster Regime

Two more Black political prisoners have died in Vorster's jails. South African police claimed January 11 that Dr. Nanaoth Ntshuntsha had "hanged" himself and that Lawrence Ndzanga had died after collapsing. Both were being held under South Africa's notorious Terrorism Act.

Their deaths bring to eleven the number of political prisoners who have died in jail under mysterious circumstances in the past year.

The apartheid regime has also continued its mass crackdown against Black protesters. Police units raided the Black township of Langa, near Cape Town, January 12, arresting about ninety-five persons.

South Korean Unionists Jailed

Two South Korean unionists were sentenced to prison terms by a Seoul court December 15. Park Soon Nyo, a twenty-year-old textile worker, received a ten-month jail term and Yang Seung Jo, a twenty-six-year-old union official, drew an eight-month term. They were convicted under a 1973 law banning any form of unauthorized public assembly.

The two were arrested in September and charged with organizing a march by 150 young women workers at the Poongchun Textile Company, who had worked ten hours a day, seven days a week, for monthly wages of between \$60 and \$100. The arrest and trial of Park and Yang resulted in further strikes called by the Garment Workers Union.

British Unions Plan Protests Against Apartheid Regime

British union leaders announced January 13 that their unions would begin a week of international solidarity with Black workers in South Africa January 16. The demonstration was called by the Interna-

tional Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Tom Jackson, the head of the Post Office Workers Union, said that there would be a boycott of mail and telephone services with South Africa, as well as similar boycott actions by dockers, airline workers, truck drivers, and seamen. He said workers in other countries would also hold protest actions.

Jack Jones, the general secretary of the two-million-member Transport and General Workers Union, called for "impeding, harassing, slowing down and in some cases a refusal to touch goods" during the week-long protests.

America's Tiger Cages

The American Civil Liberties Union has brought a suit against the federal prison system, demanding the closure of the barbaric Control Unit Treatment Program at the maximum-security penitentiary in Marion, Illinois.

Prison activists, Black nationalists, and any other inmates not considered sufficiently docile are brought to the control unit in an effort to break them. The control unit cells measure nine by eleven feet. Prisoners can be confined to them for indeterminate periods as long as two years. They are isolated from all other prisoners for all but a half hour each day. Opportunities to work and study are regarded as privileges to be earned. Visits, mail, and reading matter are sharply restricted.

One prisoner described the program: "Living in the Control Unit is impossible for a free person to understand. The only way you could understand it is to go into your bathroom, lock the door, lie down in the bathtub and stay there for three years."

Similar segregation cells are located in federal prisons throughout the country. Some are reported to be even worse than those at Marion.

12 Still Held in East Germany for Protesting Biermann Expulsion

At least twelve East Germans who signed a petition protesting the regime's expulsion of dissident singer and poet Wolf Biermann were still in prison as of January 13, according to the Committee for the Defense of Freedom and Socialism. The twelve were among about fifty persons who were arrested in December.

A Fine New Study of German Fascism

Reviewed by Tim Wohlforth



The triumph of German fascism in 1933 remains to this day of the greatest interest. How was it that the most politically advanced working class of the world had its organizations completely destroyed by a movement led by a former army corporal, unknown in German politics before the 1920s, with a potpourri of backward, unoriginal, irrational, and self-contradictory ideas and political positions?

Trotsky considered this a question of central importance for the world working class of his day. He insisted that Hitler triumphed not because of his own strength but because of the betrayals of the leadership of the working class, particularly the German Communist party (KPD). Behind this party stood Stalin and the Comintern.

Because of this monstrous betrayal, Trotsky drew the political conclusion that the Comintern could not be reformed and that it was therefore necessary to construct a new international leadership for the working class—the Fourth International.

The defeat of the German working class had immense repercussions. The international working class of the 1930s did not recover from it in time to prevent World War II. The world we live in today is still shaped by these events.

Our interest in the German events is the result of two related needs. We need to understand how the present world developed if we are to change it. The very social conditions that make this progressive change possible also make possible its opposite, the development of fascist-type groups into mass organizations. We cannot afford to repeat the mistakes of the past, for the toll this time would be infinitely greater than the horrors that followed Hitler's victory.

The publication of Robert Black's study is therefore very timely. Black does more than repeat Trotsky's assessment. He draws from the vast amount of source material that has become available since Trotsky died to present the story of Hitler's rise to power in a coherent and detailed form.

Particularly interesting, especially for those already familiar with Trotsky's writings on Germany, is the first volume. This begins with nineteenth century Germany and takes the reader up to 1930, the period when Trotsky began to concentrate on battling the threat of fascism.

Black recognizes that fascism is a product of the imperialist epoch, when capitalism increasingly blocks the development of the productive forces of mankind. In fact in periods of crisis the capitalist ruling class to survive must drive back the productive forces and partially destroy them. In particular the working class, which produces the wealth of society, must have its living standards drastically reduced so that the capitalists can maintain profitability.

However, the capitalists face a problem. In the period preceding the decline of their economic system, the working class deve-

Fascism in Germany: How Hitler Destroyed the World's Most Powerful Labour Movement, by Robert Black. London: Steyne Publications, 1975. 1139 pp., bibliography and index, two volumes, paperback, £8. Available in the United States for \$20 from Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

loped organizations of its own—political parties and trade unions. The capitalists corrupt the leaders of these organizations and compromise with them to ensure that the living standards of the masses do not encroach upon profits. In the imperialist epoch this becomes increasingly insufficient.

Eventually the capitalists resort to physically destroying the organizations of the working class. However, in cases where a massive organized working class exists, this cannot be accomplished by the police, army, and other traditional means of repression. A social force with a mass base needs to be organized to do the job.

This is where the fascist movement comes in. It organizes a section of the petty bourgeoisie into an effective fighting force to destroy the workers movement.

Black is not content with a general assessment of the causes of the rise of fascism. Fascism in a particular country must be grasped in all its national peculiarities. Otherwise the analysis remains insufficient.

Black begins with the historical background. Germany carried through its bourgeois revolution very late and in an

incomplete fashion. This was a subject of great interest to Marx and Engels, and Black uses their material quite extensively. Both Marx and Engels had participated in the unsuccessful attempt to carry through the unification of Germany and its bourgeois-democratic revolution in 1848.

Germany became unified later, in a reactionary way, under Bismarck, who based himself on the Junker landlord class of Prussia. Because of Germany's late development, industry was also late in developing—lagging far behind industry in England. As a consequence it was highly modern and concentrated but more dependent upon world markets than any other capitalist industrial complex. Germany lacked a world empire the size of England's; hence its drive to seize the colonial holdings of other imperialist powers as well as to extend its domination over all Europe—a main factor in its war drive in World War I and later in World War II.

Thus a highly contradictory situation developed in Germany in the twentieth century. On the basis of an industry inferior to no other of its time, the German imperialists sought a world role already preempted by the older empire builders like France and England. Thus an intense nationalism developed that became magnified by the humiliating defeat suffered in World War I. At the same time, the highly advanced industry also meant the rise of a well-organized, powerful, and politically active working class.

In other respects, Germany remained far more backward than its industrial indices would indicate. Agriculture remained not far removed from feudalism in its class structure. The vestiges of feudalism were particularly evident in the Prussian Junker class, the Hohenzollern monarchists, and the attitudes of the higher levels of the military.

An interesting remnant of the feudal system was the large number of artisans in Germany. Black explains how the German guild system persisted long after its collapse in other bourgeois countries. The guilds were hostile both to the rising industrial capitalists as well as to the proletariat.

Black finds in these guilds, and their artisan remnants in twentieth-century Germany, the origin of a widespread

outlook in Germany that appeared to be anticapitalist while remaining hostile to the working class and defending the basis upon which capitalism develops—the private property system. He writes:

The impact of the revolution [the 1848 revolution—T.W.] on the guilds has, though this may not be readily appreciated, a special significance for our study of the historical roots of German fascism. One of the most potent appeals of National Socialism among the German petty-bourgeois—and here we are referring mainly to either self-employed or small, independent producers or traders—was its virulent 'anticapitalist' propaganda, especially when directed at banking capital or joint stock enterprises. Can it possibly be that the Nazis *themselves* injected this reactionary anticapitalism into those millions of Germans tenaciously clinging to their status as independent—even if often semi-pauperized—property owners and producers?

Surely we must probe back into Germany's past, to a period when pre-capitalist layers of the population first engendered this fear and hatred of the big bourgeoisie, adapting their already established corporatist ideology and programme to explain and counter this new threat to their existence.

In dealing with the actual economic program of the Nazis, Black makes this even clearer. The Nazi program was directed against the banks, against usury. This appealed precisely to those petty-bourgeois elements who were driven into bankruptcy by the capitalist crisis and who confronted big capital largely in the form of those they owed money to. It was easy to adapt this outlook to anti-Semitism, for the Jew in old Germany had been primarily identified with usury. Thus an anticapitalist propaganda could be developed, rooted in German history, which did not directly and fully challenge private property itself. Needless to say, Hitler never allowed even this limited anticapitalism to interfere with his rallying support and receiving his due compensation from these very banking elements in Germany.

Black likewise traces the intellectual and philosophical roots of Nazism. As in the case of the artisans, Black does not believe Hitler constructed his ideological position out of whole cloth in the period following World War I. Here, also, there must be antecedents in Germany's past to which Hitler and those around him could turn.

In this respect the fascist movement ran into more obstacles than in the case of the petty-bourgeois remnant of feudalism. As Marx and Engels pointed out, the German bourgeoisie, unable or unwilling to carry out its historic responsibilities in material reality, nurtured philosophy to a very high state. Germany produced the two greatest philosophers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—Kant and Hegel. Both were supporters of the French revolution as was Goethe in the cultural field.

Hitler's ideological views do not stem from these giants but from those who

followed in a period that Marx saw as marking the end of German philosophy, when what was progressive in philosophy had either been taken over through Marxism by the working class or in an empirical way was developing quite independently of philosophy in science.

In the later part of the nineteenth



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century, philosophy in Germany took a decidedly antirationalist and subjective turn. An idealism developed that lacked Hegel's attempt at an objective and rational explanation of the world. Instead the emphasis was placed on individual experience, on genius, on will. Black particularly stresses the writings of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer.

Fascist movements, being based on the petty bourgeoisie, tend to draw upon the ideological heritage of this class. They then distort this history to fit their immediate reactionary purposes. For instance, many try to make out that the origin of Nazism can be located in Hegel's advocacy of a strong centralized state. But in Hegel's time, Germany was not yet a real nation with any sort of centralized state. In this sense there was a progressive side to Hegel's political views. And yet the advocacy of a strong state had extremely reactionary connotations in the period of world imperialism.

The last few chapters of the first volume of Black's book detail the political developments from Germany's defeat in World War I up to the crucial 1930-33 period, when Hitler was preparing to seize power. Here the contribution of the Social Democratic party of Germany (SPD) to Hitler's eventual growth becomes very clear.

The SPD's historic betrayal of the international working class through its support to German imperialism during the First World War won for it no appreciation from the forces on the right in Germany. They were more than happy to utilize this support to conduct the war and then turn around and blame the SPD, as well as the more radical elements who later split from it to form the KPD (Communist party of Germany), for Germany's defeat.

In the postwar period the SPD continued

its treacherous role, with the result once again of encouraging the right. During the revolutionary events of 1918-19 the SPD was the major element in the coalition government that sought to suppress the workers uprising in the interests of preserving capitalism. Right-wing army forces were organized into the Free Corps and were utilized to suppress the rebellious workers—with full support and authorization of the SPD-led government.

Hitler was one of those involved in the Free Corps, as were many of the original Nazi cadres. Thus Hitler was in the employ of a government whose leaders he would eventually place in concentration camps or before firing squads.

The SPD's political position from that point on was one of loyalty to the bourgeois Weimar constitution and republic. But as the economic crisis deepened, and the various Weimar regimes became more and more ineffectual in dealing with it, masses of people turned away from this coalitionist course and moved either to the left around the KPD or to the right around the right-wing nationalist forces and Hitler.

Eventually the Nazis would utilize this very constitution to come to power legally, only then to destroy whatever remained of democratic government and freedoms in Germany.

The relationship between the Nazi movement and big business is thoroughly documented throughout both volumes but especially in the second volume. Because of the party's demagogic attacks on business and its mass base among elements who would never get beyond the door of a proper bourgeois home, many have seen Nazism as somehow separate from or even hostile to capitalism.

Its real relationship with big capital was quite different, as Black thoroughly documents. Hitler himself was never hostile to big business. In fact, like many petty bourgeois, he tended to worship the great captains of industry who conducted their giant cartels almost like feudal kingdoms of the past. They were, as Hitler pointed out on many occasions, his prime examples of the free development of "personality," as he called it.

His hostility was directed against the political representatives of this class. He was, of course, hostile to the section of capitalist politicians of the liberal variety who favored working with the SPD. But he was also hostile to the rightist political forces who had been for years the direct representatives of most big capital in Germany. He felt that the monarchists and militarists, with their elitist semifeudal outlook, were ill-equipped to achieve the goals they held in common with Hitler—suppression of the working class and remilitarization of the country in preparation for war.

Hitler conducted a highly calculated policy for more than a decade aimed at

winning the support of the big capitalist interests in Germany. He was absolutely convinced that this support was as essential to his eventual victory as his mass support among the petty bourgeoisie. This required long and patient work, with key Nazis from bourgeois backgrounds assigned exclusively to the cultivation of the rich. Special salons were set up, personal meetings held between Hitler and key business heads, speeches given before industrial organizations, etc.

At first only a few of these elements were attracted to Hitler. As the workers movement grew in militancy, as Germany's economic situation deteriorated, and as its international situation became more unbearable to the imperialist designs of the captains of industry, support grew for the Nazis.

Such support began largely as a counterweight to the growth of the workers movement. The Nazis were seen not as serious contenders for power but as a check to the development of the workers movement. As time passed and the crisis deepened, massive funds passed from the corporations to the party coffers and more and more industrial chieftains became convinced that Hitler's road was the only road to their survival.

This process continued right up to Hitler's appointment as chancellor in 1933. For instance, the strategically significant I.G. Farben chemical trust joined the Nazi bandwagon in 1931, but the critically important Krupp steel empire was only enlisted fully into the Nazi camp in 1933, as part of the last steps in Hitler's coming to power.

In order to facilitate this shift of big business from its traditional parties to the Nazis, Hitler on several occasions blocked with the right-wing parties and leaders. And yet this was an uneasy alliance. Hitler feared the repercussions among his supporters who took seriously the Nazi social demagogy, and he was not about to be used as a prop for politicians he was convinced could not do what was needed.

Thus in the last year before coming to power, Hitler steadfastly refused to be a junior partner in a nationalist government. Though at times Hitler's future appeared dim, he held out until the bourgeoisie was convinced to allow him to assume full power with the nationalist elements as his junior partners.

The picture of Hitler which emerges in this book differs from the popular notion that he was simply a madman. The madness of Nazism was itself a reflection of the madness of capitalism—that is the irrationality, brutality, and barbarism it produces in its death agony as a system.

Hitler was above all a wily politician who learned through experience what notes to hit in his propaganda, what social forces to rally, and what powers to entice to carry out his objective.

And yet he could not have won in the

end if it had not been for the betrayals of the leadership of the working class. Certainly it was not the fault of the German workers. For here we have incontrovertible evidence compiled by Black. The German



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working class remained staunchly loyal to the two main workers parties—the SPD and KPD—right up to the end, and even after Hitler became chancellor. The major change within the working class was a shift in support from the SPD to the more radical KPD. Nazi penetration of the working class never was significant.

What is particularly interesting about this is its relationship to the origins of the Nazi group. The Nazi party, officially called the National Socialist German Workers party (NSDAP), evolved out of an earlier formation, the German Workers party. Originally, this group had sought to represent the interests of highly skilled German workers against what they felt were threats from foreign labor, especially the Czechs

Its orientation when Hitler joined it was to develop a base against the Marxist parties within the working class. It never made any serious headway in this even after Hitler took it over and renamed it. For years Hitler carried out work in the working-class areas and even organized a trade-union arm. When it could not completely avoid it, this trade-union arm even supported strikes. But the political gains were slight at best.

It was the petty bourgeoisie of the cities and the farmers in the countryside who responded to the party's propaganda, and in time the party directed its main efforts to those arenas.

When one reads Black's detailed account of the final three years of Hitler's preparation for power, it is possible to sense the deep frustration and anguish Trotsky and his small circles of followers must have felt

at the time. Almost alone in the world, they knew what a blow to the working class and to all of humanity a Nazi victory would be. Almost alone in the world, they knew how Hitler could be stopped. But that was the problem—they were almost alone in the world, hounded by the Stalinists, isolated from the mass forces that make history.

In the end the Trotskyists were proven completely right—but revolutionary developments in Germany were finished for a long time to come.

The role of the Social Democracy was of course to be expected. It was the "given" in the situation, since its true colors as supporters of and collaborators with capitalism had been revealed in World War I and its aftermath. The task was to rally the working class, including the highly important section which still followed the SPD, against the fascists despite this leadership. Only in this way could the masses be broken from the SPD and mobilized for the socialist revolution.

This task fell to the KPD. While the KPD continued to grow in strength as compared with the SPD, the SPD retained the majority of the working-class vote and the allegiance of a decisive section of the working class. For instance in 1928 the SPD vote was 9.2 million to the KPD's 3.3 million; in 1930 it was SPD 8.6 million, KPD 4.6 million; in November 1932 it was SPD 7.2 million, KPD 6.0 million.

These figures do not tell the whole story. The major trade-union organization, the German Trade Union Federation (ADGB) was completely under SPD control, and the strategically important unionized section of the class looked largely to the SPD. The KPD's strength came largely from young and unemployed workers.

Trotsky's main strategy was that of action through a united front. He urged the KPD to approach the SPD leadership for common actions against the fascists. Trotsky believed that such a policy could become a reality if doggedly pursued by the KPD. Fascism meant the extinction of the workers organizations and thus the extinction of the SPD and ADGB bureaucrats and their power base. In addition, the overwhelming sentiment of the SPD rank-and-file workers was in favor of a common front against the fascists. If the SPD leadership stubbornly refused joint actions, it could only help draw millions of SPD members away from that leadership and into an effective struggle against the Nazis.

Hitler also feared such a policy. Black quotes him in a confidential interview with an ultranationalist paper (made public for the first time in 1971): "The Bolshevik Trotsky calls upon the socialists and communists to make common cause against national socialism. High finance must recognize that, with a common Marxist front the economic crisis cannot be overcome."

The policies of the KPD were determined by Stalin, who was then in his "third period" ultraleftist stage. He insisted that there was no difference between the SPD, which he called "social fascist," and the Nazis. As time passed he saw the "social fascist" SPD as the main enemy, not the Nazis. This certainly made an appeal to the SPD ranks a bit difficult.

In the chapter "Stalin Over Germany," Black explores the connection between Stalin's foreign policy, rooted in his theory of socialism in one country, and his ultraleft course in Germany. Stalin's policy in Germany was far more than a leftist excess.

It was, Black feels, a conscious policy of betrayal, dictated by narrow nationalist considerations in foreign policy.

As early as 1925 Stalin concluded from the failure of the revolutionary events surrounding France's occupation of the Saar (a failure due to his own policies) that revolution was off the agenda in Germany for a long time to come. Therefore, to secure his western frontier, he sought to foster good relations with the German government in order to encourage it in its antagonism with the Entente powers (France, England, the United States).

For instance, Black quotes from Walter Krivitsky, who defected from the Foreign Division of the GPU in 1937: "If one can speak of a pro-German in the Kremlin, Stalin has been that figure all along. He favoured cooperation with Germany from the moment of Lenin's death, and he did not alter this basic attitude when Hitler rose to power. On the contrary, the triumph of the Nazis strengthened him in his quest for closer bonds with Berlin."

Another source bearing this out was the German diplomat Gustav Hilger, who was in the German embassy in Moscow during this period: "More than any other event, the failure of the 'German October' [that of October 1923—R. Black] determined the subsequent history of world Communism and the strategy of the Third International. Within the Russian Communist party it caused severe disagreements over policy and sharp personality clashes to break into the open; it was one of the immediate reasons for the outbreak of the Stalin-Trotsky feud, and it gave Stalin occasion to develop his theory of 'socialism in a single country.' In Moscow's relations with Germany, it resulted in a determined return to the Rapallo policy of friendship with the bourgeois government in Berlin."

This outlook led Stalin in Black's opinion, to favor the more right-wing and nationalist political forces in Germany who were willing temporarily to postpone their desire to overthrow Bolshevism in the East in return for aid against their imperialist rivals in the West. The Nazi party fell into that category.

This gave Stalin very concrete reasons for opposing the SPD, reasons which were far from revolutionary. The SPD, like the

liberal bourgeois circles in Germany, favored a foreign policy friendly to the Entente countries. This gave Stalin a very specific and totally non-revolutionary reason to urge the KPD to act in such a way as to encourage the fall of coalition governments that included the SPD.

The first five-year plan in the USSR,



Laura Gray/Militant

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with its superindustrialization goals, gave Stalin an added reason to desire cooperation with capitalist Germany. Contrary to the theory of socialism in one country, it was not possible to industrialize the USSR strictly on the basis of internal resources. Machine tools and other products from the more developed capitalist economies were needed. This need developed precisely at a moment when world markets for German exports almost completely dried up because of the worldwide economic crisis. Thus during the very period of Hitler's ascendancy within Germany, Germany emerged as the major trading partner for the USSR. In some industries exports to the USSR became essential to their very survival.

Marxists recognize the need of a workers state to have diplomatic and trade relations with capitalist states. These certainly took place under Lenin. Lenin, however, subordinated these relations to the world revolution. Stalin did quite the opposite.

One example cited by Black to prove his thesis of a deliberate pro-German policy was the infamous Red Referendum. Hitler's main concern in the 1931-32 period was the coalition government in Prussia, Germany's largest and most populated province. Even after the fall of a nationwide coalition government including the SPD, this strategic provincial government continued to function. To bring down the

Prussian government, Hitler, together with the other rightist parties, staged a referendum.

At first the KPD press correctly condemned this drive towards a rightist takeover of Prussia. Then almost on the eve of the referendum, Stalin intervened within the KPD and brought about a change in policy against the resistance of the leadership. To the shock of its members and working-class supporters, the KPD suddenly came out in support of the Nazi-initiated referendum, which it now dubbed the "Red Referendum."

As Black sees it, this policy was devised by Stalin consciously to bring down that government in full knowledge that it would be replaced by a rightist government with heavy Nazi influence.

The Red Referendum lost despite the support of the KPD. One reason for this failure was that many KPD supporters simply would not get out and vote along with the Nazis. However, Stalin's treacherous action encouraged the Nazis and other right-wingers to push forward against the Prussian government.

Finally the von Papen central government simply dissolved the Prussian government by decree. At this point the KPD failed to act to seek a united front with the SPD against this authoritarian move—certainly one giant step toward dictatorship.

Black quotes a passage from Goebbels's diary, written on the day the Prussian government was deposed: "Everything goes off smoothly. The Reds are done away with. Their organizations offer no resistance . . . The Reds have let slip their opportunity. It will never occur again . . . The Reds are quite tame."

Black cites another example of Stalin's open aid to the Nazis. It was in January 1933, in the final months of Hitler's drive for power. Events in this period were proceeding at such a fast clip that Black reports them on a day-to-day basis. Fascist strength had begun to wane because of the long delay in consummating the coming to power. Divisions within the Nazi movement were growing. Capitalist circles were hesitant about giving all-out support to Hitler. Everything hinged on von Hindenburg, an old archreactionary who as president had the power to proclaim Hitler chancellor. Hindenburg resisted Hitler's pressure, preferring to use the former corporal as a supporting force for the traditional rightists he trusted—rightists who no longer had a mass base. Even at this very late date the situation could have been saved had the working-class leadership acted resolutely.

Hitler sensed the situation and planned a desperate gamble—a march of Nazi forces, in full uniform and armed, directly to the headquarters of the KPD in Berlin, Karl Liebknecht House. He knew full well that Berlin in its majority still backed the two workers parties. Hitler banked on the

prostration of the working-class leadership illustrated in the Red Referendum episode. If Hitler failed, his dip in fortunes could be transformed into a full-scale rout and the working class would have a new chance. If he succeeded he would be well on the way to proving to the capitalist leaders that he could destroy the workers movement as they wished.

The KPD got wind of the Nazi preparations. It issued a leaflet for mass distribution entitled "Red Berlin in Alarm," which stated:

All the week the murderous Hitler gangs have been terrorizing, shooting workers. Increasing provocation against the revolutionary Berlin working class is being prepared. On Wednesday a troop of Nazi students in uniform appeared outside Karl Liebknecht House and hurled abuse, under police protection. The Sunday demonstration will be the climax. All Berlin workers are seething. There is a wave of protests in the factories and at the labour exchanges. Berlin is Red. The KPD has 860,000 electors on its lists. Together with the SPD and the ADGB there is an overwhelming majority against the Nazi terror . . . Red Berlin give your answer. Show your strength. Answer the Nazi provocateurs with the stormy mass protest of the entire working class. Comrades in the *Reichsbanner* [SPD's paramilitary organization—T.W.], the SPD, the trade unions, form a common fighting front against the common enemy . . . If the fascist storm troopers dare strike down a single worker or attack Karl Liebknecht House, every factory in Berlin must be brought to a standstill . . . Your own mass demonstrations must prevent the provocative Nazi assembly in the Bulow Platz [a square in the center of Berlin where the march was to start—T.W.]. Everyone to the city center on Sunday, to the Bulow Platz . . ."

Then suddenly there was a shift in line. Plans for a counterdemonstration were scrapped and the KPD headquarters left defenseless.

The reason for this is related by M. Neumann, who together with her husband, was a leading figure in the KPD of that period. While not breaking from Stalinism and its "social-fascist" theory, they were among those within the KPD who favored a more aggressive line against the Nazis:

shortly before the day of the planned demonstration there came a telegram from Moscow. It was a categorical instruction that no counterdemonstration by the KPD was to take place. The party leadership was made responsible for seeing that there was no sort of clash with the Nazis.

Goebbels tells what happened that day and the great encouragement it gave the Nazis:

Berlin had got the wind up. Our marching in the Bulow Platz has caused a great commotion. The police are patrolling the slums with machine guns and armed motor cars. In spite of the prohibition the communists have proclaimed a huge demonstration [Goebbels does not know the decision to call it off has been taken—Robert Black]. If it fails, they will suffer an irreparable loss of prestige. We can only hope the police will not thwart our plans, for as things stand, the Karl Liebknecht House could be conquered in

one single assault . . . We assemble on the Bulow Platz . . . The square looks like a military camp. Armed motor cars and machine guns are everywhere to be seen. The police have posted themselves on the roofs and at the windows facing the Platz waiting the course of events.



Der Spiegel

Nazi propaganda aimed at working class. Election poster reads: "We want work and bread! Vote for Hitler!"

Punctually at two, the Führer arrives. The SA [Storm Troops] marches to the Karl Liebknecht House . . . The leader speaks in the cemetery. He points out the significance for the Party of the figure of Horst Wessel [the Nazis' anti-communist martyr—Robert Black]. Outside the House the SA is posted, and in the side streets the communists are shouting with impotent rage. The SA is on the march and overawes the Reds on their own ground, Berlin. The Bulow Platz is ours. The communists have suffered a great defeat . . . This day is really a proud and heroic victory for the SA and for the Party . . . We have won the battle . . .

Black's thesis deserves, however, a very critical examination. He makes, I think, too much of a case. History is not neat, nor are the policies of men who affect it always conscious and consistent. It is one matter to note how Stalin's foreign policy helped pave the way for Hitler and quite another to conclude that Stalin deliberately sought to bring Hitler to power.

Trotsky deals with this question in a discussion with C.L.R. James, who maintained a position close to Black's in his book *World Revolution*. It is worthwhile to quote a bit from this discussion:

Trotsky: . . . In Germany they hoped now for a miracle to break the backbone of the Social

Democracy; their politics had failed utterly to detach the masses from it. Hence this new attempt to get rid of it. . . Stalin hoped the German Communist Party would win a victory and to think that he had a 'plan' to allow fascism to come into power is absurd. It is a deification of Stalin.

James: He made them cease their opposition to the Red Referendum; he made Remmele say 'After Hitler, our turn'; he made them stop fighting the fascists in the streets.

Trotsky: 'After Hitler, our turn,' was a boast, a confession of bankruptcy. You pay too much attention to it.

Schuessler: They stopped fighting in the streets because their detachments were small CP detachments. Good comrades were constantly being shot, and inasmuch as workers as a whole were not taking part, they called it off. It was a part of their zig-zags.

Trotsky: There you are! They did all sorts of things. They even offered the united front sometimes. [*Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1938-39, pp. 264-265.*]

The factors involved in Stalin's ultraleft course were far more complex than Black pictures them. It was a defense against the charges of opportunism in the earlier period emanating from the Left Opposition. It was a cover for Stalin's domestic superleftist course. It was also a gesture, a pressure upon world imperialism, reflecting the isolated international position Stalin found himself in at that time. That is, it was a way of telling the capitalists that the Communists in various countries can cause trouble and thus you had better deal with the USSR. Certainly in Germany this approach was related to the specific attempts to pit Germany against the Entente which Black details.

When we look at the specifics of the German situation, there are several factors to be considered in explaining the impotence of the KPD in relation to the Nazis. First, impotence was one of the main characteristics of Stalin's ultraleftism. Not guided by any serious strategy and confidence in the working class, impotent gestures, isolated adventures, and abstentionism characterized Stalinist tactics in many countries.

Thus, for instance, Stalin's vetoing of a counterdemonstration against the Nazis may have been motivated by a fear that the CP might lose in such a confrontation. It might be better to play safe and not go beyond revolutionary rhetoric. There may have been a basis for such a fear, because past policies of the KPD had indeed isolated it within the working class and a sudden turn toward at least a partially correct approach, as reflected in the cited leaflet, may not have met with the response it would have if the preceding policy had been different.

Then there was a whole false tactical line which definitely influenced the change in line on the Red Referendum. Frustrated in his attempts to win the masses from the SPD because of his incorrect strategy, Stalin turned the KPD increasingly toward

trying to recruit from the Nazis. The KPD press took a stridently nationalist tone on the Versailles Treaty, and a special organization was even set up to recruit Nazis. Stalin thus hoped to break the Nazi party through a degree of emulation rather than through the mass mobilization of the united working class. Certainly the Red Referendum offered an opportunity to "get close" to the NSDAP ranks. Avoiding street clashes with the Nazis would also have been seen as helpful.

Trotsky assessed Stalin's course as a process. False policies derived from the narrow nationalist views of the bureaucratic strata led to defeats. These results in turn called for new policies and led to Stalin's growing awareness of his drift away from revolutionary Marxism and his acceptance of that development.

For instance, Trotsky states that Stalin did not wish defeat for the German workers in the 1923 revolutionary upsurge, but his timid policies contributed to that defeat. The defeat itself then became an objective reality having a deep impact on Stalin's thinking and policies, leading in particular to his developing the theory of socialism in one country. Likewise, Trotsky maintains that Stalin did not wish a Nazi victory in 1933 but his mistaken policies contributed to it. In turn, Hitler's assumption of power had a big impact on Stalin—he switched from ultraleftism to the disastrous popular-front policy that sought to block workers revolutions in return for peaceful diplomatic relations between the Kremlin and the imperialist nations.

In addition to the basic material, Black's work contains a wealth of material in the form of extensive footnotes throughout the text, supplementary items at the end of most chapters, and four interesting appendices at the end of the second volume.

The appendices are entitled: "German Fascism and the Historians," "Social Democracy on the German Catastrophe," "History Falsified" (on the Stalinist assessment of the German events), and "Germany and the Fourth International" (which is primarily on Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary party, previously named the Socialist Labour League).

The latter appendix was, for this reader, the most interesting. It is virtually a book within a book taking up some sixty-nine pages which in larger type would be at least double that length. It is well worth reading, even separately from the rest of the work, for those interested in this political tendency.

To deal adequately with Black's evaluation of the WRP requires more space than is available for this review. In a subsequent article I hope to return to the subject. Meanwhile I can recommend Black's book as a major contribution to a much-needed discussion of fascism and related problems central to the building of revolutionary parties in this period. □

Release of Bukovsky, Corvalán Hailed by Fourth International

[The following statement was issued December 26, 1976, by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

The Fourth International hails the release of two political prisoners, Corvalán and Bukovsky, which has long been demanded by working class opinion throughout the world. It denounces the government of Chile, backed by the government of the United States, as responsible for the murder and torture of thousands of Chilean political prisoners. In agreeing to this exchange, the only aim of this inhumane regime was to utilize the arrangement for anti-Communist propaganda purposes.

The Fourth International likewise denounces the cynical way in which the Soviet bureaucracy accepted the deal, which helps reactionary circles in the capitalist countries to identify the political regimes of Pinochet's Chile and the USSR, an identification that we categorically reject. Once again it is confirmed that the repressive actions of the Kremlin are the biggest aid to anti-Communist and anti-socialist propaganda throughout the world.

In making the trade of Bukovsky for Corvalán, the Brezhnev regime has implicitly recognized Bukovsky's status as a political prisoner, a status that had been denied when he was imprisoned and forcibly confined to a psychiatric hospital.

The expulsion of Bukovsky from the Soviet Union comes several months after the expulsion of Plyushch and other Soviet dissidents; at the same time repression is stepped up against various other oppositionists. These actions illustrate the repressive character of the Moscow regime.

The Fourth International calls upon supporters of freedom of expression throughout the world to intensify the struggle for the release of all political prisoners in the Soviet Union, for their right to live in their country and defend their opinions there. This is an essential part of the struggle for the reestablishment of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union and in the other bureaucratized workers states.

The Fourth International notes that several Communist parties in Western Europe have taken positions against the imprisonment of oppositionists or dissidents in the Soviet Union. The Fourth International demands that these parties translate their restrained verbal positions into vigorous action. We call on them to organize mass demonstrations for the release of all those imprisoned, to support the workers in Poland imprisoned or fired from their jobs for having gone on strike, to demand the withdrawal of troops of the



VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY



LUIS CORVALAN

Warsaw Pact countries from Czechoslovakia. Their opposition to the Soviet bureaucracy's denial of worker's democracy will, however, continue to lack credibility as long as they do not permit the existence of tendencies and free expression in the mass political and trade union organizations which they control. □

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

The Atlantic's New Island of Oil

An island of oil, which, according to last reports, was 346 kilometers long and 161 kilometers wide, was created in the Atlantic as a result of the grounding of the *Argo Merchant* off Nantucket Island on December 15. The 640-foot Liberian tanker broke up December 21, spilling 7.6 million gallons of oil.

Even while the ship was intact and hopes still existed that part of the cargo could be transferred to barges, Russell E. Train, head of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, said: "This is the biggest oil spill disaster on the American coast in our history."

Among the first to react were owners of seaside resorts, who feared that oil would foul the beaches. Massachusetts state officials responded with exemplary promptness, requesting federal aid for businessmen whose livelihoods might be damaged.

However, the prevailing winds in the area favored the owners of beach attractions, sending the widening island of oil toward Georges Bank, one of the world's richest commercial fishing areas.

In turn, the fishing entrepreneurs agon-

ized over what destruction of sea life on Georges Bank would do to their profits.

But they, too, were favored by the play of winter storms, which took the oil slick toward the Gulf Stream.

The *New York Times* (December 26) saw three possibilities:

"If the oil eventually goes in a northeastward direction, it will befoul Georges Bank, the ocean's 'mine' of fish that is the resource of a multi-million dollar industry, not only for American fishermen but for foreign vessels as well. The gummy oil will ruin clams, scallops, cod, flounder, haddock and whiting on which thousands of people depend for their living.

"If the slick turns landward, it would smother freshly laid lobster eggs floating near shore, destroy the tiny sea creatures on which fish and birds feed, and ruin the beaches and shoreline that are one of the nation's main tourist attractions.

"The least damage would result if the oil were carried into the mid-Atlantic, away from shore and Georges Bank. However, experts believe that even there it would do long-lasting harm to the ecology, chiefly in ways not yet understood. It is known that the hydrocarbons in oil are toxic to phytoplankton, tiny ocean plants that produce oxygen, and to zooplankton, animal organisms consumed as food by larger sea life."

Luckily the wind was "continuing to push the oil slick away from the areas of major concern," as John Kifner put it in a special dispatch from Boston to the *New York Times* (December 23).

Eventually the immense layer of poisonous hydrocarbons was caught up in the Gulf Stream, and the concern of the American businessmen faded. Out of sight, out of mind.

According to John Bablitch, a representative of the Coast Guard, the oil might wash ashore in Iceland or Great Britain or even move south toward Bermuda.

The capitalist media in the United States sought to pin the blame on the crew and the captain of the *Argo Merchant*, accusing them of incompetence because they do not hold American seamen's papers (which are denied them under American law).

The status of equipment on the tanker

also came under heavy attack.

The truth is that the main responsibility for the disaster belongs to the American oil barons.

The relatively good wages and safety conditions on American ships resulted from long years of bitter union battles.

In their resistance to unionization, the shipping interests resorted, among other things, to placing their ships under "flags of convenience," particularly those of Liberia and Panama.

Thus, according to Coast Guard figures, the Liberian merchant marine, with 2,518 ships amounting to 73.5 million gross tons, is the largest in the world. Liberia also has the largest tanker fleet, 945 tankers.

One of the "conveniences" is the pay scale. A seaman on a Liberian ship might be paid \$120 a month. A seaman in a European union might get \$400, and an American \$700 or more.

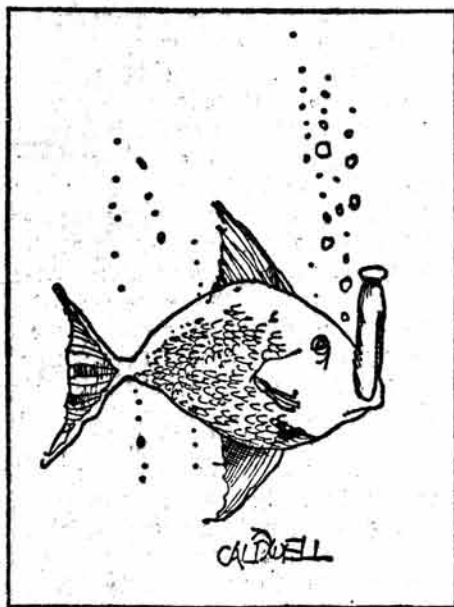
Another convenience concerns safety standards, which are "practically nonexistent," as Sam Thompsen, a representative of the National Maritime Union pointed out. (*New York Post*, December 29.)

Still another convenience of Liberian registry is freedom from corporate taxes. (An American flag ship is subject to 48 percent income tax on profits.) To register a ship in Liberia costs only \$1.20 a ton with an annual fee of ten cents a ton thereafter. There are several other smaller fees ranging from \$725 to \$10.

Because Liberian corporate law, which was "written with American aid," as explained by Kifner (*New York Times*, December 31), "does not require the recording of the ownership of holdings, interest in Liberian corporations can be used to hide money from the tax collector."

The "flag of convenience" arrangement was set up under the direction of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. It was one of his outstanding accomplishments as secretary of state from November 1944 to June 1945. Before entering the State Department, Stettinius was president and chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corporation.

Through dummy companies and registry in countries whose corporate laws were worked out by American legal experts, the shipping interests, including the giant oil monopolies, are able to hide ownership of



Caldwell/New York Times

the tankers that periodically turn into oil gushers on the high seas.

This is an added convenience in deflecting public anger away from them and their responsibility for disasters like the one that overtook the *Argo Merchant*.

Dockside Explosion in San Pedro

On December 17, the 810-foot Liberian tanker *Sansinena* blew up in San Pedro Harbor.

No significant oil spill occurred, since the tanker had been unloaded.

The explosion occurred amidship, leaving the bow and stern sections protruding from the water.

Eleven persons were killed.

Christmas Present

On Christmas Eve the *Oswego Peace* spilled 2,000 gallons of oil into the Thames River at Groton, Connecticut.

The ship, under Liberian registry, is owned by Oswego Transport, Marine Transport Company, of New York.

Oil on the Delaware

The *Olympic Games*, a 771-foot tanker carrying 17 million gallons of oil, hit a sandbar or rock in the Delaware River about fifteen miles downstream from Philadelphia December 27.

The spill, estimated at 134,000 gallons, spread for twenty-five miles, polluting the shore in three states, and endangering 60,000 ducks, geese, and other waterfowl.

The ship, registered under the Liberian flag, is owned by the Red Bank Shipping Co. of Panama, and was chartered by Standard Oil of Ohio.

Russell E. Train, administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, said: "If the *Olympic Games* had had a double bottom, this wouldn't have happened."

Diesel Fuel in the Ohio

The *Universal Trader*, a towboat, pushed an oil barge into a lock gate on the Ohio River near Paducah, Kentucky, on December 27.

The gate was wrecked and 8,000 gallons of diesel fuel were spilled. The accident received little publicity in the American media, possibly because the towboat was under U.S. registry and manned by seamen carrying U.S. papers.

Off the Coast of Puerto Rico

The *Daphne*, a 735-foot tanker under Liberian registry, carrying 14 million gallons of oil, ran aground in 10 meters of water off the southern coast of Puerto Rico December 28.

Barges were able to unload sufficient cargo to lighten the ship and refloat it without a spill.

Grand Zenith 'Buried Safely'

The *Grand Zenith*, a 642-foot tanker carrying Panama's "flag of convenience"

was last heard from December 30. Bound from England to Somerset, Massachusetts, she had a cargo of 8 million gallons of heavy fuel oil like that spilled by the *Argo Merchant*. The last known location of the supertanker was thirty miles southeast of Cape Sable, Nova Scotia.

The Coast Guard sent seven aircraft and a cutter to search the area. They found only two life jackets.

As reported by Mel Juffe in the January 10 *New York Post*, "The cargo . . . apparently is buried safely at the bottom of the ocean, the Coast Guard said.

"Since the *Grand Zenith* seemingly sank without breaking apart, its load of oil is expected to remain intact without spillage.

"The heavy oil will not pour at temperatures colder than 86 degrees Fahrenheit, and the waters are more than 40 degrees colder, the Coast Guard said."

According to the Coast Guard, the tanker was owned by Sea King Shipping of New York City and Moran Shipping of Providence, Rhode Island.

Very little was said about the fate of the crew of thirty-eight Taiwanese. After all, human beings do not count in profit-and-loss statements.

Another Accident in the Delaware

A Liberian tanker, the *Universe Leader*, loaded with 21 million gallons of crude oil, grounded in the Delaware River January 4.

Unloading operations were successful, however, and no spill occurred.

Off the Coast of Texas

The *Barcola*, a 700-foot Liberian tanker carrying 13 million gallons of crude oil, came to a sudden halt in soft sand twenty-five miles off the coast of Texas January 7.

Fortunately, with a rising tide she was able to float herself free, apparently without spilling any oil.

Tanker Splits in Half

An empty 282-foot tanker, the *Chester A. Poling*, carrying the American flag, split in half in gale force winds January 10 while proceeding from Boston to New Hampshire.

Six crew members were rescued. A seventh plunged into the ocean as he attempted to get into a rescue basket lowered by a helicopter.

The victim had only a 50 percent chance of survival after thirty minutes in the icy water and could not last more than two hours, according to a representative of the Coast Guard.

Biologists Puzzled by Suicidal Squid

Since mid-October, millions of squid have come ashore to die on the beaches of Cape Cod, Massachusetts. Biologists are trying to figure out why the squid appear to be determined to commit suicide.

"The squid, some of them two feet long,



Herblock/Washington Post

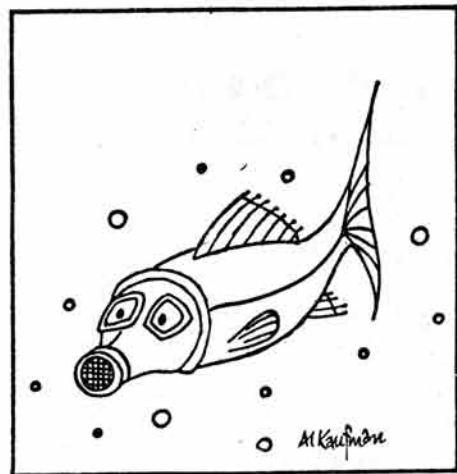
ride the waves onto the beaches," according to a December 11 Associated Press dispatch. "Then they push themselves above the water's reach by squirting water through the jets they use for propulsion, and wiggle on the sand until they die or are killed by hungry birds."

If rescued and thrown alive back into the sea, the long-tentacled squid immediately come back ashore.

One puzzled biologist theorized that the schools of fish that normally feed on squid have been decimated. The squid are simply taking care of their own resulting population explosion.

Other theories associated the influx of squid to "unusually cold weather or to unfathomed cycles of nature, like those that guide the migrations of birds."

A more likely theory is that the Atlantic is now so poisoned with sewage and other pollutants that the squid can no longer take it and prefer swift execution on a beach.



Al Kaufman/New York Times

Selections From the Left

Lutte Ouvrière

"Workers Struggle," Paris weekly supported by a grouping of militants who view themselves as Trotskyist in orientation.

The January 1 issue reports that the projections for 1977 just released by the Statistical Institute and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development predict that the number of unemployed in France will increase by 200,000 in the coming year.

Lutte Ouvrière commented: "Giscard and his buddy [Premier] Barre have been making more and more reassuring statements—'It will be better tomorrow,' Giscard sang on Christmas eve—telling us that the Barre [austerity] plan will make it possible to wage an effective fight against inflation, economic chaos, and thus against unemployment. But the official statistics say the opposite.

"There is no reason to be surprised about this. The statements of ministers are intended to camouflage the real choices of the government, its class choices. The Barre plan will in fact assume its full significance on January 1 with the lifting of the price freeze, while wages remain frozen. At the same time, unemployment benefits are not enough to live on. Only a hundred thousand, out of more than a million unemployed, get 90 percent of their former wages. Payments by the employers to ASSEDIC [the unemployment insurance system] have . . . actually fallen.

"Behind the pretense of fighting unemployment, the essence of the government's policy has been to give the bosses the go-ahead to fire workers in order to increase productivity. The bosses, moreover, have jumped at the opportunity, announcing a plan for eliminating more than 10,000 jobs in the steel industry alone in 1977."

klassen kampf

"Class Struggle," fortnightly central organ of the Revolutionary Communist League, Luxembourg section of the Fourth International.

In the November 22 issue, Jos Mathieu draws the lessons for Luxembourg of the mass demonstration held November 13 in Brokdorf, Germany, against the building of a nuclear power plant. Mathieu pointed out that like the lower Elbe region in Germany, where Brokdorf is located, the Lorraine-Saar-Luxembourg area has been selected for a concentration of atomic plants.

"The struggle over the Brokdorf reactor, as all other experiences in the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland, and France, has made it clear that the thousands who signed petitions against atomic reactors can make a show of strength only if they demonstrate publicly. In this way, not only will the state authorities be shaken out of their complacency, but it will also be made clear to Mart and Co. that it is not just emotional dreamers who have been protesting since the atomic power lobby around Mart got its campaign rolling for a reactor in Remerschen.

"Petitions, no matter how well drafted, serve as alarm signals, nothing more. The hopes held by many of those who oppose atomic power about the possibility of influencing the parliament and the parties through 'democratic' debate are waning day by day.

"The contradictions in the parliamentary structures can only be taken advantage of if these institutions find themselves facing a mass movement ready to go onto the streets. Power is the only language Mart understands. The Action Committee for a Moratorium has gained an initial success with its public rally. Now we have to call a national demonstration to confront Mart when the atomic power bill is before parliament in December."

rood

"Red," Flemish weekly paper of the Revolutionary Workers League, Belgian section of the Fourth International.

In the January 7 issue, Tony Kowalski comments on the December 14-20 congress of the Vietnamese Communist party:

"This congress also gave us a chance to assess the attitude of the Vietnamese leadership toward the international situation. The main lines already expressed were emphasized. On the relationship among the workers states, Deputy Premier Nguyen Duy Trinh said: 'Faithful to the testament of Chairman Ho Chi Minh, we must strive to restore and defend the unity of the socialist countries, to strengthen mutual aid among these countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.'

"For the Vietnamese Communist party, the present period is marked by the convergence of 'three revolutionary currents'—'the socialist countries, the international Communist and workers movement, and the national liberation movements.' By taking this position, the Vietnamese leadership has confirmed that it holds a special place in the international Communist movement. It refuses to accept

the Chinese position that the 'two super-powers' (the USA and the USSR) are the major enemies (notably, there was no Chinese representative at the congress). But it also takes its distance from the Soviet policy of maintaining the status quo. Its active support for the guerrilla movement in Thailand and Le Duan's call for the formation of a 'front of the peoples against aggressive imperialism' attest to the militant role that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam will play in the future."

HAYTH

"Auge," (Dawn), the morning paper of the left. Published daily in Athens. Reflects the views of the Greek Communist party ("interior").

Under the headline "Democracy and Socialism," the December 30 issue comments on the exchange of the Russian dissident Vladimir Bukovsky for imprisoned Chilean CP General Secretary Luis Corvalán:

"The release of . . . Luis Corvalán from the claws of the fascist junta gives pleasure to Communists and progressives throughout the world. However, the way in which this release was achieved has directed attention once again to a vital question whose existence and ramifications have a very negative effect on the Communist movement and the anti-imperialist movement in general throughout the world. This question, in the last analysis, involves the relationship between democracy and socialism, at least in its concrete expression in the USSR and other socialist countries."

The author of this article, Stavros Karas, notes: "This 'exchange' . . . raises anguishing questions, both moral and political, for Communists and more generally for all progressives throughout the world. With what grounds, with what logic did the USSR negotiate the exile of one of its citizens who had been in prison because he expressed political differences? How does this accord with the socialist character of the USSR, a country that has contributed greatly to free humanity from fascist slavery?"

Communists throughout the world had a right to ask such questions: "The reality in the socialist countries is a decisive factor in the ideological struggle against imperialism on a world scale. And actions such as the Corvalán-Bukovsky 'exchange,' the exile of the mathematician Plyushch from the USSR, depriving the well-known Communist poet Biermann of his East German citizenship, and shooting at the Polish workers are not just internal matters.

These things are of vital interest to Communists everywhere, and more generally to the peoples fighting against imperialism and looking for solutions, who hope that socialism will offer a historic alternative to capitalism."

Karas continues: "Thus the resistance of the Communist party leaders in the socialist countries to the concept of the democratic road to socialism, and their attempt to present the situation there as regards political freedoms and the development of democracy as the expression of a 'law' of socialism, directly conflict with the more essential interests of advancing the Communist movement in general. This fact appears with greater clarity in the developed capitalist countries and still more in Western European countries, whose peoples have long-established democratic traditions.

"Such a position on the part of the CP leaders not only contradicts the fundamental principles of international solidarity. It is part of a superficial way of seeing the advance of the world revolutionary process in our epoch. It involves seeing this process from the standpoint primarily of a contest between the two biggest powers of our time, the USSR and the USA. It assigns an auxiliary, secondary role to the struggle of the peoples of each country. It is a concept that involves approaching the problems of the world revolutionary process from the standpoint of the state interests of the USSR. On the basis of this concept, all criticism of the practices in the USSR must be rejected as 'anti-Communism' . . .

"In fact, the Communist parties in other countries are called on not only to solidarize themselves with the socialist countries against imperialism, which is a clear duty, but to support uncritically everything the USSR and the other socialist countries tied to it may do either in the domestic or foreign sphere."

ПРАВДА

"Pravda" (Truth), organ of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Published daily in Moscow.

Apparently in response to statements by the big West European CPs criticizing the lack of democracy in the USSR and the other bureaucratized workers states in East Europe, *Pravda* has recently published declarations of loyalty by two small CPs.

The December 17 issue carries a report of the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist party of Israel. It noted that in his political report, the general secretary, M. Vilner, said: "The Communist party of Israel regards the Communist party of the Soviet Union as the vanguard of the international Communist movement. This position is an objective reality and is confirmed by the rational and responsible Leninist policy of the CPSU.

"We believe that one's attitude to the Soviet Union and the CPSU has been and remains the criterion of loyalty to socialism and the anti-imperialist struggle."

The December 27 issue carries a report of the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist party of Luxembourg. It noted that in his political report, Deputy General Secretary René Urbanie said: "In response to the stepped-up anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaign and to attempts to force us to renounce our Marxist and Leninist positions in the national and international class struggle, we declare from the platform of our congress: The Luxembourg Communists will not deviate a step from the path of proletarian internationalism, of international solidarity in the Communist and workers movement."

rouge

"Red," Revolutionary Communist daily, published in Paris.

On December 23, the French Ministry of the Interior banned the Organisation des Communistes Africains (OCA—Organization of African Communists), which publishes the monthly magazine *Révolution-Afrique*. In the January 7 issue of *Rouge*, Franck Tenaille comments:

"This last year, 4,386 noncitizens were deported (as against 3,715 in 1975). There was the scandal of the secret imprisonment of Arenc, the complicity of the French authorities with SAVAK [the Iranian secret police] in the Keykavoussi case, the exiling of Basques to the island of Yeu, the intimidation against the Sonacotra strikers, and the refusal to consider the demands of undocumented Mauritian workers and those that occupied the New Caledonian center. These are all examples of the same policy toward the immigrant population in France.

"The banning of the OCA today . . . is a new attack on the freedom of expression and organization of immigrants in our country. It is also tied up with the special relationships our government maintains with the neocolonial African regimes, especially those in French-speaking Africa.

"There is nothing new in this. Under Marcellin [minister of the interior under de Gaulle], books exposing various regimes were suppressed. . . . Recently Jean-Paul Atala's book *The Prison of Africa* suffered the same fate. . . .

Tenaille points out that the violations of the rights of immigrant workers also threatened the rights of French workers.

"Thus, there is a need for a large-scale concerted counterattack by the broadest possible united front of all French and immigrant organizations in the workers movement."



Quarterly periodical in English and in Celtic languages, published in Dublin, Ireland, by the Celtic League, an international organization of supporters of the Celtic cultures of Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Brittany, Cornwall, and the Isle of Man.

Since the Spring 1976 issue, a debate has been conducted on the connection between the fight for national freedom and socialism.

In the Summer 1976 issue, Cathal Ó Luain wrote: "The struggle for free Celtic nations should embrace the political, economic, cultural and social aspects. Social freedom must imply an alternative to the free enterprise capitalist system and that alternative has to be effective control by all of the means of production, etc. for the benefit of all. The need for such a commitment was last discussed by the League at its AGM [Annual General Meeting] in Alba [Scotland] in 1971. An addition along the lines above to the constitution was proposed by the Irish Branch. Agreement on the proposed motion was not achieved as two Branches opposed it strongly. However, an amended motion was eventually accepted and became article 1. (e) of the League's Constitution; i.e. 'recognising that, on achieving freedom, the national resources of each Celtic country must be used for the benefit of all people of that country.'"

Another correspondent, A.J. Raude, argued that "materialism" was an un-Celtic ideology. However, also in the Summer 1976 issue, he wrote: "It must have been clear that by socialism as a foreign ideology, I mean materialistic socialism in its extant forms—Russian, Saxon [English], French. I do not mean, of course, what should be a Celtic socialism in the line of Robert Owen, Lamennais, Emile Masson, etc. This ideal socialism has always been clearly the leading purpose of all our liberation movements, aiming at restoring, by social justice, the integrity of our peoples, which implies discarding the rule of the alienated bourgeois 'middle' and 'upper' classes who were the tools and profiteers of foreign oppression."

Most of the correspondents rejected Stalinism, but there were some who defended the system in the bureaucratized workers states.

At the Celtic League AGM in Dublin in August 1976, Article 1.3 of the constitution was changed to read: "recognising that the Celtic peoples will be free only in a society which will give to all the means to participate actively in national affairs, i.e. to control production, exchanges and services, and the exploitation of national resources for the benefit of all."

FROM OUR READERS

A reader in Greece writes to express his appreciation of Intercontinental Press:

"First of all, I would like to congratulate you for the tactical and in-time post delivery of the numbers of my subscription. . . .

"In this country, with the total (itarian) subordination of the mass media to the 'urgent' needs of the bourgeoisie and its polycoloured 'radical' or/and Stalinist lackeys, to have in hand such a revolutionary periodical as I.P. is a *very important* tool for the struggle of Trotskyists in the work places, the trade unions, the students' movement.

"The only thing I can say: 'go on so, comrades!'"

J.B. in Sweden sent this note with a change of address:

"I am very much enjoying the IP. Your coverage gets the inside look one misses in magazines such as TIME, etc."

M.B. of Nova Scotia, Canada, explains: "I have only just begun to subscribe to the Intercontinental Press and therefore did not have a chance to read the September 6th, 1976, issue which dealt with the accusations against Joseph Hansen and George Novack. I have therefore included a dollar for this back issue. . . .

"If you have other recent issues which have dealt with these accusations or the assassination of Trotsky itself, please include them as well."

A compilation of all the material printed in Intercontinental Press on this subject has just been published in an 88-page, 8½"x11", soft-cover book, *Healy's Big Lie: The Slander Campaign Against Joseph Hansen, George Novack, and the Fourth International*.

The book can be obtained by sending \$2 to the SWP Education Department, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014, or £60 to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England.

"While I was living in Germany," writes D.J., "I arranged to get IP by getting together a group who received it airmail from you at one address. I've just moved to France, while the friends I left in Germany are maintaining their joint sub. But I'd like to make use of this same system here. Please send 5 copies for 6 months airmail."

Getting five copies at the same address saves each subscriber money over the regular rate. If you have four friends who will join with you in getting a bundle subscription airmail, just write for details.

This note comes from S.B. of New

Orleans, Louisiana, with a subscription for "a Spaniard just beginning to study revolutionary politics, so naturally he wants the I.P."

S.B. continues: "Selections from the Left' is dynamite, so keep it up. Also where's Gerry Foley been—I haven't seen very many articles by him lately."

G.C., Washington, D.C., requests another copy of the December 6 issue, explaining:

"In my job I work with mass media leaders from around the world. Recently a Swedish writer spent a Saturday evening at my apartment. He belongs to a small group of Socialists who consider themselves Marxists but who are critical of Lenin. We discussed some of the differences between certain European and American Trotskyists.

"My guest had not seen the Intercontinental Press, and asked where he might obtain a copy. I told him that he could have mine and that I would pick up another copy at the Militant Bookstore. So, of course, that was the only issue that was sold out.

"So few journalists I meet are ready for our ideas that it was a real pleasure meeting one who had studied some of the classics."

M.S., San Francisco, California, says:

"I've followed with great interest the recent Chinese events including the Tien An Men manifestations in *Intercontinental Press*.

"You have helped to stimulate a great interest as no other source of information could. In fact there was sparse true information about China until the most recent upsurge."

"After having seen your ad many times in my issues of the Militant," writes A.W. of University Park, Pennsylvania, "I have finally come to the conclusion that my best interests would be served by at least sampling your newspaper. Please send me then your offer of a free sample copy, along with subscription information.

"I have heard much about your paper and can at this time only question why I have not written before. Should your paper prove only half as informative as I have heard, I can only congratulate you and hope that your work will continue to be of the highest rank."

L.N., San Francisco, says: "Please, please don't stop sending the I.P. Here's the cash for a renewal.

"I find the I.P. exceptional in reporting

events around the world. It's refreshing to read a Marxist analysis as compared to the bourgeois press. But what happened to 'Capitalism Fouls Things Up'?"

For a few weeks, the feature got squeezed out. But it's back in, as you have no doubt noticed.

Judging from a cross section of our mail, there hasn't been any improvement in the Postal Service so far this year.

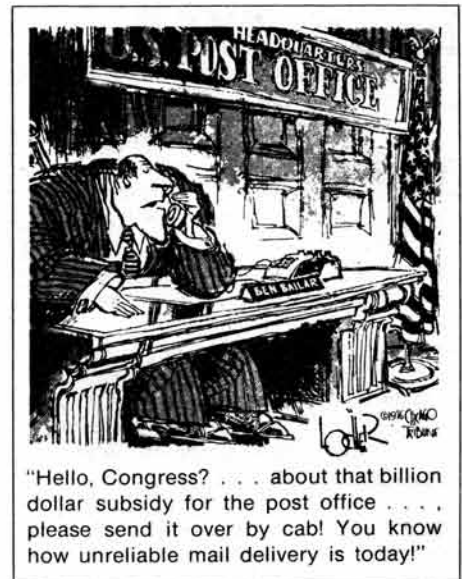
For instance, M.G. in Los Angeles complains that he "for some reason" has not received the issue of December 6. He adds that he would ask his post office to check on this "but previous efforts to find missing mail have proved to be fruitless."

T.V., Detroit, Michigan, says "The mail service is lousy and sometimes I get 3 copies in one time."

G.F., Baltimore, Maryland, writes:

"By the way, I never thought I'd be joining the ranks of those writing on questions of the delivery of the IP. But the new method of folding and wrapping is terrible! I understand that the Postal Service now possesses a machine known as the 'masher,' which does what it sounds like. But is it really necessary for the IP to develop its own version of the masher???? Must technological progress and a more efficient method of mailing mean that we have to iron out the IP before it can be read? I hope not. . . . but every time I get the IP now I can't help but comment mournfully, 'they don't mail 'em like they used to.'"

Unlike the Postal Service, which "doesn't hear" complaints, IP got G.F.'s message loud and clear. An improved method of mailing was started immediately. Let us know if this system still requires processing on an ironing board. □



"Hello, Congress? . . . about that billion dollar subsidy for the post office . . . please send it over by cab! You know how unreliable mail delivery is today!"

Locher/Chicago Tribune